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Florentina Badalanova Geller

2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch:
Text and Context

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For Mark

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Preface

The present study is a result of regular research visits to the Max Planck Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, as part of a broader project, 'Unholy Scriptures: Apocryphal Heritage of *Slavia Orthodoxa*'. This Preprint also reflects my current courses taught within the Topoi Excellence Cluster at the Freie Universität, Berlin, and I am grateful to my students for feedback and uncomfortable questions.

The interpretation of the text translated here is based upon a paper I read at the Fifth Enoch Seminar, organised by G. Boccaccini and held in Naples, 14-18 June, 2009; the Seminar was devoted to 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of*) *Enoch*. I noticed that the seminar papers were based almost entirely upon English translation, with few scholars being able to read the original Slavonic text, and I therefore decided to offer a new translation based upon a version of the apocryphon published in 1899 by M. Sokolov, but never translated into English. This is a 16th-17th century Bulgarian redaction of *The Books of the Holy Secrets of Enoch* [КНИГѢ СѢН^x ТАИНЫ ЁНОХОВ^y] from MS No. 321 from the National Library in Belgrade (fol. 269 – 323), which perished in a fire during the Second World War. The text only survives in Sokolov's edition.

The text of 2 *Enoch* has particular interest for *Wissenschaftsgeschichte* since it contains important data concerning astronomy and calendrical knowledge, and my hope is to make this available to colleagues who do not work on Slavonic texts.

As always, I am grateful for the support of MPIWG colleagues, and in particular Peter Damerow, Jürgen Renn, Urs Schoepflin, Ellen Garske, and Lindy Divarci. I would also like to thank Klaus Geus, Cale Johnson, Sacha Stern, and Ilana Wartenberg, who were consulted regarding the astronomy. James Dingley read the translation at an early stage. Tzveta Pokrovska is responsible for the chart.

Although originally this work was intended to appear in the proceedings of the Fifth Enoch Seminar, it is now planned to be published by Brill in my forthcoming book *Beyond the Bible*.

1. The Enochic chronotope

The present study explores the divergent spectrum of perceptions¹ of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* in *Slavia Orthodoxa*.² It is an attempt to provide some insights into 'pseudepigraphical embroidery of the biblical text',³ and examine the socio-cultural imprint — and indeed impact — which the 'Enoch Epos' exercised upon Christian intellectual milieu of the Slavonic realm of the Byzantine Commonwealth.⁴

¹ In our analysis we follow M. Stone's seminal ideas concerning the significance of vernacular 'reception-history' of Old Testament apocrypha and pseudepigrapha within the wider contexts of 'biblicized' native traditions [2009: 631-632, 635-637].

² The historiographic formula *Slavia Orthodoxa*, together with its counterpart *Slavia Romana* (also referred to as *Slavia Catholica*), was introduced by Picchio [1984]; the terms reflect the 'division of historical Slavdom into two main areas belonging to the jurisdiction of the Eastern Orthodox Churches (*Slavia Orthodoxa*) and to that of the Roman Church (*Slavia Romana*)' [*ibid.*: 1]. Following Picchio's methodology, I approach the institutionalised partition of Central and Eastern Europe between Rome and Constantinople as a *sui generis* linguistic phenomenon; Latin was to function as the *lingua sacra* in *Slavia Romana*, while in *Slavia Orthodoxa* this role was played by Old Church Slavonic. I further argue that, along with *Slavia Romana* and *Slavia Orthodoxa*, another set of terms, reflecting the confessional identity of 'other' religious communities (be it Christian, Jewish, or Muslim) should be taken into consideration, with special emphasis on their respective *linguae sacrae*; hence my argument for *Slavia Evangelica*, *Slavia Judaica* and *Slavia Islamica* [Badalanova 1994; 2001; 2002]. The linguistic differentiation between *Slavia Romana* and *Slavia Orthodoxa* (i.e. Latin versus Old Church Slavonic) had a major impact upon future cleavage between the respective cultural traditions: 'within each of these two main areas of civilisation, the self-identification of the Slavs with certain cultural and linguistic systems was directly affected by the ideological and linguistic models that the ecclesiastical organisations introduced into their spiritual patrimony' [Picchio [1984: 3]; see also Picchio and Goldblatt [2008: 66-85]. The fact that the 'spiritual patrimony' of *Slavia Orthodoxa* was anchored by Old Church Slavonic explains why *2 Enoch* was not attested in apocryphal heritage of *Slavia Romana* and remained a specific product of *Slavia Orthodoxa* exclusively. However, folklore evidence indicates that 'the Enoch Epos' penetrated the domain of vernacular oral tradition of Christian communities in zones of mixed or overlapping influence between *Slavia Orthodoxa* and *Slavia Romana*, such as the Greco-Catholics (also known as Catholics of Byzantine rite) in the Carpathian region (i.e. Ruthenians, or Rysyns). Volodymyr Hnatiuk, for instance, published two fragments of folk spiritual chants (*Hymns to Archangel Michael*) mentioning the Ascent of Enoch to Heaven; the songs emphasise that it was Archangel Michael himself who took the visionary to Paradise:

Михаиле! Кто яко Богъ? Велми возопѣль ес, // Гды с небеса Луцѣпера под ноги струтилъ естъ. // Восхотѣл бо онъ проклятый равен быти Богу, // Той падаетъ с динономъ юж тебѣ под ноги. // Свою гордост по неволи мусѣль нахилити, // Гды казанно му от престола до аду вступити. // Идеже бо имя твое славимо биваетъ // Сатанаилъ съ динономъ оттуду утѣкаетъ. // [...] // Ты Еноха принеся еси южъ давно до раю, // Тѣм же и ми чудесь твоихъ славу отсылаймо.

The other fragment published by Hnatiuk offers a version similar to the above; see *idem*. [1985: 62-64, texts 47 and 48].

³ See Stone [2009: 631].

⁴ On the reception-history of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just (2 Enoch)*, see Popov [1880: 67, 75-83], Sokolov [1905: 395-97, 399-402, 1910: 1-167], Ivanov [1925: 165-167, 186-191], Turdeanu [1950: 181-187], Vaillant [1952: i-xxvi], Meshcherskii [1964: 91-108], Greenfield and Stone [1979: 98-99], Andersen [1983: 91-100], Pennington [1984: 321-328], Stone [2000: 45-8; 2008: 635-637], Böttrich [1995; 1996], Alexander [1998: 101-04, 116-17], Anderson [2000: 99-102], Nickelsburg

The first reference to the Enochic apocryphal corpus within the context of *Slavia Orthodoxa* is found in *Symeon's Florilegium*, the earliest extant copy of which, *Sviatoslav's Miscellany*, comes from 1073.⁵ The *Florilegium* was compiled in Bulgaria during the reign of the Symeon (893-927), on the basis of a Greek (Byzantine) protograph, and most probably was commissioned by the King himself. Being 'an encyclopaedia *sui generis*' [Dinekov 1991: 17], it was designed as a compendium containing articles from various spheres of medieval knowledge: Christian theology and ethics, along with ancient science and philosophy. The reference to Enoch is found at the very end of the MS (Fol. 254), in the section devoted to the *Index of Prohibited Books*, the authorship of which is attributed to Isidor of Pelusium (d. c. 450). In fact, *Enoch* is listed at its very top, coming in second position after *Vita Adae*:

ІЄАНКОЖЕ СЪКРОВЬНЫХЪ • АДАМЪ •Ѫ• ІЄНОХЪ •Ѣ• МАЛЕХЪ •Ѥ• ПАТРЬАРСН •Ѧ•
МОЛНТВА НОСНФОВА •Ѩ• ІЄЛДАД •Ѭ• ЗАВѢТЪ МООУСННЪ •Ѯ• ВЪСХОДЪ МООУСННН
•Ѱ• ПСАМОСН СОЛОМОНН •Ѳ• НАНННО ОБАВЛЕННІЄ •Ѵа• НСАНННО ВНАѢННІЄ •Ѷв•
СОФОННННО ОБАВЛЕННІЄ •Ѹг• ЗАХАРНННО ІАВЛЕННІЄ •Ѻд• НІАКОВАЕ ПОВЕСТЬ •ѼЄ•
ПЕТРОВО ОБАВЛЕННІЄ •ѼЅ• ОБЪХОДН Н ОУЧЕННІА АПАСКА •ѼН• ВАРНАВЛЕ
ПОСЫЛАННІЄ •ѼѢ• ДѢІАННІЄ ПАУЛЕ •ѼѤ• ПАУЛОВО ОБАВЛЕННІЄ •ѼѦа• ОУЧЕННІЄ
КАНМЕНТОВО •ѼѨв• НГНАТОВО ОУЧЕННІЄ •ѼѨг• ПОЛОУКАРПОВО ОУЧЕННІЄ •ѼѨД•
ЕУАГГЕЛНІЄ ОТЪ ВАРНАВЫ [Dinekov . *et al.* 1991: 701].

Still, the appearance of *Enoch* in the *Index of Prohibited Books* in *Symeon's Florilegium* cannot be considered as corroborative evidence proving beyond doubt that the actual apocryphon was in circulation in *Slavia Orthodoxa* at the time when

[2001: 75, 79-81, 99-100], Panajotov [2003: 279-283]; Orlov [2007: 19-35, 133-268]; Badalanova [2008:162-3, 186-91, 231-35]; Khristova [2008].

There is an unusual feature of Sokolov's posthumous publication, edited by Speranskii, since the page numbering of the edition of the Monuments from 1910 was intended to represent a continuation of Sokolov's earlier publication from 1899. Hence the page numbers and table of contents of the 1910 volume reflect Sokolov's earlier edition of MS № 321 of the National Library in Belgrade (chosen by him as the primary witness to the longer recension) and the 17th cent. Barsovian MS (as a text representing the shorter recension); the edition of these two MSS ended on page 107. Speranskii's publication of the second part of the MSS edited by Sokolov (Chapter 'Тексты') therefore begins on page 109, rather than page 1. After Speranskii completes his edition of Sokolov's text-edition, he then adds a second part to this work, namely Sokolov's research notes (Chapter Изслѣдованіе), now beginning on page 1. For this reason, references to Sokolov's works may be confusing to the reader. Sokolov's 1899 edition also includes variants from an 18th century MS (pages 108ff.), which is not reflected in Speranskii's table of contents.

⁵ It was made in Kiev for the Russian Prince Sviatoslav (hence its designation). For a detailed discussion of *Symeon's Florilegium*, Dinekov *et al.* [1991, 1993] and Thompson [1993: 37-53.]

the *Florilegium* was compiled/copied. It can merely mean that the scribe simply followed the original Greek protograph of which the *Index of Prohibited Books* was already a part. However, on the basis of the appearance of *Enoch* in the Slavonic version of the *Index of Prohibited Books*, an argument can be put forward that by the time when its protograph was composed, a Greek recension of Enoch was also known to the copyist.

The same applies to the multiple, repetitive attestations of the stock phrase 'the books of Enoch' (var. 'the books of the righteous Enoch') in Slavonic recensions of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*;⁶ they may simply reflect the content of the Greek Vorlage. However, the systematic references in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* to the 'books of Enoch', along with parallel attestations of some similar concepts (e.g. the idea of seven traits, or 'seven spirits' which were given to man at the Creation'),⁷ indicate that these two apocrypha must have shared a common intellectual background. Indeed, both of them are listed in the Index of *Index of*

⁶ Thus in Chapter 5: 5-6 of *The Testament of Simeon* [Завѣтъ Симеоновъ], the following statement is made: 'I have seen it in the account (var. report, relation) in the books of Enoch that your sons together with you will be corrupted by fornication' [внѣхъ оубо въ сказаньи книгъ еноховъ яко снве вашн с вами въ блуженьи нстаѣють]; see Tikhonravov [1863: 100] and Porfir'ev [1877: 161]. Similar references can be found in *The Testament of Levi* [Завѣтъ Левитинъ]: 'as it stands written in the book of the righteous Enoch' [бо рече въ книгахъ еноха праведнаго]; 'I understand from the writing of Enoch' [разоумехъ ѿ писменн енохова]; 'I understand from the book of Enoch' [оувѣдахъ в книгахъ еноховахъ]; see Tikhonravov [1863: 110-111] and Porfir'ev [1877: 169]. See also similar citations in *The Testament of Judah*: 'And I have also read in the books of the righteous Enoch about the evils you will commit in the last days' [оувнѣхъ оубо ре^ѣ в книгахъ еноховахъ еанко зла створите в послѣднѣи дни; var. оувнѣхъ бо рече въ книгахъ еноховахъ еанко зла сотворите в послѣднѣи дни]; see Tikhonravov [1863: 115] and Porfir'ev [1877: 172]. Further parallel quotations can be found in *The Testament of Dan*: 'I have understood from the book of the righteous Enoch' [разумѣхъ бо во книгахъ еноха праведнаго; var. разоумехъ бо во книгахъ еноха Праведнаго] (Tikhonravov [1863: 126] and Porfir'ev [1877: 181]), as well as in *The Testament of Benjamin*: 'I gather from the words of the righteous Enoch that you will give yourselves up to Sodomite practices' [разумѣхомъ же о словесхъ еноха праведнаго съблюдежеса чада моя блуженья содомска; var. разоумехомъ же во словесхъ еноха праведнаго соблюдетежеса чада моя блуженья содомска]; Porfir'ev [1877: 193].

However, in some cases, as in *The Testament of Asher* [Завѣтъ Ашеровъ], when the Slavonic text gives a reference to 'the books of the righteous Enoch' [Porfir'ev 1877: 187], this very reference may be missing from extant Greek versions; the latter case is most intriguing, as it suggests that either the Slavonic recensions used different Greek protographs, or that the text was changed in the process of translation and/or compilation.

Further on the relationship between Enoch and *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (which was part of the text of the *Palaea*), see Charles and Forbes [1913: 428-429], Higgins [1953: 321-336], Nickelsburg [2001: 96].

⁷ See the discussion below (footnote 229).

Prohibited Books in *Symeon's Florilegium*. Still, the question of chronological boundaries for their translation into Old Church Slavonic remains open.

A more solid piece of evidence towards establishing the *terminus ante quem* for the translation/compilation of the Slavonic protograph of 2 *Enoch* comes from the much disputed text of *The Secret Book of the Bogomils (Liber Sancti Johannis)*.⁸ Although the link between 2 *Enoch* and *The Secret Book* can be interpreted in various ways, there is one simple detail which remains unambiguous: the author of *The Secret Book* was definitely aware of the existence of the 2 *Enoch*.⁹ Thus, according to the *Liber Sancti Johannis*, when the Devil raised 'his deputy' Enoch above the firmament and showed him his 'divine nature', he ordered that the scribe would be given pen and ink, so that he might sit down and write 67 (variant 76) books, which were to be brought to Earth and passed on to his sons; Enoch was to embark thereby on teaching his people how to conduct 'unrighteous forms of sacrifice and mysteries':

[Et interrogavi Dominum, dicens: usque quo regnabit Sathanas in hoc mundo super essentia hominum?]¹⁰ Et dixit mihi: Pater meus permisit ei regnare septem diebus, quae sunt septem saecula. Et interrogavi Dominum et dixi: quid erit in tempore hoc? Et dixit mihi: ex quo cecidit a gloria Patris Diabolus et suam gloriam noluit,¹¹ sedit super nubes et misit ministros suos angelos ignis urentes ad homines infra ab Adam usque ad Henoc [variant: Enoch], ministrum suum. Elevavit Henoc super firmamentum et ostendit deitatem suam, et praecepit ei dari calamum et atramentum, et sedens scripsit sexaginta septem libros. Et praecepit, ut adduceret eos in terram, et tradidit [possibly: traderet] eos filiis suis. Et

⁸ Although *The Secret Book of the Bogomils* survived only in Latin, its *Vorlage* must have been originally composed in Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian). It has two extant text-witnesses, found in two different MSS: the 12th century Vienna MS and the 14th century *Codex Carcassoniensis* (discovered in the Archives of the Inquisition in Carcassonne, France); see Thilo [1832: 884-896], Döllinger [1890: 85-92], as well as Sokolov's posthumous research notes [1910: 165-75], and Ivanov [1925: 65-87]. The fact that the Bogomils, like the Manichaeans, did not endorse the slaughtering of animals and/or consuming meat (hence their firm interdict of blood offerings) explains their hostility towards Enoch, who was believed to have taught his offspring the rites of animal sacrifices (e.g. his portrayal as 'the Devil's deputy' in the *Liber Sancti Johannis*). At the same time, because of their refusal to engage in animal slaughter, the Bogomils would have not used parchment as a material for writing; hence witnesses to their 'Secret Book' did not survive. Not only were their writings banned and proscribed (as a result the severe persecution of the adherents of the movement), but also the material on which they were copied was perishable.

⁹ See the discussion in Sokolov's research notes [1910: 148-151] and Ivanov [1925: 72, 188-191].

¹⁰ The text inside the brackets comes from the 12th century Vienna MSS.

¹¹ Ivanov, following Thilo [1832: 890], suggests *noluit* to be amended to *voluit* [Ivanov 1925: 80].

deposuit Henoc [variant: Enoch] libros in terram et tradidit eos filiis suis, et coepit eos docere facere formam sacrificiorum et mysteria injusta, et ita abscondebat regnum coelorum ante homines. Et dicebat eis: videte, quod ego sum Deus vester, et non praeter me alius Deus. Ideo misit me Pater meus in mundo, ut notum faciam hominibus, ut cognoscant malum ingenium Diaboli. Et tunc cum cognovisset, quod descendi de coelo in mundum, misit angelum, et accepit de tribus lignis [possibly: linguis] et dedit ea ad crucifigendum me Moïsi, quae [possibly: qui] nunc mihi servantur.¹² Sed ei hic nunc praeunciabat deitatem populo suo, et praecepit legem dari filiis Israël, et eduxit eum per siccum maris medium.¹³

And I [i.e. John the Evangelist] asked the Lord [Jesus Christ] saying, 'Until when will Satan [lit. Sathanas] rule over human beings in this world?' And He said to me, 'My Father allows him to rule for seven days, which is seven ages.' And I asked the Lord and said, 'What will happen in that time?' And He said to me, 'Since the Devil fell from the glory of the Father and desired his own glory, he sits above the clouds and sends his angelic deputies as burning fires to men, from Adam to his deputy Enoch [var. Henoch]. He raised Enoch above the firmament and showed him his divine nature, and he ordered that he [Enoch] would be given pen and ink, and sitting down he wrote sixty-seven books. And [the Devil] ordered him to bring them to earth and pass them on to his sons. And Enoch brought the books to earth and passed them on to his sons, and he began to teach them to perform unrighteous forms of sacrifice and mysteries, and thus the Kingdom of Heaven was hidden from men. And he [Satan] was saying to them, 'You see, I am your God and there is no other God besides me.' That is why My Father sent Me [i.e. Jesus] into the world so that I might tell people how to recognise the evil spirit of the Devil. When Satan learned that I had come down from heaven into the world, he sent an angel and he received three pieces of wood and gave them to Moses for My crucifixion, and they are being kept for Me even now. But now [Moses] was proclaiming his divinity to his people¹⁴ and [the angel] ordered him to give the laws to the sons of Israel, and he led them over dry land to the middle of the sea.¹⁵

The explicit statement expressed in the text of *Liber Sancti Johannis*, that Enoch was supposed to transmit knowledge about how to *perform sacrifices*, indicates that the compiler of *The Secret Book* was conscious of the content of 2 *Enoch*; the fact that the earliest extant copy of *Liber Sancti Johannis* (i.e. Vienna MSS) comes from the

¹² See Thilo [1832: 891, footnote 7].

¹³ See Chapter 7 in the *Codex Carcassoniensis* according to Ivanov's edition [1925: 80-81], and Thilo [1832: 890-892].

¹⁴ This comment about the divinity of Moses may reflect a trend in Hellenistic literature to treat Moses as a miracle worker; see Johnson [2005].

¹⁵ The translation is provided by Butler [1986: 191].

12th century suggests that *2 Enoch* was translated into Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian) no later. Besides, the inscription at the end of the *Codex Carcassoniensis* states that *Liber Sancti Johannis* was brought from Bulgaria to Concorezzo, near Milan, by Bishop Nazarius, the leader of the Cathar sect in Northern Italy. One of Nazarius' contemporaries clarifies the chronology by writing in 1230 that he had met Nazarius some 60 years earlier, hence in 1170.¹⁶ Therefore the year 1170 can be considered as *terminus ante quem* for the translation/compilation of the Slavonic protograph of *2 Enoch*.

The linguistic analysis of the text of *2 Enoch*, on the other hand, indicates that its Slavonic Vorlage may have been written originally in Glagolitic script, and only later converted to Cyrillic. Indicative in this respect is the shift between particular numbers in various recensions, and especially the alteration of six to five, due to the different numerical value of the letter E (*ecmь*) within the two scripts; while the numeral equivalent of the letter 'E' (**ECTЬ**) in Cyrillic alphabet is '5' (ѿ), in Glagolitic the same letter has the numeral value of '6'. Thus, when taken to the western side of this Heaven, Enoch sees, according to some of the versions of the apocryphon, five large gates through which the sun sets; according to other versions, however, the number of these gates is six.¹⁷ This kind of discrepancy between various redactions suggests that the *terminus ante quem* for the translation/compilation of the Slavonic protograph of *2 Enoch* was the period when the transition from the Glagolitic to the Cyrillic script took place. Lexicographic examination of the Enochic thesaurus supports this argument; the analysis of the vocabulary of 'heavenly cosmography' referring to 'Garden of Eden' / 'Paradise' / 'Heaven', for instance, shows that there is terminological fluctuation in the narrative. Different renditions of certain celestial toponyms are attested throughout the Enochic corpus, with **порода** and **пан** being employed concurrently. However, while **пан** tends to stretch its temporal dimensions up to the modern dialects, the use of the form

¹⁶ Cf. Reineriuiys Sacchoni, *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis* (published by Martène and Durand in the *Thesaurus novus anecdotorium*, 1773); see also the discussion in Sokolov [1910: 149-151] and Ivanov [1925: 66, footnote 1].

¹⁷ See the discussion below (footnote 146).

ποροδα (= παράδεισος), with its earliest attestations in Glagolitic texts from the 10th-11th centuries, passes its peak in the 13th century and gradually becomes obsolete.¹⁸

One further point. In *Slavia Orthodoxa*, the concept of 'Enoch's Ascension' is not confined to the apocryphal writings only. It is first attested in *Codex Suprasliensis*, one of the earliest Cyrillic texts composed in Bulgaria in the late 10th and early 11th centuries. The reference to 'Enoch's having been raised up by God' is found in the *Menaion* for the month of March, in the text used during the liturgical service on the Day of the Holy Martyr St Artemius of Thessaloniki;¹⁹ thus on Fol. 232 (pagina b, lines 9-10), the following prayer to God is found: 'Господи съпачи ма ты бо [. . .] възводи въздѣльника своего Еноха [...]' ('O God, save me, since [. . .] You were the One who elevated Your pious man Enoch [...]'). In the Septuagint, however, there is no stipulation suggesting any spatial dimension for Enoch's *translatio*; although there is a hint that he was 'taken up' (since it was God that he went to/with), in the canonical text it is not explicitly stated that he actually 'went up'. The intertextual clarification of this concept could have come either from apocryphal literature, or from ecclesiastical tradition (which, in fact, often drew heavily on apocryphal writings). One such source may have been the biblical exegete Saint Ephraem Syrus (Ephraem the Syrian). Translations of his heritage into Old Church Slavonic were made as early as the 10th century; thus a fragment of his *Paraenesis*²⁰ is found in the *Rila Glagolitic Folia* (composed in the 11th century Bulgaria). In the first of his *Rhythms on the Nativity*, for instance, he mentions Enoch as someone who 'mounted up in heaven to see Him'; and since references to Enoch's entrance into Paradise can be found in a number of the texts composed by Saint Ephraem Syrus, it can be argued that his patrimony was one of the sources of the raw material for 'the character of Enoch outside the *Book of Enoch*' (to paraphrase M. Stone's idea of 'Biblical characters outside the Bible'). Even Archbishop Gennadius of Novgorod (the first to compile Slavonic translations of Old Testament books at the end of the 15th century)

¹⁸ See the discussion below (footnote 118).

¹⁹ The Eastern Orthodox Church observes the memory of the Holy Martyr Saint Artemius of Thessaloniki on the 24th of March.

²⁰ See Goshev [1956]; Vaillant [1958; 279-286]; Lunt [1959: 16-37]; Bojkovsky [1984] and Kotseva [1992: 152-153].

refers to *Enoch* as to a truthful and venerable source.²¹ Furthermore, fragments of 2 *Enoch* were included in the *Great Menaion Reader* (Великия Минеи-Четъи) of the Metropolitan Macarius, the first edition of which was composed in 1541. Significantly, Enochic fragments were allocated to the end of the year, 31st of December.²²

An additional source for 'the character of Enoch outside the Book of Enoch' could have also been the apocryphal *Testament of Abraham* [13: 21-27],²³ the *Gospel of Nicodemus* [25],²⁴ or the erotapocritic tradition. Some versions of *The Discussion Between the Three Saints* indicate that Enoch was believed to have been placed on the Third Heaven (that is, in Paradise?), whereas the other six Old Testament Patriarchs were associated with the remaining 'Heavens'. Thus, according to one such source, *СНТЬ* (Seth) is on the First Heaven, on the Second is *Азаръ* (Azariah), on the Third — *ЕНОВЬ* (Enoch), on the Fourth — *НОЕ* (Noah), on the Fifth — *Аврамъ* (Abraham), on the Sixth — *Исакъ* (Isaac), and on the Seventh — *Иаковъ* (Jacob).²⁵ Furthermore there are apocryphal prayers against 'malevolent rain' in which 'the Holy Prophet Enoch' (along with Jeremiah, Daniel, John the Forerunner, and John the Theologian) is invoked as a protector of vineyards and fields, and intercessor on the behalf of the local Christian villages.²⁶

²¹ See the Epistle of the Archbishop Gennadius of Novgorod to the Archbishop Joasaph of Rostov; the text was first published by Popov [1880: 78-80]; see also the discussion in Sokolov [1910: 1, 118-119] and Thompson [1998: 651 f.].

²² Considering the fact that 2 *Enoch* was one of the most detailed sources of cosmogonic ideas, it is hardly surprising that it was associated calendrically with the end of the old and the beginning of the New Year; on the inclusion of fragments from Enoch in the *Chronograph* (and into the cosmogonic narratives in the *Palaea*), see Sokolov [1910: 2, 120, 161-162]. This detail will be analysed elsewhere.

²³ See the text in Tikhonravov [1863: 86]; see also the discussion in Sokolov's research notes [1910: 128-136].

²⁴ The apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus* (which, in fact, was not mentioned in the Slavonic *Indices of Prohibited Books*) enjoyed immense popularity in *Slavia Orthodoxa*, see A. Vaillant [1968] and A. de Santos Otero [1981].

²⁵ See Nachtigall [1902: 324 (Questions Nos 4 and 5)].

²⁶ See the text in Kačanovskii [1881: 157]. In some healing magic prayers, Enoch is called upon as someone who can cure any kind of suffering and disease [Iudin 1997: 71]. On the other hand, in some spells and incantations the evil demon itself may be called 'Enah' (Енах); see the data presented by Kliaus [1997: 351] and Iudin [1997: 263].

The fact that Enoch's name became part of apocryphal prayers and magical onomasticon shows the popularity of his image in *Slavia Orthodoxa*. Another reflection of the influence of 2 *Enoch* is the notion of the 'living saint' in the Balkans, which views visionaries or ones having near-death experiences as 'living saints',²⁷ or prophets, who are then specifically associated with Enoch.²⁸ The persistence of such traditions indicates a continuous and unbroken cognizance of the story of Enoch within the religious imagination of the region, a phenomenon which merits further anthropological investigation.

²⁷ See for instance the case of Bona Velinova [Бона Велинова] who was believed to be a prophet [пророчица] and a living saint [жива светица]; furthermore she was considered to be one of the most prominent visionaries in Bulgaria in the first half of the 20th century. The results of my anthropological field-research on the popular cult of Bona Velinova were deposited in 1989 in the Archives of the Institute of Folklore at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (Shelfmark АИФ–I No 72). Accounts of her visions (which can be regarded as vernacular counterparts of Enoch's *translatio*) appeared in a number of religious periodicals (such as *Гласът на Ангелската тръба*, *Утеха*, etc.), which were published by *The Orthodox Society for Religious Revival of the Bulgarian People* [Православно св. общество за духовна обнова на българския народ] (from 1922 to 1925), and subsequently (from 1925 to c. 1948) by its transformed offshoot, *The Good Samaritan Society* [Общество “Добрия Самарянин”].

²⁸ See the discussion in Badalanova [2008: 190-191].

2. Text witnesses of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch in Slavia Orthodoxa*: classification and taxonomy of sources²⁹

The most exhaustive palaeographic assessment of MSS containing 2 *Enoch* remains that of the renowned Russian scholar A. I. Iatsimirskii, published in the turbulent 1921, four years after the Soviet Revolution. In his monumental *Bibliographical Survey of South-Slavonic and Russian Apocryphal Literature: Catalogue of Monuments (Old Testament Apocrypha)*,³⁰ Iatsimirskii devotes a special chapter to the Enochic corpus. There he lists the following witnesses:

- i. MS № 3 /18 (fols. 626b-638b) from the Uvarov Collection, now in the State Historical Museum [ГИМ]. The MS is a 15th century Russian redaction copied from an earlier Bulgarian protograph.³¹
- ii. MS № 13.3.25 (fols. 93-125) from the Academy of Sciences Collection (St Petersburg), Bulgarian redaction, copied in the 16th century in Romania.³²
- iii. MS № 125 (fols. 308b-330) from the (then) Court Library Collection, Vienna (now Österreichische Nationalbibliothek);³³ Serbian redaction copied in the 16th-17th century from an earlier Russian text.³⁴

²⁹ For a survey of Slavonic MSS of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just (2 Enoch)*, see Sokolov [1910], Iatsimirskii, [1921:81-8], Ivanov [1925: 165-166], Meshcherskii [1964: 93-94], Andersen [1983: 92], Pennington [1984: 326-327]. For text-editions of MSS, see Sokolov [1899; 1910]; Pypin [1862: 15-16]; Tikhonravov [1863: 19-23]; Porfir'ev [1877: 51-2]; Ivanov [1925: 167-180]. For translations of various recensions, see Morfill and Charles [1896]; Forbes and Charles [1913: 425-69]; Bonwetsch [1896; 1922]; Vaillant [1952]; Petkanova [1982: 49-63, 350-52]; Andersen [1983: 91-221]; Pennington [1984: 321-62]; de Santos Otero [1984: 147-202].

³⁰ See Iatsimirskii [1921: 81-8], but also Sokolov [1910: 10-122].

³¹ In his edition of the 16th-17th century Bulgarian recension of the text of 2 *Enoch* (MS № 321 from the Collection of the National Library in Belgrade), Sokolov provides parallel readings from this text-witness [1899: 1-80]. The full text appears in the posthumous publication of his research notes [1910: 111-130]; see also his comments on the history of the discovery of the MS and its contents [*ibid.*: 9, 33-44]. Sokolov designates the text as 'the intermediate recension' ['промежуточная редакция'], a definition disputed by Bonwetsch [1922] and Vaillant [1952] who prefer to classify it as a primary witness to the text of 'the shorter version'. This edition forms the basis of the French translation of the MS by A. Vaillant [1952] and the English translation of the text by A. Pennington [1984].

³² Excerpts published by Sokolov [1910: 47-53]; this edition forms the basis of the English translation of the text of MS *J* produced by F. Andersen [1983: 102-212].

³³ Used by Sokolov as a parallel variant in his edition of the shorter recension [1899: 83-107] (see MS vii below); see also Sokolov's research notes [1910: 74-77].

³⁴ See Meshcherskii [1964: 94], Sokolov [1910: 77].

iv. MS № 321 (fols. 269-232); until 1941 part of the Collection of the National Library in Belgrade.³⁵ The text is a 16th-17th century Bulgarian redaction;³⁶ see the translation below.

v. MS № 45.13.4 [*Хронографический сборникъ*] (fols. 357-366r.) from the Academy of Sciences Collection, copied in Russia the second half of the 16th century. It was discovered by V. Sreznevskii in June 1902 in Vologda during his palaeographic expedition. According to V. Sreznevskii, the text is a twin of Uvarov's MS № 3 /18 (fols. 626b-638b) ['двойникъ Уваровской'],³⁷ and betrays an earlier Bulgarian protograph [1903: 110].

vi. MS № 151/443 (fols. 1-25), Serbian redaction copied in the 16th century from an earlier Russian text;³⁸ until 1941 part of the Collection of the National Library in Belgrade.³⁹

vii. MS (fols. 9-34b) from the 17th century, part of the Barsov Collection.⁴⁰

viii. MS № 1828 (fols. 522-545) composed in the 17th century, Russian redaction; part of the Uvarov Collection.

ix. MS № 321 (fols. 1-25) from the Khludov Collection of the State Historical Museum [ГИМ, Собрание Хлудова],⁴¹ it is a South-Russian redaction composed in 1679 in Poltava. The text represents a 'poorly copied, full of scribal errors version of an earlier Moldavian-Bulgarian MS' which is 'rather close in its content

³⁵ Published by Sokolov [1889: 1-80] and used as the basic variant ['положень въ основу'] of the long recension; see also the discussion on the text in the posthumous publication of Sokolov's research notes [1910: 8, 10-32].

³⁶ See Sokolov [1899: 1-80; 1910: 10-32], Meshcherskii [1964: 93].

³⁷ See his 'Report to the Department of Russian Language and Literature at the Imperial Academy of Sciences regarding the expedition to the Olonetsk, Vologda and Perm regions (carried out in June 1902): list of acquired manuscripts' [1903: 109-111, 122-123]. This edition forms the basis of the English translation of the text of MS *A* produced by F. Andersen [1983: 102-212]. The text was published and translated into modern Russian (with accompanying commentary apparatus) by L. Navtanovich [2000: 204-241, 387-92].

³⁸ See Meshcherskii [1964: 93-94].

³⁹ First published by Novaković in *Starine XVI* (1884: 67-81), and later referred to by Sokolov as a witness to the shorter recension [1899: 83-107]; it is further used as the basic text for the translation (of the shorter recension of 2 *Enoch*) into English (by Morfill and Charles, and later by Forbes and Charles) and into German (by Bonwetsch).

⁴⁰ Published by Sokolov [1899: 83-107] who used it as the basic variant of the 'short recension' ['сокращенная редакция']; see also Sokolov's commentaries on the content of the MS in Sokolov-Speranskii II [1910: 54-69].

⁴¹ First published by A. Popov in 1880 in Vol. 3 of the *Transactions of the Historical and Archaeological Society of the University of Moscow* [1880: 67, 75-83, 89-139]; see also the commentaries in Sokolov [1910: 32-33] and Meshcherskii [1964: 93]. Popov's edition was used as a primary witness to the text of the longer recension in the translation of 2 *Enoch* into English (by Morfill and Charles, and later by Forbes and Charles) and into German (by Bonwetsch).

to MS № 13.3.25 (fols. 93-125) from the Academy of Sciences Collection (St Petersburg)' ⁴²

x. MS (fols. 87-98b) composed in 1701; part of the Barsov Collection. ⁴³

xi. MS № 3092 (fols. 93-99) dated to the 18th century; at the time when Iatsimirskii produced his *Bibliographical Survey*, the MS was part of the Collection of the Society of Lovers of Ancient Literature Collection [Общество любителей древней письменности].

Iatsimirskii further lists another 26 fragmentary witnesses to 2 *Enoch* ('извлеченія из памятника'), with the most significant among them being the following MSS: ⁴⁴

i. The 14 th century *Merilo Pravednoe* [Мерило Праведное] from MS № 15 (fols. 36-38) the Troitsa-Sergievskiaia Lavra Collection; ⁴⁵

ii. MS № 202 [489] (fols. 335-337r) from the Holy Synod Library Collection (Moscow), dated to the beginning of the 15th century; ⁴⁶

iii. The 15th century *Kormchaia* [Кормчая] from MS № 556 (fols. 598b-602b) from the Uvarov Collection;

iv. *Merilo Pravednoe* [Мерило Праведное] and *Kormchaia* [Кормчая] from the 15th century from MS № 187 (fols. 34-37) from the Holy Synod Library Collection (Moscow);

v. *Kormchaia* [Кормчая] from the 15th-16th century from MS № 414 (fols. 109-460) from the Theological Academy of Kazan Library Collection;

vi. MS № 253 (fols. 543-545) from the Holy Synod Library Collection (Moscow), dated to the beginning of the 17th century; ⁴⁷

⁴² See Meshcherskii [1964: 93]: 'Этот список был переписан в Полтаве в 1679г., он представляет собою очень дурную и полную ошибок копию более древней молдавско-болгарской рукописи, текст которой очень близок к предшествующей' (i.e. 'рукопись бывшей коллекции А. И. Яцимирского, ныне хранящаяся в Библиотеке Академии наук СССР, БАН № 13.3.25').

⁴³ Published by Sokolov [1910: 131-142] as a variant of the 'short recension' ['список сокращенной редакции'], and designated by him as MS Б ¹; see also the commentaries in his research notes [1910: 69-72].

⁴⁴ See Iatsimirskii [1921: 85-88], based on Sokolov [1910: 77-105].

⁴⁵ Published by Tikhonravov [1863: 20-23]; see the analysis in Sokolov [1910: 106-118]. The English translation of the text of the MS is produced by F. Andersen [1983: 216-221]; see also the discussion there [*ibid.*: 215].

⁴⁶ See Sokolov [1910: 92-93].

vii. MS № 3058 (fols. 391-393) from the Rumiantsov Museum, dated to the 18th century;⁴⁸

viii. MS № 578/147 (fols. 164-168) from the Rumiantsov Museum, dated to the 16th century;⁴⁹

ix. MS № 793 (fols. 401-402) from the Troitsa-Sergievskaja Lavra Collection, dated to the 16th century.⁵⁰

In the light of the analysis of the text-witnesses to *2 Enoch* in *Slavia Orthodoxa*, the following can be suggested:

1) The *Slavonic* protograph was translated most probably from a Greek Vorlage fostered by Septuagint-related tradition, but not directly from a Hebrew (or Aramaic) protograph.⁵¹ One detail (among many others) still bearing 'the recognizable stamp of Akylas' (to paraphrase Nicholas de Lange [2010: 53]) and suggesting a distinct awareness of the Septuagint pattern can be seen in the age of Enoch when he fathers Methuselah. This detail is often omitted in shorter recensions, but when it is included, Enoch's age is given as 165 years, as in Septuagint, rather than the 65 years in the Masoretic text and Vulgate.⁵² This suggests an intertextual connection between *2 Enoch* and the Septuagint-anchored tradition, rather than with

⁴⁷ Published by Sokolov [1910: 155-157]; see also his research notes [1910: 89-92].

⁴⁸ Published by Sokolov [1910: 145-147]; see also the discussion in his research notes [1910: 77-79].

⁴⁹ Published by Sokolov [1910: 153-155]; see also his research notes [84-89].

⁵⁰ Published by Sokolov [1910: 161-162] and Tikhonravov [1863: 19-20; 26-28].

⁵¹ See in this connection the discussion in the recently published seminal article by Nicholas de Lange, who maintains that 'Byzantine Jews used Greek Bible translations' [2010: 39], and that 'Akylas's translation was still being read publicly in the sixth century and maybe much later' [ibid. 46]. He further argues, 'on the basis of evidence of the manuscripts that Byzantine Jewish men, from an early age, learned to read the Hebrew Bible not only through the medium of the Greek language [. . .] but with the help of translations into Greek that were largely based on the second-century CE translations of Akylas, with its totally distinctive Greek vocabulary and approach to translation [ibid. 53].

⁵² On the shifting chronology of Enoch's life in the Old Greek Translation of *The Book of Genesis* and the Hebrew text, with special emphasis on Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* also following the Septuagint and thus 'having Enoch live 165 years before he begets children instead of 65 years as in the Masoretic text', see Larson [2005: 86-87].

the Hebrew Bible,⁵³ which argues against Meshcherskii's idea that *2 Enoch* could have originated from a Hebrew protograph.⁵⁴

2) The *terminus ante quem* for the translation/compilation of the Slavonic protograph of *2 Enoch* was the period of transition from the Glagolitic to the Cyrillic script,⁵⁵ but not later than 1170.⁵⁶

3) The Slavonic protograph was written in Glagolitic script.

4) As for the spatial dimension of this process, linguistic data and socio-cultural evidence point towards Bulgarian intellectual landscape as the place of origin of the earliest translation(s)/compilation(s) of *2 Enoch*.⁵⁷

5) The question of whether the earliest Slavonic translation represented the shorter or the longer recension still remains open.⁵⁸ Still, on the basis of the cross-textual analysis of the texts provided by Sokolov it can be argued that the longer recension preceded the shorter one.⁵⁹ I share this opinion.

6) Some intriguing details related to the description of solar movements found in *2 Enoch* (see Chapter Six below) betray astronomic theory and calendrical knowledge kindred to that found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Thus, *2 Enoch* describes the length of the time spent by the Sun passing through the six solar gates 'according to the appointment of the seasons and according to the phases of the moon, for the

⁵³ Pennington also suggests that *2 Enoch* was translated from a Greek protograph: 'there are a number of linguistic pointers in this direction; and the Septuagint, rather than the Hebrew, seems to have been the author's Bible' [1984: 324-325]; but she also points out that 'this by itself tells us very little' about the scribe himself [*ibid.*].

⁵⁴ Meshcherskii further argues that: 1) the Slavonic protograph was a direct translation from Hebrew; 2) this translation represented the shorter recension of the apocryphon, on the basis of which the longer recension eventually emerged; 3) the Slavonic protograph of *2 Enoch* was translated in medieval Russia [1964: 93-102].

⁵⁵ See the discussion in Vaillant [1952: xiii-xxiv].

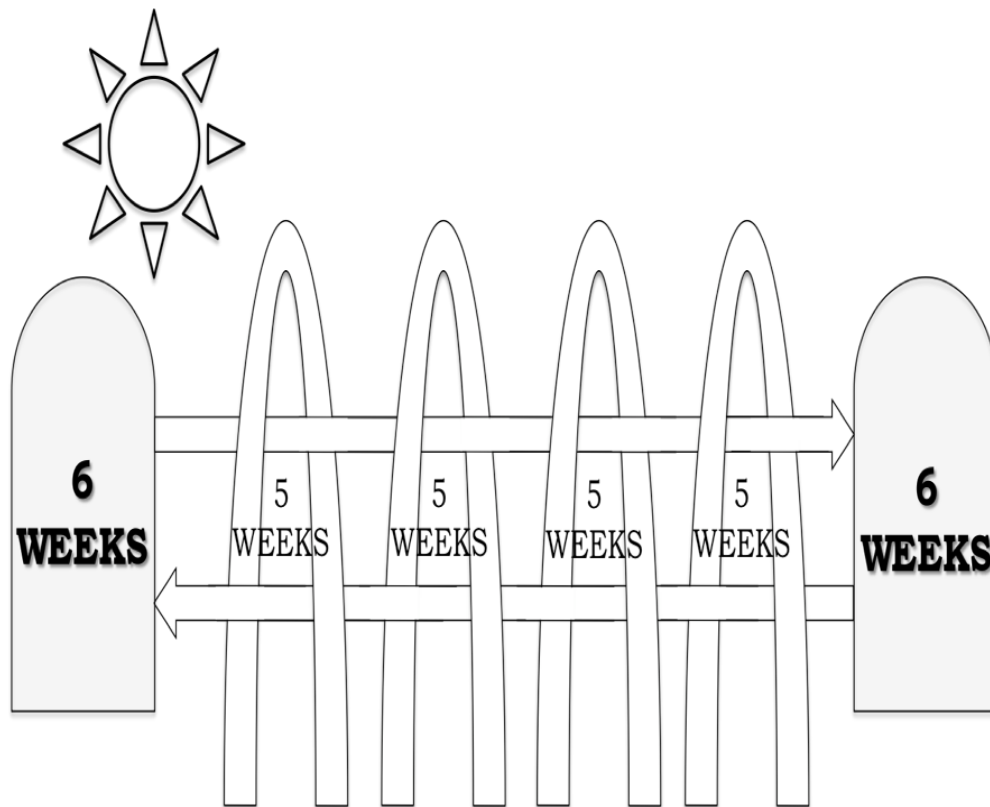
⁵⁶ See above, footnote 16.

⁵⁷ See Morfill and Charles [1896], Bonwetsch [1896, 1922], Sokolov [1899, 1910], Ivanov [1925], Vaillant [1952].

⁵⁸ For a brief survey of the two opposite scholarly opinions on this matter, see Andersen [1983:93] and Pennington [1984: 322-323].

⁵⁹ See Sokolov [1899, 1910]. Following Vaillant, Pennington argues that the longer recension 'in its pristine form' is found only in the Belgrade MS 321 (i.e. Sokolov's primary witness to the text); Andersen's translation of MS J of '2 (Slavonic Apocalypse) of *Enoch* brings new data into the discussion, but with the original text still remaining unpublished (although fragments are found in Sokolov's posthumous papers).

entire year, and according to the number of the horologe, day and night'. The compiler/author of the text narrates that the Sun goes through the first gate for 6 weeks, through the second — for 5 weeks, through the third — for 5 weeks, through the fourth — for 5 weeks, through the fifth — for 5 weeks, and through the sixth — for 6 weeks; after that the Sun returns to the fifth gate for 5 weeks, then spends once more 5 weeks at the fourth gate, to be followed by another 5 weeks at the third gate, and again 5 weeks at the second gate, after which it returns to the first gate, in order to re-start the new round of its never-ending celestial journey.



Therefore the number of weeks spent by the Sun during one full cycle of its journey through all the solar gates for the entire year (i.e. its path from gate one to gate two, three, four, five and six and then back to five, four, three, two and one) is 52. This detail, in turn, unequivocally implies that, along with the rather late (Julian) '365¼ day' calendar tradition, in *2 Enoch* there survive 'fossilised' vestiges of an alternative, much earlier (Babylonian) calendar tradition, according to which the length of the 'ideal' year equals 364 days; the same pattern of the 364-day calendar is later attested in the Qumran scrolls, the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Astronomical Book* in *1 Enoch* [Ben Dov 2008: 59ff.]. This detail will be discussed elsewhere.

3. *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just* and the religious art and iconography of *Slavia Orthodoxa*

Neither Enochic iconography nor the visual narrative of his ascent to the Seventh Heaven has attracted the attention of art historians. In fact, the Prophet Enoch is often depicted, together with some other Old Testament figures (Adam, Noah, David, Solomon, Elijah, etc.) in the open galleries (narthex) of many churches in *Slavia orthodoxa*, such as the 19th century *Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary* in the city of Blagoevgrad, Southern Bulgaria [Fig. 1] and the *Rila Monastery of the Most Holy Virgin Mary* [Fig. 2].

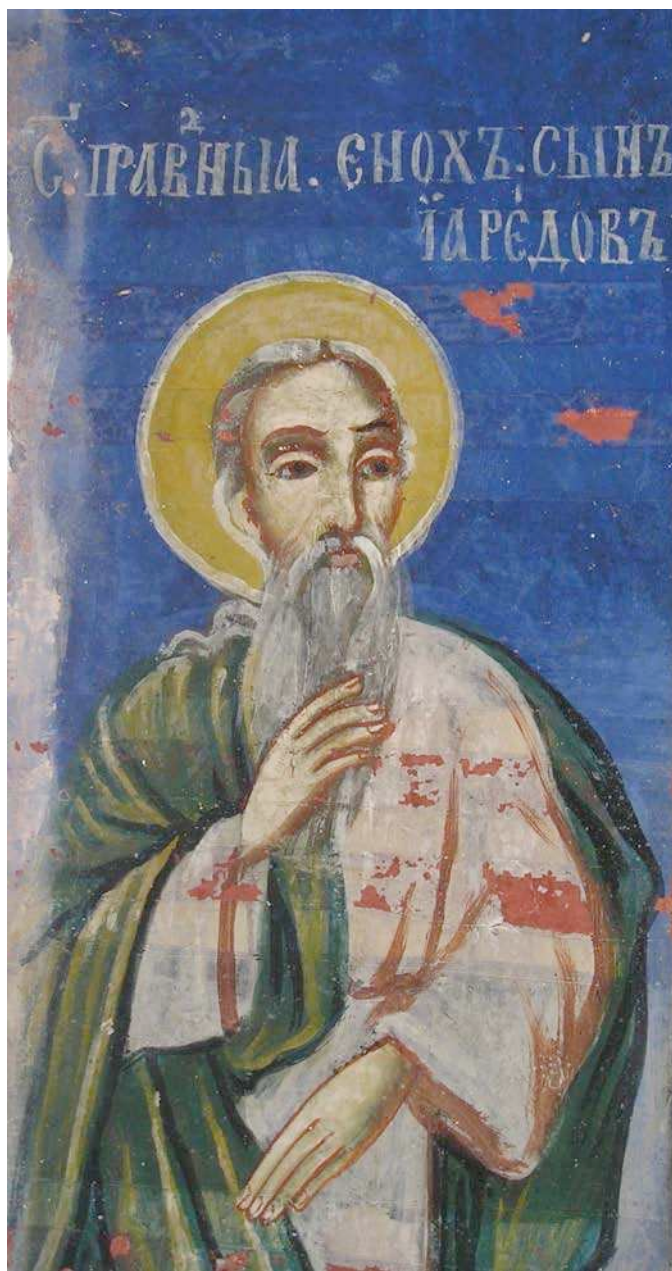


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

In some instances, Enoch's image (together with that of Solomon) can be found on the iconostasis itself, on the Altar Gates, above the Annunciation scene (in which case he functions as a substitute for either David⁶⁰ or Isaiah⁶¹). One such example comes from

⁶⁰ The image of David is one of iconographic *loci communes* in the artistic thesaurus of the Annunciation visual representations; it stipulates Jesus' lineage from Jesse (the father of David).

⁶¹ Cf. *The Book of Isaiah*: 'Behold, a young woman shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel' [7:14], and 'There shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse' [11:1]. In this way the significance of Enoch's testimony is implicitly equated to that of Isaiah's prophesy.

the 18th century iconostasis from the village of Asparukhovo, North-Western Bulgaria, where the image of Enoch is depicted above that of the Virgin Mary; he is holding a scroll in his left hand and a sceptre in the right hand.⁶² [Figs 3 and 4].

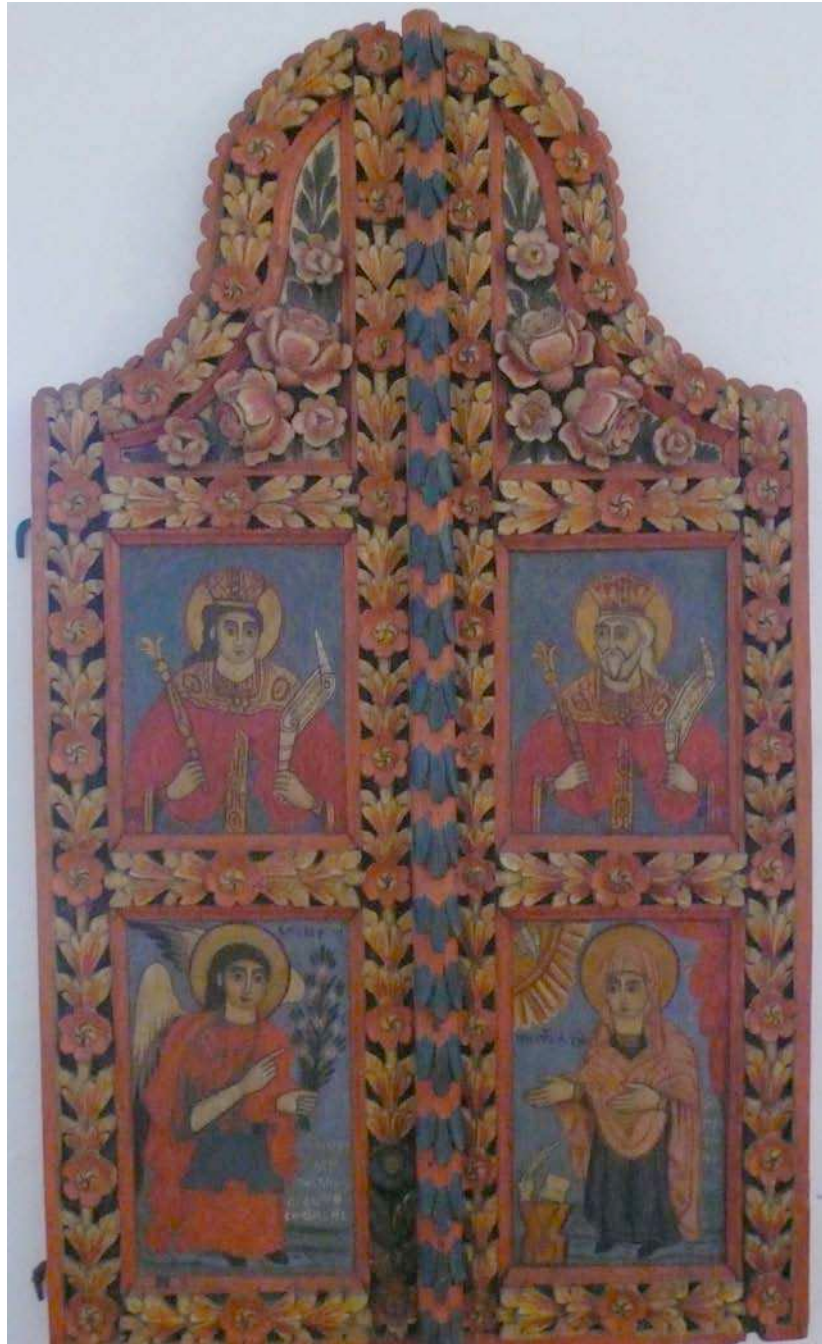


Fig. 3

⁶² His iconographic attributes, the scroll and the sceptre, parallel those of Isaiah.



Fig. 4

This type of iconography indicates that Enoch was considered by the local icon-painters to be one of the Old Testament Prophets heralding the birth of Christ, the New Adam. Having described the creation of the First Adam in the written testimony of his ascension to Heaven, he is now envisaged, via the language of visual narrative, as someone who predicts and witnesses the Immaculate Conception of Christ. In this

way Enoch functions as a prominent prophetic figure in apocryphal literature and sacred art of *Slavia Orthodoxa*, harnessing both the Old and the New Testament narratives about the creation of 'Primordial Adam' and 'Christ the New Adam'. On the other hand, Enoch can be depicted, together with Elijah, on medieval Slavonic miniatures, frescos and icons showing the Last Judgment and/or Apocalypse.⁶³ This iconographic pattern is reinforced by the popular belief that the end of the world will take place when both Enoch and Elijah descend to earth and taste death. The roots of this belief are attested not only in the canonical Old Testament Book of *Malachi* [5:4], but also in the apocryphal *Revelation of Pseudo-Methodius of Pathara*,⁶⁴ which was translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic no latter than 11th century.⁶⁵ In this way the image of Enoch bounds both Creation and Apocalypse, the beginnings of the Universe and its end, thus becoming a powerful icon of Divine Economy. One more point should be made in this connection. Further exploration into the realm of the iconography of sacred art of *Slavia orthodoxa* will clarify non-verbal dimensions of the reception of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* in the Byzantine Commonwealth, and will facilitate more profound understanding of the impact which this apocryphon had upon the cultural milieu of medieval Europe. While the surviving MSS reveal the perception and interpretation of *2 Enoch* by learned men, its visual counterparts show how the apocryphon was 'read' and construed by icon-painters and illiterate believers of *Pax Slavia Christiana*. Because, as St. Gregory the Great once argued,

what writing presents to readers, this a picture presents to the unlearned who behold, since in it even the ignorant see what they ought to follow; in it the

⁶³ For visual representations of this motif, see the miniatures from the 19th century illuminated MS № 1791 (*Apocalypse*), Fol. 107 r and Fol. 111 r; the latter is accompanied by the following inscription: 'Како уѣнена будутъ Нїліа и Ієнохъ Антхрїстомъ и воскреснѣта пакн' (How Elijah and Enoch will be killed by the Antichrist and how they will resurrect again'). The MS is kept in the Lomonosov State University Library, Moscow.

⁶⁴ See Tikhonravov, Vol. 2 [1863: 213-281] and Lavrov [1899: 6-22; 23-39].

⁶⁵ Visual renditions of this theme in *Slavia Orthodoxa* parallel closely another apocryphal text, the *Apocalypse of Elijah*, which is extant in Coptic (Akhmimic and Sahidic) and Greek fragments; there exists also a Jewish *Apocalypse of Elijah*. The Coptic witnesses are dated to the late 4th or early 5th century, translated from a Greek protograph composed in the 3rd century or even earlier [Kuhn 1984: 757]. The latter must have been composed in the 1st cent. BC 'by a Jew with Essene learnings, who lived in Egypt' [ibid.: 758-759]; as for the Christian elements, there is no certainty whether they were 'an original part of the apocalypse or were superimposed by a Christian editor who wrote and expanded a Jewish source' [ibid.]. The parallel interpretation of the concept of Enoch's death heralding the end of the world in religious art of *Slavia Orthodoxa* and Coptic apocrypha will be analysed elsewhere.

illiterate read. Hence, and chiefly to the nations,⁶⁶ a picture is instead of reading.⁶⁷

The same was indubitably true for the medieval *Pax Slavia Christiana*, when the translation of the *2 Enoch* took place. The *homo legens* of *Slavia Orthodoxa* was not necessarily 'learned,' since s/he could 'read in icons'; 'reading' was not envisaged as an act based upon the knowledge of letters exclusively. Without being familiar with the alphabet, believers were able to 'read' Scriptures by gazing at the icons. Moreover, icons were in fact perceived as Scriptures depicted. If for 'men of letters' the process of reading required knowledge of letters as such, for those gazing at icons this was obviously not the case; pictures 'painted in venerable places' were likened to silent storytellers revealing the Word of God to all those 'ignorant of letters'. Furthermore 'the story of the picture' was regarded as a sacred text laid open on the walls of the Church, thus inviting the illiterate to read in it. Plainly, icons were letters enlightening the unlettered who were thus able to learn 'through the story of a picture'. Accordingly, the icon was thought as a written, i.e., verbal text composed in an ideographic manner.

Along with its iconographic renditions, the written accounts of *2 Enoch* must have had a considerable effect on the rise, formation and development of indigenous apocryphal literature as well. There is strong evidence suggesting that the cosmogonic narrative of *The Sea of Tiberias* was profoundly influenced by the *2 Enoch*.⁶⁸ Furthermore recent anthropological research in the Balkans and elsewhere in Eastern Europe provides evidence that *2 Enoch* had its oral, folklore counterparts which were transmitted by word of mouth. The apocryphon was thus transformed into a cluster of vernacular legends and songs about the origins of the universe and the begetting of light, about the celestial bodies and the rules shaping their movements, about the mystical appearance of incorporeal heavenly hosts, about the foundation of heaven and the divine act of setting the eternal boundary between the earth and the sea, etc. These oral cosmogonic narratives and songs were considered to have originated from a 'holy text' which was believed to have been put in writing as a testimony by the Prophet Enoch himself, at the age of 365 years, when he was received on the Seventh

⁶⁶ I.e. 'to the unlearned'.

⁶⁷ Cf. *Dialogues of Saint Gregory*, Book 11, Epistle 13.

⁶⁸ This intertextuality is analysed in my forthcoming article 'The Sea of Tiberias: between oral tradition and apocryphal literature' [2011].

Heaven by God, so that he 'might be an eyewitness of the life above.' It was also in the Seventh Heaven that the Prophet Enoch, who was set by God 'nearer than Gabriel,' learned the mystery of the creation of man. Thus Enoch's testimony, as revealed in the extant Church Slavonic copies of his Book, has remained for centuries one of the best sources of esoteric knowledge. Scribes and icon-painters, illiterate singers and storytellers considered this wisdom to have been mystically acquired before the face of God, and delivered to them in a form of a written text under his command. Enoch captivated the imagination of generations of believers, enjoying respect and popularity, and exercising a long-lasting influential impact upon the cultural heritage of *Slavia Orthodoxa*. Being an offshoot of the manifold proto-biblical textual corpus which preceded the formation of the canonical Scriptures, *2 Enoch* developed as an independent corpus of indigenous oral and visual epic narratives⁶⁹ which survived up until the present day.

⁶⁹ The vernacular folklore interpretation of *2 Enoch* will be discussed elsewhere.

4. *The Book of the Holy Secrets of Enoch:* a contribution towards a new translation of 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of*) *Enoch*

Below follows an extract from the 16th-17th century Bulgarian redaction of *The Books of the Holy Secrets of Enoch* [КНИГѢ СЃНѢ ТАИНАѢ ЕНУХОУ^а] from MS No. 321 from the National Library in Belgrade (fol. 269 – 323).⁷⁰ The MS was bequeathed by the Bulgarian intellectual Iordan Khadzhi Konstantinov-Dzhinot [Йордан Хаджи-Константинов Джинот] (1818-1882).⁷¹ The Russian scholar Matvei Sokolov first drew special attention to this account in 1886 and published it thirteen years later as the basic (representative) text-witness for his edition of the longer recension ['пространная редакция'] of 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of*) *Enoch*.⁷² Along with the Latin translation of the apocryphon, Sokolov provided an extensive textual apparatus reflecting two other supplementary witnesses. The first one is the 15th century account (Russian redaction) from MS No 3 [18] (fol. 626-638) from the Collection of Count Uvarov (currently kept in the archives of the State Historical Museum, Moscow).⁷³ The text is entitled *From the Concealed Books of the Ascension of the Righteous Enoch* [О ПОТАЕННЫ^х КНИГѢ О ВЪСХИЩЕНИИ ЕНУХОВѢ ПРАВЕ ДНАГО]. Sokolov designates it as MS *U* [*Y*],⁷⁴ after the name of the owner. The second text-witness, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, the Son of Ared* [КНИГА О ТАИНА^х ЕНУХОВИХѢ СНА АРЕДОВА] represents a South-Russian redaction of the apocryphon composed/copied in 1679 in the city of Poltava.⁷⁵ The MS was part of A. I. Khludov's Collection (also in the archives of the State Historical Museum, Moscow). Since it

⁷⁰ Cf. M. Sokolov [1899: 1-80; 1910: 8-32]; see also Morfill and Charles [1896: xiii-xiv], Iatsimirskii [1921: 83 (список No 4)], Ivanov [1925: 165-191], Vaillant [1952: iii-iv, vii, 86-119].

⁷¹ See Sokolov [1910: 10] and Ivanov [1925: 165].

⁷² Hence Bonwetsch marked it as MS *S* (after the name of Sokolov); I follow Bonwetsch's taxonomy. In Vaillant, Pennington and Andersen this MS is designated, however, as *R*; see F. I. Andersen's 'Introduction to 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of*) *Enoch*' in Vol. 1 of Charlesworth's *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* [1983: 92] and A. Pennington's 'Introduction' to her translation of 2 *Enoch* in *The Apocryphal Old Testament* [Sparks 1984: 321-322].

⁷³ See Iatsimirskii [1921: 82 (список No 1)].

⁷⁴ Note that in F. I. Andersen's 'Introduction to 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of*) *Enoch*' the Cyrillic character *Y* is erroneously rendered as *Ч*; see Andersen [1983: 92].

⁷⁵ Cf. Iatsimirskii [1921: 84-85 (список No 9)].

was first published (in 1880) by A. Popov,⁷⁶ the account was subsequently marked (by Sokolov, Bonwetsch, Vaillant, Pennington and Andersen) as MS **P [II]**. This MS was first used by Charles and Morfill as the primary text-witness (designated by them as MS **A**) for the first English translation of the *Slavonic Enoch* (published in Oxford in 1896,⁷⁷ three years before the publication of Sokolov's edition); in the same year, 1896, Popov's edition was likewise used by G. N. Bonwetsch as the basis for the German translation of the longer recension of the apocryphon.⁷⁸ Sokolov, however, critically assessed the choice of MS **P [II]** as the main text-witness to the 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of*) *Enoch* and argued against it.⁷⁹ According to him, the text from MS No. 321 from the National Library in Belgrade is generally superior to the account from Poltava not only because it is older, but also because it is much more complete, less corrupt and better preserved; hence the decision to put it as the prime witness for his edition. Sokolov's arguments were later shared by Andersen, who defined the MS used by Morfill and Charles as an 'eclectic text'; hence his choice of the 16th century Bulgarian redaction of 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of*) *Enoch* from the MS No 13.3.25 from the Library of the Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg as the prime text-witness for his translation.⁸⁰ In fact, excerpts of this account were previously

⁷⁶ See Popov's 'Bibliograficheskie materialy' (Part 4:) [1880: 89-139].

⁷⁷ The same edition/translation was revised by N. Forbes for Charles's *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* [1913: 425-469].

⁷⁸ See G. N. Bonwetsch, *Das slavische Henochbuch* [1896] and *Die Bücher der Geheimnisse Henochs: Das sogenannte slavische Henochbuch* [1922].

⁷⁹ Nine years after W. R. Morfill and R. H. Charles published the first English translation of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, Sokolov made the following stern statement:

Переводчикомъ славянскихъ текстовъ на англійскій языкъ для д-ра Чарльса явился известный англійскій славистъ В.Р. Морфиль, которому нами доставлен былъ славянскій текстъ пространной редакціи книги Еноха, остановленный по открытыми нами рукописямъ, болѣе древнымъ и исправнымъ, чѣмъ текстъ Попова, принятый также во вниманіе. Къ сожалѣнію, г. Морфиль положилъ въ основу своего изданія текстъ Попова.

For further details see the discussion in his article 'Feniks v apokrifakh of Enokhe i Varukhe' [Sokolov 1905: 396].

⁸⁰ See Andersen [1983: 97-98]; in view of the fact that the former owner of the MS was A. I. Iatsimirskii [Яцимирскій], and the Cyrillic character **Я** was transliterated as **Ja**, this copy was designated by Bonwetsch, Vaillant and Andersen as MS **J**. In Ivanov's edition the same MS is marked with the letter **Я** [Ivanov 1925: 167]. Incidentally, when A. I. Iatsimirskii brought the MS in August 1895 from Romania to Russia, he was a student of Sokolov. Unfortunately, at the time when the MS reached Sokolov, he had already prepared his edition of *The Books of the Holy Secrets of Enoch*

published by Ivanov in 1925, in his *Books and Legends of the Bogomils*, as variant readings to his edition of the 16th-17th century Bulgarian redaction of *The Books of the Holy Secrets of Enoch* [КНИГѢ СѢН^х ТАИНЫ ЕНОХО^в] from MS No. 321 from the National Library in Belgrade. According to Sokolov,⁸¹ the MS was copied by a certain 'Monk Sava' [Іеромонах Сава] (var. Savl [Савль])⁸² the encrypted version of whose name appears on fol. 177 (in the third paragraph).⁸³ I present below an English translation of chapters I-XII and XVIII-XXII of Sokolov's edition of Monk Sava/Savl MS,⁸⁴ since the actual MS perished during the Second World War (in 1941, in a fire caused by bombardment, along with the entire collection of 1424 Cyrillic manuscripts kept at that time in the archives of the National Library of Belgrade).⁸⁵ Also taken into consideration is Ivanov's edition of the same recension,⁸⁶ in which he includes parallel readings from three additional text-witnesses:

1) the 16th century account (Bulgarian redaction) from MS No 13.3.25 (fol. 93-125) from the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg (= MS *J* [*Я*] in Bonwetsch, Vaillant, Andersen).

[КНИГѢ СѢН^х ТАИНЫ ЕНОХО^в] on the basis of MS No. 321 from the National Library in Belgrade, which is why he could not include Iatsimirskii's version in his commentaries:

Наконецъ, уже по отпечатаніи текстовъ одинъ изъ нашихъ слушателей, студентъ А. И. Яцимирскій въ августъ 1895 года доставилъ намъ вывезенную имъ изъ Румыніи рукопись, въ которой оказался списокъ Книги Еноха полной редакціи. Рукопись писана в Румыніи, болгарскимъ правописаніемъ и должна занять важное мѣсто в ряду другихъ списковъ книги Еноха. [Sokolov 1910: 9]

Unfortunately, Sokolov's research project on Slavonic Enoch was terminated by his premature death; he passed away on 17.6.1906, at the age of 51. The posthumous publication of his research notes by M. Speranskii brought to light some impressive preliminary results of this ambitious scholarly undertaking. Unfortunately, the 16th century MS *J* bequeathed by Iatsimirskii more than 100 years ago (=MS No 13.3.25 in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg) still remains unpublished. Andersen provided an English translation of the text with commentaries in 1983, which in itself is an important contribution to the study of the scribal tradition of the period. Nevertheless, MS *J* awaits proper philological editing, with all variants from other MSS being noted.

⁸¹ Sokolov's reading of the name is based on some earlier studies on medieval Slavonic cryptography [1910: 16-17].

⁸² The latter ('Savl') can also be interpreted as 'Pavel' (i.e. Paul).

⁸³ In fact, it was scribe's signature ['подпись писца'].

⁸⁴ This includes an improved version of my previous translation of the fragment about the creation of Adam previously published in 'The Bible in the making' [Badalanova 2008: 231-235].

⁸⁵ See Meshcherskii [1964: 93].

⁸⁶ See Ivanov [1925: 167-180].

2) the 1679 account (South-Russian redaction) from the Poltava MS, with its first edition being that of A. N. Popov (= MS **P** [III] in Sokolov, Bonwetsch, Vaillant, Pennington, Andersen).

3) the 15th century account (Russian redaction) from MS No 3 [18] (fol. 626-638) from the Collection of Count Uvarov [ѿ ПОТАЕНН ЫХ КНИГЪ ѿ ВЪСХИЩЕННН ЕНОХОВЪ ПРАВЕДНАГО] (=MS **U** [Y] in Sokolov, Bonwetsch, Vaillant, Pennington, Andersen).

To the best of my knowledge, the 16th-17th century Bulgarian redaction of *The Books of the Holy Secrets of Enoch* [КНИГѢ СѢН^х ТАИ^хНЬ ЕНОХО^в] from MS No. 321 from the National Library in Belgrade (fol. 269 – 323) [our MS **S**] was never translated into English, and the current publication is the first attempt in this direction.⁸⁷ The commentaries accompanying the translation pay special attention to some intricate details in the original Slavonic text of 2 *Enoch*, which previous scholarship has failed to grasp. These include the interpretation of the name of the angel whom Enoch encounters on the Seventh/Tenth Heaven, i.e. *Vrevoil* [Врѣвоилъ / Врѣвоилъ]; the etymology of the demonic appellation 'Bēs' [вѣсь] (applied to the name of Satanael) [Дѣво^а ѣ^а долѣшнѣ^х мѣсть вжде^т вѣсь]; the opaque variation of the numbers of heavens (seven or ten); and corrupt astronomical/calendrical computations.⁸⁸ Furthermore, an attempt is made to solve the puzzle of some expressions hitherto considered obscure, such as **КНИГѢ НЪЩАЩЕННЬ НЪМУРНѢ^м** [var. **НЪЩОЩЕННЪ НЪМОУРЕННЕМЪ**] ('exquisite books fragrant/anointed with myrrh'); **ЖИВОТГРѢМѢНІЕ** ('Zodiac signs'); **ВЕРНЖНН БЛАДОМН ВНСАЩЕ** ('sinners hanging on chains'), etc.

As Jürgen Renn astutely comments about early medieval translations of European science, 'almost every work was translated more than once by different authors before a proper understanding of the content could be reached' [Renn 2011: 165]. The same can be said about the process of translating 2 *Enoch*, one of the major records of both ancient science and religion.

⁸⁷ Fragments of the MS, however, were translated into French (with extensive commentary apparatus) by A. Vaillant [1952: 86-119].

⁸⁸ For general discussion of astronomical discourse in Enochic literature, see Bergsma [2009: 36-51] and Ben-Dov [2009: 276-293].

The text below follows the following conventions:

- [] mark inserts from the original Slavonic text (MS No. 321 from the National Library in Belgrade = Sokolov's *A*, Bonwetsch's *S*).
- < > mark reconstruction of (missing and corrupt) passages on the basis of the other complementary text-witnesses (MSS *J*, *U* and *P*), or else indicate insertions of parallel (supplementary) renditions from MSS *J*, *U* and *P*;
- { } indicate conjectural additions in the English translation.

A PROLOGUE

Books⁸⁹ of the holy secrets of Enoch [КНИГН⁹⁰ СѢН^x ТАИНЫ ЕНОХО^b], a wise man [мѣжа мѣдра] and great scribe [вѣлика хѣдожнѣка],⁹¹ whom the Lord received and loved, {allowing him} to see life in heaven above [вѣшнаѣ жѣтїе], and the most wise [прѣмѣдраго], and great [вѣликаго], and inconceivable [недомыслимаго], and unchangeable kingdom [непрѣмѣннаго црѣтва] of the all-mighty God [бѣ вѣседрѣжнѣтелѣ], as well as the most-wondrous [прѣднѣвнаго], glorious [славнаго], luminous [свѣтлаго], many-eyed sentinels⁹² [многосѣунѣтаго стоанїа] of God's servants [слоугѣ гнѣ], and the immovable [неподви(жнмаго)] <Throne of God [прѣтла гнѣ], and His minions [степени] and their manifestation [сѣбѣявленїе]>,⁹³ the incorporeal hosts [воинѣ бесплѣтнѣ] and the ineffable

⁸⁹ Here the noun **КНИГН** can also be translated as 'Scriptures', 'Epistle', 'Testament'.

⁹⁰ In Old Church Slavonic the noun **КЪНИГѢ** is *pluralia tantum*; see Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: [1994: 300-301].

⁹¹ In other versions, (e.g. the 15th century MS *U*) the set phrase **вѣлика хѣдожнѣка** is replaced by **кнѣжнѣка вѣликаго**; see Sokolov [1910: 8] and Vaillant [1952: 2]. Then again, the Poltava MS of 1679 (MS *P*) describes Enoch as **вѣликохѣдожнѣкѣ** [Popov 1880: 89]. For the semantic coverage of the masculine noun **хѣдожнѣкѣ** (nomina agentis conventionally used to render the Greek *τεχνίτης*, 'creator', 'artist', 'artisan', 'scribe', 'master'), the neuter noun **хѣдожѣство/хѣдожѣство** (as equivalent of the abstract nouns *ἐπιστήμη*, *τέχνη*, denoting 'art', 'craft', 'knowledge', 'wisdom', 'technique', 'skill'), and the adjective **хѣдожнѣнѣ / хѣдожнѣнѣ** (meaning 'creative', 'artistic', 'decorative', 'skillful', 'wise') in Old Church Slavonic, see Sreznevskii [1903: 1415-1416] and Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 769].

⁹² Lit. 'standing'; the noun **СТОАНІЕ / СТОАНІЕ** is used to convey the Greek *στάσις, παράστασις*; see Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 626]; the form *παράστασις* functions a loanword in some modern Slavonic languages (e.g. Bulgarian and Russian *парастас*); semantically related to the feminine noun *панихида* (var. *попихида / понахида* = *παννυχίς, παννυχίδες*) □ which means both 'vigiliae pernoctationum' and 'vigiliae defunctorum' □ the noun *парастас* is used to denote 'service for the dead', 'prayer for the dead', 'office for the dead', 'ritual feast for the dead'; see in this connection Sreznevskii [1895: 874] and Gero [1901: 13].

⁹³ The fragment is missing from MS *R*; it is added by Sokolov on the basis of MS *P*; see Sokolov [1899: 1]. Ivanov's later edition of the MS takes into consideration the parallel passage from the 16th century account (also Bulgarian redaction) from MS *J* [*Я*]; see Ivanov [1925: 167].

composition [несказжаемаго сложенїа] of the great multitude of elements [многѡ мнѣства стѹхїи] and various visions [разлнѹнаа видѣнїа], and the ineffable singing [ненсповѣднмаа пѣнїе] of the host of Cherubim [хероувимскыѡ вон], so that he might witness⁹⁴ all this infinite universe [свѣта безѡ мѣрна самовидецѡ быти].⁹⁵

Chapter One

At that time — said Enoch — when I completed 165 years [егда напльни ми са рѣе лѣтѡ], I begat my son Mathusala⁹⁶ [родихъ сѣа своѣго Маѡусала]. After that I lived another 200 years [по се^м жн^х ѿ лѣтѡ],⁹⁷ so all together, the years of my life were 365.⁹⁸ In the first month [прѣвыи мѣцѡ], on a special day [въ нароуи^т днѡ] of the first month, which was the first day {of that month} [прѣваго мѣца въ ѡ днѡ], I, Enoch, was alone at home and resting on my bed, sleeping. While sleeping, a great sadness entered my heart and I said, 'my eyes are crying <in my sleep; and {since it was all happening in a dream} I could not understand what this sadness was'⁹⁹ {and I wondered}, what will happen to me?' Then two huge men [два моужа прѣвелика

⁹⁴ Lit. 'so that he might be an (eye-)witness' [самовидецѡ]; see the discussion below.

⁹⁵ As in other medieval Slavonic texts, there is a certain amount of ambiguity in this account, since the word used to denote 'world' / 'universe' (свѣтъ) is a homonym not only of the word for 'light' (свѣтъ), but also of the word for 'holy' / 'divine' (свѣтъ/свѣтъ/свѣтъ); see Sreznevskii [1903: 295-302] and Dal' [1882: 156-59], as well as Andersen [1983: 120, footnote 11 d].

⁹⁶ The name has different renderings in the manuscript, but tends to follow the form found in the Septuagint (i.e. Mathusala), which is not identical with the readings in the Hebrew (Masoretic) text and in the Vulgate. As for Meshcherskii's argument (in favour of the Masoretic pattern reflected in the Slavonic transliteration of the name), it is based on incorrect data [1964: 106].

⁹⁷ There is a discrepancy between the version of *Genesis* 5: 21-24 according to the Septuagint, and that found in the Hebrew (Masoretic) text and the Vulgate. The Septuagint gives Enoch's age as 165 when he fathers Methusaleh, whereas in both the Hebrew (Masoretic) text and in the Vulgate he is 100 years younger, i.e. he is 65. The account in *2 Enoch* appears to have followed the Septuagint:

21. And Enoch lived an hundred and sixty and five years, and begat Mathusala. 22. And Enoch was well-pleasing to God after his begetting Mathusala, two hundred years, and he begot sons and daughters. 23. And all the days of Enoch were three hundred and sixty and five years. 24. And Enoch was well-pleasing to God, and was not found, because God translated him.

Then again, according to the Hebrew (Masoretic) text and the Vulgate, after the birth of Methusaleh, 'Enoch walked with God for three hundred years, and had other sons and daughters,' *etc.*, whereas in the Septuagint, as well as in *2 Enoch*, the number of days is two hundred.

⁹⁸ R. Borger [1974: 185] interprets this detail as an allusion to the solar calendar and associates Enoch's ascension and heavenly visions with the Mesopotamian tradition of the Sumerian sage Enmeduranki, who was the seventh antediluvian king (like Enoch being the seventh generation after Adam); both Enmeduranki and Enoch were given instructions in heaven about how to perform ritual sacrifices correctly, the knowledge of which they then conveyed to their contemporaries, before the Flood. Borger argues in this way for a Babylonian precursor to the Enoch narrative.

⁹⁹ Insert from MS *P*; see Sokolov [1899: 2, footnote 16].

зѣло] appeared to me, the likes of which I have never seen before on earth. Their faces were shining like the sun [бѣше лице єю ꙗко сѣнце сѣвтеце са], their eyes were like burning candles [ѡун єю ꙗко свѣци горѣци]; fire came out of their mouths [нзѣ оустѣ н^х ѡгнь нсхода]. Their clothes were like foam and their appearance had many colours [одѣаніе н^х пѣніе раздѣланіе вѣдо^м многы^х вагрн]. Their wings were brighter than gold [крылѣ н^х свѣтлѣнши зла^т] and their hands whiter than snow [рѣцѣ н^х бѣлѣнши снѣга]. They stood near the head of my bed and called me by name. I awoke from my sleep [аз же възбѣнжѣ ѿ снѣа своѣго] and vividly [вѣдѣ^х ѡвѣ]¹⁰⁰ saw the men standing before me. I looked at them and bowed before them, and I became terrified and my face showed fear. And the men said to me, 'Be truly brave, Enoch and do not be afraid [дрѣзан, Еноше, вѣ нстѣнж, не вонсе]! The Eternal God sent us to you [Гѣ вѣунѣн посла нн кѣ тебѣ]. Today you will ascend to heaven together with us [вѣсходнши сѣ намн на нѣо]. Tell your sons and your entire household what they should do in your absence here on earth and in your house. Nobody should look for you until God returns you to them.' Having listened to what they said, I quickly left my house [оускорн^х послоушае нзѣдо^х вѣнѣ нз домоу моѣго]¹⁰¹ and closed the doors, as they instructed me; and I called my sons, Methusalam [Мѣѡусала^м],¹⁰² Regim [Регима],¹⁰³ and Gaidad [Гандада],¹⁰⁴ and I related to them [нсповѣда^х н^м] what these most wondrous men told me [елнко глѣаста мн мѣжа ѡна прѣѡуднаа].

Chapter Two

Listen to me, my children, I do not know where I am going and what will happen to me. Now, my children, do not deny¹⁰⁵ God [не ѡстѣпанте ѿ Ба]. Walk before the face of God [прѣ^а лице^м г^анн^м ходите] and fulfil His commands [сѣ^абы его сѣхранѣнте]. Do not neglect prayers for your salvation [не ѡмраѣнте молѣтвы сѣпеніе вѣшего] so that God may not diminish the labour of your hands [да не сѣкратн^т Гѣ троуда рѣжкѣ вашн^х]. Do not deprive God of offerings [не лншанте даровѣ Гѣ], and He will not take away abundance and His gracious gifts from your

¹⁰⁰ Lit. 'when awake'.

¹⁰¹ Alternative reading, 'I hastened to obey them', since the verbs 'hear' and 'obey' are both possible translations of the verb послоушатн (which can be both perfective and imperfective); in some cases, it can also mean 'to bear witness', 'to verify', 'to testify'. The related lexemes **послоушатн/послоуховатн** (along with their cognates **послоушаннѣ, послоушѣннѣ, послоушѣство, послоушѣннѣ, послоухѣ**, etc.), are attested in several Glagolitic monuments from the earliest period of the Old Church Slavonic scribal tradition, such as *Glagolita Clocianus*, *Codex Marianus*, *Codex Zographensis*, *Codex Assemanianus* (*Evangelium Assemani*), and in some Cyrillic texts (*Liber Sabbae*, *Codex Suprasliensis*) composed in Bulgaria in the late 10th and early 11th centuries. See Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 482-483] and Sreznevskii [1895: 1237-1243].

¹⁰² The form of the name should be in accusative; instead it is the nominative.

¹⁰³ The form of the name is in the accusative.

¹⁰⁴ The form of the name is in the accusative.

¹⁰⁵ Lit. 'step back from' / 'turn away from'.

storehouses [н не лишн^т Гѣ съннсканн^х н даролюбезнн^х свон^х къ храннлннца^х вашн^х]. Bless God [блѣнѣ Гѣ] with the firstborn of your flocks [прѣвѣнцн стадннмн] and firstborn of your oxen¹⁰⁶ [прѣвѣнцн юно^т вашн^х], so that you may be blessed forever [вѣдѣ^т блѣвенїа на вѣвѣ вѣкы]. Do not deny¹⁰⁷ God and do not bow down before false gods [не поклонѣте са бѣмъ поуостошнн^м] — to gods who created neither heavens nor Earth [всѣго^м нже не сътворншж нѣсн н земла], nor other creatures [нн ннне тварн], because they and those who bow before them will perish [ты во погыбнж^т н ты нже н^м са поклонѣ^т]. May God strengthen your hearts in awe of Him. Now, my children, may no one search for me until God returns me to you.

Chapter Three

When I was saying this to my sons [бѣ^с вѣнегда гѣа^х сно^м свон^м], these men called me [вѣзвѣста ма мжжа ѿна], took me on their wings [вѣзѣста ма на крнлоу своѣю], brought me up to the First Heaven and put me on clouds which moved on [поставнѣста ме на ѿблацѣ^х н се градѣахж]. Further up, I saw [сѣглада^х]¹⁰⁸ the air [вѣздоу^х] and further up I saw [внѣѣ^х]¹⁰⁹ ether [анерѣ]. They placed me in the First Heaven [поставнѣста ма на прѣвѣ^м нѣсн]. They showed me a sea which is bigger than the one on Earth [показѣста мн море прѣвелнкое, паѣе море земнаго]. And they brought before me [прнведѣста прѣ^а лнѣе мое]¹¹⁰ the elders [старѣншннѣ] and rulers of the ranks of stars [влѣкы звѣзднѣ^х ѣнновѣ]¹¹¹, and they showed me 200 angels who rule over the stars and composition of the heavens [сложенїе нѣсе^м] and who fly with their wings [лѣтаж^т крнлы своннмн] and circle around all the floating {planets/luminaries} [ѿвѣхода^т по всѣ^х плаваѣющн^х]¹¹². Here I saw

¹⁰⁶ The form **юно^т** is a corrupt version of the genitive plural form of the noun **юнѣць** (meaning 'ox', 'steer').

¹⁰⁷ Lit. 'step back from' / 'turn away from'.

¹⁰⁸ The semantic coverage of the (perfective) verb **сѣгладаѣти** (which in the above phrase is used in its aorist form, 1st person, singular) reflects various blends of the concept of 'visual perception', e.g. 'to catch sight of', 'to set one's eyes on', 'to spot', 'to view', 'to glimpse', 'to glance'.

¹⁰⁹ The scribe now uses yet another verb, **внѣѣти** (as a synonym of **сѣгладаѣти**), in order to denote 'visual perception'; in contrast to **сѣгладаѣти**, the verb **внѣѣти**, can be either perfective or imperfective. Significantly, the verb **внѣѣти** ('to see') and the noun (nomina agentis) **самовнѣѣць** ('eye-witness') are cognate forms. In fact, the latter is a derivative of the former. While traveling through the lower strata of the 'air' [вѣздоу^х], Enoch 'spies'; during the next step of his heavenly journey, in the upper celestial realm, when Enoch reached the ether [анерѣ], he 'sees'/'witnesses'.

¹¹⁰ Lit. 'before my face'.

¹¹¹ In Forbes and Charles [1913: 432] the above fragment reads as follows: 'They brought before my face the elders and the rulers of the stellar orders, and showed me 200 angels'; the expression 'the rulers of the stellar orders' is compared to *1 Enoch* [lxxxii.9-18, 20] (see footnote IV.1).

¹¹² This passage is found only in the longer recension; Andersen points out that there is no other occurrence of a similar description of the planets as 'swimmers' (плаваѣющн^х) in heaven [1984: 112, footnote f]. However, Greek *πλανήτης* means both 'wanderer' and 'planet', hence providing the basis for the image in *2 Enoch*.

treasures [скровница] of snow and ice, as well as the angels who keep these awesome storehouses [грознѣе хранѣнїе], and the treasures [скровница]¹¹³ in the clouds from which they enter and exit. They also showed me the treasures [скровница] of dew and an olive tree which was chrism-like [ѡко масть маслїноу],¹¹⁴ and the appearance of its image [внѣнїе ѡбразѡ ѡж] was much greater than any earthly bloom [ѡко^ѡ всѣкъ цвѣт^т земаа па^ѡ множаѡ]; and {they further showed me} angels who were guarding their treasures [агглы хранѣнїа скровница н^х], opening and closing them [како затварѣ^тса н ѡвръзаатъ ж].

Chapter Four

And these men took me [пожста ма] and raised me [възведоста ма] up to the Second Heaven. They pointed out to me and I saw darkness much deeper than that on Earth. Here I also spotted wrongdoers, hanging on chains [вернжнн бладомн внаѡце],¹¹⁵ awaiting infinite¹¹⁶ judgement [жажце сжаа безмѣрнаго]. These

¹¹³ In Slavonic languages, the words denoting 'treasure' / 'hoard' (Old Church Slavonic **сѣкровнїце**, Rus. *сокровище*, Bulg. *сѣкровище*) refer to something 'secret'/'hidden'/'covered up'. The OCS form **сѣкровнїце** (= *ταμείον, τὸ ἀποκρυφόν, κατάδυσις*), along with its cognates **сѣкровъ** (= *ταμείον, κρυπτή*) and **сѣкровьнъ** (*κεκρυμμένος*) is frequently attested in a number of Glagolitic monuments, such as *Codex Marianus*, *Codex Zographensis*, *Psalterium Sinaiticum*, *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, *Codex Assemanianus* (*Evangeliarium Assemani*), as well as in some early Cyrillic texts (*Liber Sabbae*, *Codex Suprasliensis*) from the late 10th and early 11th centuries; see Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 653]. Its semantic scope envelops a range of notions: 'hoard,' 'treasure,' 'treasury,' 'granary,' 'stock,' 'storage,' 'depot,' 'depository,' 'repository,' 'storehouse,' 'warehouse,' etc. For later attestations of **сѣкровьнъ/сѣкръвеньн** and its cognates (e.g. **сѣкрывалнїце** = 'covert,' 'shelter,' 'haven') as derivatives from the verb **сѣкрыти**, see Sreznevskii [1903: 723-724, 726-727].

¹¹⁴ Var. 'anointing oil', 'balsam', 'incense', 'perfume'.

¹¹⁵ Perhaps it should read **вернжннцн бладомн внаѡце**, since the form **вернжннцн** appears in Chapter 7 of the text below (when Enoch describes those transgressors who followed the Watchers in their footsteps, and who were hence 'hanging on chains' in the Second Heaven, engulfed by deep darkness); **вернжннцн** is plural from of the noun **вернжннѣ** (*nomina agentis*) which in turn is derived from the noun **вернга** (meaning 'chain', 'shackless', 'fetters', 'irons'); i.e. **вернжннѣ** is someone who is 'enchained' / 'bound in chains' / 'shackled in chains'. As for the expression **вернжнн бладомн внаѡце**, there are several possible alternative readings here, since the semantic coverage of the noun **бладѣ** is elastic: it can be applied not only to the (ostensibly harmless) 'idle talker'/'gossiper', but also to any member of the society branded as 'miscreant', 'malefactor', 'heretic', 'sinner', 'transgressor', 'lecher', 'whore', 'witch', i.e. to the 'wrongdoers' and 'outcasts' in every possible domain of unconventionality. The lexeme **бладѣ** thus comes to epitomize any deviant behaviour, be it religious (applying to heterodoxy and heresy), or social (e.g. witchcraft, magic, sorcery), or ethical (e.g. slander, defamation, vilification), or indeed sexual (denoting adultery and fornication, along with homosexuality). Included in this category are also individuals disrespectful of kinship and customary marriage law (with emphasis on either endogamy or exogamy), as well as all those embodying any kind of deviation of public/communal/collective norms and taboos; see Tseitlin, *et al.* [1999: 93-94] and Sreznevskii [1893: 116-118, 122-124]. In the text of *Codex Suprasliensis*, for instance, the noun **бладѣ** can mean not only 'error' and 'misapprehension', but also 'sin', 'fallacy', 'sacrilege'. The semantic coverage of the related noun **блѣдѣ**, on the other hand, can fluctuate between 'error' (as in modern Polish *bląd*) and 'transgression' / 'lechery' / 'fornication' (as in modern Bulgarian and Russian *блуд*); the appellation 'the Great Whore of Babylon' from *The Book of Revelation* [17 – 18], for instance, is rendered in some parts of *Slavia orthodoxa* as **Великата Блудница Вавилон**. Hence the above expression (**вернжнн бладомн внаѡце жажце сжаа безмѣрнаго**) can be equally translated as 'wrongdoers / transgressors / heretics / sinners/ slanderers/ lechers/ fornicators hanging on

{fallen} angels were much darker in their appearance than earthly darkness [ты

chains and awaiting infinite judgement'. Some MSS omit this phrase altogether, while others give very different readings. In MS *U*, for example, the form **ВЕРНЖНН** is replaced by **ОУЖНННН** ('prisoners'); the scribe also amends **ВЛАДОМН** into **ВЛЮДОМЫ** (= *блюдящие/блюстящие*) and omits the participle **ВНСАЦЕ**, thus considerably transforming the entire fragment into **ОУЖНННН ВЛЮДОМЫ СОУДА БЕЗМЕРНА** ('prisoners abiding by infinite judgement'); see also Vaillant [1952: 6, footnote 38] and Andersen [1984: 112-113, footnotes 7c, 7d, 7e, 7f]. MS *P*, on the other hand, reads as follows: **ВЕРЫЖНННН ВЛЮДОМН ВНСАЦА ЖДЖЦЕ СДАУ ВЕЛНКАГО Н БЕЗМЪРНАГО** ('hanging prisoners abidingly awaiting infinite judgement'). The scribes probably had difficulties in fully comprehending their respective Vorlage.

On the other hand, the motif of 'sinners / slanderers / gossipers / witches / sorcerers / magicians hanging by their tongues on iron hooks issuing forth from the branches of an iron tree and awaiting infinite judgement', is attested in some Slavonic apocrypha of eschatological content, such as *The Holy Mother of God's Journey Through Torments* [*Хождение на Богородица по мѣстѣмъ*, var. **СЛОВО ПРЕСТН Б^АЦЕ КАКЪ Е БЫШ(ЛА) СЕТЕ МАКН**]. Thus, in one of the darkest spots of the western/northern compartment of 'the Eternal Sorrow' (which is hardly ever called in this apocryphon 'Hell'), the Mother of God sees

ДАРВО ЖНЛАЗНЪ Н ЖНЛЕЗНН МЪ КЛОПНТЪ Н НА ТАХЪ ВНСЕХА МАЖЕ Н ЖЕНН МЛОГЪ ЗА АЗНКО ОУВЕСЕНН. Н ПОПНТА Б^АЦА АРХАНГЕЛА: ЦО СА ТЕЗН, ЦО НМЪ ГРЕХО. Н РЕУН АРХАНГЕЛЪ: ТЕЗН СА ВРОДНЦН Н МАГНѠСНЦН Н КЛЕВЕТНЦН, ДЕТО РАЗДЕЛЕТЪ БРАТЬ Ѡ БРАТА Н МАЖЕ Ѡ ЖЕНН Н ЖЕНН <Ѡ> МАЖЕ Н КЪМЕЦЪ Ѡ КЪМЪЦН [Lavrov 1899: 147].

The narrative describing the circumstances surrounding those sufferings in the 'the Eternal Sorrow' frequently employs the past passive participle of the verb 'hang', i.e. **ОУВЕСЕНЪ/БВЕСЕНЪ, ОУВЕСЕНН/БВЕСЕНН**. This detail can facilitate the decipherment of some obscure passages in 2 *Enoch*, e.g. the expression **ВЕРНЖНН ВЛАДОМН ВНСАЦЕ ЖДЖЦЕ СЖДА БЕЗМЪРНАГО**. Very much like Enoch himself, the Virgin Mary is guarded during her journey by 400 angels and guided by the Archangel Michael; and contrary to the opinion expressed in secondary literature on *The Holy Mother of God's Journey Through Torments* (i.e. that she was escorted down to Hell), in primary sources her journey is hardly ever described as a descent. Her movements have a horizontal direction; occasionally her journey is even described as an ascent:

Н РЕУН АРХАНГЕЛЪ: НА КАДА НЦНШЪ ДА НДНМ Б^АЦЕ. ТНА РЕУН: ДА НДНМЪ НА ЗАПАТЬ. Н САБРАХА СНУКНТЕ Ѡ АНГЕЛН Н ВДННАХА ПРЕУНСТА Б^АЦА НА ЗАПАТЬ [Lavrov 1899: 146].

This spatial description is similar to the descriptions of celestial journeys in other apocalyptic narratives, including 2 *Enoch*, *The Ascension of Isaiah* (*Isaiah's Vision*), *The Apocalypse of Baruch* (3 *Baruch*), etc. Considering the fact that the protograph of the apocryphon *The Holy Mother of God's Journey Through Torments* was composed in Byzantium in the 6th century, i.e. when the (Christianized) Greek version of 2 *Enoch* was most probably in circulation, it would be logical to expect that the lexicon, imagery, poetic devices and indeed ideology of the latter must have had an impact upon that of the former. Furthermore *The Holy Mother of God's Journey Through Torments* was translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic in the 10th-11th century, which coincides with the time when the Slavonic Vorlage of 2 *Enoch* presumably appeared; hence they must have been offspring of similar scribal conventions, mutually influencing each other. In fact, these two apocrypha (along with *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, *The Apocalypse of Paul*, *The Apocalypse of Elijah*, etc.) were but fractions of one multilingual meta-narrative transmitted through a diverse cluster of (parascriptural) apocalypses. See also the discussion in Sokolov [1910: 123-136].

For the iconography of 'sinners, hanging on chains awaiting infinite judgement' in religious art of *Slavia Orthodoxa*, see Figs 7, 8, 9 and 10.

¹¹⁶ Lit. 'immeasurable'.

агѣланъ бѣахъ темнозрауни па^у тѣмъ земныѣ], and they produced incessant crying at all times [непрѣстане^н плауѣ творѣхъ по вса ѹасы]. And I said to the men with me [рѣ^х мѣжема сѣцима съ множ], 'Why do they suffer unceasingly?' The men answered me, 'These are God's apostates [сн сж^т ѿстѣпници гѣи] who did not obey God's commands [не послоушаѣше повелѣнїе гѣе] but kept counsel according to their own will [нж своѣж волеж съвѣщавшѣ^с] and stepped back {from God} with their Prince {i.e. Satan} [ѿстѣпниша съ князо^м своимъ]; these are sentenced to be in the Fifth Heaven [нже сж^т оутврѣждени на пето^м нѣси].'¹¹⁷ I became saddened on account of them and the {fallen} angels bowed before me, saying, 'Man of God [мжжоу бѣи], pray for us to God.' I answered them, saying, 'But who am I? I am a mortal man [ѹлкѣ мѣртѣ], but let me pray for the {fallen} angels. Who knows where I am going and what will befall me and who will pray on my behalf?'

Chapter Five

From there, the men took me up to the Third Heaven [пожста ма ѿтѣдоу мжжа н възведоста ма на третоѣ нѣо] and placed me in the middle of Paradise [поставнста ма по срѣ^ѣ породѣ].¹¹⁸ This place is of immense beauty [мѣсто то несѣвѣдно добротож].¹¹⁹ I saw all kinds of trees with sweet blossoms [вѣсѣ дрѣвеса

¹¹⁷ The shifting connection of the second and fifth heavenly rings with the planet Venus, the name of which, as stated by John the Damascene, was occasionally rendered as Lucifer (further identified as 'the fallen angel' from Isaiah 14: 12-15) may have also caused the association of the Second and Fifth Heavens with 'God's apostates who did not obey God's commands but kept counsel according to their own will and stepped back from God with their Prince Satanail'; see also the discussion below, footnotes 164, 210, 211 and 214.

¹¹⁸ The vocabulary of 'heavenly cosmography' referring to 'Garden of Eden' / 'Paradise' / 'Heaven' varies in the manuscript; hence the different renditions of certain celestial toponyms throughout the text. In this particular case, the word used by the indigenous Slavonic scribes to denote 'Paradise' is **порода** (= παράδεισος). It is quite significant that this 'domesticated' equivalent of the original Greek form was semantically bound, on the basis of its close phonetic similarity to the native Slavonic verb *podumu* ('to give birth', 'to beget'), to the idea of 'fertility', 'fecundity', 'birth'; thus **порода** — a *sui generis* telltale noun — came to describe 'the Paradise topos' as the ultimate symbol of fruitfulness and abundance. The attestations of **порода** are found in Glagolitic texts from the 10th-11th centuries (e.g. *Codex Marianus*, *Codex Zographensis* and *Codex Assemanianus*), as well as in one of the earliest texts written in Cyrillic script in the same period, the *Codex Suprasliensis*; see in this connection Tseitlin, *et al.* [1999: 481] and Vasmer [1987: 330]. Furthermore the survey of Slavonic monuments in which the lexeme **порода** (= παράδεισος) is attested shows that most of them were copied before the 13th century [Sreznevskii 1895: 1208-1209]; of course, there are also later attestations of the form, but it gradually ceased to exist as a part of the active lexicon [Bogatova *et al.* 1991:120-121]. As for the *Enochic* corpus, it routinely conveyed the lexicon of earlier versions. One such case is presented by the 15th century account of *2 Enoch* (Russian redaction) from MS *U*. The anonymous Russian scribe renders the phrase 'and placed me in the middle of Paradise' as **поставнста ма посреда(н) породѣ**, employing the same term for 'Paradise' as the one used in earlier Glagolitic and Cyrillic texts from the Balkans. This kind of linguistic data is rather useful in defining both the time and the place of origin of the earliest Old Church Slavonic copies of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*. In this particular case, evidence gathered from lexicographic sources suggests that the *terminus ante quem* for the translation/compilation of the Slavonic protograph of *2 Enoch* was the period when the transition from the Glagolitic to the Cyrillic script occurred; as for the place of origin, the evidence points towards Bulgarian scribal tradition of that period.

¹¹⁹ Var. 'This place is of immeasurable/infinite fineness'.

БАГОЦВѢТНА], and their fruits were ripe and aromatic [ПЛОДН Н^x ЗРѢЛН Н БАГОДХАНІН]; and all food brought along {there} gave off a beautiful fragrance [ВЪСѢ БРАШНА ПРИНЕСЕНА Н КЫПЕЦІА ДЫХАНІЕ^M БАГОВОННЫ^M]. In the midst of it was the Tree of Life [ДРѢВО ЖИЗНЬНО], exactly on the spot where God rests [НА НЕ^M ЖЕ ПОУНВАЕ^T ГЪ] when He goes into [ѢГДА ВЪСХОДН^T]¹²⁰ Paradise [ВЪ РАН].¹²¹ This tree, in its goodness and fragrance, is unspeakably gorgeous [ТО ДРѢВО НЕСКАЖАЕМО Ё ДОБРОТОЖ Н БАГОВОНСТВО^M Н КРАСНО] beyond all other existing creations [ПА^V ВЪСАЖ ТВАРН СЖЦЕА]. All around it looks like gold and fire-like red [Ѣ ВЪСЖДЪ ЗЛАТОВИДНО Н ЦЪРВЕНО ѠБРАЗѠ^M Н ѠГНЕЗРАУНО], covering entire Paradise [ВЕСЬ ПОРО^A]. It combines properties of all trees {ever} planted and all fruits. Its roots are in Paradise [КОРЕ^N ЁМОУ Е ВЪ ПОРОДѢ] at the exit to Earth [НА НСХОДѢ ЗЕМНО^M]. Paradise [РАН]¹²² lies between mortality¹²³ and immortality¹²⁴ [МЕЖДОУ ТЛѢНІЕ^M Н НЕТАЛѢНІЕ^M]. From it two springs emanate, from one of which milk and honey issue forth [ѢДННЪ ТОУН^T МЕ^A Н МЛѢКО], and {from the other} oil and wine [ѢЛЕН Н ВІНО].¹²⁵ They divide into four parts; while streaming silently [ѠВХОДА^T ТИХО^M ШЕСТВІЕ^M] they approach Eden's Paradise [РАН ЕДОМСКЪ] between mortality and

¹²⁰ Lit. 'ascends'.

¹²¹ On this occasion the scribe does not use the lexeme **порода** to denote 'Paradise', but the lexeme **РАН** instead. The latter has its cognates in all Slavonic languages (e.g. Bulg. *Паѝ*, Russ. *Паѝ*, Belarus. *Паѝ*, Serbo-Croat *Pâj*, Slovene *Râj*, Slovak *Raj*, Czech *Râj*, Polish *Raj*). These are masculine, and singularia tantum. There are also some related vernacular expressions, such as *Паѝ Божи*, *Паѝ Божен*, *Раюм Бога*, *Божорай*, *Райска градина* (attested in Bulgarian oral tradition), which may denote both Paradise and Hell. Furthermore in the same tradition the Sun is referred to as *Раѝко*; the latter is a diminutive neuter noun (transformed into an anthroponym/theonym) deriving from the very same masculine noun used to denote Paradise (*Паѝ*). Besides, there exists a cluster of dialectal verbs, such as *раювам*, *райовам*, which denote 'to reign', 'to rule', 'to govern', 'to control'; see the discussion in Anastasov, Vasil *et al.* (eds) [2002: 163-165]. These contemporary forms (which are related to the Old Church Slavonic noun **РАН**), are offshoots of the proto-Slavonic lexeme **rajъ*; the latter, in turn, derives from the ancient Indo-Iranian lexical corpus and has its close etymological relation to some Old Iranian/Old Persian words. The proto-Slavonic **rajъ* corresponds to the Avestan form *ray*, meaning 'wealth', 'happiness'; see Vasmer [1987: 435-436]. These close linguistic correspondences should be considered, in my view, as evidence in ancient Eurasia for the existence of a certain common Ur-corpus of cosmogonic and cosmographic texts, which was subsequently inherited by Slavonic and Indo-Iranian cultural traditions. This discussion, however, is far beyond the scope of the present article.

To return to the vocabulary related to the concept of Paradise in Slavonic apocryphal tradition, it should be noted that the lexeme **РАН** is attested predominantly in *The Life of Adam and Eve*, *The Sea of Tiberias*, *The Legend of the Holy Rood and the Two Brigands*, and *The Discussion Between the Three Saints*. In the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just*, the nouns **порода** and **РАН** are employed concurrently with parallel celestial toponyms, such as *Edom*, *Edem*, *Eden*. In various redactions of the apocryphal *Sea of Tiberias* (especially in copies from the 18th century), however, the word **РАН** can be replaced by the appellation 'Heavenly Jerusalem', which is an obvious allusion to *The Book of Revelation*.

¹²² See the note above.

¹²³ Lit. 'corruptible.'

¹²⁴ Lit. 'incorruptible.'

¹²⁵ Common biblical imagery, also attested in Bulgarian Christmas carols, a detail which will be analysed elsewhere.

immortality [МЕЖДОУ ТЛѢНІЕ И НЕТАЛѢНІЕ]. Going further to the other side, they divide into 40 parts and pour out gently onto Earth. They make a circuit and revolve, like all elements of the air [нма^Т ОБРАЩЕНІЕ КРЖГОУ СВОЕМОУ ЯКО ННІЕ СТУХІА ВОЗДОУШНІЕ]. There is not a single tree {in Paradise} which does not bear fruit and each tree provides an abundant harvest. This entire place is blessed [вса мѣсто бѣгословестѣвно], and 300 exceedingly luminous angels who guard Paradise [храна^Т пороу] with unceasing voices and melodic singing serve God all day long. And I said, 'How beautiful this place is!' The {two} men said to me, 'Enoch, this place is prepared for the righteous [праведнико^М 8готованно ѿ] who suffered all kinds of misfortunes in their lives. When their souls were becoming embittered, they turned their eyes from iniquity¹²⁶ and they were judging justly. They gave bread to the hungry, they dressed the naked with garments, they raised the fallen, they helped the oppressed and orphans. They walked without vices before the face of God and served only Him. This place is prepared for them for an eternal inheritance.' The two men then took me to the northern side {of the Third Heaven} and showed me a frightening place of all kind of sorrows and tortures, chilly darkness [люта тѣма] and a fog without light [мѣгла несвѣтла] there.¹²⁷ A dark fire [огнь мраунь] was burning there inside it [вѣзгарае са вѣнж], and a fiery river [рѣка огньна] ran through the entire place. On one side was fire and on the other side, cold ice, both burning and freezing [стоуденѣи ледъ жеже^Т и жебе^Т]. I also saw a rather chilling dungeon [оужнище люта зѣло] and murky pitiless angels [агѣли тожни и немѣлѣивы],¹²⁸ carrying cruel weapons [носаще оружжа напрасна] which cause merciless torture. And I said, 'Woe, woe, how very frightening is this place!' The {two} men told me, 'Enoch, this place is prepared for those who do not obey God, who do evil on Earth [нже дѣлаж^Т на землѣи злаа], {such as} magic/sorcery [вардѣнїа],¹²⁹ spells/ incantations [обаанїа],¹³⁰ and devilish divination [вѣлѣхвоанїа вѣсовска];¹³¹ who boast their evil deeds; {this place is prepared for} the forlorn ones,

¹²⁶ Or 'injustice'.

¹²⁷ According to the current text, both Paradise and Hell are placed next to each other, on the third heaven. The same celestial model (of Paradise and Hell being 'in heavens above, next to each other') is attested in Bulgarian oral tradition [Kovachev 1914: 17-18]. This correspondence between 2 *Enoch* and South-Slavonic folklore cosmography will be discussed elsewhere.

¹²⁸ Angels are torturing here, not devils. The place corresponds to Hell, which in this case is not described as a subterranean Underworld; see also the previous footnote.

¹²⁹ For iconographic devices employed in the depiction of those sufferings in Hell on the account of their having performed magic, sorcery and witchcraft on Earth, see Fig. 11.

¹³⁰ Referring to those who cast spells, or practice love magic, or perform healing rituals accompanied by chants and incantations, etc.; for the negative portrayal of healers and sorcerers as individual having a direct relationship with the Devil, see Fig. 5.

¹³¹ The formulaic expression **ВѢЛѢХВОАНІА ВѢСОВСКА** has a fascinating socio-cultural subtext. The noun (**ВѢЛѢХВОАНІЕ** / **ВѢЛѢХВОАННІЕ**) has its earliest attestations in some Cyrillic texts composed in Bulgaria in the late 10th and early 11th centuries, such as *Codex Suprasliensis* [see 23: 5-6, as well as 22, 28, 151]. There the noun **ВѢЛѢХВОАННІЕ** (along with its cognates **ВѢЛѢШЬБА**, **ВѢЛѢШЬСТВО**, **ВѢЛѢШЬСТВО**) is used to denote *μαγεία* / *φαρμακεία*; see Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 118-119]. According to Sreznevskii [1893: 381-384], in some later sources the forms **ВѢЛѢХВОАННІЕ** / **ВѢЛѢХВОАННІЕ** / **ВОЛѢХВОАННІЕ** designate the act of performing divination rites (=τὰ μαντεῖα, *divinationes*). The

who steal human souls [крадж^т дѣше ѱлѣе], who harass the poor, take their wealth and become richer from the property of others; instead of feeding the hungry, they starve them to death. Instead of providing clothes {for the poor}, they leave them naked. They do not recognise their Creator but bow before soulless and vain gods [бѣмъ бездоушнѣмъ н соуетны^{мъ}], fashioning idols [зѣждѣше ѡбразы]¹³² and bowing before the impure creation of the hand [покланѣше сѧ рѣкотворенїѧ мрѣзостномъ]. For all these {sinners}, this place is destined for eternity.'

Chapter Six

And these men took me and raised me up to the Fourth Heaven. Here they showed me all the movements [всѣ шествїѧ] and paths [прѣхожденїе] and rays of light¹³³ of the Sun and Moon altogether [вса лоуѣѧ свѣта сѣнѣнаго н мѣсаунаго]; and I measured {the dimensions of} their movements [размѣрихъ шествїѧ ѣж]. I calculated their light [сложихъ свѣтъ ѣж] and I saw the sunlight is seven times greater than the moonlight [внѣдѣхъ седмогоубнѣ свѣтъ нма^т сѣнѣце па^ѣ мѣѧ]. {I saw} their orbit [крѣгъ ѣж] and their chariot [колесниѣѧ ѣж],¹³⁴ on which each rides [на неѧ же ѡздѣхъ кѣждо ѣж] with wondrous velocity like the wind [ѧко вѣтрѣ ходѣѣѧ прѣѣодножъ брѣзостїѧ], without resting [нѣ нма покоѧ], day and night going and returning [нощѣ н днѣ ходѣѣѧ же вѣзвращѣѣѧ сѧ]. And on the right hand side of the Sun's chariot [ѡ деснѣѧ колесниѣѧ сѣнѣѣѧ] {I saw} four big stars [ѣтерѣ свѣздѣ велѣкѣѧ], each of which having 1000 subordinate¹³⁵ stars [коѣѣѧ нмѣѣѧ по^ѧ собожъ тѣсѣѣѧ свѣздѣѧ]; on its left hand side [ѡ шоуѧ] {I saw} another four stars, each of which having 1000 subordinate stars; all together, there were 8000 stars [вѣсѣхъ вѣкоупъ .ѣ. тѣсѣѣѧ], always going with the Sun [ходѣѣѧ съ сѣнѣѣѧ вѣнѣѧ]. During the day, the Sun is guided by 15 myriads of angels [вода^т ѣго вѣ днѣ .ѣѣ. тѣмѣ агѣлъ], and during the night {by} 1000 six-winged angels, marching before the chariot [ѧ вѣ нощѣ тѣсѣѣѧ агѣлъ, комоуждо агѣлоу по шѣѣѧ крѣѣѧ, нже ходѣѣѧ прѣ^ѧ колесниѣѧѧ]; and 100 angels give fire to him {i.e. the Sun} [ѡгнѣ даѧ^т ѣмоу сто агѣлъ]. And spirits in the image of two birds [дѣѣѧ лѣѣѣѧ обрѣзо^{мъ} двѣѣѧ птѣѣѧ], Phoenix [фѣнѣѣѧ] and Chalcedra [хѧл'кѣдрѣѧ],¹³⁶ are going {before

forms **вѣлѣхѣѧ** / **вѣлѣхѣѧ** / **вѣлѣхѣѧ** / **волаѣхѣѧ** / **вѣлѣхѣѧ**, on the other hand, were used to signify the (three) Magi visiting the infant Jesus. In the latter case, the forms **вѣлѣхѣѧ** / **вѣлѣхѣѧ** / **вѣлѣхѣѧ** / **волаѣхѣѧ** / **вѣлѣхѣѧ** were used to denote 'sages' / 'wise men' / 'astrologers' (i.e. those who can read and interpret the signs of Heaven). Still, in medieval Slavonic tradition the forms **вѣлѣхѣѧ** / **вѣлѣхѣѧ** / **вѣлѣхѣѧ** / **волаѣхѣѧ** / **вѣлѣхѣѧ** tend to have negative connotations, due to their transparent link with demonic forces; hence the expression **вѣлѣхѣѧ ѣѣѣѧ** (the semantic coverage of the adjective **ѣѣѣѧ** is analysed below, footnote 247).

¹³² Lit. 'images'.

¹³³ See also the discussion in Andersen [1983: 120, footnote 11 d].

¹³⁴ For the textual problems occurring in various renditions of the same paragraph in MSS *A*, *J*, *P* and *V*, see Andersen [1983: 120, footnote 11 e].

¹³⁵ Lit. 'below it', 'under it'.

¹³⁶ On the parallel depiction of the mythical beings/birds Phoenix [фѣнѣѣѧ] and Chalcedra [хѧл'кѣдрѣѧ] (described as either 'solar elements' or 'spirits') in 2 *Enoch* (as attested in MSS *J* and

the Sun during the day}; their faces¹³⁷ are lion-like [образн^х львовъ] and their feet, tails, and head are like those of crocodiles [ноге н ѿпа^и н глава коркоднлоу].¹³⁸ Their image [внѣнїе н^х]¹³⁹ was {many-}coloured like the heavenly rainbow [внѣнїе н^х ѿбагрене ѿко доуга ѿблауна], and the size of their angelic wings is 900 measures¹⁴⁰ [велнкота н^х дева^т сж^т мѣрь]; their wings are angelic [крнла н^х агѣска] and each of {these birds} has 12 wings [комоужде н^х по .ѿ. крнлѣ]; it is they who are harnessed to the Sun's chariot [нже мжѹе^т колесницѣ слѣцоу], carrying dew [носаѹе росѣ] and {oppressive} heat [жнх]; and as God orders [ѿко повелѣ^т Гѣ], they turn [такѡ ѿбраѹаѣ^т],¹⁴¹ descending and ascending along the sky and Earth [нхсходнѣ н въсхода^т по нѣсн н по землн], with the light of their rays [сѣ свѣто^м лоуѣ свон^х].¹⁴²

The {two} men then took me to the eastern side of this Heaven [несоста ма мжѣ та на въстокѣ нѣсн того] and showed me the gates [впа^т] through which the Sun passes [нмнже прохсходн^т слѣце] routinely at the times appointed [по

S/R) and 3 *Baruch*, see Sokolov [1905: 399-405]. The number of the wings of the Phoenix in 2 *Enoch* is 12, whereas in 3 *Baruch* it is 2. On the earliest attestations (from the 13th-14th cent.) of the form **ФННІѢ** (var. **ФДНІѢ**, **ФДННКСѢ**, **ФУННКСѢ**) as 'domesticated' forms of the Greek *Φοῖνιξ*, see Lavrov [1899: iv-vi], and Sreznevskii [1903: 1357-1358]; see also the discussion in Forbes and Charles [1913: 436, footnote XII.1] and Andersen [1983: 122, footnotes 12c and 12 d; 134, fn 19e] and Kulik [2010: 15, 17, 19, 23, 30-31, 39, 43, 47, 54, 58, 235-244, 296].

¹³⁷ Or 'images' / 'appearances'.

¹³⁸ A typical description of a composite mythical being (like a sphynx or griffon), which betrays mythological background.

¹³⁹ Lit. 'appearance'.

¹⁴⁰ For **мѣра** see the data presented in Sreznevskii [1895: 242-244], Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 340]; see also the discussion in Andersen [1983: 122, footnote 12 g].

¹⁴¹ Lit. 'return in the same way'; but it can also be read as 'transform'.

¹⁴² Compare this to the following fragment from the Slavonic *Apocalypse of Baruch* (= *Baruch* 3) [Уѣтєніє сѣго Вароха, ієга посланѣ вѣ к нѣмоу ангѣлу Панѡунѣ оу сѣгоу гороу Снѣгѡнію на рѣцѣ, ієг^а плака се ѡ плѣнєніи Юроусѣмѣсѣмѣ. Гѣ блѡсвн] from the 13th-14th century *Dragolev Miscellany* (containing a Serbian recension of an earlier (Bulgarian) redaction [Ivanov 1925: 227]):

Н пакы рече мн ангѣл: ходн, Вароше, н покажю тн нгы тангы, н виднши ѿноудѣже слоунце въсходнѣ. Н покаѣ мн ѡроужнѣ ѹтворѡбразна: н вѣхоу конн пламенн, конн же тн ангѣлн перьнатн, н на ѡроужн томѣ сѣдѣше ѹлѣвѣкъ носѣ вѣнѣцѣ ѡгньны; н пошмо же вѣ ѡроужнѣ то .к. ангѣлы, н се пѣтнѣ прѣдн лѣтаюѹн, н крнлѣ ієн ѿ вѣстока до запада. Н рѣхѣ азѣ Варохѣ къ ангѣлоу: скажн мн, гѣ мон, ѹто ієсть ѡроужнѣ снѣ, ѹто лн ієсть ѹлѣвѣкъ сѣде на ѡроужн семѣ н носѣ ѡгньны вѣнѣцѣ, н ѹто лн ієсть пѣтнѣ снѣ, н скажн мн? Н рече мн ангѣл: ѹловѣкъ сѣден на ѡроужн ѡгньнѣмѣ н носѣн вѣнѣцѣ ѡгньны, рече мн ангѣл, се ієсть слоунѣце, а се пѣтнѣ, юже виднши прѣлѣтаюѹн, се ієсть храннло всемоу мнроу. Н рѣхѣ азѣ Варохѣ къ ангѣлоу: да како храннтель мнроу пѣтнѣ ієсть? Н рече мн ангѣл: сн пѣтнѣ простнраѣтѣ крнлѣ свон н заѣмлетѣ лоуѣе ѡгньнѣе слоунѣце; аще бо вн не заѣмала лоуѣ слѣнѣнѣхѣ, не вн трѣпѣль родѣ ѹлѣвѣскн н всака тварѣ пламене слоунѣнаго. Повелѣ бо Гѣ снѣн пѣтнѣ работатн всєн вѣселєнѣй до сконѣаннѣя вѣка. Нѣ внжѣ дєсноіє крнло ѹто пншетѣ намѣ. Прнстоупнѣ н прочѣтохѣ іє: вѣхоу же кннгы ѿко н токѣ велнкъ, н вѣхоу кннгы тн златы, н прочѣтохѣ іє, н пнсаннѣ снѣ: нн земла мнє родн, нн нево, нѣ родн мє прѣстоѣлѣ ѿцѣ. Н рѣхѣ азѣ Варохѣ: ѹто ієсть нмє пѣтнѣ снѣ? Н рече мн ангѣл: нмє ієсть пѣтнѣ снѣ фннїѣ (Quoted after Ivanov [1925: 197]).

See also footnote 149.

8СТАВНЫ^М ВРѢМЕНЕ^М], in accordance to its monthly rounds during the entire year [по ѿБХОЖДЕНІЕ^М мѣца лѣта вѣсего], and to the numbering of the horologium, day and night [по ѿНСЛО ѿСОВЕРѢЖ ДНѢ Н ПО^{III}].¹⁴³ I saw six vast open gates [шестора врата велнка ѿвръста]; each of these gates had 61¼ *stadia* [кааждо врата нмаѿста ста<дїе> ѿа н ѿтврѣтъ едннго стадїе]. I measured them diligently and I realised that this was their size. From them the Sun exits [нмн же нсходн^Т слнцѣ] and goes to the Earth [нде^Т на земан], and becomes even [сѣравнѣжт са],¹⁴⁴ and enters into each month [вѣходн^Т вѣ вса мѣѣ]. From the first gate, [the Sun] is coming out for 42 days [ѿ.мн вратн нсходнтѣ днн . мв.]; from the second {gate} — 35 {days} [вторнмн днн . лѣ.]; from the third {gate} — 35 {days} [третнмн днн . лѣ.]; from the fourth {gate} — 35 {days} [ѿтврѣтнмн днн . лѣ.]; from the fifth {gate} — 35 {days} [петнмн днн . лѣ.], and from the sixth {gate} — 42 {days} [шестнмн днн . мѣ.]; then again after that, [the Sun] starts in reverse from the sixth gate for a second circuit of seasons [пакы вѣспа^Т вѣзвраѿает са ѿ шестн^Х вра^Т по ѿвѣшествїе врѣманномоу], and returns through the fifth gate for 35 {days} [вѣходн^Т петнмн врата днн . лѣ.]; through the fourth {gate} for 35 {days} [ѿ.мн днн . лѣ.], through the third {gate} for 35 {days} [ѿ.мн дннн . лѣ.], and through the second {gate} for 35 {days} [вторнмн днн . лѣ.]. This is how the days of each year end after the passing of the four earthly seasons [такѣ сконѿает са дннѣ лѣта вѣсего, по вѣзвратѣ^М ѿ ре^Х врѣманѣ].¹⁴⁵

And then these men took me to the western side of this Heaven, and they showed me five¹⁴⁶ large gates [врата петора велнка] which are open on the other side of the eastern {heavenly} gates [ѿвръста по ѿБХОДОУ вѣСТОУНЫ^Х вра^Т]. Through them the sun sets, and the number of these days is 365¼ [по ѿНСЛОУ днн

¹⁴³ The form **ѿСОВЕРѢ** refers to the knowledge of 'timekeeping'; it is a composite (verbal) noun consisting of two components. The first part denotes 'time' / 'season' [**ѿас-**], while the second refers to the process of 'collecting', 'harvesting', 'keeping track of' [with the form **-ВЕРѢ** being a derivative from the verb **берѣ**]. A similar expression is attested in MS *P* (i.e. **ѿНСЛО ѿСОВЕРѢѿа**); see Sokolov [1899: 11, footnote 52]. MS *U*, on the other hand, reads **ѿасѿворѣ лѣтовноѣ** [Sokolov 1910: 115].

¹⁴⁴ The verb **сѣравнѣжт са** is reflexive. Possible reference to the equinox.

¹⁴⁵ The first gate (42 days) takes 6 weeks, the 2nd gate (35 days) is 5 weeks, the 3rd gate takes 5 weeks, the 4th gate takes 5 weeks, the 5th takes 5 weeks, and the 6th takes 6 weeks. Returning, the sun goes to the 5th gate for 5 weeks, 4th gate 5 weeks, 3rd gate 5 weeks, and the 2nd gate 5 weeks. Altogether the Sun's celestial journey takes 52 weeks (= 364 days). Further on the description of Sun's movements in various MSS, see Andersen [1983: 122-124, and especially footnote 13h] and Navtanovich [2000: 208, 389]. For the 364 day calendar in Qumran, see Ben Dov [2008], although the connection with the solar path in 2 *Enoch* was not noted.

¹⁴⁶ Should read 'six'; as suggested by Andersen [1983: 124-125, fn. 14b], the numeral equivalent of the letter 'E' (**ЕСТЬ**) in Cyrillic alphabet is '5' (Ѥ) whereas in Glagolitic the same letter has the numeral value of '6'. This detail indicates that the protograph of the 2 *Enoch* may have been composed/copied initially into Old Church Slavonic/Bulgarian using Glagolitic script and only later converted into Cyrillic; this process caused varying readings in the text (reflecting differences between Glagolitic and Cyrillic numeral equivalents of one and the same letter). Similar mistakes took place when numeral values of other letters (such as Вѣди, Глаголь, Добро, etc.) were converted from Glagolitic to Cyrillic; see in this connection Ivanova [1976: 24-27]. As usefully pointed out by Andersen, 'similar confusion among numerals can be explained in term of Glagolitic originals' [*ibid.*: 125, fn 14b].

.тѣ. н ѿетврѣ^т].¹⁴⁷ This is how {the Sun} sets through the western gates [такѡ заходѣ^т западнѣмъ вратѣ]. When it goes out through the western gates [ѿгда нзѣде^т ѿ западнѣхъ вратѣ], 400 angels take its wreath [вѣзмѣ^т ѿетврѣста аггѣль вѣнецъ ѿго] and bring it to God [несѣ^т ѿго къ Гѡу], while the Sun turns back with its chariot [сѣнѣ ѡбрѣта^т съ колесницѣхъ ѿго] and spends 7 hours of the night without light [прѣходѣ^т безъ свѣта .ѣ. ѡа^с нѡщѣ лнхы^х].¹⁴⁸ In the 8th hour of the night [вѣ .н. ѡа^с нѡщѣ], 400 angels bring the wreath along [прѣносе^т аггѣль .ѣ.ста аггѣль вѣнецъ] and crown {the Sun} with it [н вѣнѣжѣ^т ѿго], while the elements, called Phoenix and Chalcedra, sing {psalms to the Sun} [вѣспое^т стѣхѣ рекѡмъ фѣнѣксѣ н халкедрѣ]. Because of this, all birds clap their wings [того радѣ всѣ птѣце вѣстреѣжѣ^т крылѣ свѡмѣ], rejoicing at the one who provides light [ра^ужѣе сѣ свѣтодавѡу] and sing with their voices [пожѣе гѣсы свѡмѣ], 'Here comes the Light-giver and gives light to its creation [прѣходѣ^т свѣтодавецъ н дажѣ^т свѣтъ тварѣ своѣхъ]!¹⁴⁹ And then they showed me the calculation of the Sun's itinerary [се расѡнтѣнѣе покажѣста мѣ хождѣнѣе сѣнѣунаго] and the gates through which the sun rises and sets [врата, нмѣ же вѣходѣ^т н нсходѣ^т]. These gates are vast, because God created {them} for the horologium of the year [сѣна бо врата велѣка сѣжѣ^т, нже сѣворѣ Бѣ ѡасѡверѣе лѣтовѣна]. This is why the Sun was created so large.

Then the two men showed me another calculation of the entire path of the moon, all its movements and phases, and 12 big gates eternally facing to the east. Through these gates the moon enters and exits at a regular intervals of time. Through the 1st gate [ѿ мѣ вратѣ], 31 days precisely according to the sun's position [днѣ .ѣа. на мѣста сѣнѣуна нзвѣстѣо], through the 2nd gate, 35 days precisely [вѣ дѣнѣ .ѣе.

¹⁴⁷ As noted by Andersen, this detail is found only in MSS of the longer recension [1984: 124-125, footnote d] and reflects later interpolations. It can be argued that it was inserted by scribe(s) in order to justify the span of the Julian year (i.e. 365¼ days) contradicting (in the same text) the earlier calendar tradition of the Jewish 364 year (see footnote 145 above).

¹⁴⁸ As the above text indicates, the Sun does not orbit but goes on and off like a lamp, which is also maintained in Babylonian cosmology.

¹⁴⁹ This is paralleled by the following fragment from the Slavonic *Apocalypse of Baruch* (=Baruch 3) [Ѹѣтѣнѣе стѣго Варѡха, ѣга послѣнѣ бѣ к ѣмоу аггѣль Пѣноунѣ ѡу стѣоу гороу Снѡнѣу на рѣцѣ, ѣгѣа плака се ѡ пѣнѣнѣнѣ Ѱроусѣмьсѣмь. Гѣнѣ блѡсвѣн] from the 13th-14th cent. *Dragolev Miscellany*:

Н сѣшѣахъ громъ велѣнкѣ зѣло съ нѣсе, н ѡупросѣхъ аггѣла ѡто се бѣ^с громъ снѣ, гѣнѣ моѣ? Н ре^с мѣ аггѣль: снѣ громъ, ѣже сѣшѣа, разѣоуѡѣетъ свѣтъ ѡтъмѣ, нзѣносѣтъ аггѣнѣ вѣнѣцъ сѣоунѣуанѣ до прѣстола вѣжѣна. Н вѣдѣхъ сѣоунѣце гредѡуѣе, н бѣше ѣко ѡлѣвѣкъ ѡупѣлъ н дрѣхѣлъ, вѣдѣхъ же н пѣтѣнѣю снѣу гредѡуѣю сѣ нмѣ, н бѣ же дрѣхѣла. Н вѣпросѣхъ азъ аггѣла: ѡто ѣстѣ пѣтѣца снѣн дрѣхѣла снѣце? Н реѡе мѣ аггѣль: дрѣхѣла ѣстѣ ѿ зѣноѣ н кара сѣоунѣунаго. Н сѣшѣахъ ю зѡвоуѣю: свѣтодавѡе, пошѣнѣ свѣтъ тѡнѣ мѣроу. Ѱгѣа же вѣзѣѡѣетъ: свѣтодавѡе, пошѣнѣ свѣтъ тѡнѣ мѣроу, н ѡвѣнѣ пѣтель вѣзгѣасѣтъ. Н пакѣ рѣхъ къ аггѣлоу: гѣнѣ, скажѣ мѣ, мѣногѣ лнѣ поѡнѣѡѣетъ сѣоунѣце? Н реѡе мѣ аггѣль толѣнѣко поѡнѣѡѣетъ, ѡнѣелѣнѣже пѣтель вѣзгѣасѣтъ н дѡнѣлѣже свѣтъ бѣѡѣѡѣетъ, н пакѣнѣ поѡдѣтъ. Н пакѣ реѡе мѣ аггѣль: сѣшѣнѣ, Варѡше, ѣѣе тѣ скажѣю ѡ прѣхождѣнѣнѣ сѣоунѣуѣнѣмь. Ѱгѣа бо мѣнѣходѣтъ дѣѣ н прѣходѣтъ сѣоунѣце ѿ аггѣль вѣзѣмоуѣ вѣнѣцъ сѣоунѣуанѣ н ѡузнѡсѣтъ до прѣстола вѣжѣна, ѡскѣрѣѡѣетъ бо се ѿ зѣмѣле н ѿ грѣхъ зѣмѣлѣнѣхъ: н ѣдѣгѣа бо прѣходѣтъ сѣоунѣце по нѣбѣсѣнѣ, нѣ трѣпѣтъ вѣдѣ бѣзѣкоѣнѣа всѣ по зѣмѣлѣ: ѡубѣства, прѣѣѡѡѡдѣѣѣнѣнѣа, н плаѡетъ се, ѡскѣрѣѡѣетъ бо вѣнѣцъ свѡнѣ, сѣго радѣнѣ ѡѡнѣѡѣѡѣетъ се ѡу прѣстола вѣжѣа. (Quoted after Ivanov [1925: 198]).

For folklore parallels, see Mochul'skii [1887: 53-56].

нзвѣстно], through the 3rd {gate}, 30 days precisely [т днн ѿ нзвѣстно],¹⁵⁰ through the 4th, 30 days precisely [д-мн днн ѿ нзвѣстно], through the 5th, 31 days exceptionally [ѣ днн .ѿа. нзпадно], through the 6th, 31 days precisely [ѣ-мн днн .ѿа. нзвѣстно], through the 7th, 30 days precisely [з-мн днн ѿ нзвѣстно], through the 8th, 31 days exceptionally [н-мн днн .ѿа. нзпадно], through the 9th, 31 days accurately [ѣ-мн днн .ѿа. нспитно],¹⁵¹ through the 10th, 30 days precisely [т-мн днн ѿ нзвѣстно], through the 11th, 31 days precisely [дѣ-мн днн .ѿа. нзвѣстно], through the 12th, 22 days precisely [вѣ-мн днн .ѿв. нзвѣстно].¹⁵² Thus having passed through all western gates, {the Moon} enters through the eastern gates and this is how the year ends.¹⁵³ The days of the Sun are 365¹/₄, [Слнцоу днн тѣе н ѹетврѣ Ѵдннноу днѣ] while the lunar year is 354¹⁵⁴ days [лоуномоу лѣтоу тѣд], consisting of 12 months [творѣ вѣ мѣсе] calculated {each} to have 29 days [расчнтаемо по кѣ днн]. There is an 11 day discrepancy from the solar year, which is an annual lunar *epact* [лншае^м дѣ днѣ слнѣннаго крѣга, еже сж^т на всѣко лѣто ѣпактн лднѣ]. This great cycle holds for 532 years [тѣ же велнкѣ крѣ^т дръжн лѣ^т ѣ сж^т лѣв].¹⁵⁵ By means of a quarter it passes by in 3 years [ѹетврѣтнмн ходн^т вѣ т лѣта],¹⁵⁶ and the fourth fulfils it precisely [д то нзвѣщенно наплѣнѣжтѣ].¹⁵⁷ For this reason {exclusions, that is 1/4 days} are being subtracted from {calculations concerning} heavenly {bodies}¹⁵⁸ for 3 years [нзатн сж^т кромѣ нѣсн вѣ т лѣта], until what is less is filled in {= 366 days}. What is taken {into account in figuring the epact} is 3 years and is not added to the number of days {i.e. 1/4 days are excluded}, which is why they alter the lengths of the years in 2 new moons for fulfilling, 2 others for diminishing {the length of the year}.¹⁵⁹ When this {cycle} is over, the western gates are passed through [ѣгда сконѹает са западнаа врата], {and the Moon} returns to

¹⁵⁰ Var. 31 (in *U*).

¹⁵¹ Var. 35 days (in *P*); see Sokolov [1899: 14, footnote 138].

¹⁵² The number of days given in *U* is also 22 [ѿв], but in *P* the days are 28 [ѿн]; see Sokolov [1899: 14, footnote 143].

¹⁵³ Further on the description of Moon's movements in various MSS, see Andersen [1983: 126-130, especially footnotes 16 b, 16d, 16e, 16f].

¹⁵⁴ Var. 364 days (in *U*).

¹⁵⁵ This 'Great cycle' (i.e. 'Dionysian cycle', or 'Great Paschal Period') of 532 years reflects the total years of the solar cycle (28 years) times the years of the lunar/Metonic cycle (19) 'after which all movable ecclesiastical festivals occur on the same day of the month and the same day of the week' [Andersen 1984: 125, footnote 14d]; see also the discussion in Forbes and Charles [1913: 438, footnote XVI.5], and Stern [2001: 9].

¹⁵⁶ That is, 365 days (omitting the quarter day).

¹⁵⁷ This means that the fourth year is going to consist of 366 days (+ 4 times 1/4 days).

¹⁵⁸ Lit. 'out of heaven'.

¹⁵⁹ This entire passage is complicated in both longer and shorter recensions, probably because scribes did not fully comprehend the Vorlage. The Moon's 'fulfilling' and 'diminishing' the year possibly refer to intercalations of the lunar calendar, which could potentially be made twice in the year, in months *Elul* and *Adar*, in Babylonian and early Jewish traditions.

the eastern gates with its light. This is how it moves day and night in a heavenly orbit [такѡ ходѣ^т днѣ и ноцѣ по кржзѣ^х нбнѣ^х]; {moving} below all other heavenly orbits it goes faster than the winds of heaven [ннже вѣсѣ^х кржго^х скорѣ вѣтрѣ нбнѣ^х]. When the spirits [дсн] are flying, each angel has 6 wings.¹⁶⁰ The lunar orbit has 7 divisions [ѣ разѹътенн нма^т лоуннн крж^г] and each cycle has 19 years [ѡбхожденіе нмѣ по .ѡ. лѣ^т].¹⁶¹ Amidst the heavens I saw armed hosts [вое вѡржженныѣ] serving God [слоужещѣ Гѡн] with drums¹⁶² and organs¹⁶³ [въ тѹмпанѣ^х и органѣ^х] with the unceasing sound [непрѣстанны^м гласѡ^м] of sweet singing [бл҃гы^м пѣніе^м]. Having heard it, I rejoiced at it.

Chapter Seven

And these men took me and raised me up on their wings [възведѡста мѧ крнлоу ѣж] to the Fifth Heaven [на ѣ-ж нѡ].¹⁶⁴ Here I saw countless warriors [многѹж вое пензѹътеніе] called *Gregori* [рекомѣн грнгоре] (=Watchers),¹⁶⁵ the appearance of which is like the appearance of humans [внѣннѣ н^х ѡко внѣннѣ ѹлѡѹе]. Their immensity {was} as enormous as the vastness of huge giants [велнѹъство нхѣ вѣще цѣждѡвъ велнкѹ^х]; their faces were morose [лнца н^х дрѡхлѧ] and their mouths are constantly silent [мѡлѹане оустѣ н^х вѣсѣгда]. There was no {divine} service [не бѣ слѹженіѧ на ѣ-мѣ нѣсн] in the Fifth Heaven,¹⁶⁶ and I asked the men accompanying me, 'Why are these {Gregori} so sad [ѹесо радн сн сж^т дрѡхлн сѣло], and their faces are morose [оуннлѧ лнца н^х] with their mouths silent [оуста н^х мѡлѹещѧ], and why no {divine} service is {performed} in this heaven?' The men answered me, 'Those are the Gregori {=Watchers}, and 200 myriads of them parted from God with their prince Satanail [нже ѡврѣгошжѣ ѡ Гѧ ѿ тѣмж сѣ кнѧзе^м свон^м

¹⁶⁰ See Forbes and Charles [1913: 439, footnote XVI. 7]

¹⁶¹ Reference to 'the Metonic cycle of 19 years during which 7 seven lunar months must be intercalated' [Andersen 1984: 125, footnote 14d]; see also Forbes and Charles [1913: 439, footnote XVI. 8].

¹⁶² The lexeme **тоумьпанѣ** comes from the Greek *τύμπανον*; apart from the 2 *Enoch*, it is also attested in the earliest Slavonic Psalter, the Glagolitic *Psalterium Sinaiticum* (dated to the 11th century); see Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 708].

¹⁶³ For the attestations of the forms **органы** / **ѡрганы** (var. **варганѣ** / **ѡрганѣ**) as a 'domesticated' Slavonic version of the Greek *ὄργανον*, see Sreznevskii [1893: 227; 1895: 704-705].

¹⁶⁴ The identification of the Fifth Heaven as the space where the Watchers are sentenced (and the Second as the imprisonment for those following them), may be caused by the concealed association between the second and fifth rings as the abode of Venus=Lucifer (i.e. 'the fallen one' from Isaiah 14: 12-15); see also footnotes 117, 210, 211, 214.

¹⁶⁵ The form Grigori comes from the Greek *Εγρηγοροι* (= Vigiles, the Watchers); see also the discussion in Forbes and Charles [1913: 439-440, footnote XVIII.3] and Andersen [1983: 130, footnote 18a].

¹⁶⁶ Suggesting that the celestial Universe is imagined as a temple in which heavenly Liturgy is served; in the place where the Watchers were sentenced, however, there was no Liturgy; see also in this connection the discussion in Himmelfarb [2010: 76-78].

УЕТРН УННН НБСН СЕ^М]. While I was standing with the {two} men, four trumpets sounded together loudly [ВЪСТРЖЫШЖ Д-РН ТРЖБН ВЪКОУПЪ ГЛСО^М ВЕЛНКО^М] and the Gregori began singing in one voice [ВЪСПЪШЖ ГРНГОРН ЁДННОГЛАСНО], and their voices ascended to God's face [ВЪЗЫДЕ ГЛА^Х Н^Х ПРЪ ЛНЦЕ^М ГНА^А].

Chapter Eight

And these men took me and raised me up to the Sixth Heaven [ВЪЗЕСТА МА ЁСЖДОУ МЖЖА ТА Н ВЪЗНЕСОСТА МЕ НА Ш-Е НБО]. Here I saw seven bands of the most bright and glorious angels [Ъ УЕТЪ АГЛА ПРЪСВЪТАН Н СЛАВНЫ ЗЪЛО], whose faces were shining more strongly than radiant rays of the Sun [ЛНЦА Н^Х СНАЕЦЪ ПА^У ЛОУУЪ СЛНУНЫХЪ ЛЫЦЕЦЕ СА]. Their faces were no different from the form and appearance of their garments [НЪ РАЗЛНУА ЛНЦОУ НЛН ОБДРЪЖАНІА НЛН СЪПРЛОЖЕНІА ОДЕЖДН Н^Х]. These bands {of angels} are in charge¹⁷³ of the movements of stars [ТЫ УННН ТВОРА^Т НЗЪОУУАЖ^Т ЗВЪЗДНОЕ ХОЖДЕНІЕ], the Sun's orbit [СЛНУНО ОБРАЩЕНІЕ], the Moon's phases [ЛОУНО ПРЪМЪНЕНІЕ]; they see earthly benevolence and malevolence [МНРСКОЕ БАГОТВОРАНІЕ Н ЗЛОУНННІЕ ВНАЦЕ]. They give¹⁷⁴ orders and instructions [СТРОА^Т ЗАПОВЪДН Н ПООУУЕНІЕ]; and singing with sweet voices [СЛА^В БОГЛАНОЕ ПЪНІЕ] {they give} every glorious praise [ВСЪКЖ ХВАЛЖ СЛАВНЖА]. These are the archangels [АРХАГЛАН] who are above the angels [НЖЕ НА^А АГЛАН] and above every other creature, whether celestial or terrestrial [ВСЪКО ЖНТІЕ СЪМНРАЖ^Т, НБНОЕ Н ЗЕМНОЕ]; and {these archangels are above} angels {who are in charge} of times and years, and {above} angels {who are in charge} of rivers and seas, and {above} angels {who are in charge} of every earthly fruit [АГЛАН НЖЕ НА^А ПЛОДЫ ЗЕМНЫМН], and {above angels who are in charge} of every grass and every food given to each living being [НА^А ВСЪКОЖ ТРЪВОЖ Н ВСЪКЖ ПНЦІЖ ДАЖЦЕ ВЪСАКОМУ ЖНВОТОУ], and {above} the angels {who are in charge} of all human souls [АГЛАН ВСЪ^Х ДШЪ УЛУЪСКЫ^Х]; {these archangels} write down the deeds {of all people} and their lives before God's face [ПНШЖ^Т ВСЪ ДЪЛА Н^Х Н ЖНТІЖ Н^Х ПРЪ^А ЛНЦЕ^М ГНН^М].¹⁷⁵ Among them are seven phoenixes [Ъ ФНННКЪ], seven cherubim [Ъ ХЕРОУВН^М], and seven six-winged {angels} [Ъ ШЕСТОКРНЛАТЬ]. All of them sing in one voice [ЁДННЪ ГЛА^Х СЖЦЕ Н ПОЖЦЕ ЁДННОГЛНО], and nobody can describe with

¹⁷³ Lit. 'create and study'.

¹⁷⁴ Lit. 'build'.

¹⁷⁵ This Enochic taxonomy of the seven highest ranks of angels/archangels resembles the classification of the supreme heavenly forces according to *The Book of Jubilees* [2: 2-3]; fashioned by God on the first day of Creation, they are also being divided into seven main categories: (1) 'the angels of the presence', (2) 'the angels of holiness', (3) 'the angels of the spirit of fire', (4) 'the angels of the spirit of the winds', (5) 'the angels of the spirit of the clouds and of darkness and of snow and of hail and of hoar-frost', (6) 'the angels of the depths and of thunders and lightning', (7) 'the angels of the cold winds and the hot winds and of winter and spring and autumn and summer' [Sparks 1984: 14]. Having delineated these seven main categories of angelic powers, the author of the Jubilees further clarifies that the latter were complemented by 'the spirits of His creatures in the heavens and on earth and in all the abysses, and the deep darkness and the light and the dawn and the morning and the evening, which he had already prepared and planned' [ibid.].

words their singing [нѣповѣстѣ пѣне н^х]. And God rejoiced by His footstool [ра^аужѣ сѧ Гѣ подножїи своѣмоу].¹⁷⁶

Chapter Nine

From there these men moved me up [възвѣнгоста ма ѿтѣдѣ мѣжа та] and raised me [възнесоста мѣ] to the Seventh Heaven [на 7-мое нѣбо].¹⁷⁷ Here I saw a rather great light [свѣ^т прѣвеле^н зѣло], and the entire fiery force of great archangels [вса ѿгнѣнѣе воа велнкѣ^х архангѣлѣ]; and {I saw} an incorporeal host [бесплѣтнѣ^х силѣ], and the origins of dominions and power [господствїи наѣалѣ н властѣ] of Cherubim [хероувѣ^м] and Seraphim [серафѣ^м], {and} the Thrones¹⁷⁸ [прѣстоли] and ten¹⁷⁹ regiments of many-eyed angels [многѡѡчѣнѣ ѿ плѣковѣ], a luminous

¹⁷⁶ An idiom based on a biblical metaphor 'footstool of my feet' [Isaiah 66:1]: God said, 'the heaven is My throne and earth My footstool'.

¹⁷⁷ The number of heavens in 2 *Enoch* is usually, but not always, seven. In only one case (i.e. the account presented by the version entitled 'О ЕНОСЕ УТО БЫЛ НА ПЯТОМ НЕБЕСИ И НАПИСАЛ 300 КНИГЪ' ['About Enoch who was on the 5th heaven and wrote 300 books'] briefly mentioned by Попов [1880: 106], Sokolov [1910: 1; part 1 in his Commentaries] with a reference to Pypin [1862a: 15]), and Iatsimirskii [1921: 81-82], the number of heavens is five (which parallels the number of heavens in *The Apocalypse of Baruch*). On the other hand, in two versions of the longer recension of the apocryphon (i.e. MSS *J* and *P*), the heavens are ten. The reason behind these conflicting readings is rather complicated; taken into consideration in this (certainly not only graphic) puzzle of fluctuating numbers of heavens should be various small but significant details reflecting the evolution of Slavonic writing systems. First, it should be noted that in the Glagolitic alphabet the number 7 was marked by the letter 'ЖВѢТЕ'; however, the connection between the letter 'ЖВѢТЕ' and the number 7 was disturbed in the process of transition from Glagolitic to Cyrillic, since in the Cyrillic alphabet the same letter (rendered as Ж) did not have any numeral value. In order to mark the number 7 (employing Cyrillic characters), the scribes used another letter, 'ЗЕМЛѦ' [З]. In the Glagolitic alphabet, however, the numeral value of this letter [i.e. ЗЕМЛѦ] was 9. The number 9, on the other hand, was rendered in Cyrillic alphabet by the letter Θ (*Theta*), which occurs at the end of the alphabet. As for the number 8, it was marked in Cyrillic by the letter И (*Iota*) which in Glagolitic had numeral value 20; however, its phonetic twin I (Iota), the 10th letter in both the Glagolitic and the Cyrillic alphabet, had the numeral value of 10; this is also true for the numeral value of this same letter (ι) in Greek alphabet. In the light of all these variations, it is hardly surprising to have different numbers of heavens in various manuscript traditions from different periods and, perhaps, from different scripts. One possibility is that the actual 7th letter in the Greek alphabet, η, which corresponds phonetically to Glagolitic and Cyrillic I (*Iota*), was once used to mark the number of heavens in the now lost Greek Vorlage; during the process of its translation into Slavonic, the scribe converted the actual 7th letter of the Greek alphabet, η, into either Glagolitic or Cyrillic using its phonetic twin I (Iota/ *Iota*); and since the latter has a numeral value of 10 in both Glagolitic and Cyrillic scripts, the number of heavens was also emended from 7 to 10. See also the discussion in Forbes and Charles [1913: 442, footnote XXI. 6].

¹⁷⁸ Var. 'altars'. However, the word прѣстоля (= θρόνος, κόλπος) can also denote one of the angelic ranks (= θρόνοι); see Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 551-552]. The latter is attested in a number of Glagolitic monuments, such as Glagolita Clocianus, *Codex Marianus*, *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, *Codex Assemanianus* (also known as *Evangelium Assemani*), as well as in some early Cyrillic texts (*Liber Sabbae*, *Codex Suprasliensis*) composed in the late 10th and early 11th centuries. It would be safe to suggest therefore that in this particular context the lexeme прѣстоля was most probably used to denote a specific angelic rank.

¹⁷⁹ In MS *P* they are nine [ѿ]; see Forbes and Charles [1913: 441, 20:1, and especially footnote XX.3].

station of Othanim {Ophanim} [свѣтлостіаніе ѿанн^мское].¹⁸⁰ I got scared [оубоах са] and started shaking from great fear [вѣстрепетахъ страхо^м велнко^м]. And the {two} men took me [пожста ма мжжа] and conducted me among their midst [ведоста ма въ срѣдѣ н^х], and told me, 'Have courage, Enoch, do not be afraid [дрѣзан, Еноше, не вон са]!' And they showed me God from a distance [показашѣ ми Га ѿдалече]; He was sitting on His highest Throne [сѣдаща на прѣстолѣ свое^м прѣвысоцѣ^м]. All the heavenly hosts stepped forth and stood in a line of ten ranks, according to their status [всѣх вон нѣснх вѣстѣпнвшіе стоахѣ на ѿ-тн^х степенѣ^х по ѹнноу]. And they bowed before God [поклонѣхѣ са Гѣн]; and with joy and merriment they again returned to their places [пакы вѣстѣпахѣ на мѣста своа въ радостн н въ веселн], in exceedingly bright light [въ свѣтѣ безмѣрнемѣ], singing with low and gentle voices [пожце пѣснх малнх н кроткымн гласн]. And the glorious ones were serving Him without departure through night and without leaving through day [славнх слоужещіа ѣмоу не ѿстѣпахѣ^т ноцѣ^х, нн ѿхода^т днѣ^х], while standing before God's face and fulfilling His will [стожше прѣ^а лице^м гѣн^м н твораще вола ѣго]. The Cherubim [хероувимн] and Seraphim [серафимн] surrounded the Throne [ѿкрѣтъ прѣстола ѿвстожцѣ], and the ones with six wings were covering His Throne [шестокрнцн покрываѣ^т прѣстоль ѣго], singing with a quiet voice before God's face [пожце тнхо^м гласо^м прѣ^а лице^м гѣн^м]. When I saw all this, the {two} men said to me, 'Enoch, we were ordered to accompany you until here [Еноше, до зде на^м с тобож ѣ повѣлено съвѣпѣтствовати].' The men went away and I never saw them {again}. I remained alone on the brink of Heaven [ѿста^х ѣднѣ на концѣ нѣсѣ]. I got scared [възбоах са] and I fell on my face [падо^х на лицн свое^м] and said to myself [рѣ^х въ себѣ], 'Woe is me, what has befallen me [оухъ мнѣ, ѹто ма ѿврѣте]?' God sent one of his glorious {archangels} [ѣднного ѿ славны^х свон^х], the archangel Gabriel [архагѣла Гаврѣла], who said to me, 'Have courage, Enoch, do not be afraid [дрѣзан, Еноше, не вон се]! Rise [вѣстанн] and come with me [пойди съ множ] and stand before the face of God forever [станн прѣ^а лице^м гѣн^м въ вѣкы]!' I answered him and said to myself, 'My God, my soul □ troubled from fear and trembling □ departed from me [ѿстѣпн дѣѣа моа нз мене ѿ стрѣа н трепета]. Please ask the men who brought me here to come to me [възови къ мнѣ мжжа, прнведша ма до мѣста сего] because I trust them [зане тѣма оупова^х]; with them {only} will I {have confidence to} go before God's face [зане тѣма оупова^х н съ тѣма нѣж прѣ^а лице гѣнѣ]!' And Gabriel swept me up just like the wind takes away a leaf [въсхѣити ма Гаврѣла, ѣко въсхѣцаѣт са лнсть вѣтро^м]. He took me and placed me before God's face [ѣмша ма н постави ма прѣ^а лице^м гѣн^м]. I looked into the face of God [внѣѣ^х Гѣ въ лице],¹⁸¹ His face was strong and most glorious [лицѣ ѣго силно н прѣславно], wondrous and most awesome [ѹдно н прѣоужасно], frightening and most fearsome [грознѣ н прнтрапно]. Who am I to tell about the incomprehensible Divine Being [кто ѣсмѣ азъ повѣдати неѿвѣтѣое сжцѣств гѣа]; and {about} His most wondrous ineffable face [лицѣ ѣго прѣднвно н ненсповѣднмо]; and {about} His sophisticated visage [лнкѣ многоѹченны ѣго];

¹⁸⁰ See *Enoch I* [61:10, 71:7] and Dan. [7:9], where wheels of the divine chariot or a class of angels are equated with Cherubim and Seraphim; see also Andersen [1984: 135, footnote 20b].

¹⁸¹ The following text is inserted in the margins at this point: 'внѣѣннѣ лицѣ ѣго ѣко желѣзо раждежено' (= 'the appearance of His face was like melting iron').

and {about} the polyphonic and supreme Throne of God made by no human hand [мно^ггла^нн и прѣвелнкы и нержкотворанн прѣстоль г^нъ]; and {about} the standing of the host of Seraphim and Cherubim surrounding Him [анкостоаніе ѿкржгъ ёго хероувн^м и серафїмскы евоа]; and {about} their constant singing [немлѣуна пѣніа н^х]; {and about} the unchangeable and indescribable image of His beauty [ѿбразъ красоти ёго непрѣмѣненъ и несповѣдн^м]. Who is to relate this greatness of His glory [велнко тоу славы ёго кто нсповѣсть]? I fell on my face [падѡ^х ницъ] and bowed before God [поклонн^х са г^нъ]; and God said to me with his mouth [г^нъ оустн своихн ре^в къ мнѣ], 'Have courage, Enoch, do not be afraid [дрѣзан, Еноше, не бон са]! Rise up [въстанн] and stand up before My face [станн прѣ^а лице^м мон^м] forever [въ вѣкы]!' And God's *archestrategos* Michael lifted me [въздвнже ма Мнханлъ архнстратнгъ г^нъ] and led me [прнве^а ма] to the face of God [прѣ^а лице г^на]. And God said to His servants [ре^в г^нъ слоуга^м своихн], while testing them [нскоушаж н^х],¹⁸² 'May Enoch rise and stand up before My face forever [да въстжпн^т Ено^х стоати прѣ^а лице^м монмъ въ вѣкы]'. And the glorious ones bowed before God [поклонншѧ славы г^нъ] and said [рѣшж], 'May {Enoch} step up according to Your voice [да оустжпн^т по г^лоу твоѣму]!' And God said to Michael [г^ла г^нъ Мнханлоу], 'Approach [прнстжпн] and remove Enoch's earthly garments'¹⁸³ [сѣвлѣцн Еноха съ земнн^х рнзъ]! Anoint him with My blessed oil [помажн ёго мастїж бл^гож моѣж] and dress him with garments of My glory [ѿблѣцн ёго въ рнзы славы моѣж]!'¹⁸⁴ Michael did what God told him [такѡ сътвори Мнханлъ, ѡко же ре^в ёмоу г^нъ]; he anointed me [помаза ма] and dressed me [ѿблѣче ма]. The appearance of the oil was greater than a great light [вндѣніе масла ѡного па^в свѣта велнкаа] and its lubricant was like blessed dew [масть ёго ѡко роса бл^га], and its fragrance was like myrrh [вона ёго ѡко смрпа] shining like the sun's rays [ѡко лоуѣ сл^нѣне лѣстаце са]. I looked at myself [сѣглада^х са са^м] and saw that I was like one of His glorious ones [б^ы^х ѡко ѣдннъ ѿ славы^х его] and there was no obvious difference [не б^ы разлнѣж оузорнаго].

¹⁸² Lit. 'tempting them'.

¹⁸³ The act of extracting Enoch from his terrestrial clothes and dressing him in celestial garments signifies in effect his metamorphosis from a mortal man into an angelic being. Encoded in this fragment is a discrete reference to the primordial 'garments of light' in which Adam and Eve were clothed in Eden, and of which they were stripped afterwards; in fact, it is an encrypted reversal of the Fall narrative. While the Original Sin caused the loss of the angelic status enjoyed by the first people and triggered their expulsion from Paradise, the new status of the protoplasts as mortals was signified by the replacement of the heavenly 'garments of light' with 'coats of skins' [Gn 3:21]; being mortal also meant that they were to wear on Earth 'clothes tailored by human hands.' The removal of Enoch's 'earthly garments' in God's presence indicates that at this point he is transformed into a type of being Adam used to be before the Fall, i.e. an angel clothed with 'garments of God's glory'. By being stripped of the 'clothes tailored by human hands' and dressed in 'clothes made by no human hands', Enoch thus becomes 'the New Adam' and regains the pristine glory of mankind before the Fall.

¹⁸⁴ See also Forbes and Charles [1913: 443, footnote XXII. 8].

Chapter Ten

And God summoned one of His archangels [вѣзва Гѣ ѣдннгого ѿ архангѣлъ свон^x], whose name was Vrevoil [Врѣвоила],¹⁸⁵ {and} who was swifter in wisdom than the other archangels¹⁸⁶ [нже н бѣшж скорѣ мждростж пауе ннѣ^x архангѣлъ]; he was {the one} writing down all God's acts [напнсоуе всѣ дѣла гнѣ]. The Lord said to

¹⁸⁵ As noted by Vaillant, this form is attested in the two Bulgarian versions of the longer recension of 2 *Enoch*, MSS **J** and **R** (=our **S**) [Vaillant 1952: 26, footnote 9]. However, different text-witnesses give various versions of the name of this archangel. As pointed out by Pennington, 'not only do the MSS vary considerably from one another in the spelling of this name in each of the five instances in which it occurs in this chapter [of MS **U**], but they also differ individually from instance to instance. Thus, in the first instance **B****B**a read 'Vreteil', **N** 'Vretil', and **P** 'Pravuil'; and **B** reads 'Vreteil' in the first instance, but 'Vreveil' in the others' [Pennington 1984: 338, footnote 1]; see also Forbes and Charles [1913: 443, footnote XXII.11] and Vaillant [1952: 26, footnotes 9, 14, 20, 35, 39]. Andersen also calls attention to this puzzling detail: '**P**'s reading *Pravuil* is deviant. The other numerous variations in spelling are not material. The name is otherwise unknown, and remains unexplained' [1983: 140, footnote 22 r]. The answer to this puzzle may be entrenched in indigenous Slavonic ethnohermeneutics; hints encoded in vernacular dialects and popular angelology (usually excluded from the scribal conventions of the 'learned') may provide the solution here. The role assigned to this archangel in the above narrative shows that his main function is *to speak* to Enoch, *to converse* with him and to instruct him *verbally* about the mysteries of the Universe. He is appointed by God *to tell* the scribe all about the celestial and terrestrial phenomena, and *to spell out* for him the enigma of the movements of elements; he also has to *articulate* for Enoch the unfathomable calculations of the trajectories of luminaries, and *to report* 'about the Sun, the Moon, and stars, and the change of their movements, and about seasons, and years, the days and hours and rising up of clouds, the appearance of winds, the number of angels, songs of armed hosts, of every human thing, and songs in various languages, and human life, and orders and instructions and sweet-voiced singing, and everything which is edifying', etc. The entire chapter is in fact an angelic discourse about God's incomprehensible creation of Heaven and Earth, a discourse lasting for 30 days and 30 nights *without Vrevoil's mouth ever stopping*. He is '*the Talker*', '*the Recounter*', '*the Storyteller of Creation*,' '*the Speaker on behalf of God*', and thus, the verbal image of Divine agency. The name given to him, *Vrevoil* [Врѣвоила/Врѣвоила], is in fact a theonym which is derived from the Indo-European morpheme **werw-* (etymologically related to Proto-Indo-European stem **uer-*), with cognate forms in Hittite (*uer-iie/a*), Greek (*εἶπω* < **uer-io*), Lat. (*verbum*), Gothic (*waúrd*), all of which denoting 'to speak' (and/or 'speech', but also 'word'), 'to talk', 'to call', 'to invoke', 'to summon', 'to name'; see Gamkrelidze and Ivanov [1984: 216, 231] and Kloekhorst [2008: 1002-1003]. The picture gets even more interesting when we take into consideration Slavonic ethnolinguistic data. The Indo-European morpheme **werw-* has cognates not only in Old Church Slavonic, but also in some Bulgarian dialects, e.g. the verb *врея* [врѣвѣти / врѣвѣж / врѣвѣ] (meaning 'to talk', 'to speak', 'to converse', 'to answer', 'to respond'), the noun *врея* / *вреевѣж* [врѣва/врѣвѣжъ] ('talk', 'conversation', 'discourse'), etc.; see the discussion in Gerov [1895:166] and Georgiev *et al.* [1971: 183-4]. The linguistic evidence suggests that the name of the archangel who conversed with Enoch on the highest (seventh/tenth) heaven, i.e. *Врѣвоила/Врѣвоила/Вреевѣла/Врѣтила* was a derivative form of the verb *врѣвѣти/врѣвѣж* (*врея*). The fact that this form is attested in Bulgarian dialects suggests that the territory where these dialects were (and still are) spoken is most probably the homeland of the earliest Slavonic translation of 2 *Enoch*. This solves the enigma of the name Vrevoil [Врѣвоила/Врѣвоила] (and its variation Vreveil/ Vereveil/Vreteil/Vretil). As for the name 'Pravuil' (which was attested in the Poltava MS), it was most probably a corrupt version of the 'original' theonym *Врѣвоила/Врѣвоила* caused by scribal error (rendering B as П, etc.). Subsequently this form underwent a process of secondary (that is folk) etymologisation, thus acquiring new undertones. In this way the angel 'who spoke rightly' (i.e. право) became an epitome of 'rightful/truthful/faithful/devoted word'; hence his name, i.e. 'Pravuil'.

¹⁸⁶ Var. 'whose intellect was quicker than the other archangels'.

Vrevoil [Гѣа Гѣ Врѣвонлоу], 'Bring out the books from my treasury'¹⁸⁷ [нѣнеси кнѣгы ѿ хранилищѣ моѣх]! Take a reed(-stylus) [вѣзмѣ трѣсть]¹⁸⁸ and give it to Enoch [даждѣ Еноховѣ] and recount¹⁸⁹ for him {the content of} the books [скажи ѿмоу кнѣгы]! Vrevoil hastened [оускори Врѣвонль] and brought exquisite books [прѣнеса къ мнѣ кнѣгы нѣзѣщенѣ]¹⁹⁰ {fragrant/anointed with} myrrh [нѣзмурна^М]

¹⁸⁷ Var. 'storehouses'.

¹⁸⁸ Translated by Pennington and Andersen as 'pen' (= *κάλαμος*); although this interpretation is, in general, correct, it oversimplifies the semantic coverage of the lexeme *трѣсть*, and especially its metaphorical use in scribal traditions of *Slavia Orthodoxa*. The survey of sources in Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 705] suggests that its earliest attestations are found in a number of Glagolitic monuments (*Codex Marianus*, *Codex Zographensis*, *Codex Assemanianus*), and in some Cyrillic texts (*Liber Sabbae*, *Codex Suprasliensis*) compiled in Bulgaria in the 10th-11th centuries; in all these texts it denotes an 'instrument for writing' [= *instrumenti scriptorii genus*]. However, in some other sources (mostly indigenous apocryphal apocalypses of messianic content) it was employed to denote 'prophet's staff', or 'prophet's sceptre'. One such example comes from the anonymous Bulgarian apocryphal chronicle entitled *Сказаніе Нсаіе пророка како възнесень бысть аггелом до 7-го небесы* (composed most probably in second half of the 11th century). According to this text, when the Prophet Isaiah was taken by an angel to the seventh heaven, he was given there specific regalia of priesthood = prophethood (denoted as *трѣсть*) so that he could lead the exodus of 'the chosen people' from 'the Old Rome' to the promised land of New Jerusalem:

Тогда же азъ, братіе, божіемъ повеленіемъ, прїидохъ на лѣвон странѣ Рима и одѣлахъ третію чсъ отъ коуманн, и поведохъ нхъ поутемъ, трѣстію показоуе [...] (Quoted after Ivanov [1925: 281]).

In iconographic tradition of *Slavia Orthodoxa* the Prophets / Priests are likewise depicted with a staff (or scepter) symbolising their special status; the same iconographic convention is followed by the unknown iconpainter of the altarpiece from the region of Lom (North-Western Bulgaria) on which Enoch is depicted in exactly the same manner: as a priest/prophet holding a scepter in his hand (see Figs 3 and 4).

¹⁸⁹ Lit. 'tell' / 'narrate' / 'relate' / 'report' / 'give a verbal account' (significantly, MS *U* reads here *поглаголи емѣ кнѣгы*). For writing as a product of orality in biblical tradition, see van der Toorn [2007: 14-15].

¹⁹⁰ Pennington suggests 'bright' for *U* and 'decorated' for *R* (=our S) [1984: 338, footnote 2]. Vaillant, on the other hand, while commenting on the famous expression *нѣзошрени змоуреннемъ* in *U* with reference to its parallel renditions in various witnesses (e.g. in *B* as *нѣзошрени нѣзмурнемъ*, in *N* as *нѣзоштрени нѣзмурніемъ*, in *B*² as *нѣзепириени нѣзмурнемъ*, and finally in *R* as *нѣзѣщенѣ нѣзмурна^М*) simply suggests the following: 'Le participe *нѣзошрени* ne donne pas de sens, et *нѣзѣщенѣ(ы)* *P* n'en doit être que le remanent. Si *B*² conserve la leçon primitive, ce qui n'est pas sûr, on lira: *нѣспштрени смурнемъ*.' [1952: 26, footnote 22].

A closer linguistic consideration of the above expression (i.e. *кнѣгы нѣзѣщенѣ нѣзмурна^М*) brings interesting results. In fact, the adjectival (past passive participle) form *нѣзѣщенѣ* (sing. *нѣзѣщенѣ*) is etymologically related to the Proto-Slavonic **jъz-ęlj-ьnъ* / *нѣz-aj-ьnъ* ('chosen' / 'selected' / 'outstanding' / 'extraordinary' / 'exclusive' / 'special'); see Vasmer [1986: 124] and Georgiev *et al.* [1979: 61]. Its earlier attestations (i.e. *нѣзѣщннѣскѣ*) are found in some Old Church Slavonic (Cyrillic) monuments of South-Slavonic (Bulgarian) linguistic provenance, e.g. *Codex Suprasliensis*; see Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 258]. Related (verbal and the adjectival/participial) forms, such as *нѣзѣществовати* / *прѣнѣзѣществовати* and *нѣзѣщенѣ* / *прѣнѣзѣщенѣ* also appear in the Bulgarian translation of *The Chronicles of Constantine Manasses* (compiled in the 14th century upon the request of Ivan Alexander), and in other contemporary Russian sources; see in this connection the brief lexicographic survey of MSS with attestations of *нѣзѣщннѣ* / *нѣзѣщннѣ* (as translations of *ἀριστος, τάξις ἀρίστη, ἐξαιρετον*) and *нѣзѣщннѣство* (meaning 'praestantia') in Sreznevskii [1893: 1086]. In the light of the above it can be argued that the expressions *нѣзошрени*

and gave me from his hand a quick-writing reed(-stylus)¹⁹¹ [дѣмн трѣсть скорописанѣа нз ржкы своѣж]. And he told me [бѣ глѣа мн] {about} all celestial¹⁹² and terrestrial and marine activities [вѣсѣ дѣла нѣсѣ н земае н морѣ], and the movements of all elements [н вѣсѣ^x стухын прѣхожденіе н^x], and {about} the trajectories of their fluctuations [шествіа нзмѣненіа н^x], {and about} the *Zodiac-signs* [жнвотгрѣмѣніе н^x],¹⁹³ and {he also instructed me about} the Sun [слѣце], the Moon [лоунж], and the stars [звѣзды], and the change of their movements [шествіа нзмѣненіа н^x], seasons [врѣмана], and years [лѣта], the days [дѣни] and hours [часн] and rising up of clouds [вѣсходн ѡблакъ], the departure¹⁹⁴ of winds [нсходн

нзмурнемъ (in *B*), **нзѡштрєнны нзмурнїемъ** (in *N*), **нзпєцїрены нзмїрнїемъ** (in *B*²), etc. were actually corrupt or amended variations of a composed stock-epithet applied to 'scriptures'; those were poetically described as 'exquisite books that were fragrant/ anointed with myrrh'. The expression **кнїгы нзѡцєннѣ нзмурнѣ**^m from MS *R* (=our *S*) is but one of its 'incorrupt' attestations.

¹⁹¹ Andersen mentions a knife (?) here [1984:140].

¹⁹² Var. 'taking place in the sky', taking place in heavens.'

¹⁹³ The alternative wording in MS *P* (**громовъ грѣмѣнїа**) is translated by Morfill and Charles [1896: 29] as 'the noise of the thunder'; in the next edition of the same recension (by Forbes and Charles), the phrase is rendered as 'the thunderings of the thunder' [1913: 443]. Andersen, on the other hand, interprets this expression (on the basis of MS *J*) as 'the living thunder' [1984: 140].

The form **жнвотгрѣмѣнїе** appears to be an artificial term coined to denote 'Zodiac (signs)' [*ζωδιακός*]. It is a composite noun, the first part of which (**жнвот-**) is a translation of the Gk. *ζων* ('living being', 'creature', 'animal', or 'animal figure'), while the second part (**-грѣмѣнїе**) is a corrupt transliteration of the Gk. *γράφια* (=scriptura) denoting 'character', 'letter'. Cf. also the related Gk. verb *ζωγραφειν*, meaning 'to paint (animal figures, living creatures, etc.)'. One of the earliest attestations of the noun **жнвотъ** with relation to the 12 Zodiac signs is found in *Symeon's Florilegium* (also known as *Sviatoslav's Miscellany*, after the earliest extant witness from 1073); the description of the 'Twelve Animals' (i.e. 12 Zodiac signs) is part of **Іѡа(на) Дамаскннѣ о македоньскыныхъ мѣсцнхъ отъ црѣвьнааго прѣданнїа** (Fol. 250 r -251r), the opening paragraph of which reads as follows:

Глѣбѣ бо нѣнне с жшѣа дѣва на десѣте жнвоты • звѣздамн на небєсн протнвноє пошѣстнїє нмоушѣа • слѣнѣж же н лоунѣ • н нѣмѣ патн планнѣтѣмъ • н • іѣ • жнвоты прѣходаѣа • сѣдмн тон • сѣдмн же планнѣтѣ сжѣтѣ нмєна сє • слѣнѣце ло(у)на • зєус • єрмнсь • арн(с) • афроднт(н) • (к)ронос • планнѣтѣ же нарнѣжѣтѣ ю • нмѣже странѣ небєсє пошѣ^{стѣн}їє нмоутѣ • єсть же по коємѣждѣо поѣсж єдннѣ отъ ѣ планнѣтѣ. [. . .] ; see Dinekov *et al.* [1991: 694]

Further on the relationship between the text of **Іѡа(на) Дамаскннѣ о македоньскыныхъ мѣсцнхъ отъ црѣвьнааго прѣданнїа** from *Symeon's Florilegium* and 2 *Enoch*, see the discussion below (footnotes 210, 211, 214). In fact, Sokolov also briefly mentions the use of the noun *жнвотъ* within the context of the 12 Zodiac signs in 2 *Enoch* [1910: 22, footnote k; 24 footnote x] and discusses the hypothetical semantic coverage of the glossary *жнвотгрѣмѣнїе* suggesting a probable link with Brontoscopy (thunder-divination) [ibid. 25]. This is a possible (but rather tentative) interpretation which is difficult to prove; see also the discussion in Vaillant [1952: 96-97, and especially footnote 1] and Petkanova [2001: 162-167]. On the duodentary animal cycle in medieval Slavonic tradition (with special emphasis on Russian texts), see Ryan [1971:12-20]. On astronomical knowledge in *Symeon's Florilegium*, see Dobrev [1979: 101], Ivanova [1991: 28-29, footnotes 41, 42, 43, 44, 45].

¹⁹⁴ Lit. 'exits'.

вѣтрѣхъ], the number of angels [аггласка ѡнсла], songs of armed hosts [пѣснь вѣсржженъ вон], {and about} every human thing [всѣкъ вещь ѡлѣжа], and songs in various languages [всѣкъ ѡзыкъ пѣснь], and {he told me about} human life [жнѣ ѡлѣ], and orders [заповѣдъ] and instructions [поученїа] and sweet-voiced singing [сладкогласъ пѣнїе], and everything which is edifying [всѣ, ѣлко по^аба^т поучати са]. Vrevoil was telling¹⁹⁵ me all this for 30 days and 30 nights without his mouth stopping speaking [исповѣда ми вѣвонлъ днѣ ѡ н поцн ѡ, н не прѣмлъкоша оуста ѣго гласа], whereas I was writing down all the signs of creation without ceasing [аз же не по^хн пише всѣ знаменїа вса ж тварн]. When I completed the 30 days and 30 nights [ѡко сконча^х днѣ ѡ н поцн ѡ], Vrevoil said to me [гласъ къ мнѣ вѣвонлъ], 'This is everything which I had to tell you, which you have written down [се ѣлко ти сповѣдо^х н ѣлко напнса]. Now sit and write down [сѣдн напн^ш] all the souls of the people [вса дшѣ ѡлѣ] who are yet to be born [ѣлко н^х не рождно] and also the places which are predestined for them forever [н мѣста н^х оуготована до вѣка], since every soul is predestined even before the creation of the Earth [вса б о дшѣ оуготована сж^т прѣжде вѣсржженїа земнаго].'¹⁹⁶ I sat for another 30 days and 30 nights [сѣдѣ^х соутоуѣ ѡ днѣ н ѡ поцн] and noted everything [спнса^х вса нзвѣстно], and I wrote 366 books [н пнса^х тѣс кннѣ].¹⁹⁷

Chapter Eleven

God called upon me and said [възва ма Гѣ н ре^ѣ ми], 'Enoch, sit at my left side with Gabriel [ѣноше, сѣдн ѡшоужа мене съ Гаврїило^м]'! And I bowed before God [поклонѣ^х са Гѣ]. And God said to me [гласъ къ мнѣ Гѣ], 'Enoch, whatever you see [ѣноше, ѣлко виднш], whether stationary or moving [ѣлка сж^т стожа н ходаща], is all created by Me [сѣврѣшена множ]. I will disclose to you {everything} [аз же възвѣщаа тебе] from the very beginning, how I created *ex nihilo* the visible from the invisible [прѣжде даже вса испрѣво ѣлко^ж сѣтворнѣ^х ѡ небытїа н ѡ невннмѣ^х виднмо]. Because I have not disclosed {yet} My secrets even to My angels [н агглас^м бо мон^м не възвѣстнѣ^х тннн мое], neither did I tell them how they came to be [н повѣда^х н^м вѣстанїа н^х], nor {about} My infinity and ineffability and rational creation, about which I tell you today [н мое бесконечнїе н неразоумнїе размыслиш ж тварн , н же тебѣ възвѣщаа днѣ^ѣ]. However, once all visible things did not exist [прѣж^ѣ бо даже не быш ж вн^амаа всѣ]. I was the only one moving within the invisible like the Sun [аз ѣдн^н прохождахъ въ невн^амѣ^х, ѡко сннцѣ], from East to West and from West to East [ѡ вѣстокъ на запа^а, н ѡ запады н на вѣстокъ]. Yet while the Sun has peace I

¹⁹⁵ Lit. 'said'.

¹⁹⁶ See the discussion in Forbes and Charles [1913: 444, footnote XXIII. 5]. For the archival function of ancient writing, see van der Toorn [2007: 15f.].

¹⁹⁷ The number of the books given (= 366) is a specific feature of the longer recension; in the shorter recension the number of books varies (e.g. 360, 300 etc.) [Andersen 1984: 140-141, especially footnote 23 h]. Most probably the fluctuating number of books in the shorter recension is due to scribal errors. The number of books in the longer recension (i.e. 366) is probably an allusion to the solar calendar.

did not find peace [нѣ н сѣнце нма^т покон себѣ, аз же не ѡврѣто^х покон], since I created everything [занае в'са бе створа]. And I thought of making a beginning¹⁹⁸ [оумнслы^х же поставити ѡснованіе]; I created visible beings [сътворити тварь видимѣ]. At first I ordered one of the invisible to descend and {become} visible [повелѣ^х въ неспрѣх^х да съннеде^т ѣдно ѿ невидимх^х видимо]; and the massive Adoil¹⁹⁹ descended [съннеде Адон^а прѣвелн^к зѣло]; and I looked at him [смотрн^х ѣго]; in his abdomen²⁰⁰ there was great luminosity yielded [н се въ урѣвѣ тѣ нмн свѣта велнкаго]. I told him [реко^х къ нему], 'Deliver yourself [раз^арѣши са], Adoil [Адонле],²⁰¹ and may the visible be born from you [бѣдн виднмо раждаемо нс тебе]!²⁰² He delivered himself [раздрѣши са]; and an overwhelmingly great Light came out [нзыде свѣ^т прѣвелн^к], and I {was} in the midst of this Light [н азъ же срѣдѣ свѣта].²⁰³ As the Light was looming [како носациоу са свѣтоу], a great epoch came out from it, making manifest all creatures which I was thinking of creating [е ѿ свѣта възыде вѣкѣ велнкы ѡблѣе в'са тварь, жже азъ помыслих^х сътворити]. I saw that it was good [видѣ^х ѡко бѣго]; and I placed my Throne there [постави^х себѣ прѣсто^а], and sat on it [сѣдо^х на не^м]; and told the Light [свѣтовн же глѣ^х], 'Ascend above the Throne and stand fast [възиди тѣ више прѣсто^а н оутврѣди са]! Be the foundation of the upper {world} [бѣдѣ ѡснованіе вышнн^м]!' Above the Light was nothing else [нѣ^с прѣвыша свѣта нного ннѣ^ссоже]. Then again I bent over [пакы вѣсклонн са], looked down from my Throne [възрѣ^х ѿ прѣстола моѣго] and for the second time raised my voice in the Abyss below and said [възва^х вторнѣа въ прѣнспо^аны^х н рѣ^х], 'May from the invisible firmament appear the invisible²⁰⁴ [да изыде^т ѿ невидимх^х тврѣди невидимо]!' Arkhas came out [нзыде Архасъ], who was hard and heavy and very red [тврѣ^х н та^жкъ н ѣрѣме^н зѣло],²⁰⁵ and I said [рѣ^х], 'Release yourself [разврѣзи са],²⁰⁶ Arkhas, and may the visible be born from you [бѣдн виднмо раждаемо нс тебе]!' He released himself [разрѣши са] and a very big dark epoch came out {of him} [нзыде вѣкѣ тѣмень прѣвелн^к зѣло]; it was carrying the creatures of all the lower worlds [носа тварь долны^х вѣсѣ^х]. I saw that it was good [видѣ^х ѡко добро]; and I said to him [рѣ^х къ немѣ], 'Go down and stand fast [сънниди ти долоу н оутврѣди са]!' And {thus he} became the foundation of the lower {world} [бѣ^с ѡснованіе

¹⁹⁸ Lit. 'foundation' / 'basis'.

¹⁹⁹ See Forbes and Charles [1913: 445, footnote XXV. 1], where the form Adoil is interpreted as 'the hand of God'.

²⁰⁰ Lit. 'womb'.

²⁰¹ The name is in the vocative.

²⁰² Here and further below, the terms 'deliver' and 'release' allude to childbirth terminology.

²⁰³ On the homonymy between lexemes denoting Universe and Light see the discussion above (footnote 95).

²⁰⁴ Perhaps a scribal error? It should read: 'May from the invisible firmament appear the visible!'

²⁰⁵ In Old Church Slavonic the adjective **ѣрѣме**^н is used for the Red Sea.

²⁰⁶ Another term for childbirth; lit. 'untie/unfasten/unknot/unravel/disentangle yourself'.

ннжнн^x]. And there was nothing below this darkness [нѣ̃подѣ тѣмож нного ннѣсоже]. Then I ordered {elements} to be taken from the lightness and darkness [повелѣ^x да възмѣт са ѿ свѣта н ѿ тѣмн] and I said [н рѣ^x], 'Be fecund and be wrapped in Light [бѣдн тлѣсто н ѡвнто свѣто^m]!' I spread this out [то прострѣ^x] and it became water [н бѣ̃вода]. I stretched it over the darkness [прострѣ^x врѣхоу тѣмн], under the Light [ннже свѣта] and thus I fastened the waters [ако воды оутврѣдн^x], that is to say, the Abyss [снрѣ̃^v без[^]нж]; and with Light I encircled the ring of the water [основа^x свѣто^m окрѣгоу воды] and inside I made seven circles [сѣтворн^x ̃з крѣ̃^r вѣноутрѣждоу]. I featured them like crystal²⁰⁷ [въобразн^x ѡко хроусталь], damp and dry [мокро н соухо], that is to say [снрѣ̃^v], glass and ice [стѣкло н ледѣ], surrounded by waters and the other elements [ѡвхожденїа вода^m нннмѣ стнхїа^m]. And I showed each of them their path [оуказа^x комоуждо свон пж^t], with seven stars [̃з-мн^m звѣздамѣ], each of them being in its own heaven [каждо нхѣ на свон^m нѣсн], so that they move in this way [тако да градѣ^t]. I saw that it was good [вндѣ^x ѡко добро]; and I divided the Light from the Darkness [разлѣжн^x междоу свѣто^m н тѣмож], which was in the midst of the waters from here and there [снрѣ̃^v просрѣ̃^v воды сѣдоу н сѣдоу]. And I said to the Light [реко^x свѣтовн], 'May you become day [бѣдн тн днѣ]!' And I ordered the darkness to be night [повелѣ^x тѣмѣ да бѣде^t ноцѣ]; and it became evening and morning, the first day [н бѣ̃ вѣчерѣ н пакы бѣ̃ оутро, то ѣ̃ а днѣ].

In this way I consolidated the heavenly rings [такѡ оутврѣдн^x нѣснѣ крѣгы] and said [реко^x], 'May the lower water, which is under the skies, gather together [да сѣбера^t вода долнѣа, нже ѣ̃ по[^] нѣсе^m въ сѣбранїе ѣдннѡ] and may its waves dry up!' And so it was. From the waves I created stones, hard and great [тврѣдо н велнко], and from the stones I created dryness [ѿ камен н сѣгрѣзн^x соухо], and I called the dry land 'Earth' [нареко^x соушѣ земла]. In the middle of the Earth I set a chasm [посрѣдѣ̃ земла нареко^x оупадо^k], that is to say, an Abyss [снрѣ̃^v без[^]нж]. I brought the sea together in one place and bound it in a yoke [море сѣбра^x на ѣдннѡ мѣсто н сваза^x йго^m]. I told the sea [рѣ^x моревн], 'I give you this internal boundary so that you never extend beyond your waters [се даж тн прѣ̃[^]ль вѣунѣ, н не прѣ̃трѣгнеши са ѿ свон^x во[^]]!' This is how I set up the earth and laid the foundations of the firmament above the waters [таковѡж тврѣ̃ вѣдрѣжн^x н ѡснова^x врѣхоу во[^]]. This day I called for Myself the 'first created' [сн днѣ̃ прѣвзданнн себѣ нареко^x]. And evening came and again morning, and it was the second day [тогда бѣ̃ вѣ^vрѣ н пакы оутро, н бѣ̃ днѣ̃ в.].

In all of these heavenly things I created a fiery nature [къ всѣ̃^m же свон^m нѣнѣ^m ѡбразова^x ѡгнѣно еѣтво]. My eye looked at the firmament and very hard stones [възрѣ̃ око мое на тврѣдн н много жестокы каменѣ]; and from a spark from My eye, lightning acquired aquatic properties [ѿ ѡблнстанїа ока моѣго н вѣспрнж^t н млѣнн етѣво водноѡ]. Fire in water and water in fire [ѡгнѣ въ водѣ н вода въ ѡгнн]; neither did the water extinguish the fire [нн сын ѡного оугашаа^t] nor did the fire dessicate the water [нн ѡно сего ̃соуашаа^t]. This is why lightning is sharper and brighter than sunlight [то̃ родн млѣнїа слѣ̃унаго ѡзаренїе ѡстрѣншїе н свѣтлѣншїа ѣ̃] and soft water is harder than tough stone [мекка вода тврѣжда камене жестокаго ѣ̃]. I struck a great spark from the stone [н ѿ камене^ж оусѣко^x ѡгнѣ велнкы] and I created from the fire the ranks of the incorporeal host of the ten angels [ѿ ѡгнѣ сѣтворн^x ҃ннн бесплѣтнн^x кон̃̃ тѣ̃^m агѣль], and their

²⁰⁷ Lit. 'envisages them like crystal.'

fiery armaments and their garments, which were like burning flames [н ѡржжѣа н^x ѡгньна н ѡдежде н^x пламн плеѣць]. I ordered each of them to stand according to their rank [повелѣ^x да стож кѣждо въ свое^m ѹнноу]; {but} one of the ranks of archangels seceded {from Me}, together with his subordinates [ѣднн же ѿ ѹнна архагѣкаго ѡвраща са съ ѹнно^m сжѣи^m под нн^m], seized by the futile idea [въспрѣж^t мнслѣ немоѣижа] to place his throne above the clouds above Earth [да поставн^t прѣсто^{ль} свонъ выше ѡбла^k на^a землѣа] and to become equal to My power [да вжде^t тжѹеⁿ моѣн слѣѣ].²⁰⁸ I cast him down from the height together with his angels [ѡврѣго^x ѣго съ высоти съ агѣан ѣго];²⁰⁹ and they began to fly in the air above the Abyss [бѣ лѣтаа по въздоухоу вннж врѣхоу безднн]. This is how I fixed all the heavens [сѣтворн^x тако всѣ нѣса] and it was the third day [бѣ днѣ третѣн].

And on the third day I ordered the Earth to become overgrown with large trees and forests [въ третн днѣ повелѣ^x землн възрастнѣти дрѣва велнка н горы], and all kinds of sweet grasses [всѣкж трѣвж сладкжа], in each a seed which could be sown [всѣко сѣма сѣжмо]. I planted Paradise [посадн^x ран] and enclosed it [затворн^x] and put up guards — fiery angels [положн^x ѡржжннкы пламенны агѣан]. This is how I conceived the vitalisation of Earth [такѡ сѣтворн^x землн ѡбновленѣ]. Then evening came and morning came — the fourth day [тогда бѣ ве^rрь н бѣ^o оутро, днѣ ѣ].

On the fourth day, I ordered large luminaries to appear on the heavenly rings [въ ѹтврѣтн днѣ повелѣ^x да боу^aтъ свѣтнла велнка на кржзѣ^x нѣсны^x]. On the first and highest ring I placed the star Kronos {i.e. Saturn} [на прѣво^m н вншнѣ^m].

²⁰⁸ Cf. Isaiah 14: 12-15; Ezekiel 28: 12-19; Revelation 12: 7-9. For Slavonic folklore parallels to this motif, see Hnatiuk [1911: 15-17; 1985: 62-64, texts 47-48].

²⁰⁹ A similar concept is expressed in *The Secret Book of the Bogomils (Liber Sancti Johannis)*. According to the 14th century *Codex Carcassoniensis*, when Satanail aspired to put his throne above the throne of God, he was expelled from Heaven and thrown down to earth:

Et dixi: Domine, antequam Sathanas caderet, in qua gloria persistebat apud Patrem tuum? Et dixit mihi: in tali gloria erat, quod ordinabat virtutes coelorum; ego autem sedebam apud Patrem meum. Ipse erat ordinans omnem imitatoreм Patris, et descendebat de coelo in infimum et ascendebat ab infimis usque ad thronum invisibilis Patris. Et observabat gloriam, quae erat moventis coelos, et cogitavit sedem suam ponere super nubes coelorum et volebat Altissimo similis esse. (Quoted from Ivanov [1925: 73-4].

And I said: 'Lord, before Satan fell, in what state of glory was he with Thy Father?' And He said to me: 'He was in such glory that he was directing the heavenly forces. I, however, was sitting next to my Father. That one [i.e. Satan] was managing things completely in imitation of the Father, and he was descending from Heaven to the depths, and ascending from the depths to the throne of the invisible Father. And he was observing the glory which pertained to the Mover of Heavens, and he got the idea of placing his throne above the clouds of heaven, and he wanted to be like the Most High.' [Butler 1996:191.

This intertextual link between *2 Enoch* and *The Secret Book of the Bogomils* will be discussed elsewhere. On dualistic tendencies of Satan legend in *2 Enoch* (with a reference to *Liber Sancti Johannis*), see Sokolov [1910: 148-151], Ivanov [1925: 188-191], Andersen [1984: 154-155, footnote 32d]. On the relationship between Enochic writings and Manichaean corpus, see Nickelsburg (with reference to Jerome) [2001: 94, 99-100] and Stroumsa [1984: 152-167].

кржѣ постави^x зѣѣдѣ Кроносъ].²¹⁰ On the second {ring}, below it, I placed Aphrodite {i.e. Venus} [на ѿ-емъ ниже поставихъ Афродитъ].²¹¹ On the third,

²¹⁰ The account about the seven luminaries, as rendered in this recension of 2 *Enoch*, is similar but not identical to the contemporary astronomical fragment found in *Symeon's Florilegium* [Dinekov *et al.* 1991: 694]; see also the discussion above, footnote 193. The description of 'the Seven Planets' in the latter is part of the section entitled *Иова(на) Дамаскина о македоньскыхъ мѣсахъ отъ црѣвѣнаго прѣданна* (Fol. 250 r), which, in turn, has roots in the famous *Fountain of Knowledge* (or *Fountain of Wisdom*) by John the Damascene (676–749). Thus in Book 2, Chapter 7 (*Concerning light, fire, the luminaries, sun, moon and stars*) of his *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, John the Damascene writes:

There are, we are told, seven planets amongst these luminaries, and these move in a direction opposite to that of the heaven: hence the name planets. For, while they say that the heaven moves from east to west, the planets move from west to east; but the heaven bears the seven planets along with it by its swifter motion. Now these are the names of the seven planets: Luna, Mercury, Venus, Sol, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and in each zone of heaven is, we are told, one of these seven planets; in the first and highest — Saturn, in the second — Jupiter, in the third — Mars, in the fourth — Sol, in the fifth — Venus, in the sixth — Mercury, in the seventh and lowest — Luna.

The text of this chapter was translated in Bulgaria in the late 9th/ early 10th century by John the Exarch, and included in his work *Theology (Heavens)* [Duichev 1954: 59-91; Thompson 1991: 35-59]. As for the version in *Symeon's Florilegium*, it represents a rather abridged redaction of Damascene's text; it also has some specific textual features which indicate that it was translated from a source which was not identical with the source used by John the Exarch. Still, in both sources (*Symeon's Florilegium* and John the Exarch's *Heavens*) the pattern given is: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon, which is the standard Ptolemaic sequence of planets, but in reverse order. The author of 2 *Enoch*, on the other hand, puts Venus between Saturn and Mars (see the discussion below). Still, in all three sources (2 *Enoch*, *Symeon's Florilegium* and Exarch's *Heavens*), Kronos (Saturn) is placed on the first and highest heavenly ring. Thus, according to *Symeon's Florilegium*, *планнѣ • ѿ на прѣвѣмъ и на вышѣшнѣмъ • кроно* ['the first planet on the first and highest level is called Kronos']. Then again, in 2 *Enoch*, Kronos and other luminaries were considered to be 'stars' (as in Babylonian astronomy), while in *Symeon's Florilegium* and John the Exarch's *Heavens* they are called 'planets' (as in Greek astronomy). Another difference is that in 2 *Enoch* the expression used to denote 'heavenly ring' is *кржѣ нѣсѣнъ*, while in *Symeon's Florilegium* (and John the Exarch's *Heavens*) the same concept is described as a 'girdle'/'waist-band'/'belt' [*поѣсъ*].

²¹¹ Here the position of Venus on the second ring parallels the planetary pattern given in Book 2, Chapter 6 (*Concerning the Heaven*) of the aforementioned *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*; in this chapter, however, John the Damascene lists the seven planets in an order which differs from that offered in Chapter 7 (*Concerning light, fire, the luminaries, sun, moon and stars*); in Chapter 6, he puts Venus between Saturn and Mars, as in 2 *Enoch*:

They say also that there are seven zones of the heaven, one higher than the other. And its nature, they say, is of extreme fineness, like that of smoke, and each zone contains one of the planets. For there are said to be seven planets: Sol, Luna, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Venus and Saturn. But sometimes Venus is called Lucifer and sometimes Vesper. These are called planets because their movements are the reverse of those of the heaven. For while the heaven and all other stars move from east to west, these alone move from west to east. And this can easily be seen in the case of the moon, which moves each evening a little backwards.

It is most intriguing that in Slavonic sources Venus may also be called 'Lucifer' [=Дѣньница/Деница], and/or 'Vesper' [=Вечерница]. Thus in the 10th-11th cent. *Codex Suprasliensis*, which is contemporary to *Symeon's Florilegium*, the name of Venus is rendered as Дѣньница; see Sreznevskii [1893: 771] and Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 203]. This can perhaps explain why the forms *ДНН*/*ДН* (as abbreviations of Дѣньница?) were used in astronomical texts from the same period to denote the planet positioned on either the second or on the fifth ring. Thus the earliest extant copy of *Symeon's Florilegium* (i.e. *Sviatoslav's Miscellany* from 1073) places on the second ring a planet the name of which is given as

Aries {i.e. Mars} [на ꙗ-емь Аррѣсъ].²¹² On the fourth, the Sun [на ѿ-мь Слѣнце].²¹³ On the fifth, Zeus {i.e. Jupiter} [на ѿ-мь Зѣусъ].²¹⁴ On the sixth, Hermes {i.e. Mercury} [на ѿ-мь Ермѣ].²¹⁵ On the seventh, the Moon [на ѿ-мь Лоунѣ].²¹⁶ I adorned the lower ether with smaller stars [меншнмн звѣздамн оукрашѣ аерѣ долнѣ], and I put the Sun to shine during the day [поставиѣ слѣнце на просвѣщеніе днѣ], while the Moon and stars {were to shine} during the night [а лоунѣ и звѣзды на просвѣщеніе нощи]; and {I ordered} the Sun to advance through each Zodiac {sign} [слѣнце до ходиѣ по коемоуждо жнвотоу], being 12 Zodiac {signs} in the orbit of the Moon [жнвоѣ вѣ-те ѡбхожденіе мѣсѣу]. I gave names to the Zodiac signs²¹⁷, {and the time} when they enter to be born, and in their chronology and how

АВВ; the planet Venus / Aphrodite, on the other hand, appears on the fifth ring, precisely where 2 *Enoch* has Zeus (i.e. Jupiter). *Symeon's Florilegium* must then have had Jupiter on the second ring, and the form **АВВ** may have been a corrupt version of the theonym denoting it. A similar detail appears in the 13th century version of *Symeon's Florilegium* copied in the Hilandar Monastery (i.e. *Hilandar Miscellany*), according to which the name of the planet on the second ring is **АВВ** [Lavrov 1899: xii, footnote 4]. There may be one further clue to explain the different order in 2 *Enoch*, which appears to have had Venus and Jupiter exchange places: Babylonian astronomy of the Seleucid period had Venus in the second position in the order of planets [Koch-Westenholz 1995: 120, footnote 2], and 2 *Enoch* may have attempted to follow this order, which required Venus changing places with Jupiter. In this way, 2 *Enoch* appears to be a compromise between the Seleucid Babylonian and Ptolemaic Greek order of planets, and therefore reflects neither system precisely. Moreover, the interchange between Venus and Jupiter in the 2 *Enoch* list may show their mutual links within Babylonian astrology, as both being benevolent and portending favourable omens (in contrast to malevolent Saturn and Mars, and ambivalent Mercury) [Rochberg-Halton 1984: 123].

On the other hand, the form **ДѢВЪНЦА** was likewise used to render the name of Lucifer in the Slavonic translation of *Isaiah* 14: 12-15; in the latter case, it functioned as a synonym of 'the fallen angel' Satan. This detail may explain why in 2 *Enoch* the Watchers and their followers are also sentenced on the Second and the Fifth Heavens, in association with the second and fifth planetary rings which were implicitly linked with Satan, through the name of Lucifer (i.e. Venus, also positioned on either second or the fifth ring). It should be noted, however, that the Hell of the Third Heaven is not intended for fallen angels but for (human) sinners. This hypothesis triggers further questions, which will be analysed in detail elsewhere.

²¹² In *Symeon's Florilegium* **Аррѣсъ** is rendered as **Аррѣ**.

²¹³ Identical reading with *Symeon's Florilegium*.

²¹⁴ As briefly mentioned above, in contrast to 2 *Enoch*, *Symeon's Florilegium* puts Venus (=Lucifer) on the fifth ring, and not Jupiter (see the discussion above). Indeed, 2 *Enoch* gives an idiosyncratic scheme which does not appear to follow either Babylonian or Greek astronomy (in contrast to *Symeon's Florilegium* and John the Exarch's *Heavens*, which conform to Ptolemy's order of planets), suggesting that 2 *Enoch* drew from different sources. This, in turn, indicates that in the period when the Slavonic protograph of 2 *Enoch* was composed (along with *Symeon's Florilegium* and John the Exarch's *Heavens*), medieval Bulgarian science did not have at its disposal an established system of astronomical knowledge; scientific concepts of this period derived from various competing sources from different traditions.

²¹⁵ The three sources agree at this point and put Hermes (Mercury) [**Ермѣ** / **Ермѣсъ**] on the sixth heavenly ring.

²¹⁶ According to all three sources, the Moon is placed on the lowest, seventh ring.

²¹⁷ At this point *Symeon's Florilegium* lists the names of the 12 Zodiac signs (Fol. 250r) [Dinekov et al. 1991: 694].

the hours go around [положн^х нмена н^х жнво^т грѣмѣнїе н^х н поворожденїа н^х н часотворенїа н^х како ѡбхода^т]. And after that it was night and morning — the fifth day [Н тогда бѣ^т ноцѣ н бѣ^т оутро, дѣ^т ѣ].

On the fifth day [въ дѣ^т патн], I ordered the sea to give birth to fish and all kinds of birds [породн рнбы н птнцѣ [ного разлнчнѣ]], to all kinds of creatures crawling on the Earth [въсѣ^ткъ гадѣ лазецѣ по землн], and quadrupeds walking on Earth [ходацѣ по землн четвероногѣ], and to feathered-creatures in the air, male and female [парацѣ по въздоху мжжескѣ по^а н женскѣ], and every breathing soul of all kinds of animals [въсѣ^ткж дїшж дншжцоу всѣ^х жнвотны^х]. It became evening and became morning — the sixth day [Н бѣ^т веучерѣ, н бѣ^т пакы оутро, дѣ^т ѣ].

On the sixth day [въ шестн дѣ^т ѣ], I ordered My wisdom [повелѣ^х моѣ^н мждростн] to create man [сѣтворнѣ^т члѣка],²¹⁸ from seven components [ѡ ѣ^т-мн^х сѣставѣ]:²¹⁹ his flesh from earth [плѣ^т ѣго ѡ земла],²²⁰ his blood from dew and sun

²¹⁸ As indicated by St. Thompson in his *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, there are several numerical patterns inlaid in cosmogonic and anthropogonic narratives. The motif of 'Seven substances employed in composition of human body' is classified by him as type **A 1260.1.4**; the anthropogonic paradigm of *2 Enoch* falls into this category. The parallel motif of *Adam octipartite* (i.e. man made of eight components: body — from earth, bones — from stones, veins — from roots, blood — from water, hair — from grass, thoughts — from winds, spirit — from clouds, warmth — from fire, cold — from air, dryness — from earth, instability — from water) is classified as **A 1260.1.3**. The latter has differing attestations in Slavonic apocrypha; see Mochul'skii [1886: 163-180], Böttrich [1995: 73-82] and Orlov [2007: 11-12]. On the shifting numerical patterns in Slavonic anthropogonies, see Badalanova [2008: 223, 230-235].

²¹⁹ See also the discussion in Forbes and Charles [1913: 448-449, footnote XXX.8] and West [1971: 377]. The anthropogonic paradigm of *2 Enoch* has its counterparts in other Slavonic apocrypha (e.g. *The Discussion Between the Three Saints*, *The Sea of Tiberias*, etc.), and in folk poetry. Thus the Thompson motif **A 1260.1.4** ('Seven substances employed in composition of human body') is found in some Russian oral poems, such as 'The Poem on the Dove Book' / 'The Poem of the Unfathomable Book' [*Стих о Голубиной Книге*], and *The Jerusalem Scroll* [*Свиток Ерусалимскій*]. According to one such text, the creation of man was described as follows:

Первая часть, кости — отъ камня; | Вторая часть, тѣло — отъ земли; | Третія часть, руда — отъ Чер<м>наго моря; | Четверая часть, дыханіе — отъ вѣтру; | Пятая часть, мысли, отъ облыцевъ; | Как оболаци ходють на небеси, вѣтромъ и ненастьемъ, | Такожда въ чловѣкѣ ходють мысли худыя и добрыя; | Отъ добраго разума душа воскресаетъ, | Отъ худаго разума душа погибаетъ; | За добрымъ пошеть, — добро и будетъ, | За худымъ пошеть, — пропасть во вѣки. | Очи — отъ сонца, разумъ — от Святаго Духа.

The bones — from stone, the first element; | the body — from earth, the second element; | the blood — from the Black/Red Sea, the third element; | the breath — from the wind, the forth element; | the thoughts — from clouds, the fifth element; | as clouds wander along in the sky, {moved by} wind and storm, | so do good and bad thoughts in man; | from good reason [i.e. good sense] soul resurrects, | from bad reason soul perishes; | if you follow good {cause}, you will be well; | if you follow evil {cause}, you will be lost forever. | The eyes {are made from} sun, {the sixth element}; | the intellect {comes from} the Holy Spirit, {the seventh element}.

The above text (entitled *The Jerusalem Scroll*) was recorded by P. Yakushkin in the first half of the 19th century in the Ryazan province of the Russian Empire, and published by P. Bessonov [1861: 68-74, text No. 564, lines 150-161]. Among Russian peasants there existed many different versions of this spiritual poem; some of them were transmitted orally, others were copied by the indigenous scribes, thus becoming part of local vernacular writings ['народные рукописи']. Their headings varied; titles such as: *The Jerusalem Verse* [*Стихъ Ерусалимскій*], *The Jerusalem Scrolls* [*Списки Ерусалимскіе*], *The Jerusalem Sheet* [*Листъ Ерусалимскій*], *The List Regarding the Jerusalem Portent* [*Списокъ*

[крѣ̂ ѿ рощи и слѣнца],²²¹ his eyes from the Abyss of the sea [ѿ ѿн ѿ бездны морскыѣ],²²² his bones from stone [костѣ ѿ каменѣа],²²³ his thoughts from angelic alacrity and from clouds [помысль ѿ бръзостѣ аггѣлкыѣ ѿбла^к],²²⁴ his sinews [жнлы ѿ] ²²⁵ and hair [космѣ] from the grasses of the earth [ѿ травѣ]

Ерусалимского знаменія], *The Legend of the Scroll* [Сказаніе о Свиткѣ], *The Scroll of the Jerusalem Portent* [Свитокъ Ерусалимского знаменія], *Parable* [Притча], *About Signs and Epistle of Our God Jesus Christ* [О знаменіи и посланіи Господа Бога нашего ІХ], *The Epistle of the Lord God, Our Saviour Jesus Christ* [Посланіе Господа Бога и Снаса Нашего ІХ], *The Epistle of Our Lord Himself* [Посланіе отъ Самаго Бога Нашего] were among the most popular ones [Bessonov 1861: 68]. Parallels between the vernacular Slavonic anthropogonies and 2 *Enoch* are analysed elsewhere [Badalanova Geller, forthcoming 2011: 74-79]. See also the discussion in Lincoln [1986: 4-40] who suggests that the anthropogonic narrative in 2 *Enoch* (along with other creation accounts from the 13th-14th century Irish sources, the 15th century Old Frisian *Code of Emsig*, etc.) and the Russian *Stikh o Golubinoi Knige* betray a common Indo-European mythological lineage; beware, however, of some erroneous translations of Russian material (e.g. *Стѣх о Голубиной Книгѣ* [Stikh o Golubinoi Knige] being rendered by Lincoln as 'Poem on the Dove King' instead of 'Poem on the Dove Book' / 'The Poem of the Unfathomable Book'). Further on the spiritual ballad/poem *Stikh o Golubinoi Knige* and its links with Zoroastrian cosmology and Armenian heresiology, see Russell [2009: 141-208].

²²⁰ On the homologies of earth and flesh in Indo-European cosmogonies and anthropogonies, see Gamkrelidze and Ivanov [1984: 821]; on the reflexes of these homologies in 2 *Enoch*, see Lincoln [1986: 4-16, 21-25].

²²¹ Identical with MS *J*; however, in MS *P* Adam's blood is from the dew, whereas his eyes are from Sun. It is most intriguing that some other sources also mix up the description of components of Adam's blood with the components for the eyes. One such example comes from the 15th-century *Erotapokriseis Razumnik* [Разоумникъ ѿ все(м)ъ спросѣ ѿ(у)ѣ] from the *Tikveshky Miscellany* (MS № 677 from the Archaeographic Collection of Sts. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia, Bulgaria). According to this source, the body of the first man is created, like in the Enochic anthropogenesis, out of seven parts; however, the blood is described as a substance which originates from the sea, whereas the eyes are 'from the Sun and dew.'

Въпро(с)ѣ. ѿ кого сътвори бѣ аѡама. ѿвѣт. ѿ .ꙗ. чѣстѣ .ѡ. тѣло ѿго ѿ зем(л)ѣ .ѡ. кость ѿго ѿ каменѣа .ꙗ. крѣвь ѿго ѿ рощи и ѿ слѣнца .ꙗ. днх(а)нїѣ ѿго ѿ вѣтра. дѣшю ѿго ѿ дѣа вѣжнѣа .ѣ. разоумъ ѿго ѿ ѿблака .с. ѿн ѿго ѿ моря .ꙗ. помнсь ѿ врьзостѣ ѿго агг(с)кнн [Nachov, 1892: 402]

Question: 'From what [components] did God create Adam?' Answer: 'From seven components; the body — from earth, his bones — from stone, the blood — from the dew and the Sun, his breath — from the wind, whereas his soul is from the Holy Spirit, his reason is from the clouds, his eyes — from the sea, his thoughts — from angelic alacrity.'

On the derivation of blood from dew and sun in Indo-European cosmogonies and anthropogonies, with special emphasis on 2 *Enoch*, see Lincoln [1986: 11-12].

²²² As in MS *J*; on the attestation of 'Sun' as a macrocosmic alloform for 'eye(s)' in Indo-European languages and mythologies, see Lincoln [1986: 17-18, 21-25].

²²³ On implementation of 'bone' as a corporeal alloform for 'stone' in Indo-European creation myths, see West [1971: 377] and Lincoln [1986: 7, 12-16, 21-25].

²²⁴ On the mythological derivation of 'thoughts' from 'clouds', see Lincoln [1986: 19-25].

²²⁵ Referring to tendons, veins, or ligaments.

ЗЕМНІЕ],²²⁶ his soul [ДШЖ ЕГО]²²⁷ from My spirit [ѿ Дѣа моѿго] and from the wind [н ѿ вѣтра].²²⁸ And I gave {man} seven traits [да^х ѿмоу 7 есѣтъ]:²²⁹ hearing²³⁰ to flesh [слоу^х къ плѣти], seeing²³¹ to eyes [възрѣніе ѿчю], smell to the spirit/soul [ѿбонѣніе дшѣвно],²³² touch to the sinews [ѿсазаніа жнлы], taste to blood [въкоушеніе крѣве], the durability²³³ to bones [костн трѣпніе], pleasure²³⁴ to

²²⁶ On the Indo-European homology 'plants=hear' as manifestation of the inner reciprocity between the microcosmic body and macrocosmic universe, see Lincoln [1986: 16-17, 21-25].

²²⁷ Instead of 'soul', Morfill and Charles suggest 'spirit': 'his spirit from My Spirit and from the wind' [1896: 39-40]; Andersen also recommends 'his spirit from My spirit and from wind' [1983: 150].

²²⁸ Cf. St. Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 185.12 (Deity provides man with soul); on the Indo-European mythopoeic equation 'soul=wind=God's breath', see Dukova [1988: 214-219], Tolstaia [2000: 54, 58, 60], Mencej [2008: 232-234], Badalanova Geller [forthcoming 2011: 41-49; 74-79].

²²⁹ A similar idea of seven traits, i.e. 'seven spirits' which were given to the man at the creation 'to be the means of his doing everything' is attested in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (and in particular in *The Testament of Reuben, About Ideas*, Chapter 2):

Also seven spirits were given him at the Creation to be the means of his doing everything. The first is the spirit of life, with which man's substance is created. The second is the spirit of sight, with which comes desire. The third is the spirit of hearing, with which is given teaching. The fourth is the spirit of smell, with which is given to draw in air and breath. The fifth is the spirit of speech, with which comes knowledge. The sixth is the spirit of taste, with which comes eating and drinking; and by them man's strength is built up (for food is the foundation of strength). The seventh is the spirit of procreation and sexual intercourse, with which sin enters through love of pleasure. For this reason it is the last in the order of creation and first among the desires of youth, because the truth about it goes unrecognized, and it leads the young man like a blind man to a pit, and like a beast over a precipice (Quoted after M. De Jonge [Sparks 1984: 516-517]).

The above fragment comes from the earliest surviving witness from a 10th century MS, Cambridge University Library [MS. Ff. 1.24]. For the Slavonic parallels, see *Завѣты Дѣвѣнадцати Патріарховъ* in the 14th century *Palaea* from Aleksandro-Nevskaia Lavra and *Palaea* from the Synodal Library in Moscow (MS No 210 dated 1477) in Tikhonravov [1863: 96-232]; see also *Palaea* No 653 in Solovetskaia Library published by I. Porfir'ev [1877: 158-94].

Further on seven sensory faculties in the anthropogonic narrative of 2 *Enoch*, see Lincoln [1986: 32-33]; on the list of senses in *De Hebdomadivus* (and cosmology of 'Hippocrates'), see West [1971: 379-379-380].

²³⁰ Linguistic data from various Slavonic dialects suggests that **слоухъ** has rather broad semantic coverage; see the data presented in Dal' [1882: 225-226]. Apart from 'hearing' *per se* it can denote also 'sense' in general (with emphasis on the ability to feel things physically, especially through the senses of touch). According to Dal', in Russian dialects the verb *слышать* (i.e. 'hear') can likewise mean 'to have the physical abilities of smell, hearing, touch and taste, excluding only sight' [ibid., 226]. Besides, the semantic coverage of the noun *слух* and the verb *слышать* ('to hear'), can include 'intuition'. Furthermore, the *слух/ слышать* semantic cluster may cover the notions of 'reason' / 'comprehension' / 'understanding'. Finally, some cognate lexemes (such as Russ. *слушать*, Bulg. *слушам*, etc.) may imply the concept of 'obeying', 'conforming' (e.g. the word *послушник* denoting novice, neophyte in Bulg. and Russ.); see also the discussion in Vasmer [1987: 178-680].

²³¹ Or 'sight'.

²³² Referring to the nose being the passage of the soul through breathing or smelling; lit. 'olfaction of the soul'; one possible translation of this expression would be 'spiritual sensation'.

²³³ Or 'tangibility'.

thoughts [помыслоу сладость].²³⁵ So I thought of saying this wise²³⁶ word [се помыслихъ хитрое слово сказати]: from invisible and visible natures [ѿ невидимаго же и видимаго ества],²³⁷ I created man, from both death and life [сѣздахъ ѿлка ѿ оубога, смръть и живоу]. The image came to know the Word and a new small creature {came into being} — small in greatness and great in smallness [и ѿбрази въсть слово, ꙗкы нѣкакоу тварь ѿнж въ велицѣ малж, и пакы въ малѣ великж]. And I placed him on Earth as a second angel, honourable, great and glorious [на земли поставихъ его аггъла втораго ѿтна и велика и славнаа]. And I put him as king on Earth [поставихъ его црѣ земли], having {rule through} My wisdom [нмѣща моеа мждростѣж], and there was no equal to him on Earth among My creatures [и не бѣ ему подобна на земли и ѿ сжѣи твари мои]. And I gave him a name from four components [поставихъ ему нма ѿ четыри составъ]: from East [ѿ вѣстока], West [ѿ запада], North [ѿ сѣвера], and South [ѿ юга].²³⁸ And I gave him four special stars [поставихъ ему дъ звѣзды нароути] and I called him the name 'Adam' [рекъ нма его ада^м]; and I gave him his {free} will [да^х емъ вола его].²³⁹ And I showed him two paths — the light and the darkness [оказа^х ѿ пжти, свѣтъ и тѣмж], and I told him [рѣхъ ему], 'Here is the Good, and here is the Evil [се ти добро, а се зло], in order to find out whether he has love or hate for Me [да оувѣ^м любов ли нма^т къ мнѣ или ненависть], so that one who loves Me may appear among his kin [да ѡвѣт са въ родѣ его любѣи ма].²⁴⁰ I saw his nature [аз же видѣхъ ество его], but he did not know his own nature [ѿ нже не вѣ^{ше} своѣго ества]; and this lack of knowledge caused a grave trespass [того ради невѣденіе е горе сѣгрѣшеніа],²⁴¹ since he was {fated} to sin [ꙗко сѣгрѣшити ему е]. And I told him [и рѣхъ] that after the trespass, there is nothing but death [по сѣгрѣшеніи нно развѣ смрътъ]. And I granted him a {deep} slumber [поставихъ

²³⁴ Alternatively: 'enjoyment', or 'sweetness'.

²³⁵ Or 'intentions'.

²³⁶ Alternatively: 'crafty', or 'clever'.

²³⁷ Alternatively, 'substance', or 'character'.

²³⁸ An acronym composed from the Greek words denoting the four corners of the Universe:

A ⇒ **Ανατολή** (East)
D ⇒ **Δύσις** (West)
A ⇒ **Ἀρκτος** (North)
M ⇒ **Μεσαμβρία** (South)

Further on medieval Greek and Slavonic sources interpreting the same idea, i.e. that the name of ADAM was an acronym composed of the initial letters of the words denoting the four corners of the Universe (East, West, North and South), see Morfill and Charles [1896: xvi, xxvii] and Böttrich [1995: 59-72]; consult also Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1241.5 (Man made of earth brought from four different places) and A1281.6.1 (Adam's name composed of initial letters of four stars from the four quarters of the heaven).

²³⁹ Or 'will-power'.

²⁴⁰ Or 'later generations', 'progeny'.

²⁴¹ Or 'sin'.

ѢМОУ СѢНЬ],²⁴² and I put sleep into him and he fell asleep [ВЪЛОЖИ^x ѢМОУ СѢНЬ, Н ОУСПЕ]. And I took from him, the sleeping one, a rib [ВЪЗЕ^x ѢМОУ СПАЩОУ РЕБРО] and created woman for him [СЪТВОРИ^x ѢМОУ ЖЕНЖ],²⁴³ so that his death comes through woman [ЖЕНОЖ ДА ПРИДЕ^t ѢМОУ СЪМР^tЬ]. And I took the last letter²⁴⁴ from him {i.e. the letter М} [ВЪЗА^x ПОСЛАДНА СЛОВО ѢГО] and called her the name 'Mother' [НАРЕКО^x ѢН НМА МѢН], which is to say, 'Eve' [СНРѢ^v ЕВВА]: Adam {and} Mother, Earthly and Life [АДА^m МѢН ЗЕМЛЕНЬ Н ЖИЗНЬ ЖЕ].²⁴⁵ I then created a garden in Eden to the East [СЪТВОРИ^x ѠГРАДЖ ВЪ ЕДОМѢ НА ВЪСТОЦѢ] so that they keep the covenant and observe {My} commands [ДА БЛЮДА^t ЗАВѢ^t Н ХРАНИ^t ЗАПОВѢ^a]. And I opened the skies above him so that he may see the angels singing the song of glory [СЪТВОРИ^x ѢМОУ НѢСА ѠВРѢСТА, ДА ЗРИ^t АГГЛН ПОЖИЕ ПѢ ПОВѢДИЖА],²⁴⁶ and there was eternal light without darkness in Paradise [СВѢ^t БЕЗМРАУНЫ БѢ ВЪИЖ ВЪ РАН]. And the Devil realised that I want to create another world [РАЗУМѢ ДІАВО[^] ЯКО ДРЪГЫ МНРЬ ХОЩЕ СЪТВОРИТИ], which was to obey Adam on Earth and to be ruled by him [ЗАНЕЖЕ ПОВНИЖЛО СЕ Ѣ АДАМОУ НА ЗЕМЛИ Н ѠБЛАДАТИ Н ПРѢТВОРАТИ НМН]. Being the demon of the Lower World [ДІАВО[^] Ѣ ДОЛѢШНИ^x МѢСТЬ ВЪДЕ^t ВѢСЬ],²⁴⁷ the

²⁴² Sleep and shadow are homonyms in some texts.

²⁴³ Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1275.1 (Creation of first woman from man's rib).

²⁴⁴ Implied in this statement is most probably the Platonic concept of the letters of the alphabet as graphic symbols representing the primordial elements of Creation [Dornseiff: 1925].

²⁴⁵ This is a play on words in Hebrew: Adam and *adamah* (earth), and Eve and 'life' (Chava/*chay*).

²⁴⁶ Lit. 'victory'.

²⁴⁷ The Bulgarian linguists Tikhova and Ivanova [2001: 171-184] have recently offered an exhaustive analysis of the diachronic aspects of the semantic coverage of *Bēs* [ВѢСЬ], as attested in the medieval (i.e. from 9th to 14th cent.) Slavonic translations of the Greek edition of *Dialogorum libri IV, de vita et miraculis patrum Italicorum et de aeternitate animarum* (composed in 593-594 by Saint Gregory the Great), with a special emphasis on the 14th century versions of *ПАТЕРНІКЪ РИМСКЫН* and *Бесѣдовникъ*. Provided there, with reference to N. Gerov [1895: 100-101], are parallel lexicographic data corresponding to the wide attestation of the lexeme **ВѢСЬ** in vernacular tradition (including magic and medicine). Following L. Sadnik and R. Aitzetmüller [1955: 10; 214 (39)], Tikhova and Ivanova suggest that the Old Church Slavonic lexeme **ВѢСЬ** is cognate to the Lithuanian *baisa* ('fear') and *baisis* ('frightful'/'horrible'/'terrible'/'horrifying'), to the Latin *foedus* ('abominable, 'vile'), etc.; they maintain that the latter forms are etymologically related to the Indo-European **bhoidh-* and **bhoi-dh-so*, with reference to the Avestan *bayente* / *byente* ('being frightened'). The same is held by the authors of the *Bulgarian Etymological Dictionary*, who examine the relevant Slavonic dialectal forms and provide a comprehensive survey of the Glagolitic and Cyrillic sources in which **ВѢСЬ** and its cognates (**ВѢСЬНЬ**, **ВѢСЬНОВАТИ**, **ВѢСОВАНИЮ**, **ВѢСОВСЬКЪ**, **ВѢШЕННЮ**, **ВЪЗВѢСНТИ СЯ**, **ВЪЗВѢСЬНЕТИ**, **ВЪЗВѢСОВАТИ СЯ**, **ВЪЗВѢШЕННЕ**) are attested; these include *Glagolita Clozianus*, *Codex Marianus*, *Codex Zographensis*, *Codex Assemanianus*, *Liber Sabbae*, *Codex Suprasliensis* (from the late 10th and early 11th centuries); see Georgiev *et al.* [1971: 190-110]. Their survey shows that in most of the Glagolitic and Cyrillic sources, the form **ВѢСЬ** and its cognates (along with **ДѢВВОЛЪ** and/or **ДѢВОЛЪ**) are predominantly used to denote a cluster of related concepts, such as *δαίμόνιον*, *δαίμων*, *διάβολος*. In some cases, however, the glossa **ВѢСЬ** may stand for, rather surprisingly, *πνεῦμα* and even *θεός*. The noun **ВѢСОВАНИЮ** on the other hand, is used to translate *μανία*, *εἰδωλομανία*, *ἄθεος οἰκοδομή*. As for the (reflexive) verbs **ВѢСНТИ СЯ** / **ВѢСЬНОВАТИ СЯ**, they are employed to indicate mental conditions such as *μαίνεσθαι*, *λυττᾶν*, *δαιμονιᾶν*, *δαιμονιζεσθαι* ('being possessed by an evil demon', 'being insane'); see Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 106-7] and Sreznevskii [1893: 220-223]. However, it still remains a mystery why the translators of the canonical biblical text into Old Church Slavonic preferred to substitute the 'convenient' Greek form *δαίμων* with

not change his nature but changed his thoughts, as is the case with the mind of the righteous and sinful [ЕЇѢВА НЕ ПРѢМѢНИ, НЖ МЫСЛЬ, ЯКО ЖЕ ОУМЪ ПРАВЕДНЫ^х И ГРѢШНЫ^х]. He understood his own damnation and sin, which he had committed previously [РАЗУМѢ СВОЖ ѠСЖЖДЕНІЕ И ГРѢ^х НЖЕ СЪГРѢШИ ПРѢЖДЕ]. And that is why he thought of {doing something evil to} Adam [ТОГО РАДИ ПОМЫСЛИ НА АДАМА]. He entered Paradise and enticed Eve [ТАЦѢ^м ѠБРАЗѠ^м ВЪННДЕ^т ВЪ РАИ И ПРѢЛЪСТИ ЕВВЖ]; yet Adam he did not touch [АДАМОУ ЖЕ НЕ ПРИКОСНѢ СѦ]. Because of her {their?} ignorance, I cursed them [НЖ ЗА НЕВѢЖЬСТВІѦ ѢЖ ПРОКЛА^х Н^х]. Yet what I previously blessed I did not curse [Ѧ ѢЖЕ ПРѢЖДЕ БЛѢН^х, ТѢ^х НЕ ПРОКЛА^х], nor did I curse what I previously did not bless [НХЖЕ ПРѢЖДЕ НЕ БЛѢНХѢ, И Т^х НЕ ПРОКЛА^х]. I did not curse man [НИ ЧЛѢКА ПРОКЛА^х] nor the Earth [НИ ЗЕМЛѦ], nor other creatures [НИ ННОЕ ТВАРИ], but the evil fruits of mankind [НЖ ЧЛѢЧКОЕ ЗЛОЕ ПЛО^дСТВО], which are the deeds of the good but yet the fruit of exertion [ТО ДѢЛѢ ДОБРО ТВОРЕНІѦ ПЛО^д ПОТО^м ТРОУДИ]. I told him, 'You are dust and will return to dust [ЗЕМЛѦ ѢСИ И ВЪ ЗМЛѦ ТЖЖДЕ ПОИДЕШИ], {since} I took you from it [Ѡ НЕѢ ЖЕ ТА ВЪЗЕ^х]; and I will not destroy you [НЕ ПОГООУБАЮ ТА], but I will send you there from where I took you [НЖ ПОСЛАЖ ѠКЖДОУ ТЕ ВЪЗА^х]. From there I may take you once again, at my Second Coming [ТОГДА МОЖ ПАКѢ ВЪЗАТИ ТЕ, ВЪ МОЕ ПРИШЕСТВІЕ ВТОРОЕ!]' I blessed all My creatures [БЛѢН^х ВЪСА ТВАРЬ МОЖ], visible and invisible [ВИДИМЖ И НЕВИДИМЖ], and the seventh day on which I rested from all My work [И ДНѢ СЕДМИ, ВЪ И ЖЕ ПОУИ^х ОТЪ ВСѢ^х ДѢЛѢ МОИ^х].

(Marginal note: And Adam was in Paradise for 5½ hours).

On the eighth day [ВЪ И ЖЕ ДНѢ], I also appointed the {very same} eighth day to be the first day of My first created week [ПОЛОЖИ^х ТЪЖДѢ^е ДНѢ И ДѦ БЖДЕ^т Ѧ ПРѢВОЗДАННИ НЕДѢЛА МОѢГО]; so that it may revolve in the image of 7 myriads [И ДѦ ѠБРАЩАЖТ СѦ ВЪ ѠБРАЗѢ 7 ТИСѦЦИ^х ТИ],²⁴⁹ and 8000 {years} [И ТИСѦЦИ^х] might be at the beginning [ДѦ БЖДЖ^т ВЪ НАЧЕЛО] {of chronology}; and may the first day and the eighth day always revolve like this forever [ЯКО Ѡ ПРѢВѢ^м ДНѢ НЕ^дЛА, ТАКО И И ДНѢ НЕ^дЛА ДѦ ВЪЗВРАТАТ СѦ ПРѢО].

(Marginal note: It was the beginning of disparities of boundless time {reckoning}, and regardless of years, or months, or weeks, or days, or hours).

And now, Enoch [И НИѢ ЖЕ, ЕНОШЕ], everything which I told you [ѢЛНКА ТИ СКАЗА^х] and what you understood [И ѢЛНКО РАЗУМѢ] and what you saw in heavens [И ѢЛНКО ВИДѢ НА НБСЕ^х], and what you saw on Earth [И ѢЛНКО ВИДѢ НА ЗЕМЛИ], and what you wrote in books [И ѢЛНКА НАПИСѦ ВЪ КНИГѦ], I managed to create with My wisdom [ПРѢМЖДОСТІѦ МОѢЖ ОУЧЫТИ^х ВЪСА СІЖ СЪТВОРИТИ]. I created it from the highest to the lowest fundamentals, and to the {very} end [СЪТВОРИ^х Ѡ ВЫШНѢГО ОСНОВАНІѦ ДО НИЖНѢГО И ДО КОНЦѦ]. There is no adviser nor heir for my Creation [НѢ СЪВѢСТНИКА, НИ НАСЛѢДНИКА МОИ^м ТВАРЕ^м]; I am Myself eternal and made by no hands [АЗЪ ЕСМѢ СА^м ВѢЧЕ^н И НЕРЖКОТВОРЕ^н]. My thought is immutable [БЕЗЪ ПРѢМѢНЕНІЕ МЫСЛЬ МОѦ], My wisdom is My counsellor [СЪВѢТНИКѢ МОИ^Ѣ МЖДОСТЬ МОѦ], and My word is a deed [СЛОВО МОЕ ДѢЛО Ѣ]. My eyes see everything [ОУИ МОИ ГЛАДАЕТА НА ВСѦ], and whatever I cast My eye upon stays and quakes from

²⁴⁹ Lit. 'seven thousand thousands'.

fear [аще призѣраж на вса, то стож^т н трасжт са страхом^м]. If I turn My face away, everything will perish [аще ли ѿвратиѣ лице мое, то всѣ потрѣбат са]. Enoch, employ your faculties and recognise the One speaking [положи оумъ свои, Еноше, и познай глаголющаго]! You take the books which you yourself wrote [и ты възми книги, еже ты сам^м напиша]! I give you Samuil and Raguil, who brought you to me [даж ты Самонла и Рагоунла, възведшаго та къ мнѣ]. Descend to Earth [сѣниши на землѣ] and tell your sons what I told you [скажи сино^м своим^м елико гла^х к тебѣ] and about whatever you saw from the Lower Heaven to My Throne [и елико видѣ ѿ нижних^о нбсе до престола моего]. I created all hosts and all powers [всѣ воинства азъ сотвори^х и вса силы]. Nobody challenges Me or disobeys Me [ни^ѣ противляѣщаго са мнѣ ни^ѣ непокарѣща мнѣ]. Everyone submits to My autocratic rule and works only for My power [всѣ бо покарѣжт са моему еднновластію и работаѣ^т моеи единой власти]. Give them the books written by your hand [даждь им^м книги ржкописаніе твоего], so that they {may read them and learn how to} worship and acknowledge Me, the Creator of all [поуѣж^т и познаѣ^т ма творца всѣх^х], and to understand that there is no other but Me [и разоумѣж^т ты, яко ни^ѣ иного, разѣ мене]. May they distribute the books written by your hand [да раздада^т книги ржкописанія твоего]; offspring to their offspring [ѿадо^м ѿада], kin to their kin [ро^а родоу], relatives to their relatives [жжнкы жжнка^м]. I will give to you, Enoch, my *archestrategos* Michael as an intercessor [дам^м ты, Еноше, ходатаа моего архистратига Миханла], on account of your covenant [за ржкописаніе твое]²⁵⁰ and on account of the covenants²⁵¹ of your grandfathers [ржкописанія ѿца твоих^х] Adam [Адама],²⁵² and Seth [Сѣта],²⁵³ and Enosh [Еноса],²⁵⁴ and Cainan [Каннана],²⁵⁵ Mahalaleel [Малелеела]²⁵⁶ and Jared, your father [Ареда ѿца твоего].²⁵⁷ I am not going to exterminate them until the Last Age [не потрѣблѣ^х до послѣднѣаго вѣка], as I ordered my angels [зане азъ заповѣда^х агглагома моима], Ariukh [Ариухоу]²⁵⁸ and Pariukh [Париух8],²⁵⁹ whom I put on Earth as their guardians [нже я постави^х на землѣ хранителѣ^м] {to protect them}. I ordered them to keep watch over them for the time being [повелѣ^х времени^м да сънабда^т нх^х], so that they do not perish in the future Flood [да не погнѣнж^т въ бж^аціе^м потопаѣ], which I will cause among your kin [нже азъ

²⁵⁰ Lit. 'manuscript' (sing.).

²⁵¹ Lit. 'manuscript'.

²⁵² The form *Адама* (i.e. Adam) is in *genetivus possessivus*.

²⁵³ The form *Сѣта* (i.e. Seth) is in *genetivus possessivus*; see Gn 5: 3-8.

²⁵⁴ The form *Еноса* (i.e. Enosh) is in *genetivus possessivus*; see Gn 5: 6-11.

²⁵⁵ The form *Каннана* (i.e. Cainan) is in *genetivus possessivus*; see Gn 5: 9-14.

²⁵⁶ The form *Малелеела* (i.e. a corrupt spelling of Mahalaleel) is in *genetivus possessivus*; see Gn 5: 12-17.

²⁵⁷ The form *Ареда* (i.e. Jared) is in *genetivus possessivus*; see Gn 5: 15-20.

²⁵⁸ The form is in dative.

²⁵⁹ The form is in dative.

сѣтворѣ въ родѣ твоѣ^М. Because I have come to recognise human malevolence [Азѣ оубо сѣвѣ^М злобѣ ѹлѹа], since they cannot tolerate the yoke which I placed on them [ѹако не понесѣ^Т ѹрѣма, нже азѣ въздвигнѣх^Х н^М]. And they rejected my yoke [н ѿврѣгошѣ ѹремѣ мон] and accepted another yoke [н вѣспрѣж^Т ннѣ ѹре^М], and planted the seed of devastation [н вѣсѣашѣ сѣмена поустошнѣаа], and bowed down before vain gods [н поклонншѣ^А богѣ^М соуетнѣ^М]. They repudiated My Oneness [ѿрннѣшѣ мож ѣдннство] and the entire Earth was polluted by iniquities [всѣ зѣмла сѣгрѣзѣ са неправада^М],²⁶⁰ offenses [ѿбнѣда^М],²⁶¹ and fornication [прѣлюбода^Мнство^М],²⁶² and evil service {to false gods} [зло слоуженѣ^М].²⁶³ This is why I will bring a Flood on the Earth [того ради азѣ наведѣ потопѣ на зѣмлаа] and the Earth will be wrecked in a great mud [зѣмлаѣ сама сѣкроушнѣ са въ тнмѣнѣ велнко]. I will leave a righteous man from your seed, together with his entire household [оставаа мѣжа праведнѣ а ѿ племенн твоѣго сѣ вѣсѣ^М домѣ^М ѣго], who will act according to My will [нже сѣтворнѣти по воле моѣнѣ], and from their seed another great kin will rise [н ѿ сѣмене н^Х вѣстаѣ^Т ро^А ннѣ послѣ^Аннѣ многѣ], but many of them will be rather greedy [нжѣ ѿ тѣ^Х многѣ несытн бѣдѣ^Т сѣло]; and I will make the books written by you and your ancestors appear among the descendants of this kin [въ нзводѣ рода то^Г ѹаваа н^М кннѣгы рѣкопнсанѣа твоѣго н ѿцѣ твоѣн^Х]; and I will show them the earthly guardians, My faithful pious men, who will not call My name in vain [нмѣже стражѣ зѣмнн показовати нмѣ^Т мѣже^М вѣрнн^М оугоднннко^М мон^М, нже нменн моѣго вѣсоуе не прнзовѣ^Т]; and they will tell their kin [ты скажѣ^Т родоу ѿномоу] and become glorious; and they will be honoured more afterwards than in the beginning [н ѿнн, поѹѣтшѣа прославет са въ послѣдокѣ, нежелн прѣвѣа]. Now Enoch [ннѣ же, Еноше], I am giving you a period of 30 days to return to your home [дажѣ ти рокѣ прѣжѣ^Анѣа ѿ днн сѣтворнѣти въ домѣ твоѣ^М] and to recount everything to your sons and household on My behalf [нсповѣдати снѣ^М твоѣн^М всѣа н домоѹа^Мдѣ^М твоѣн^М вѣса ѿ лнца моѣго]; and may they fulfil what is said by you [да слышѣ^Т глѣаное н^М тобож], and to read [н проѹѣтѣ^Т] and understand [разоумѣжѣ^Т] that there is no other but Me [ѹако нѣ^Аннѣного развѣ мене]. May they all keep your commandments [всѣи да сѣхранѣ^Т заповѣдн твоѣ] and start copying your books [наѹжѣ^Т кннѣгы рѣкопнсанѣе твоѣго]. In 30 days [по ѿ-тн^Х днѣ^Х] I will send to you My angel [азѣ пошлаа по та аггѣла моѣго] who will take you up from the Earth [възма^Т та ѿ зѣмлаа] and {from} your sons [ѿ снѣовѣ твоѣн^Х] {and bring you} to Me [мнѣ].

Chapter Twelve

And God summoned one of his senior angels [възва Гѣ ѣдннѣго ѿ аггѣлѣ старѣннн^Х], awesome [страшна] and terrifying [грозна], and placed him next to me [н поставнѣ ѣго ѿ мене]; and the visage of this angel was white as snow [бнѣдѣннѣ

²⁶⁰ The form is in *instrumentalis*.

²⁶¹ The form is in *instrumentalis*.

²⁶² The form is in *instrumentalis*.

²⁶³ The form is in *instrumentalis*.

агѣла того бѣло яко снѣгъ], his hands {and arms}²⁶⁴ looked like ice, extremely cold [рѣцѣ ѣго лѣ^а вѣдѣнїе^м нмѣща стоуденъ велѣкѣ]. My face cooled down in such a way that I had no fear of God and it was not possible to feel the burning fire [огнѣ пецинаго], and the heat of the sun [зноа слѣнеунаго] and the freezing air [мраза въздоушнаго]. God said to me [Гѣ къ мѣѣ], 'Enoch, if your face does not cool down here {in Paradise}, no man could see it [Еноше, аще не оустоудн са лице твоа зде, не може^т ѣлкѣ зрѣти лица твоѣго]!' Then God said to these men who took me to Him [ре^у Гѣ мжжема ѡнѣма, възведшима ма прѣжде], 'Let Enoch descend down to Earth with you [да сѣннде^т Ено^х на земаа съ вама]; and you wait for him until the appointed day arrives [пождѣта ѣго до оуроунаго дне]!' And during the night they placed me in my bed [поставнста ма ноцїе на ѡдрѣ мое^м]; Methuselah was waiting for my return, keeping guard day and night next to my bed [Метоусала^м ѣаше прїшествїе моѣго, въ дне н в ноцїи стрѣгын стражѣ ѡ ѡдра моѣго]. When he heard my returning, he got frightened [оужасе^н бѣ^ѣ ѣгда слыша мо прїшествїе]. I told him [рѣ^х ѣмоу], 'May my entire household be summoned [да сѣнндѣт са всѣи домаѣдци мои]!'; and I spoke to them [азѣ же глѣ^х къ нмѣ].

Chapters 13-17: Enoch repeats the description of his vision to his children; the account is similar to the above.

Chapter Eighteen

When Enoch was talking to his household²⁶⁵ [вънегда бесѣдовашѣ Ено^х люде^м свои^м], God sent dusk on Earth [Гѣ пѣстн мра^к на земаа] and darkness fell [бѣ^ѣ тѣма], covering the men standing with Enoch [покры мжже, стоѣще съ Енохо^м]. The angels hurried [оускорн^ш агѣлн] and took Enoch [пожѣе Еноха] and raised him to the Heaven above [възнѣше н на вышїнеа нѣбо], where God received him and placed him before His face forever [ндеже Гѣ прїж^т н поставн ѣ прѣ^а лице^м свои^м въ вѣкы]. The darkness lifted from the Earth and it became light [ѡстѣпн тѣма ѡ земаа, н бѣ^ѣ свѣ^т]. People saw without comprehending how Enoch was taken [вѣдѣшѣ люде н не роузумѣшѣ како възать бѣ^ѣ Ено^х]. Having praised God, they returned to their homes [прославншѣ Бѣ н тогда ндо^ш къ домы своѣ].

Chapter Nineteen

Enoch was born on the 6th day of the month Parnovous [Ено^х же родн са въ 6 днѣ мѣца парновуса],²⁶⁶ and he lived for 365 years [жн^т лѣ^т 365].²⁶⁷ He was brought up

²⁶⁴ In Slavonic languages, the word for 'hand' and 'arm' is the same.

²⁶⁵ Lit. 'his people'.

²⁶⁶ i.e. Tammuz.

to Heaven during the month of Nisan, on its first day [ВЪЗД^Т БЫ^Г НА НБО МЦА НИСАНА, ВЪ А ДНЬ], and he spent 60 days in Heaven [ПРЪБЫ^Г НА НБСН ͵60 ДНН], {during which} he wrote down all wonders created by God [ПНШЕ В'СА ЗНАМЕНІА ВЪСА ТВАРН, НЖЕ СЪТВОРН ГЪ]. He wrote 366 books [НАПНСА ͵366 КНИГЪ], which he passed on to his sons [ПРЪДА^Г Н^Х СНОМЪ СВОИ^М]; and after that he spent another 30 days on Earth speaking with them [ПРЪБЫ^Г НА ЗЕМЛН ͵30 ДНН, ГЛАВЪ СЪ НМНН]. And again, he was brought up to Heaven [Н ПАКЪ ВЪЗЕ^Т БЫ^Г НА НБО], in exactly the same month of Pامovus, on the very same 6th day on which he was born, and at the very same hour [МЦА ПАМОВ8СА ТОГОЖДЕ Н ВЪ ТЪЖДЕ ДНЬ ͵6, ВЪН'ЖЕ Н РОДН СА, Н ВЪ ТЪЖДЕ ЧА]. Because every man has a non-transparent²⁶⁸ side to his current life [ІАКО^Ж НМА^Т ВЪСЪКЪ ЧЛКЪ ЕС^ГТВО ТЪМ'НО НАСТОЖІАГО СЕГО ЖНТІА], since at whatever hour a human being is conceived, at the very same hour one will be born and at the same hour will die [ТАКО Н ЗАЧАТІЕ Н РОЖЬСТВО Н ПРЪСТАВЛЕНІЕ ͵6 СЕГО ЖНТІА: ВЪНЖЕ ЗАЧУНЕТ СА, ВЪ ТЪ ЧА^Г Н РОДНТ СА, ВЪ ТЪ Н ПРЪСТАВНТ СА].²⁶⁹

Chapter Twenty

Methusalam [Μεθουσала^М] rose up early, together with his brothers and all the sons of Enoch, and they raised a sacrificial altar [жрѣтъвнн^К] at the place called Akhuzan [Ахоузань],²⁷⁰ where Enoch was taken up {to Heaven}. Having taken sheep [бравы] and cattle [говеда] they summoned all the people and offered sacrifices [пожрѣшж жрѣтъж] before God's face [прѣ^А лнце^М гнн^М]. Having come along to the celebrations [веч^Ліе],²⁷¹ people brought gifts to Enoch's sons; and they happily rejoiced [сътворишж веч^Ліе ра^Дужщеса] and made merry [веселещеса] for three days.

Chapter Twenty-one

On the 3rd day, in the evening, the Elders spoke to Methusalam [Μεθουσаламоу] and said,²⁷² 'Stand up before God's face [прѣ^А лнце^М гнн^М] and before the face of all

²⁶⁷ According to some scholars, this particular detail (i.e. that 'the days of Enoch were three hundred and sixty and five years' when God took him away), 'may show calendary or astronomical connections of Enoch' [Greenfield and Stone 1979: 93]; see also the discussion there [1979: 92-95].

²⁶⁸ Lit. 'murky'.

²⁶⁹ At this point Ms *P* ends.

²⁷⁰ Identified as Jerusalem on the account of a later narrative associating this place with Melchizedek; see the discussion in Ginzburg [1968: 162].

²⁷¹ Lit. 'feast' / 'festivity' / 'revelry'/'merriment'. However, in this particular context the noun веч^Ліе most probably denotes 'mourning customs'; see in this connection the discussion in S. M. Tolstaia and N. I. Tolstoy [1993].

²⁷² The name is in the dative.

the people, and before the face²⁷³ of God's hymnal [прѣ^л лице^м трѣбника гнѣ], and you will become famous among your people!' And Methusalam answered his people, 'Wait, O men, until God, the Lord of my father Enoch, Himself raises up a priest [жръца]²⁷⁴ among His people!' The people spent one more night at the place of Ahuzan [Ахоузанъ], while Methusalam [Меѳоусала^м] was next to the altar [ѡлта^ръ ѡлтаря]. And he prayed to God and said, 'O God of all ages, One-and-Only, Who chose my father Enoch, please appoint a priest [жръца] of your people and put wisdom into their hearts, so that they fear Your glory and begin doing everything according to Your will!' Then Methsalam fell asleep and God appeared to him in a night vision [внѣвнн ноцнѣ^м] and told him, 'Listen to Me, Methusalam, I am the Lord, the God of your father Enoch. Listen to the voice of these people and stand before the face of My altar [ѡлтаря моего] and I will glorify you before the face of all the people and you will be glorified for all the days of your life.'

And Methusalam woke up from his dream and gave praise to God, who appeared before him. The Elders of the people hastened to Methusalam and the Lord God made Methusalam's heart listen to the people's voice. And the Lord spoke {thus}, 'May these people who are standing in front of My eyes today be blessed!' The elders Sarsan [Сарса^н] and Kharmis [Хармнѣ] and Zazas [Заза^съ] hastened and dressed up Methusalam in fine garments and placed a bright wreath on his head. And the people hastened, bringing sheep, cattle, and birds, everything which Methusalam was supposed to sacrifice [пожрѣти] in the name of God and in the name of the people. And Methusalam went up to God's altar [жрътъвннкъ гнѣ] and his face brightened like the midday sun rising, and all the people followed him in his footsteps²⁷⁵ [градѣще въ слѣд его]. And Methusalam stood up before God's altar [ѡлтарю гнѣю]²⁷⁶ and all the people surrounded the {sacrificial} altar [жрътъвннкъ]. The Elders took the sheep and cattle and tied their four legs²⁷⁷ and then they placed them on the altar's capital [на главѣ ѡлтарюу] and said to

²⁷³ An overly literal translation of Hebrew *lifnê* ('before', literally 'to the face of') probably reflecting the language of the Vorlage of this text.

²⁷⁴ The noun used here to denote 'priest' [жръцъ] (var. **жъръцъ**, **жърцъ**, **жъръцъ**, **жерцъ**) is a cognate to the nouns for 'sacrificial offering' [жъртва, жрътва, жрътва, жертва], 'sacrificial victim' [жъртва, жрътва, жрътва, жертва], 'sanctuary' (=templum) [жъртвнще, жрътвнще, жертвнще], and 'altar' [жрътъвннкъ, жъртъвннкъ, жрътъвннкъ, жрътвеннкъ, жертвеннкъ, жрътовннкъ]; the same is true for the adjectives 'sacrificial' [жертвннын, жъртъвеннын, жрътъвннын] and 'priestly' [жъръѣ, жеръѣ, жъръѣскын, жъръѣскын, жреѣскын]. The verb 'to perform sacrifice' / 'to offer sacrifice' [жърѣти, жръѣти, жърѣти] on the other hand is identical with the verbs denoting 'to eat' and 'to drink' [i.e. **жърѣти**, **жръѣти**, **жърѣти**]; see the data presented in Sreznevskii [1893: 888-890].

²⁷⁵ Lit. 'walked in his footsteps'.

²⁷⁶ Here the phrase **жрътъвннкъ гнѣ** [God's altar] is replaced by **ѡлтаръ гнѣ**; the lexemes **жрътъвннкъ** and **ѡлтаръ** are used as synonyms.

²⁷⁷ Anthropological data collected among the Balkan Slavs indicates that the *Qurban* sacrificial rituals follow this rule; the four legs of the sacrificial animal are to be tied, otherwise the offering is incorrectly performed. However, the explanation given is usually with reference to the Akedah (i.e. Abrahamic narrative), but the obligatory customary to bind the four legs of the sacrificial animal may have originated with awareness of *2Enoch*; see the earlier discussion in Pennington [1984: 326] and Badalanova [2001: 39-46]. The picture is much more complex and requires more detailed explanation.

Methusalam, 'Take this knife and slaughter these animals which are designated {for sacrifice} before the face of God!' Methusalam stretched his hands towards the sky and called upon God, saying, 'Hear me O God, who am I to be in the front rank of Your sacrificial altar [ЖРЪТЪВНИКА ТВОЕГО], at the head of these people? O God, look at Your servant and all these people now! May they now all be tested and give blessings to your servant before the face of the whole people, so that they may understand that You have appointed a priest for your people.' While Methusalam was praying, the altar [ОЛТА^p] shook, the knife raised itself from the altar [ВЪСТА ПО^ж ОЛТАРА] and jumped into Methusalam's hand, before the face of all the people; and the people trembled and praised God. From this day onwards Methusalam became holy before God's face and before the face of the entire people. Methusalam took the knife and sacrificed [ИЗЪКЛА]²⁷⁸ everything brought by the people; and the people rejoiced and became merry on this day before God's face and before the face of Methusalam. And after that, people went off {and returned} under their own roofs.

Chapter Twenty-two

From this day onwards, Methusalam began serving at the altar [ОУ ОЛТАРА] before the face of God and all the people. For a period of ten years, he was reassuring them regarding {their} eternal heritage and mentored the entire Earth and his entire people well. There was not a single person who turned his face away from God in vain, during all the days of Methusalam's life. And God blessed Methusalam and graciously accepted his sacrifices and offerings and all his service which he conducted before the face of God. When the time of Methusalam's death²⁷⁹ approached, God appeared to him in a nightly vision and said to him, 'Listen to me, Methusalam, I am the Lord, God of your father Enoch, telling you to be aware that the days of your life are coming to an end. The day of our peace is approaching. Summon Nir, son of your son Lamech, the second one born after Noah, and dress him in your priestly garb and place him next to My altar, and tell him everything which will take place during his days. Because the time of the destruction of the entire Earth and every man and living creature on Earth is approaching, since in his days a great upheaval on Earth will take place. Because man has started hating his next of kin and people have taken to pride over other people, and nation²⁸⁰ has started wars {against nation}, and the entire Earth is full of desecration, blood and all kinds of evil; and having abandoned their Creator and they will bow before vain gods and before the heavenly firmament and before what goes on Earth²⁸¹ and before the waves of the sea; and {My} adversary {the Devil} will take pride in his deeds, to My great regret. And the entire Earth will alter its makeup, each tree and each fruit will change its nature,²⁸² anticipating the time of destruction. And all the nations²⁸³ on

²⁷⁸ Lit. 'slaughtered'.

²⁷⁹ Lit. 'presentation {before God}'.

²⁸⁰ Lit. 'tongue'.

²⁸¹ Var. 'before Earth's path.'

²⁸² Lit. 'seeds'.

Earth will alter, to My sorrow.²⁸⁴ Then I will order the Abyss to sweep over the Earth and the vast storehouses of heavenly waters will descend to Earth in great substance [ВЕЩЬСТВО ВЕЛНКО],²⁸⁵ back to primordial matter [ПО ВЕЩЬСТВО ПРЪВОМОУ]. Everything existing on Earth will perish [Н ПОГЫБНЕ ВСА СТАВЛЕНІЕ ЗЕМЛА]. The entire Earth will quake [СЪТРЕСЕТСА ЗЕМЛѢ ВСѢ] and from that day it will lose its firmness [ЛНШЕТСА КРѢПОСТН СВОЕ ѿ ДНѢ ТОГО]. Then I will save Noah, the firstborn son of your son Lamech, and from his seed I will create another world. His seed will last for ages, until the second destruction, when mankind will also sin in the same way before My face.' Methusalam started from his dream and his dream saddened him greatly. He summoned all the elders of the people and told them what God had announced to him, as well as the entire vision which was portended to him by God. The people were saddened on account of his vision and said to him, 'It will be done according to the will of God the Ruler. As for you, Methusalam, do today whatever God told you to do.' Methusalam summoned Nir [ННрѣ], the son of Lamech, the younger brother of Noah, and dressed him in priestly garb before the face of the entire people. He placed him next to the altar capital and taught him everything which he was to do before the people. And Methusalam said to the people, 'From now on, Nir [ННрѣ] will be prince [КНАЗѢ] and ruler [ВОЖѢ] for you.' The people replied to Methusalam, 'May this be according to your words. And may you be the voice of God, since God spoke to you.' And as Methusalem was talking to the people in front of the face of the altar, his spirit became disturbed and while still kneeling on his knees, he straightened his hands towards heaven and prayed to God; and while he was praying, his spirit departed towards God. And Nir and all the people hastened and made a tomb [гробѣ]²⁸⁶ for Methusalam at the place called Akhuzan [АХОУЗАНѢ], finely adorned in holy vestments, and with candelabra. And then Nir went with much glory and the people moved Methusalam's body and glorifying him, put him into the tomb which was created for him, and they covered him and said, 'May Methusalem be blessed in front of the face of God and before the face of the people!' When they wished to depart to go to their {own} places, Nir said to the people, 'Hurry today and bring sheep [бравы] and young oxen [юнце] and turtledoves [грѣланце] and pigeons [голжвы], so that we sacrifice [пожрѣ^М] them before God's face today, and afterwards you go to your homes.' And people obeyed Nir the priest [оуслыша^{III} людѣ ННра їреа], and they hastened and brought {the animals} and tied them up to the capital of the altar. And Nir took the priestly knife and slaughtered everything which was brought along and sacrificed it in front of God's face. And all the people rejoiced in front of God's face, and on that day they praised the Lord, God of heaven and Earth, on which Nir was dwelling. From this day on, there was peace and harmony on all the Earth during Nir's days, which were 202 years. And afterwards the people turned away from God and they began to be jealous of one another, and people rose up against people and nation made war

²⁸³ Lit. 'tongues'.

²⁸⁴ Perhaps a scribal error? If so, the word *желаніе* ('will', 'wish') may be emended to *сѣжаленіе* (or *сожаленіе*), as the reading 'with all My will' will make little sense; other MSS (e.g. MS Б) suggest *въ жалѣніе*. See the survey of variant readings in Sokolov [1899: 68-69 fn. 30].

²⁸⁵ Lit. 'matter'.

²⁸⁶ The noun *гробѣ* can also mean 'sepulchre', as well as 'grave'.

against nation.²⁸⁷ Although they had one mouth, their hearts understood differently. Because the Devil started ruling for the third time [ЗАНЕ НАУ А ДІАВО^А ТРЕТЦЕ А ЦР^СТВОВАТИ]. The first {time} was before Paradise; the second {time} was within Paradise; the third {time} outside of Paradise and lasted until the Flood. And wars and great unrest started, and the priest Nir [НІРЬ ІЕРЕЕ] heard and became saddened and said in his heart, 'Indeed, I understood that the time about which God was talking to Methusalam, the father of my father Lamech, has approached.'

²⁸⁷ Lit. 'tongue against tongue'.

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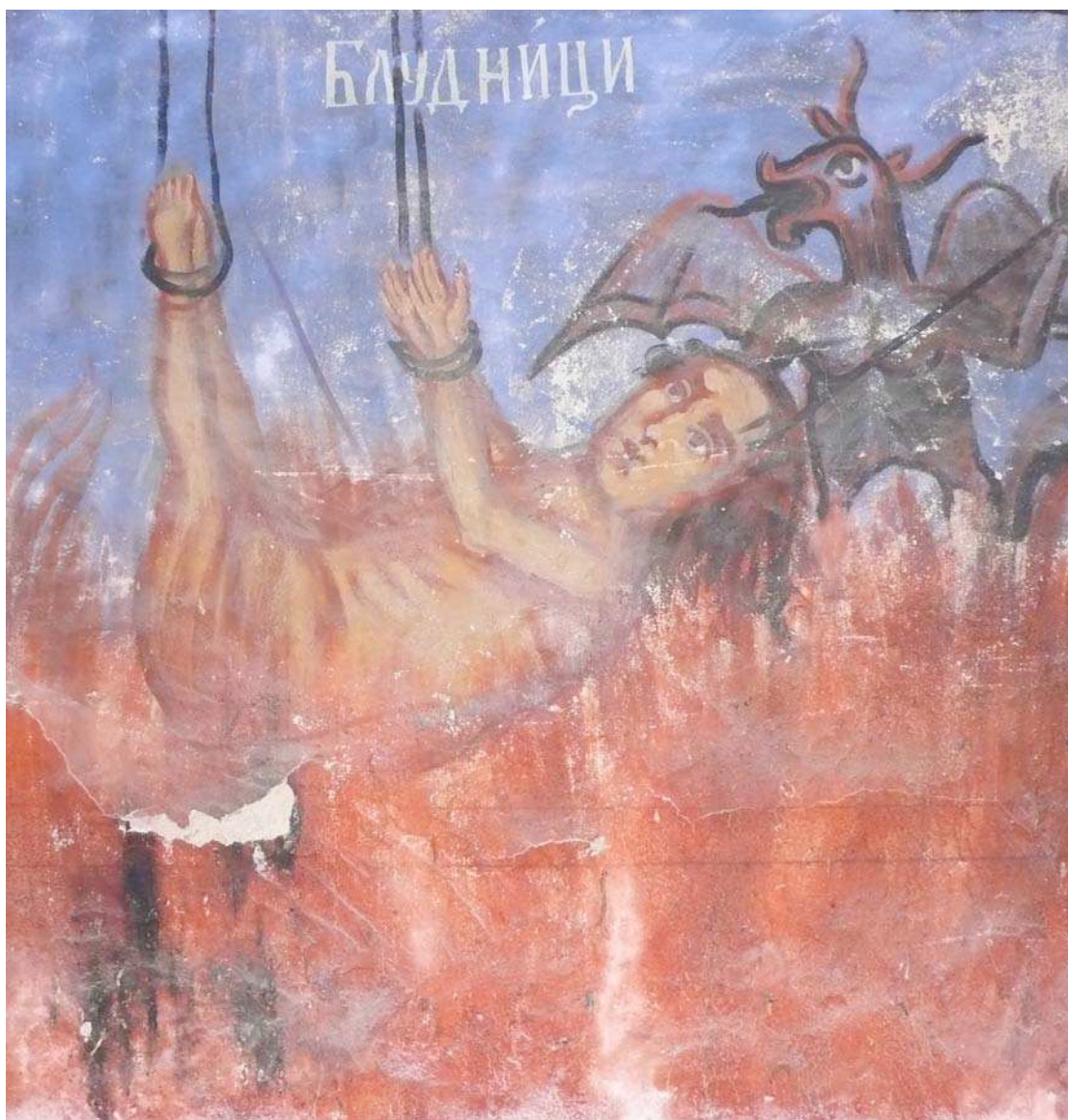


Fig. 6

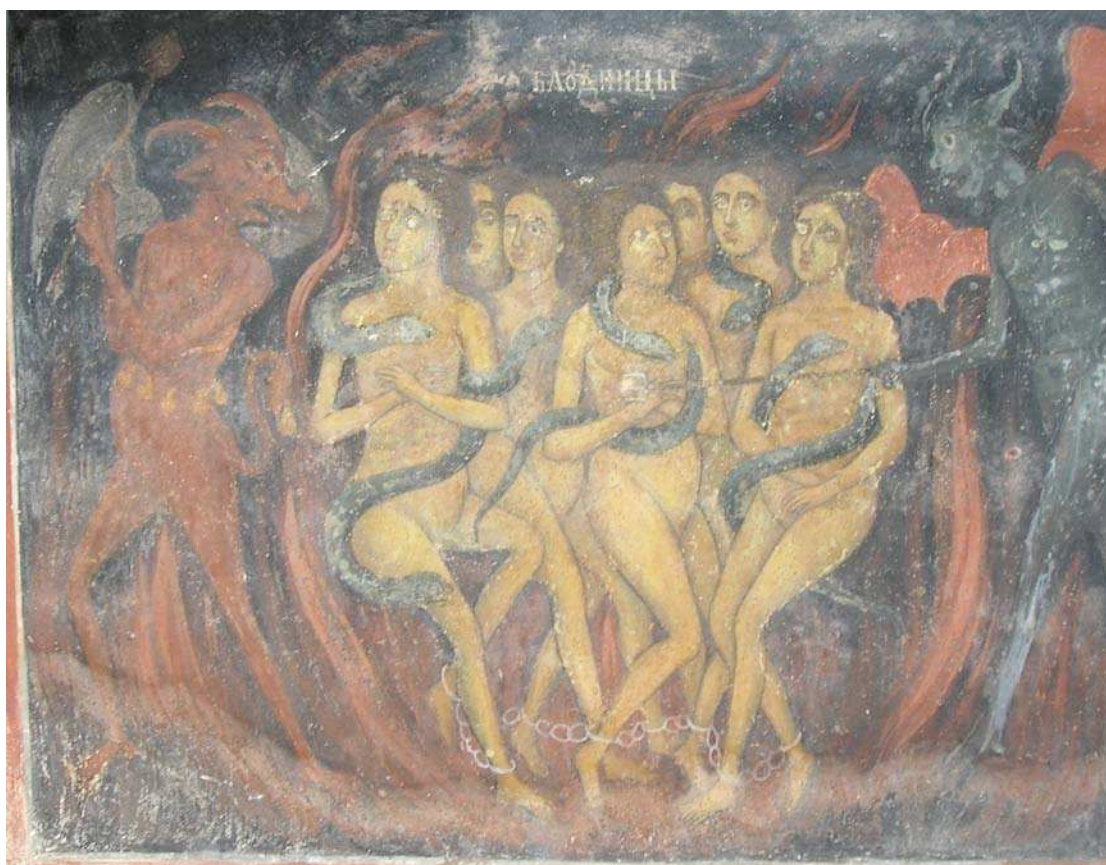


Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10

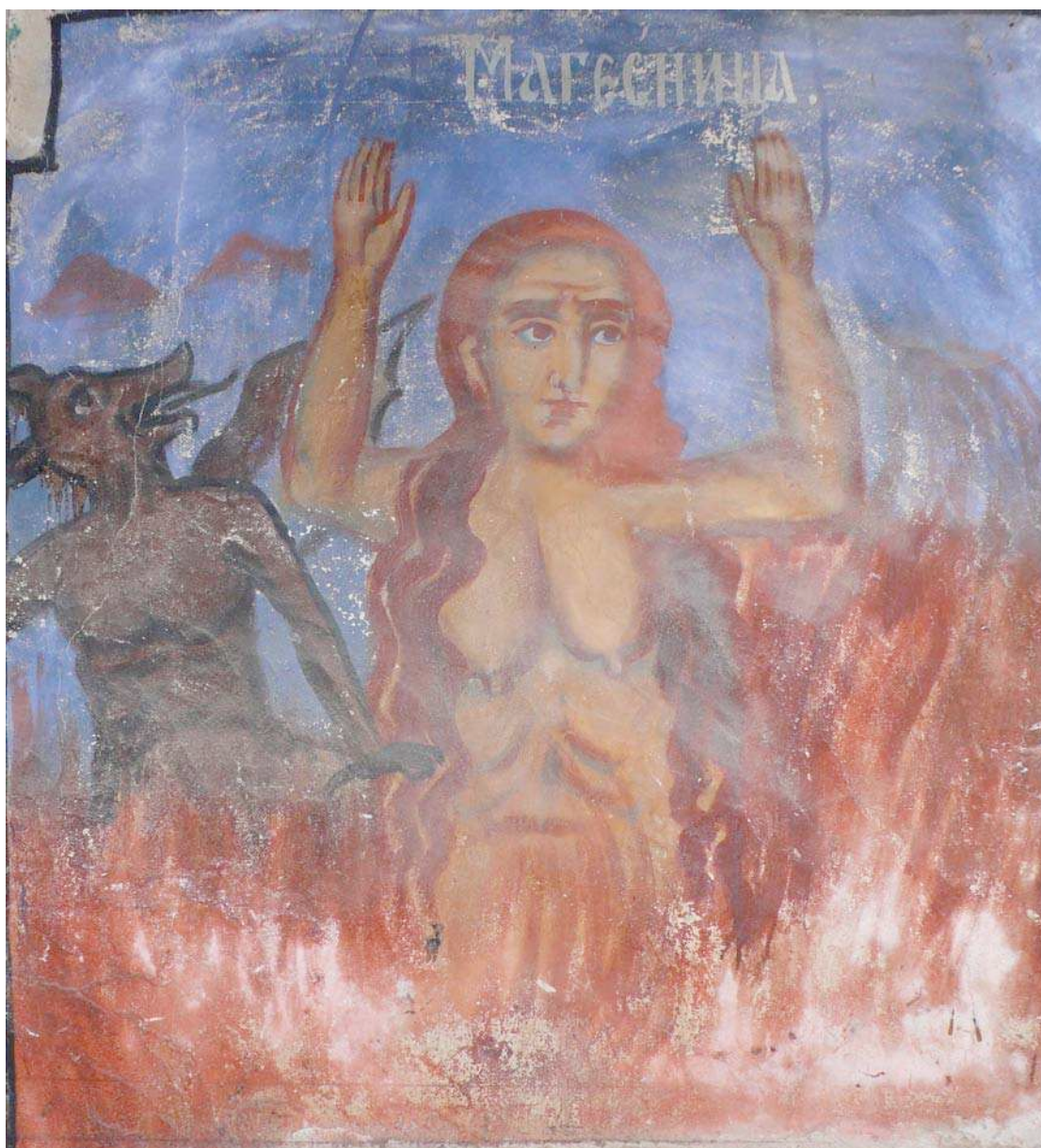


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13 tercessions of the prophets, nor help of the righteous.^r *There is the proclamation
of judgment to corruption,^s regarding the way^t to the fire and the path that leads
14 to the glowing coals.^u *Therefore, there is one Law by One, one world and an end 48:24
15 for all those who exist. *Then^v he will make alive those whom he has found, and^w
he will purge them from sins, and at the same time he will destroy those who are
polluted with sins.

1 86 When you, therefore, receive the letter,^a read it carefully in your assemblies.
And think about it, in particular, however,^b on the days of your fasts. And
remember me by means of this letter in the same way as I remember you by means
of this, and always.^c Bar 1:14
Col 4:16
1Mac 12:11
Rom 1:9

1 87 And^a it happened when I had finished all the words of this letter and had
written it carefully until the end, I folded it, sealed it cautiously, and bound it to
the neck of the eagle. And I let it go and sent it away.

The end of the letter of Baruch, the son of Neriah.

3 (Greek Apocalypse of) BARUCH

(First to Third Century A.D.)

A NEW TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION

BY H. E. GAYLORD, JR.

In this pseudepigraphon, Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah, weeps over the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple and the mockery of its heathen destroyers. The Lord sends an angel to comfort him and to guide him through the heavens and show him their mysteries. This angel then leads Baruch through five heavens:

1. The first contains a plain where those being punished for waging war against God are found (ch. 2).

2. The second contains a plain where those who forced others to build a tower to heaven in order to discover its contents are found (ch. 3).

3. The third contains a plain in which are a snake, a sea, and primal rivers, as well as the garden of Eden (perhaps Hades), the sun with the Phoenix, and the moon (chs. 4-9).

4. The fourth contains a plain on which are a pool and exotic birds, and the gathering place of the souls of the righteous (ch. 10).

5. The fifth is where the angels responsible for men on earth bring the gifts of men to Michael, who presents them to God. Baruch does not pass inside the gates of this heaven; they remain closed. In these chapters, three classes of mankind are mentioned: the righteous, the insufficiently righteous, and the sinners. In the Slavonic version, Baruch is granted permission to intercede for the suffering sinners (chs. 11-16).

After his heavenly journey, Baruch is returned to earth to relate what he has seen to his fellow men (ch. 17).

Texts

3 Baruch is found in both Greek and Slavonic. The Slavonic is a translation from a lost Greek original.

GREEK MANUSCRIPTS

1. BM MS Add. 10073. This manuscript is dated from the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth century. It is described by M. R. James.¹

2. Andros, Monastery of the Hagia, MS 46; dated by J.-C. Picard to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

On the relation between these manuscripts, Picard concludes that they "were both copied from the same manuscript, today lost."²

r. Cf. Ps-Philo 33:5.
s. "To corruption," l; "of corruption," c *solus*.
t. "Regarding the way," l; "and the way," c *solus*.
u. "To the glowing coals," l; "to the realm of death," c *solus*.
v. "Then," l; "And then," 6h14 10g1 12d2 c.
w. "Has found and . . .," l; "has found

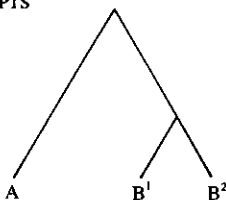
that . . .," c *solus*.

86 a. "The letter," l; "this my letter," c *solus*.
b. "However," l; om., c *solus*.
c. "And always," l; "and it may fare you well always," c *solus*.

87 a. This ch. is available in c only.

¹ *Apocrypha Anecdota II*.

² J.-C. Picard, *Apocalypsis Baruchi Graeci*, p. 69. MS 46 is described in P. Lambros, "Katalogos ton en te kata ten Andron mone tes Hagias Kodikon," *Epeteris tou Parnassou* 2 (1898) pp. 180-83, and A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der Griechischen Kirche* (Leipzig, 1939-1952), I.3, pp. 587, 839. The first sixty-two fols. contain homilies, but it should be noted that all subsequent items of this MS are also contained in BM MS Add. 10073.



Family stemma: A B¹ B²

The Slavonic manuscript tradition is preserved in at least twelve manuscripts; these can be divided into two major families, one of which is composed of two subfamilies. In most respects the more original readings have been preserved in family A. Clear revisions can be found in family B as a whole, and further redaction has led to its subfamilies. Until now, subfamily B¹ has been used for comparison with the Greek manuscript tradition, with the exception of a comment by W. Lüdtké.³ The translation below is based on family A wherever possible. Unfortunately, its best representatives, manuscripts L and T, both lack the sections 1:2–2:2 and 16:8–17:1, and these have been supplied by family B.

Family A:

L. Leningrad Greek 70 fols. 105–111v and St. Catherine's Monastery Slavonic 34 fols. 27–29v. One large manuscript, formerly in St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, has been split into four parts. One part (Slavonic 34) remains there, and the other three were removed to Russia and are now in the Salykov-Ščedrin State Library of Leningrad. The folios containing 3 Baruch were misbound into two of the parts of this manuscript. B. M. Zagrebin has recently discovered the relationship of these parts and described the contents of the original manuscript.⁴ The manuscript was written by several scribes; the portion containing 3 Baruch dates from the thirteenth century. This scribe copied a number of apocrypha. A tentative list includes the Abar Legend, 3 Baruch, and 4 Baruch. The proper sequence of folios in 3 Baruch as now recovered is Greek 70 fols. 105–108; Slavonic 34 fols. 27–29; Greek 70 fols. 109–111v. Three gaps still damage the text of this manuscript. 1:2–2:2a is missing (fols. 105v and 106r [first half] are blank). The order of 2:7–4:5a and 4:5b–5:2a is reversed because of a confusion in an antecedent manuscript, and this is probably what caused the loss of text at 5:2b–12a. The third missing portion is from 16:8 to the end. Both L and T contain an addition before 5:1, and end with an expanded version of the prayer of Baruch in chapter 16. The ending (16:8 to the end) is contained only in the manuscripts of family B. For further details on this manuscript and a diplomatic edition of it, see my forthcoming edition.

T. Theological Academy of Moscow No. 363/679, reportedly now in the Historical Museum of Moscow. This manuscript from the fifteenth century was published by N. Tichonravov (see bibliography). In addition to the faults it has in common with L, this manuscript shares with manuscript B the loss of 1:1–3:1, and an addition at the end of 5:3. (This seems to be a fragment from *Vita* 13–17, otherwise unknown in Slavonic.) Both T and B omit 3:8b. T omits 6:6–10:5.

B. Originally in the Barsov collection, this manuscript has passed into the Theological Academy of Kiev. It was written in A.D. 1701 and was published by M. Sokolov (see bibliography). Its language is very late, and it summarizes and rephrases passages freely. Manuscript B ends with a summary conclusion after chapter 9.

Family B:

The effects of the redaction behind this group can be clearly seen at a number of points:

1. 2:6 is omitted.
2. An interpolation occurs at 3:5.

³ W. Lüdtké, "Beiträge zu slavischen Apokryphen: 2 Apokalypse des Baruch," ZAW (1911) 220: "Stimmt T [in family A] mehr fach genauer mit G [Gk.] überein als S [in family B¹]." MS N, a very inferior MS of family B¹, is the basis for the earlier translations of Bonwetsch ("Das slavisch erhaltene Baruchbuch," *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: philologische-historische Klasse* [1896] 91–101) and W. R. Morfill (in *Apocrypha Anecdota II*, pp. 95–102), and MS S, the best representative of family B¹, was used by W. Hage for his more recent translation in *JSHRZ* 5.1. For a fuller description of the MSS, see E. Turdeanu ("L'Apocalypse de Baruch en slave," *Revue des études slaves* 48 [1969] 23–48) and H. E. Gaylord (*The Slavonic Version of 3 Baruch* [forthcoming]).

⁴ This important discovery was announced in B. M. Zagrebin, "O proischoždenii i sud'be nekotorykh slavjanskikh palimpsestov Sinaja," in *Iz istorii rukopisnykh i staropechatnykh sobranij Otdela rukopisej i redkich knig GPB* (Issledovanija, obzory, publikacii; Sbornik naučnykh trudov; Leningrad, 1979) pp. 61–80.

3. 3:8 is revised and has an interpolation.
4. 4:1–2a is omitted.
5. 4:5b is revised in two respects.

This is not an exhaustive list; there are also a large number of small variants that support this grouping. The arrangement of subfamilies B¹ and B² is largely based on small variants. A full description of the manuscripts in family B can be found in Gaylord (see n. 3).

THE TEXTUAL BASIS FOR THE TRANSLATIONS

The translation below of the Greek is based on the texts of M. R. James and J.-C. Picard. The translation of the Slavonic is based on my forthcoming edition. In that edition manuscript L has been used as the base text, emended when necessary on the basis of a thorough comparison of all the known manuscripts, as described above. When manuscripts L and T are absent (1:2–2:2 and 16:8 to the end), an eclectic text has been made. T and family B are used for 5:2b–12a.

News of the discovery of the Sinai manuscript portion of L reached me only after this work was completed. I have had time only to make a preliminary examination of it and a provisional translation. My definitive analysis and translation, especially of 6:6–11:3, will be found in my critical edition.

Parallel translations of the Greek and Slavonic texts are presented rather than an eclectic one for several reasons. Firstly, the divergences between the two textual traditions are so many and so great that the apparatus would rapidly be filled with variants alone. Secondly, the systematic variations and tendencies of each tradition should be examined not only on individual readings, but as a whole. Furthermore, the divergence of the textual tradition of present Greek manuscripts and the Greek basis of the present Slavonic tradition occurred not later than the tenth century, approximately five hundred years before the earliest extant Greek manuscript. In several important differences, which separate the Greek from the Slavonic traditions, a strong argument for the priority of the Slavonic exists:

1. The possible dependencies of the Greek on 4 Baruch in the introduction and chapter 1 are omitted in the Slavonic.
2. Explicit New Testament citations in the Greek (4:15; 5:3(?); 15:4; 16:2), and the phrase "through Jesus Christ Emmanuel" at 4:15 are all lacking in the Slavonic.
3. The story of the planting of the garden by angels in the Slavonic, lacking in the Greek, is worthy of consideration as original.
4. The structure and content of chapter 4.

These matters are discussed below.

Original language

The Slavonic version is a translation from Greek. A few linguistic features of the Greek could be explained by supposing a Semitic base text but are not unknown in later Koine Greek usage. There is no convincing argument that the Greek is a translation from another language.

Date and provenance

The dating and assignment of a historical context for 3 Baruch have been the subject of considerable discussion. M. R. James⁵ was the first to suggest a reference to this work in Origen, *De principiis* 2.3.6: "Finally they appeal to the book of the prophet Baruch to bear witness to this assertion, because in it there are very clear indications of the seven worlds or heavens."⁶ If this identification is correct then the latest possible date for the writing of 3 Baruch would be A.D. 231. The suggestion that the earliest possible date may be set by 4 Baruch because of allusions to it in 3 Baruch (introduction and chapter 1) has been cautioned against by James himself.⁷ James concluded that 3 Baruch is "a Christian Apocalypse of

⁵ James, *Apocrypha Anecdota II*, p. li.

⁶ Translation by G. W. Butterworth, *Origen on First Principles* (London, 1936; repr. New York, 1966) p. 91.

⁷ James, *Apocrypha Anecdota II*, p. lv.

the second century."⁸ L. Ginsberg argued that it is a Jewish-gnostic work from the beginning of the second century.⁹ H. M. Hughes maintained that the original version is a second-century Jewish work that has been modified by Christian redactors.¹⁰ J.-C. Picard claimed that it is a product of Jewish mysticism in the Diaspora from the first or second century with very minor Christian interpolations.¹¹ The most recent statement concerning the provenance is that it is a product of Syrian Jewry.¹²

Origen's statement does not help us to determine the latest possible date for our present work. Either he knew a version other than the present one (i.e. one with seven heavens), or he is speaking about another work altogether that has not survived. The only clear references to 3 Baruch are of a much later date, namely the use of 3 Baruch, chapter 2, in the History of the Rechabites¹³ and in later Slavonic literature.¹⁴ Nor is the suggested earliest possible date reliable since the possible references to 4 Baruch (absent in the Slavonic version) are probably secondary.¹⁵

Another argument for the earliest possible date is the dependency of 3 Baruch on 2 Baruch 76:3, in which Baruch is promised a vision.¹⁶ However, the interests of the author of 3 Baruch suggest that he belongs to a group completely other than that of the author of 2 Baruch. There is no apocalyptic notion of an end-time in 3 Baruch, nor would that interest him. Furthermore, his interest would seem to be focused on heavenly realities and not on those on earth. A timeless heavenly service in which the good deeds or prayers of men are offered by Michael on the altar is his chief answer to the crisis caused by the destruction of the earthly temple, and not a patient waiting for the new temple (whether in heaven or in Jerusalem) at the end of days.

Chapters 11–16 have often been singled out as having Christian characteristics, and even as being a secondary Christian conclusion replacing the earlier Jewish one. Yet many of these Christian elements are lacking in the Slavonic version, e.g. the citation of Matthew 25:23 in 15:4, Romans 10:19 or Deuteronomy 32:21 in 16:2, the monastic expression *pneumatikous pateras* in 13:4 (although it does contain references to the Church here and in chs. 15 and 16). The Slavonic also lacks the reference to Christian priests, Greek version 16:4. The Greek version would also appear to show a Christianizing tendency at the end of 5:3 (cf. Slavonic 5:3; the phrase as in the Slavonic also appears in 1:6 and 2:6), cf. also 4:15 in the Greek. One definitely sees Christian editing in chapters 11–16 in the Slavonic and even more in the Greek. Christian revision of the Greek manuscript tradition may also be seen in 4:3–6 and 4:15.

One cannot be certain about a time and place of composition for 3 Baruch. The alternatives are that it is a Christian composition that has made use of Jewish traditions, which may or may not have been later reworked, or that it is a basically Jewish composition that has undergone Christian reworking. The most likely dating of the initial composition in the latter case would be during the first two centuries after Christ; in the former, the dating would be very difficult. However, the scholarly dichotomy of Jewish and Christian writings in the first two centuries, like the earlier one between Diaspora and Palestinian Jewry, may be a misleading attempt to distinguish what is closely interrelated.

Historical importance

The greatest problem in establishing a historical context for this work is the evaluation

⁸ Ibid., p. lxxi.

⁹ L. Ginsberg, "Greek Apocalypse of Baruch," *JE*, vol. 2, p. 551.

¹⁰ H. M. Hughes, "The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch," *APOT*, vol. 2, pp. 529f.; accepted by W. Hage, *Die griechische Baruch-Apokalypse*, *JSHRZ* 5.1, pp. 19f.

¹¹ Picard, *Apocalypsis Baruchi*, pp. 75–78; and "Observations sur l'Apocalypse grecque de Baruch," *Sem* 20 (1970) 100–3.

¹² L. Rost, *Einleitung in die alttestamentlichen Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen einschliesslich der grossen Qumran-Handschriften* (Heidelberg, 1971) p. 88.

¹³ Formerly called the Apocalypse of Zosimus. Cf. especially chs. 2f.; see James, *Apocrypha Anecdota II*, pp. lvif. [Also see HistRech discussed and translated in the present collection. —J.H.C.]

¹⁴ See Turdeanu, *Revue des études slaves* 48 (1969) 36–38, 44–48.

¹⁵ The points in common with the 4th cent. ApPaul chs. 7–11 do not necessarily reflect a literary relationship, but see Introduction, "Historical importance."

¹⁶ James, *Apocrypha Anecdota II*, p. liv.; P. Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch* (SC; Paris, 1969) vol. 1, p. 455.

of the two versions. Previously it has been argued that the Slavonic is a rewritten version of the Greek. With the new manuscript evidence it can be seen that the Slavonic represents in the main the same text as the Greek. At some points it is shorter and at others it is longer.

Three sections (chs. 4f., 10, and 11–16) are most important in judging the two versions. The Slavonic places the resting place of the righteous and hell apparently elsewhere than in the first four heavens. The Greek version places hell in the third heaven (cf. chs. 4f.), and the resting place of the righteous in the fourth (ch. 10). In chapters 4 and 5 the Slavonic concentrates upon the incidents associated with the Fall: the garden of Eden and the serpent being punished for his role in the Fall. Further, in chapter 10 the inhabitants of the fourth heaven are not the righteous but probably angels singing the praises of God. Yet in both places it can be argued that those passages occurring only in the Greek are a reworking of the original construction, which is better represented by the Slavonic version.

In his introduction to the Greek text, M. R. James raised the issue of the relation between 3 Baruch and the fourth-century Apocalypse of Paul and suggested the possibility that the Apocalypse of Paul in chapters 9–18 was dependent on a version of 3 Baruch, chapters 11–16, closer to the original than the present Greek version.¹⁷ The Slavonic version of these chapters would reflect such a text, which includes the same sequence at that point as the Apocalypse of Paul. Another possibility would be the dependence of both 3 Baruch and the Apocalypse of Paul on a common original.

If the contents of the concluding chapters of the Slavonic version are more original than the Greek, then the earlier chapters 4 and 5 and chapter 10 also must be considered more original. Furthermore it is precisely in chapters 4f. and 11–16 that the Greek has suffered the most at the hands of Christian scribes. Wine is identified as the "blood of God" (4:15); "spiritual fathers" (mentioned in 13:4) is a Christian term especially used for monastics and bishops, and the function of the priests in 16:4 would also suggest a Christian context. Moreover, the New Testament is explicitly cited in the Greek at 15:4 and perhaps at 16:2. Yet the Slavonic itself is not free from Christian elements (cf. 13:4 and 16:2).

While there is evidence of Christian reworking of this apocalypse, there is also strong evidence of its original writing being Jewish or early Christian. The many parallels with Jewish traditions are not likely to have been known after the clear separation between Jewish and Christian communities. Therefore the original work should probably be dated in the first two centuries A.D.

Theological importance

The visions found in 3 Baruch share elements with many Jewish and Graeco-Roman traditions, yet differ from their parallels at crucial points.

The supreme episode in most heavenly visits in the apocryphal and mystical (Merkabah) literature is the appearance before the throne of God. Although the throne is mentioned twice in 3 Baruch (6:8[S]; 9:4[S]), this element is missing in the journey. The gates of the fifth heaven remain closed to Baruch, and he does not see the throne. It is possible, however, that the original text contained descriptions of further heavens, but the original form cannot be reconstructed from the extant versions.

There seem to be two differing views concerning God in this work. He acts directly against the two sets of tower builders (2:7; 3:6, 8), but in the later chapters he intervenes only through intermediaries, meting out rewards and punishments (chs. 11–16). Angels implement the will of God in the creation of the garden of Eden and in the daily care of the sun and moon. Moreover, another group of angels render daily (?) account of the activities of men to their commander-in-chief Michael. He receives from them the good works of men, which he as high priest then takes to the temple in an upper heaven to offer upon the altar. The same angels then give rewards and punishments to the men in their charge.

This work has a wealth of angels. Two angelic messengers are mentioned: Phanael is described as an archangel (10:1[G]), an angel of hosts (2:6[G]; 10:1[S]), and an interpreter of revelations (11:7[G]). An otherwise unknown angel, Sarasael, delivers a revelation to Noah (4:15). The central angelic figure in 3 Baruch is Michael, who is addressed as the

¹⁷ A close relation between ApPaul and 3Bar was first suggested by N. Bonwetsch, *Nachrichten*, pp. 92f. Cf. also James, *Apocrypha Anecdota II*, pp. 70f.; Turdeanu, *Revue des études slaves* 48 (1969) 42. 3Bar has many other parallels with ApPaul. An edition of the Slavonic version of ApPaul would aid in sorting out this problem.

commander-in-chief of all the angels (see n. to 11:4). Yet his activities are even broader: He holds the keys to the gates of the upper heavens, the kingdom of God or heaven (11:2), and functions as priest in the heavenly temple. In chapters 11–16 he is also the single intermediary between God and the angels overseeing men.

Five angels are mentioned by name in the Slavonic version of 3 Baruch: Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael, and Satanael (the MSS of family A), and Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Phanuel, and Satanael (the MSS of family B). The name Satanael, modeled upon the -EL element in other angels' names, is changed to Satan when he loses his favored status. Satanael is mentioned in several other works as well. The earliest is 2 Enoch 18, 31, where he is the chief of the fallen Watchers. Moreover, he is probably identified with the figure in Isaiah 14:13f. who falls from heaven. A parallel account is also found in the Gospel of Bartholomew 3:25–29 and in the Book of the Cave of Treasures.¹⁸ Yet the name Satanael in the Slavonic is probably secondary to the name Samael in the Greek version. Samael became a centralizing figure in the later rabbinic literature, incorporating the functions of several angels. Yet Diabolos, or Satan, functioned in the same manner among Christians, and we find little record of Samael in Christian literature. The first four archangels in the two lists are each paralleled in early Jewish and Christian sources (see n. to 4:7[S]). The name Samael is very common as the chief of evil angels in rabbinic literature and some apocryphal works. Possible etymologies are the poison of God (cf. the poison administered by the Angel of Death, b.AZ 20b), or the blind one.

Both versions of 3 Baruch are confused in their treatment of Samael and the vine. In the Greek they are both cursed before the fall of Adam and Eve, but the vine is to be transformed for the good (4:15). In the Slavonic version the vine is first identified with "sinful desire which Satanael spread over Eve and Adam," and then Noah is told to "alter its name and change it for the better." Implied in both versions is disobedience among the angels before that of Adam and Eve. At least three different backgrounds are possible for the account of Samael here, and it is impossible to make a definitive judgment. Though the vine was planted by Samael and cursed by God, in the new creation after the Flood the vine and its fruit remain useful, within reason.

By his disobedience Adam lost "the glory of God" (4:16[G]), which may have been comparable to that of angels (cf. 13:4[S]). The reward of the righteous is oil, possibly the sign of the glory of God, which the angel-guide promises to show Baruch several times in this text (6:12; 7:2; 11:2; 16:3[S]). It is hardly accidental that there are traditions that Adam sought to receive the "oil of mercy" at the point of death, and that Enoch was transformed by the "oil of his glory" (see n. to 15:1). The angel describes the resting place of the righteous as one of glory (16:4[S]), but Baruch does not visit it.

The story about the phoenix bird, known in classical, Jewish, and Christian antiquity, also appears here.¹⁹ Many of the details correspond to the classical tradition. Early Christianity used this story as a symbolic representation of the resurrection of Jesus: the new phoenix rising out of the ashes of its predecessor. Yet here, without parallel, the phoenix is the protector of the world, shielding its inhabitants from the fierce pure rays of the sun, which would destroy them and their impure deeds were it not for this mediator.

Two central themes run through the entirety of 3 Baruch. At the opening, Baruch is crying over the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple. The angel tells him not to be concerned for the salvation of Jerusalem (1:3), and he promises to show Baruch the mysteries of God. These mysteries concern obedience and disobedience to God's commands and their results. Another aspect of the mysteries that Baruch encounters at many points is the wonders of the natural, albeit heavenly world. He observes the workings of the sun and moon and, most clearly in the Slavonic, observes other wonders too: the snake that keeps the great sea in balance and the origin of fruitful rains. Baruch sees the punishment of those who waged war with God (ch. 2), of those who forced others to build a tower to the heavens (ch. 3), of the serpent who participated in the temptation of Adam and Eve (ch. 4), of the moon that helped Samael in the temptation (ch. 9), and the punishment of men who disobey God's commands

¹⁸ See E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Cave of the Treasures* (London, 1927) pp. 56f.

¹⁹ [See the recent and very important work on the phoenix—and the discussion of the phoenix in 3Bar (especially pp. 261–304)—by R. van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix* (Leiden, 1972); also cf. nn. d, e, h, j, and k to ch. 6 below. —J.H.C.]

(ch. 16). Moreover, Adam himself lost the "glory of God" because of his disobedience (4:13, 16). In chapters 11–16 the focus is shifted to those presently living. No final Day of Judgment is even hinted at (except in Baruch's remark in 1:7). It appears that angels take a daily account of the lives of men and receive new instructions concerning them. Those who have lived virtuously receive their reward, and those who have clearly been disobedient are punished for committing the sins listed at several points in the text (chs. 4, 8, 13). The two versions give differing accounts of those who have insufficient accomplishments.

Baruch's initial concern would seem to be about the proper functioning of the Temple in Jerusalem. How can the proper relation between God and men be maintained without the sacrifices of the Temple? The answer becomes clear: There is a heavenly temple in which the prayers, virtues, and good deeds are offered by Michael. The rewards, the oil (of mercy) and the glory of God, will not be withheld because of the absence of the Temple in Jerusalem. This answer is quite different from others given in this period. Here there is no mention of a messiah, no division between Israel and the other nations (except possibly in Baruch's opening lament), and no notion of two ages.

Relation to canonical books

The opening chapters of 3 Baruch are most closely bound to stories from the Book of Genesis, but these are expanded and reworked in a manner common to much of the literature of second Temple Judaism.

A good example of this is the treatment of the tower of Babel (Gen 11:1–9). Two different groups of men seem to be distinguished here.²⁰ The first group attempted to reach heaven in order to wage war with God and are punished in the first heaven. The second group, imprisoned in the second heaven, forced others to build a tower so as to discover the composition of heaven. Here several elements of the Egyptian enslavement of Israel are incorporated into the story. The store cities (fortified cities in LXX) of Exodus 1:11 may here have been interpreted as a tower. The story of the woman forced to work while giving birth is elsewhere told of the Egyptian period (see n. to 3:5). Bricks are also a strong element of the account in Exodus 1. The punishment with blindness is mentioned in Genesis 19:11 in relation to the citizens of Sodom and Gomorrah, but it is suggested already in the Wisdom of Solomon 19:17 that the plague of darkness (Ex 10:21–23) was also blindness.

Again, the story of the garden of Eden is expanded here. The planting of the garden was not done directly by God but by his angels, and the angel who caused Adam and Eve to sin was one of these angels. The punishment of the snake (Gen 3:14f.) takes place in the third heaven, where, according to the Slavonic version, he "eats earth like grass" (4:3). The giants who, we are told, were drowned in the Flood may be the children of the unions described in Genesis 6:1–4 (cf. e.g. 1En 6–16). A strong typological relation is set up between Adam and Noah, who discovers a piece of the vine through which Adam and Eve sinned washed out of the garden by the receding floodwaters. Afraid to provoke God's wrath, Noah hesitates to plant the vine, but the angel Sarasael is sent to instruct him to do so.²¹

Relation to apocryphal books

Baruch, a minor figure in the Book of Jeremiah, became an important pseudonym in the second Temple period of Jewish history. In the second century B.C., 1 Baruch 1:1–3:8 was written. After A.D. 70 the works 2 and 4 Baruch were written. These books attributed to Baruch are not the work of a single school, but this name brought associations of the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple in 587 B.C. and the crisis that resulted. Furthermore, there is a Christian Apocalypse of Baruch in Ethiopic which was adapted by

²⁰ A threefold division of tower builders is mentioned in rabbinic sources: "Rabbi Jeremiah ben Eleazar said, 'They (the builders) were split into three groups.' One said, 'Let us go up and dwell there,' and one said, 'Let us go up and practise idolatry,' and one said, 'Let us go up and make war.' " The first group is dispersed, the second is stopped when God confuses their tongues, and the third group is changed into apes, evil spirits, and demons (b.Sanh 109a).

²¹ The two versions diverge greatly here (5:15). The Gk. "and its fruit . . ." is a Christian addition, but its opening and closing phrases may be original.

the Falashas.²² Justin the Gnostic in the second century also had a book of Baruch.²³ James thinks that still another book of Baruch was known to Cyprian.²⁴ One can see by the last three books the degree to which Baruch's name was used for very different purposes: He is even identified as an angel by Justin the Gnostic.

3 Baruch is one of a number of books concerning the visions of a man conducted through the various heavens. Similar visions are recorded in the Testament of Abraham, the Apocalypse of Abraham, 1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, the Testament of Levi, the Vision of Isaiah, and the Merkabah literature. Lists of seven heavens and their contents are also given in rabbinic sources. These lists are far from uniform, and different items occur in the various works.

On many specific points common traditions are shared between 3 Baruch and other apocryphal literature, and these are mentioned in the notes below. Among these is the tradition about Adam's pre-Fall glory, which he lost (4:16[G]). This important tradition is closely related to the books concerning Adam and Eve. The secondary references to Satanael in the Slavonic version have probably been influenced by Christian traditions; this may also be true of the mention of Satanael in 2 Enoch. Still, it is possible that this myth, based on Isaiah 14:12-14, and found in the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae* as well as in one late rabbinic source, is much older than is sometimes thought.

In what A. Vaillant considers the oldest version of 2 Enoch²⁵ seven phoenixes are located in the sixth heaven (2En 19:6). However, in the long text, phoenixes and chalkydii accompany the sun in the fourth heaven (2En 12:1-3). Moreover, they announce to the earthly birds the entrance of the sun at dawn (2En 15:1). Yet the main function of the phoenix in 3 Baruch, guardian of the world, has no parallel.

Cultural importance

This work has not made a great impact in later history. It is possible that it has influenced certain parts of the Apocalypse of Paul and the History of the Rechabites. Origen may cite it at one point.

Yet in Slavic literature it has had some importance, as witnessed by the fact that twelve known manuscripts exist today. The Slavonic version was reedited before the fourteenth century (MSS of family B). Moreover, it gave rise to a Bulgarian folktale known from the eighteenth century.²⁶ There are also Russian manuscripts (15th-17th cent.) of a moral discourse against the abuse of wine, which uses chapters 4 and 5 of 3 Baruch to confirm its point.²⁷

Thus while in Western Europe and Greece 3 Baruch has lain in libraries unread until the late nineteenth century, it has been in popular and religious use among Slavic peoples.

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²² Cf. W. Leslau, *Falasha Anthology* (New Haven, 1951) pp. 57-76.

²³ Cf. Hippolytus, *Ref* 5.24.

²⁴ Cyprian *Testimonia* 3.29. See M. R. James, *LAOT*, pp. 77f. [Also see S. E. Robinson's discussion of Baruch in 4Bar in the present collection. —J.H.C.]

²⁵ See A. Vaillant, *Le Livre des Secrets d'Hénoch* (Paris, 1952). [But regarding Vaillant's methods and conclusions see the contribution herein on 2En by F. Andersen. —J.H.C.]

²⁶ Published by P. Lavrov, in *Sbornik otd. russk. jaz. i slov.* 67 (1899) 149-51.

²⁷ See Turdeanu, *Revue des études slaves* 48 (1969) 36-38, 44-48.

APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

Slavonic

when the angel Phanuel^c was sent to him on the holy mountain Zion^d beside the river, as he cried over the captivity of Jerusalem. Lord, give thy blessing.^e

- 1 When King Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem and enriched Babylon,^a then I Baruch cried loudly and said,
- 2 "Lord, in what way was King Nebuchadnezzar righteous?^d Why did you not spare your city Jerusalem which is your vineyard of glory?^c Why have you acted so, Lord?"
- 3 And behold, as I was crying to myself, an angel of the Lord appeared and said to me, "Be silent, O man of his pleasure!^e Jerusalem had to suffer this. But thus speaks the Lord Almighty to you,
- 4 and he sent me before your face so that I could show you all the mysteries of God.^g
- 5 For both your tears and your voice entered the ears of the Almighty God.
- 6 Only tell me that you will neither add nor omit (anything), and I will show you mysteries which no man has ever seen."
- 7 And I Baruch said to the angel, "As the Lord God lives, if you will show me, I will listen; I will not subtract nor will I add one word.^h If I do omit (anything), then ^{Deut 4:2} may the Lord pass judgment upon me on the Day of Judgment."

a. The Gk. contains two introductions. The first has signs of being a medieval creation. On "narration" cf. e.g. ApMos, introduction; TAB (both versions), introduction.

b. This term differs from that in the body of this work, mystery, cf. 1:4(S); 1:6; 1:8(G); 2:6; 5:3(S).

c. The name of Baruch's angelic guide is mentioned also at 2:5. This is one of the four archangels in the Parables of Enoch. See Introduction, "Theological Importance."

d. This is also the place of revelation to Baruch in 2Bar 13:1f.

e. The invocation in an introduction is a common patristic device, e.g. ActsThom, introduction; ActsJn, introduction; ApZos (= HistRech), introduction; ApSed, introduction. Cf. Lampe, *eulogēō ad loc.*

f. M. R. James emends the Gk. *gel* to read *Kedrôn*, lacking in the Slavonic. The geographical reference would be to the eastern side of the Temple mount, facing the Kidron brook. Cf. 2Bar 5:5; 21:1; 31:1.

g. The second introduction of the Gk. seems influenced by 4Bar 3:14. The background of these stories of Abimelek is in Jer 38:7–13 and 39:15–18.

h. Possibly the gates of Nicanor, cf. Josephus, *War* 5.201–6; m.Middot 1:4; t.Yoma 2:4; and A. Schalit, *König Herodes* (Berlin, 1969) p. 389, n. 834. These gates may be referred to in Acts 3:10. Baruch also laments before the Temple gates in 2Bar 10:5.

i. This is the place of revelations in 2Bar 34:1;

APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

Greek

1. Narration^a and Apocalypse of Baruch concerning the secret things^b he saw by the command of God. Lord, give thy blessing.^c
2. Apocalypse of Baruch who is by the Kidron River^d weeping over the captivity of Jerusalem while Abimelek was safeguarded in the estate of Agrippa by the hand of God,^e and who was seated by the beautiful gates^h where the Holy of Holiesⁱ stood.

- 1 Woe, now I Baruch (was) weeping in my mind^b and considering the people and how King Nebuchadnezzar was permitted by God to plunder his city, saying,
- 2 "Lord, why have you set fire to your vineyard and laid it waste?^c Why have you done this? And why, Lord, did you not requite us with another punishment, but rather handed us over to such heathen so that they reproach us saying, 'Where is their God?' "
- 3 And behold, while I was weeping and saying such things, I saw an angel of the Lord coming and saying to me, "Know, O man, greatly beloved man,^e and do not concern yourself so much over the salvation of Jerusalem.^f For thus says the Lord God Almighty,
- 4 and he sent me before you in order that I should proclaim and disclose to you all things of God.^g
- 5 For your prayer has been heard before him and has entered the ears of the Lord God."
- 6 And when he told me these things, I became calm, and the angel said to me, "Cease irritating God, and I will disclose to you other mysteries greater than these."ⁱ
- 7 And I Baruch said, "As the Lord lives, if you disclose a word to me and I hear it from you, I shall speak no further. May God add to me punishment on the Day of Judgment if I speak in the future."
- 8 And the angel of hosts^k said to me, "Come and I shall disclose to you the mysteries of God."

Isa 5;
Ezek 15;
Ps 80:8–16
Pss 42:3, 10;
79:10; 115:2;
Joel 2:17;
Micah 7:10

35:1. The Gk. contains three conflicting geographical references. The Holy of Holies was set apart by a curtain, not gates. Between it and the end of the Temple mount stood the gates of Nicanor. The Slavonic has a plausible geographic reference.

1 a. The opening of 4Ezra 3:2 voices the same contrast. Cf. also 2Bar 11:1f.

b. Cf. also 2Bar 6:2; 10:5; 35:1.

c. This theme is also prominent in 2Bar 3:5; 5:1; 4Ezra 3:27–36; 5:28–30.

d. Cf. 4Ezra 3:28.

e. Dan 10:11 Ø. There also an angel is sent to announce God's hearing of a prayer.

f. In the Slavonic this seems to be misplaced

from here to 2:3.

g. The Slavonic may conflate Gk. vss. 4 and 8b here. The mysteries are mentioned at 1:4(S), 6, 8(G); 2:6; 5:3(S); 17:1(S).

h. The requirement of precise transmission of revelations is also mentioned in Deut 4:2; 13:1 and Rev 22:18.

i. None has been mentioned except perhaps the salvation of Jerusalem. Cf. also 4Ezra 5:13 and ApPaul (Lat.) 40 [end].

j. Lacking in S. Cf. vs. 4.

k. Cf. 2:1(S). This class of the angelic guide is also mentioned in 2:6(G); 10:1(S); elsewhere cf. 1En 20:1(G*); 61:10; TAB (A) 9, 14; 2Thes 1:7; Josh 5:14 LXX.

- 1 **2** And the angel of hosts took me and carried me where the firmament of heaven^a is.
- 2 And it was the first heaven,^d and in that heaven he showed me very large doors.^e And the angel said to me, "Let us pass through these doors." And we passed through like the passing of 30 days. He showed me salvation.^g
- 3 And I saw a plain;^h there were menⁱ living there whose faces were those of cattle, with the horns of deer, the feet of goats, and the loins of rams.
- 4 And I Baruch asked the angel, "Tell me what is the thickness of the heaven which we have crossed, and what is the plain, so that I can tell the sons of men."
- 5 Phanael^k said to me, "The gates which you saw are as large as (the distance) from east to west; the thickness of heaven is equal to the distance from earth to heaven, the plain where we are standing is equal to its width (i.e. heaven's)."
- 6 He said to me, "Go and I will show you the mysteries."
- 7 I said to the angel, "Lord, who are these strangely shaped creatures?" And the angel said to me, "These are those who built the tower of the war against God.^l The Lord threw them out."
- 1 **3** And the angel took me and led me to the second heaven and showed me large open^a doors, and the angel said to me, "Let us pass through them."
- 2 And we passed through, flying like the passing of 7 days.^b
- 3 And he showed me a great prison,^c and there were strangely shaped creatures living in it, with the faces of dogs, the horns of deer, and the feet of goats.^d
- 4 And I asked the angel of the Lord, "Who are these?"
- 5 And he said to me, "These are the ones who had planned^e to build the tower, for at that time they forced men and a multitude of women to make bricks.^f Among them was one woman who was near to giving birth, and they did not release her, but, working, she gave birth, and took her cloak and wrapped the infant, and left her infant, and made bricks again.
- 6 And the Lord God appeared to them and confused their languages.^g And they built their tower 80 thousand cubits in height, and in width 5 hundred and twenty.
- 7 They took an auger so that they could proceed to bore heaven so that they could see whether heaven is (made) of stone or of glass or of copper.
- 8 And God saw them and did not heed them, but he chastened them invisibly."^h

2 a. The heavens rest upon the firmament, cf. 1En 18:5; 33:2. This is the *Rāqia'* in the creation story, Gen 1:6-8, which separates the upper and lower waters.

b. Identified as the ocean in ApPaul 21 and TAB (B) 8, or possibly the Upper Waters (Gen 1:6-8), which are discussed in GenR 4:3 and b.Hag 15a and elsewhere. In the ApZos 2 the Eumeles River is mentioned at this juncture. This work is very similar to 3Bar here and possibly dependent on it. In the heavenly journey of TLevi 2:7 a "hanging sea" is mentioned under the first heaven. Further a river of fire and the ocean appear also in 1En 17:5.

c. Gk. *pnoē* can also mean "living creature" as in 8:7 and e.g. LXX Ps 40:6; 24:12. Cf. ApZos 2, where the cloud over the waters says, "Through

me passes no bird, nor breath of wind . . ." [See the contribution herein on ApZos = HistRech. —J.H.C.]

d. See Introduction on the arrangement of the heavens. This formulation is repeated in 3:1f.; 4:2. The entrances to other heavens are at 10:1(G) and 11:1f.

e. Cf. Ps 78:23 and also below 3:1; 11:1.

f. Lacking in the Slavonic, "Flying" is mentioned at 3:2. The winds carry Enoch to heaven in 1En 14:8. Cf. also ApZos 2.

g. Probably a misplaced fragment in Slavonic from 1:3.

h. Plains are mentioned in chs. 2, 3 (second heaven), 4 (third heaven), and 10 (fourth heaven).

i. Cf. 3:3. Cf. the rabbinic division into three groups, mentioned in the Introduction.

- 1 **2** And taking me, he led me to where the heaven was set fast^a and where there was a river^b which no one is able to cross, not even one of the foreign winds^c which God created.
- 2 And taking me, he led me up to the first heaven^d and showed me a very large door.^e And he said to me, "Let us enter through it." And we entered as on wings^f about the distance of 30 days' journey.
- 3 And he showed me a plain^h within the heaven. And there were menⁱ dwelling on it with faces of cattle and horns of deer and feet of goats and loins of sheep.
- 4 And I Baruch asked the angel, "Tell me, I pray you,^j what is the thickness of this heaven in which we have journeyed, and what is its width, and what is this plain, that I may report these to the sons of men."
- 5 And the angel, whose name was Phamael,^k said to me, "This door which you see is (the door) of heaven, and (its thickness) is as great as the distance from earth to heaven, and the width of the plain which you saw is the same (distance) again."
- 6 And again the angel of hosts said to me, "Come and I will show you greater mysteries."
- 7 And I said, "I pray you, show me what those men are." And he said to me, "These are the ones who built the tower of the war against God,^l and the Lord removed them."
- 1 **3** And taking me, the angel of the Lord led me to a second heaven. And he showed me there a door similar to the first. And he said, "Let us enter through it."
- 2 And we entered, flying about the distance of 60 days' journey.
- 3 And he showed me there also a plain, and it was full of men, and their appearance was like (that) of dogs, and their feet (like those) of deer.
- 4 And I asked the angel, "I pray you, lord, tell me who these are."
- 5 And he said, "These are the ones who plotted^e to build the tower. These whom you see forced many men and women to make bricks.^f Among them one woman was making bricks in the time of her delivery; they did not permit her to be released, but while making bricks she gave birth. And she carried her child in her cloak and continued making bricks.
- 6 And appearing to them, the Lord changed their languages;^g by that time they had built the tower 463 cubits (high).
- 7 And taking an auger, they attempted to pierce the heaven, saying, 'Let us see whether the heaven is (made) of clay or copper or iron.'
- 8 Seeing these things, God did not permit them (to continue), but struck them with blindness^h and with confusion of tongues, and he made them be as you see."

j. Oft-used phrase in Gk., lacking in Slavonic. Cf. also 2:7; 3:4; 4:8; 4:14.

k. Mentioned in the Introduction (S). Phamael is probably a corruption, the Slavonic MSS vary between Phanael and Phanuel.

l. Gen 11:1-9. Cf. Introduction.

3 a. Perhaps an addition under the influence of 11:1.

b. Probably confusion of letters that were used as numbers.

c. The Slavonic reading here is based upon a Gk. uncial error, *PEDION/KELLION*. This would indicate that the Gk. *Vorlage* of the Slavonic and the present Gk. MS family diverged during the period when uncials were still being written.

d. Contamination from 2:3.

e. This second group planned the tower and forced others to build it. This also is an expansion of Gen 11. Cf. also b.Sanh 109a and parallels and Introduction above.

f. A similar story about the Egyptian enslavement is told in PRE 48 and TarJon to Ex 24:10.

g. Cf. Gen 11:7f.

h. This seems to be the ninth plague against the Egyptians (Ex 10:21-23), which is reinterpreted as blindness. The men of Sodom received this punishment (Gen 19:11), and WisSol 19:17 makes this interpretation explicit.

i. Slavonic has misunderstood the point here. The confusion of tongues is mentioned twice in the Gk. (vss. 6, 8), but only once in Slavonic.

4 And I Baruch said, "The Lord has shown me great (things)."

2 And the angel said, "Come and let us pass through these doors; you will see the glory of God."^b And I passed through with the angel like the passing of 187 days.
3 And he showed me a plain, and there was a serpent on a stone mountain.^d And it drinks one cubit of water from the sea every day, and it eats earth like grass.^e
4 And I Baruch said to the angel, "Lord, does he drink one cubit from the sea?"
5 The angel said to me, "Listen, Baruch, the Lord God made 353 rivers,ⁱ and the first river is the Alpheia, the second Aboura, the third Agirenik, the fourth Dounab, the fifth Ephrat, the sixth Zephon, the seventh Matepus, the eighth Arenous, the ninth Pelkuri. And there are 354 others flowing into the sea, and thus it is washed,^j and it does not diminish^k because his heart is enflamed."
6 And I Baruch said to the angel, "Show me the tree^l which deceived Adam."^m

7 And the angel said to me, "When God made the garden and commanded Michael to gather two hundred thousand and three angels so that they could plant the garden, Michaelⁿ planted the olive and Gabriel, the apple; Uriel, the nut; Raphael, the melon; and Satanael,^o the vine. For at first his name in former times was Satanael, and similarly all the angels planted the various trees."

8 And again I Baruch said to the angel, "Lord, show me the tree through which the serpent^p deceived Eve and Adam." And the angel said to me, "Listen, Baruch. In the first place, the tree was the vine,^q but secondly, the tree (is) sinful desire which Satanael spread over Eve and Adam, and because of this God has cursed the vine because Satanael had planted it, and by that he deceived the protoplast Adam and Eve."

9 And I Baruch said to the angel, "Lord, if God has cursed the vine and its seed, then how can it be of use now?"

10 And the angel said to me, "Rightly you ask me. When God made the Flood upon the earth, he drowned every firstling, and he destroyed 104 thousand giants,^u and the water rose above the highest mountains 20 cubits above the mountains, and the water entered into the garden, bringing out one shoot from the vine as God withdrew the waters.^v

11 And there was dry land, and Noah went out from the ark

12 and found the vine lying on the ground, and did not recognize it having only heard about it and its form.

13 He thought to himself, saying, 'This is truly the vine which Satanael planted in the middle of the garden, by which he deceived Eve and Adam; because of this God cursed it and its seed. So if I plant it, then will God not be angry with me?'

4 a. Cf. Slavonic. The Gk. may be a Christian addition reflecting Rev 15:1, 3. Cf. n. on 5:3.

b. Omission due to homoeoteleuton; text preserved in the Slavonic.

c. James has suggested that this figure as presented in the Gk. version is related to the huge dragon that is the outer darkness of Pistis Sophia ch. 126. The Slavonic presents the serpent of Gen 3 being punished for its part in the fall of Adam.

d. Text corrupt. James et al. emend the text to read "two hundred plethra in length."

e. One of the punishments of the serpent in Gen 3:14; cf. also Isa 65:25. James suggests the background of LXX Ex 15:7.

f. Vss. 3-6 in the Gk. are perhaps later additions concerning Hades and punishments, absent from the Slavonic. Here the serpent is distinct from

Hades, but in 5:3(G) Hades is identified as the belly of the serpent.

g. Or "in which also." This may be the rough seam of an interpolation. Cf. Slavonic "like a stone mountain and it drinks . . ."

h. In time or importance.

i. An acrostic may lie behind the list of rivers, cf. H. Jacobson, "A Note on the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch," *JSJ* 7 (1976) 201-3.

j. Cleansed?

k. The sense requires "does not increase."

l. Here the tree deceives Adam, but in vs. 8 it is the serpent and Satanael (or Samael) who deceive.

m. The following section in Slavonic may have fallen out of the Gk. by homoeoteleuton, or may be an addition. The story is not preserved elsewhere

4 And I Baruch said, "Behold, lord, you have shown me great and wondrous things. Now show me all, for the Lord's sake."

2 And the angel said to me, "Come, let us go through"^b . . . with the angel from that place, a journey of about 185 days.

3 And he showed me a plain and a serpent^c who appeared to be stone.^d And he showed me Hades,^f and its appearance was gloomy and unclean.

4 And I said, "What is this dragon and this monster around it?"

5 And the angel said, "This dragon is the one which eats the bodies of those who pass through their lives badly, and he is nourished by them."

6 And this is Hades which is like him, in that^g also he drinks about one cubit from the sea, and nothing is diminished from it (i.e. the sea)."

7 Baruch said, "And how is that?" And the angel said, "Listen, the Lord God made 360 rivers, the primary^h ones of them being the Alphias, the Aburos, and the Gerikos, and because of these the sea is not diminished."

8 And I said, "I pray you, show me which is the treeⁱ which caused Adam to stray." And the angel said, "It is the vine^q which the angel Samael^f planted by which the Lord God became angered, and he cursed him and his planting. For this reason he did not permit Adam to touch it.^g And because of this the devil became envious,ⁱ and tricked him by means of his vine."

9 And I Baruch said, "And since the vine became the cause of such evil and was cursed by God and (was) the destruction of the first formed, how is it now of such great use?"

10 And the angel said, "Rightly you ask; when God caused the Flood over the earth and destroyed all flesh and 409,000 giants,^u and the water rose over the heights 15 cubits, the water entered Paradise and killed every flower, but it removed the sprig of the vine completely and brought it outside.^v

11 And when the earth appeared from the water and Noah left the ark, he started to plant (some) of the discovered plants.

12 He also found the sprig, and taking it, he considered in his mind what it was. And I came and told him about it.

13 And he said, 'Should I plant it, or what (should I do with it)? Since Adam was destroyed by means of it,^w will I also encounter the anger of God through this?' And while saying these things, he prayed for God to reveal to him what he should do with this.

except in a Slavonic fable based on this story (see Introduction).

n. The order of the angels here follows MS family A. The list in family B is: Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Phanuel (corrupt in all MSS). The first four angels of A correspond with the list in ApMos 40:1 and in 1En 9:1(Gk.), as well as rabbinic lists. The list in family B is paralleled by the Parables of Enoch: 1En 40:9; 54:6; 71:8, 9, 13.

o. He lost his title, -EL, when he was exiled. Cf. Isa 14:12.

p. Is this the same serpent as in ch. 4?

q. This tree is identified as the vine by 2nd-cent. sages as well: R. Meir (b.Sanh 70a) and R. Judah b. Ilai (GenR 15:7). It is also mentioned in ApAb 23:5 and the *Palea Historica* (ed. Vassiliev, p. 190).

r. The Gk. MSS read Samuel, as in the *Palea Historica* (ed. Vassiliev, p. 258), but this is most probably a mistake for Samael, cf. 9:7. Samael is probably the original name. He is the chief of the evil angels in rabbinic literature, and appears in Ascens 7:9; 11:41(Eth.); and TarJon on Gen 3:6. In the Acts of Andrew and Matthew 24 both names are attested in MSS.

s. Omitted in Slavonic. In the biblical account God commands Adam not to eat from it (Gen 2:17), but Eve tells the serpent that they may not even touch it (Gen 3:3).

t. WisSol 2:24; Vita 12:1.

u. The offspring in Gen 6:1-4.

v. TarJon on Gen 9:20.

w. Connection established between Adam and Noah.

- 14 And he knelt down on (his) knees and fasted 40 days. Praying and crying, he said, 'Lord, if I plant this, what will happen?'
- 15 And the Lord sent the angel Sarasaël; he declared to him, 'Rise, Noah, and plant the vine, and alter its name, and change it for the better.'

- 16 "But beware, Baruch: The tree still possesses its evil.

- 17 Those who drink wine in excess do all evil: Brother does not show mercy to brother, nor father to son, nor son to father. And from the evil of wine comes forth murder and adultery, fornication and cursing, as much evil as exists, because of wine."

Micah 7:6
Mk 13:12
Mt 10:21

- 1 5 I Baruch said to the angel, "Let me ask you, lord, about one thing still which you said to me:
- 2 that the serpent drinks one cubit of water from the sea a day: How great then is its stomach that it drinks so much?"
- 3 And the angel said to me, "As great as is its stomach, so great is Hades."^b And he said to me, "If you wish, come and I will show you mysteries greater than these."

- 1 6 And the angel took me where the sun goes forth.^a
- 2 And he showed me a chariot-of-four, and the horses were flaming, for the horses were winged angels. And upon this chariot sat a man wearing a fiery crown.^b And the chariot was drawn by forty angels,^c and (there was) also a bird^d flying, large as a mountain.
- 3 I said to the angel, "Lord, what is this bird?" And he said to me, "This is the guardian of the world."^f
- 4 And I said, "For what purpose is it the guardian of the world? Show me!"
- 5 And the angel said to me, "This bird which goes before the sun stretches out its wings and hides the burning rays of the sun.
- 6 For if he did not hide the rays of the sun, the human race and every creature on earth would not survive because of the flames of the sun. Thus God has commanded this bird to serve the world.
- 7 But look on the right wing, at what is written." And he commanded the bird to spread his wings, and I saw letters, greater than a threshing floor on earth of 4000. Those letters were pure gold.
- 8 And he said to me, "Read them aloud!" And they said thus: "The earth has not borne me, nor has the heaven, but wings of fire bear me. And the birds wait for me."

x. Such pairs occur also in Isa 5:20. Cf. also 4Bar 9:18.

y. The Gk. version is the result of considerable reworking.

z. This emendation by James is quite probable. However, the vs. conflicts with vs. 9. Several scholars have viewed this vs. as a Christian interpolation.

5 a. Cf. ApPaul 32.

b. The Slavonic compares the serpent's stomach with Hades, rather than identifying them. Cf. 4:3(G) which seems to conflict with this vs.

c. Mysteries have been consistently promised. The Gk. may be a Christian revision; cf. Jn 5:20.

6 a. The sun and moon appear to be in the third heaven, cf. 7:2; 10:1.

b. This hellenistic conception of a crowned sun, riding in a chariot, was incorporated into Jewish art as well. Such a representation is found in the 4th-cent.-A.D. mosaic on a synagogue floor at Hammat Tiberias. The 6th-cent.-A.D. synagogue floor at Beth Alpha contains a depiction of Helios in a

- 14 And in 40 days he completed his prayer and entreating much and crying, he said, 'Lord, I implore you to reveal to me what I should do with this plant.'
- 15 And God sent the angel Sarasaël, and he said to him, 'Rise, Noah, plant the sprig, for the Lord says this: "Its bitterness will be changed into sweetness, and its curse will become a blessing,"^x and its fruit will become the blood of God, and just as the race of men have been condemned through it, so through Jesus Christ Emmanuel in it (they) will receive a calling and entrance into Paradise."^y
- 16 Then know, Baruch, that just as Adam through this tree was condemned and was stripped of the glory of God, thus men now who insatiably drink the wine deriving from it transgress worse than Adam, and become distant from the glory of God, and will secure for themselves eternal fire.
- 17 For (no)^z good derives from it. For those who drink excessively do these things: Brother does not have mercy on brother, nor father on son, nor children on parents, but by means of the Fall through wine come forth all (these): murder, adultery, fornication, perjury, theft, and similar things. And nothing good is accomplished through it."

Micah 7:6
Mk 13:12
Mt 10:21

- 1 5 And I Baruch said to the angel, "May I ask you one question, lord?
- 2 Since you told me that the serpent drinks one cubit from the sea, tell me how large its belly is."
- 3 And the angel said, "Its belly is Hades. As far as 300 men can throw a weight,^a so great is his belly.^b Come now and I will show you works^c greater than these."
- 1 6 And taking me, he led me where the sun goes forth.^a
- 2 And he showed me a chariot drawn by four horses and fire underneath it. And upon the chariot sat a man wearing a fiery crown.^b The chariot was drawn by forty angels.^c And behold, a bird^d runs along before the sun, as large as nine mountains.^e
- 3 And I said to the angel, "What is this bird?" And he said to me, "This is the guardian of the world."^f
- 4 And I said, "Lord, how is it the guardian of the world? Teach me."
- 5 And the angel said to me, "This bird accompanies the sun and spreading its wings absorbs its fire-shaped rays.
- 6 For if it did not absorb them, none of the race of men would survive, nor anything else that lives, so God appointed this bird."
- 7 And he unfolded his wings, and I saw on his right wing very large letters like the place of a threshing floor, having the space of 4000 modia,^g and the letters were gold.
- 8 And the angel said to me, "Read them." And I read, and they said thus: "Neither earth nor heaven bear me, but the wings of fire bear me."

chariot, pulled by four horses.

c. In 1En 72:4f. this chariot is driven by the winds, but in 2En 11 it seems to be drawn by angels. Cf. also PRE 6.

d. Phoenixes and chalkydii accompany the sun in 2En 12 (A) and seven more phoenixes are in the sixth heaven. On the phoenix in antiquity, see R. Van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix* (Leiden, 1972).

e. This is James's conjecture on the corrupt text, partially confirmed by the Slavonic. Another sug-

gestion is to emend in the light of 2En 12 (A): "about nine hundred measures" or with Discourse of the Paniogate, "about nine cubits" (Hughes, *APOT*, vol. 2, p. 536). The most interesting suggestion is by Moulton in Hughes to read *hōs oreuōn*, "as a guardian," cf. vs. 3. Cf. also V. d. Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix*, p. 252.

f. This title and function of the phoenix is not attested elsewhere.

g. About 24,000 feet.

- 9 I Baruch said, "Lord, what is the name of this bird?"
 10 And he said to me, "Phoenix."
 11 I Baruch said, "What does he eat?" And the angel said, "Heavenly manna."^h
 12 And I said, "Does he produce excrement?" He said to me, "He produces it."ⁱ
 And again he said to me, "You will observe the glory of God^m; see what this bird is going to become." He went past in front of the sun.
 13 And while we were singing, there was a noise, great as 30 cows, and the place where we stood shook. And I Baruch said, "What is this noise, my lord?" And he said to me, "The angels are opening the 65 gates of heaven, and light is being separated from darkness."^p
 14 And the sun entered (the chariot)^q and a voice came, "O Sun, giver of light, give splendor to the world."^r The bird spread his wings and covered the rays of the sun and it flapped its wings and there was a noise like thunder and the bird cried out, saying, "O giver of light, give splendor to the world."
 15 As I heard the voice of the bird, I said, "What is that sound?"
 16 And he said, "This is the cocks on earth beginning to waken in the world. At the first call they call out, knowing that the sun is rising. And the cocks cry out."^t

- 7 I Baruch said, "Does the sun rest much?" And the angel said to me, "From when the cocks crow until the light comes."
 2 And the angel said to me, "Listen, Baruch, what I have shown you is in the first and second heavens, but this place in heaven (is where) the sun goes and it is where he gives light to the world." And he said to me, "Be patient and you will see the glory of God."^a

- 8 And the sun came with the crown and 36 angels and also the bird, exhausted.

- 3 And I said, "Lord, where are they carrying the crown of the sun, and why is the bird exhausted?"
 4 And the angel said to me, "The crown of the sun which he wears during the day, 4 angels take and carry to heaven. They cleanse the rays of the sun from the earth."

h. On the food of the phoenix, cf. V. d. Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix*, pp. 335–56. The dew of heaven is mentioned in 10:9.

i. Family B² of the Slavonic contains the following here: "Its excrement becomes black cumin, and with this kings are anointed, and without cumin he is not king, not having (it) in a vessel when the king is enthroned." For fuller details, see H. E. Gaylord, *The Slavonic Version of 3 Baruch* (forthcoming).

j. See V. d. Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix*, pp. 187, 214–16.

k. This is an element of the phoenix's nest in the classical tradition. Cf. V. d. Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix*, pp. 164–70.

l. Is this for coronation or embalming?

m. Cf. 7:2; 11:2; 16:4(S).

n. Lit. "thunder like the sound of thunder."

o. This must relate to the solar calendar. The solar year contains 364 days according to 1En 72:32. However, in 1En 72–82 and 2En 13f. there are only six gates in the east and six in the west. The 300 has dropped out of S.

- 9 And I said, "Lord, what is this bird, and what is its name?"
 10 And the angel told me, "His name is Phoenix."
 11 "And what does he eat?" And he told me, "The manna of heaven and the dew of earth."^h
 12 And I said, "Does the bird excrete?" And he said to me, "He excretes a worm, and from the excretion, this worm,^j cinnamon^k comes into existence, which kings and princes use.^l But wait and you will see the glory of God."^m
 13 And while he was speaking, there was a thunderclapⁿ and the place where we stood was shaken. And I asked the angel, "My lord, what is this sound?" And the angel said to me, "The angels are opening the 365 gates^o of heaven now, and light is separating itself from darkness."^p
 14 And a voice came saying, "Light giver, give splendor to the world!"^r
 15 And hearing the sound of the bird, I said, "Lord, what is this sound?"
 16 And he said, "This is what wakens the cocks on earth, for just as articulate beings do,^s thus also the cock informs those on the earth according to its own tongue. For the sun is being prepared by the angels and the cock is crowing."^t

- 7 And I said, "And where does the sun begin to work after the cock crows?"
 2 And the angel said to me, "Listen, Baruch, everything I have shown you is in the first and second heaven; and in the third heaven the sun passes through and gives splendor to the world. But wait and you will see the glory of God."
 3 And while I was speaking to him, I saw the bird, and he appeared ahead and grew little by little, and became full sized.
 4 And after him (I saw) the sun gleaming and with him angels carrying (him) and a crown on his head; we were not able to look directly into this sight and see.
 5 And at the same time as the sun shone out, the phoenix spread out its wings. Seeing such glory, I became overcome with a great fear and fled and hid in the wings of the angel.
 6 And the angel said to me, "Do not fear, Baruch, but wait and you will see them setting."^b
 8 And taking me, he led me to the west. And when the time of the setting (of the sun) came, I saw again the bird coming in front and the sun coming with the angels. When he came, I saw the angels, and they removed the crown from his head.
 2 And the bird was overcome and let his wings droop.
 3 And when I saw these things, I said, "Why do they remove the crown from his head and why is the bird so overcome?"
 4 And the angel said to me, "When the day is completed, 4 angels take the crown of the sun and carry it to heaven and renew it because it and its rays are defiled upon earth. And every day it is renewed."^a

p. According to the Syr. TAdam (ed. Kmosko, *Pat. Syriaca*, 1.2, p. 1337) in the eleventh hour of the night. [See the contribution herein on TAdam. —J.H.C.]

q. The translation "entered (the chariot)" is a rare meaning for this word. It often means "set, go down"; but this meaning does not fit here.

r. 2En 15:2(A).

s. This is the conjectural translation of James; Ryssel, *APAT*, proposes "just as men do through the mouth."

t. Family B of the Slavonic for vss. 15f. read "And I said to the angel, 'What is this bird singing?' The angel said to me, 'He excites your cocks on earth, and the cocks sing when the sun rises.'"

7 a. S refers to the setting of the sun here and probably should be placed with 8:1f.(G).

b. See parallel in S 8:5.

8 a. 2En 14:2.

b. In S family B preserves vs. 6 as follows: "It

- 5 And the angel said to me, "The sun sees all the lawlessness in the world; he does not countenance lewdness, adultery, jealousy, rivalry, theft, murder, all of which are not acceptable to God. And also the bird is exhausted, just as one of the earthly birds; it takes up the fiery rays of the sun and is exhausted by them."

And then the angels brought the crown of the sun. And I saw such glory, I was frightened, I fled into the wings of the angel. And the angel said, "Do not fear, Baruch, the Lord is with you, but be comforted."

- 2 **9** And I said to the angel of the Lord, "Teach me what the moon is."
- 3 And he said to me, "It is like a woman, sitting on a chariot, and twenty angels are leading the chariot by means of oxen, and the oxen are angels. The form of the moon is like a woman."^b
- 5 And I Baruch said, "Lord, why does it sometimes wax and sometimes wane?"
- 6 And he said to me, "Listen, Baruch, it was beautiful.
- 7 But when the first-created Adam sinned, having listened to Satanael, when he covered himself with the serpent, it (i.e. the moon) did not hide but shone forth, and God was angered by it. He lay bare its days to affliction."
- 1,2 **10** And the angel of power took me to a very wide mountain, and in the middle of the mountain was a large lake of water.^b
- 3 And there were birds from all heaven. But the very large ones were not like these (ones), they were similar to a crane. And there were other birds larger than those.
- 4 And I asked the angel, "Lord, what is this lake in the midst of the mountain and what are these birds?"
- 5 And he said to me, "The birds are ready day and night, praising God ceaselessly."^c
- 6 And the clouds take the water from here and rain upon the earth, and plants sprout."

is overcome because of the burning heat and warmth of the sun."

c. Cf. 6:6; TLevi 3:1; ApPaul 4.

9 a. Ryssel, *APAT*, emends to read "the chariot of the moon."

b. This representation of the moon is hellenistic

and has no parallel in Jewish literature of the period. In the Book of the Luminaries, 1En 72-82, the sun rides in a chariot and by implication so does the moon. 2En 16:7 explicitly states that the moon rides in a chariot pulled by angels.

c. The term "the first Adam" is very common in rabbinic literature and need not imply the Pauline second Adam.

- 5 And I Baruch said, "Lord, by what are its rays defiled upon earth?" And the angel said to me, "By the sight of the lawlessness and unrighteousness of men committing fornication, adultery, theft, robbery, idol-worship, drunkenness, murder, discord, jealousy, slander, murmuring, gossip, divination, and other things which are unacceptable to God. By means of these it is defiled, and because of this it is renewed.
- 6 And now, concerning how the bird becomes overcome: It is overcome because it checks the rays of the sun and the fire and burning the whole day.^b
- 7 For if its wings did not draw around the rays of the sun as earlier said, no living being would survive."^c
- 1 **9** And when they had withdrawn, night arrived, and with it the moon^a and the stars.
- 2 And I Baruch said, "Lord, explain this also to me, please. How does it depart and where is it going, and in what pattern does it travel?"
- 3 And the angel said, "Wait and you will see this shortly." And on the morrow I saw this also in the form of a woman, seated in a wheeled chariot. And in front of it were oxen and lambs near the chariot, and also many angels.^b
- 4 And I said, "Lord, what are the oxen and lambs?" And he said to me, "These are angels also."
- 5 And again I asked, "Why does it sometimes grow larger and sometimes grow smaller?"
- 6 "Listen, O Baruch: This which you see was designed by God to be beautiful without peer.
- 7 And during the transgression of the first Adam,^c she gave light to Samael when he took the serpent as a garment, and did not hide, but on the contrary, waxed. And God was angered with her, and diminished her and shortened her days."
- 8 And I said, "And why does she not shine all the time, but only at night?" And the angel said, "Listen: Just as servants are unable to speak freely before kings, so also before the sun, the moon and stars are unable to shine. For the stars are permanently suspended, but they are dispersed by the sun; and the moon, while being safe, is exhausted by the heat of the sun."

- 1 **10** And when I had been taught all these things by the archangel, he took me to a third^a heaven.
- 2 And I saw an unbroken plain and in the middle of it was a lake of water.^b
- 3 And in it were many birds of every species but unlike those here. But I saw a crane, like large oxen. And all were great, excelling those on earth.
- 4 And I asked the angel, "What is the plain and what is the lake and what are the multitude of birds around it?"
- 5 And the angel said, "Listen, Baruch: This plain which surrounds the lake, and in which are other mysteries, is the place where the souls of the righteous^d come when they assemble, living together choir by choir.
- 6 And the water is that which the clouds receive to send as rain upon the earth, and (then) fruit grows."

10 a. Lit. "third," but this must be the entrance to the fourth heaven. They entered the third in ch. 4, cf. also 7:2.

b. James and others identify this as the Acherusian lake; cf. ApMos 37:3; SibOr 2:334-38; ApPet 14; ApPaul 22.

c. Cf. TLevi 3:8; 2En 17:1; ApZeph (in *Strom*

5.11.77) for angelic choirs in the heavens.

d. It is not clear from the text if these are the birds. Various Jewish and Christian traditions portray the righteous souls as birds. On the Jewish traditions concerning the soul represented as a bird, cf. V. Aptowitz, "Die Seele als Vogel," *MGWJ* 69 (1925) 150-69.

- 8 And I said, "How is it that men say that clouds come to the sea and take water and rain?"
 9 And the angel said to me, "The race of men is ignorant, for all the water of the sea is salty so that if it rained because of the sea, no plant would sprout on earth. But know that they come from that lake and the clouds rain."

- 1 **11** And the angel of power took me and led me to the fifth heaven.
 2 And he showed me large gates, and names of men were written (on them),^a and they were closed. And I said, "Lord, will these gates open so that we can enter through them?" And the angel said to me, "It is not possible to enter through them until Michael, the holder of the keys of the kingdom,^b comes." And the angel said to me, "Wait and you will see the glory of God."
 3 And while we were waiting, there was a noise from the highest heaven like triple thunder. And I Baruch said, "Lord, what is this noise?"
 4 And he said to me, "Michael is descending to accept the prayers of men."^d
 5 And then a voice came, saying that the gates should open, and they opened. And there was a great noise, greater than the first.
 6 And Michael came, and the angel who was with me met him and bowed to him.
 7 And I saw him holding a very large receptacle, and its depth was that from heaven to earth, and its width that from east to west.
 8 And I said, "Lord, what is Michael holding?"
 9 And he said to me, "This is where the prayers of men go."^h

- 1 **12** And while he was speaking to me, angels came, carrying gifts full of flowers.^a
 2 And I said, "Lord, who are these?"
 3 And he said to me, "These are the angels who are in the service of men."^b
 4 And Michael took the gifts from them and put them in the receptacle.
 5 And I saw other angels carrying gifts, and they were dejected and did not dare to draw near because they did not have (sufficient) measure.
 6 And Michael called, saying, "Come also, you angels, bring what you have brought."
 7 And Michael cried greatly over the [un]filled receptacle.^c

11 a. Cf. ApPaul 19.

b. Cf. 4Bar 9:5. Peter as the heavenly major-domo, cf. Mt 16:19.

c. This is the rank of Michael in several works, cf. e.g. Dan 10:13, 21; 2En 22:6; 33:10(A); TAB(A) *passim*, (B) 14. Cf. Josh 5:14 LXX.

d. These he apparently offers on the altar of the heavenly temple, which is mentioned in TLevi 5:1 and elsewhere. See also b.Hag 12b: "In it (the fourth heaven) is Jerusalem and the temple and an altar constructed and Michael, the great commander, stands and offers sacrifices on it." On the rabbinic sources for this idea, see V. Aptowitzer,

"The Heavenly Temple in the Agada," *Tarbiz* 2 (1931) 137-53, 257-77. TLevi 3:6 mentions "a reasonable and bloodless offering." On prayer and good deeds as the proper sacrifice at Qumran, cf. CD 11:20f., 1QS 9:4f. Cf. also the words of R. Johanan ben Zakkai in ARN A ch. 4.

e. This function is also ascribed to other angels, e.g. Ramiel in 2Bar 55:3 and Gabriel in Dan 9:23.

f. Contrasted with those portrayed in 4:5(G).

g. Probably the bowl for offerings at the heavenly altar. The LXX uses this term for sprinkling pans used in the Temple worship. The prayers of the saints are offered in such golden bowls in Rev

- 7 And again I said to the angel of the Lord, "What are the birds?" And he said to me, "These are the ones who continuously praise the Lord."^c
 8 And I Baruch said, "Lord, why do men say that the water which rains is from the sea?"
 9 And the angel said, "There is rain from the sea and from water on earth; but that which produces the fruits is from here. Know from now on that what is called the dew of heaven comes from here."

- 1 **11** And taking me from this, the angel led me to the fifth heaven.
 2 And the gate was closed. And I said, "Lord, will the gate be opened so that we can enter?" And the angel said to me, "We are not able to enter until Michael the holder of the keys of the kingdom of heaven^b comes. But wait and you will see the glory of God."
 3 And there was a great noise like thunder, and I said, "Lord, what is this noise?"
 4 And he said to me, "The commander-in-chief^c Michael is descending to receive the prayers of men."^d
 5 And behold a voice came: "Let the gate be opened!" And they opened, and there was a shriek as from thunder.
 6 And Michael came, and the angel with me went to meet him and made obeisance to him and said, "Hail, commander-in-chief of all our regiment."
 7 And the commander-in-chief Michael said, "Hail thou also, our brother, interpreter of revelations^e to those who pass through life rightly."^f
 8 And after they greeted each other, they stood still. And I saw the commander-in-chief Michael take hold of a very large bowl,^g its depth being so great as from heaven to earth, and its width so great as from north to south. And I said, "Lord, what is it that Michael the archangel is holding?"
 9 And he said to me, "This is where the virtues of the righteous and the good works which they do are carried,^h which are brought by him before the heavenly God."

- 1 **12** And while I was speaking with them, behold angels came carrying baskets filled with flowers,^a and they gave them to Michael.
 2 And I asked the angel, "Lord, who are these and what is it that they are carrying?"
 3 And he said to me, "These are the angels over the principalities."^b
 4 And taking the baskets, the archangel emptied them into his bowl.
 5 And the angel said to me, "These above-mentioned flowers are the virtues of the righteous."
 6 And I saw other angels carrying baskets which were less than full.^c And they came distressed, and did not dare to approach, for they did not achieve the full prizes.^d
 7 And Michael cried out, saying, "Come also, you angels, bring what you have brought."
 8 And Michael was greatly distressed and so was the angel with me, because they had not filled the bowl.

5:8, cf. also Rev 8:3.

h. Slavonic seems influenced by vs. 4.

12 a. James (in his introduction to R. L. Bensley, *The Fourth Book of Ezra* [Cambridge, 1895] pp. lii-liii) noticed that twelve angels with flowers are mentioned in the Spanish MSS of 4Ezra 1:40, a Christian work.

b. Angels of power and angels of principalities, cf. 1En 61:10. The powers and principalities in lists of heavenly forces are mentioned several times in

the NT and in other sources, e.g. TLevi 3:8. Angels of hosts are mentioned in 1:8(G) and 10:1(S). The relation between these different heavenly forces is unclear.

c. Hughes, *APOT*, emended this to read "neither empty nor full." The text is uncertain but the meaning clear.

d. Ryssel, *APAT*, first suggested that the Gk. is here dependent on Phil 3:14; 1Cor 9:24.

e. The negative has dropped out of S.

- 1 **13** And I saw others coming and crying, and they were trembling with fear, saying, "Woe to us, darkened ones, that we have been handed over to places of demons and of men. And we want to depart from them, if possible."
- 2 And Michael said, "You are not able to depart from them, but tell me what you want."
- 3 And they said to him, "We entreat you, Michael our chief, transfer us from them, for we do not want to remain with the disobedient, unreasonable men."
- 4 Their wives flee to the church, and from thence they bring them out to jealousy and to fornication and envy, and they sin in many other ways, which you, O Glorious One,^b know."
- 5 And Michael answered and said, "Be patient until I ask God what he commands concerning you."

- 1 **14** Michael ascended and the gates closed; there was thunder as if there (were) 40 oxen.^a
- 2 And I said to the angel, "What is the noise?" And he said to me, "Now Michael is bringing the prayers^b of men."

- 1 **15** And at that time Michael descended and brought the first angels full mercy.^a
- 2 And he said, "Come, angels, and receive mercies; just as you brought prayers to God, so receive. In the measure that men requested, thus give to them."
- 3 And Michael called out again, "Come, you angels who brought lesser gifts. Just as you brought, thus receive, in the measure that men offered prayers. Announce it to them and be not negligent. But (they should) prostrate themselves in prayer in the holy church."^d

- 1 **16** Michael again called the other angels who were crying, "Come also, you angels, and take (back) the petitions (and) what the Lord has prophesied about those men. There is no command for you to depart from them."
- 2 But bring them painful diseases and horrors and caterpillars and locusts and storms, thunder and hail and devastation to their cities, and demons to strangle their children, because they do not fear God and they do not come to church and to the place of prayers. Bring them curses, and no success in good, and murder."
- 3 The angels took their commands from Michael; trembling and crying they went.

13 a. This expression is used to refer to monastics and Christian leaders, especially bishops, cf. Lampe, p. 1105b. Note that both versions are Christian.

b. It would appear that Michael is referred to as "Glorious One."

14 a. See 10:3(G).

b. The Slavonic calls the offerings "prayers" consistently, but the Gk. version refers to them as "prayers" and "virtues" and "good works," cf. 11:4, 9; 12:5; 15:2f.

15 a. The Slavonic version may have misread

- 1 **13** And then similarly came other angels crying and lamenting and saying with fear, "See how we are, blackened, Lord, for we are handed over to evil men, and we want to be withdrawn from them."
- 2 And Michael said, "So that the enemy will not dominate at the end, you must not withdraw from them. But tell me what you desire."
- 3 And they said, "We beg you, Michael our commander-in-chief, transfer us from them, for we are unable to remain with evil and foolish men. For there is no goodness in them, but only every unrighteousness and greediness."
- 4 Indeed we have seen them enter into no church, nor (go) to the spiritual fathers,^a nor to anything good. But wherever there is murder, they are in the midst of it, and wherever there is fornication, adultery, theft, slander, perjury, envy, drunkenness, strife, jealousy, grumbling, gossip, idol worship, divination, and things similar to these. There are (with these men) works of such nature and worse; therefore we ask to be released from them."
- 5 And Michael said to the angels, "Wait until I learn from the Lord what is to happen."

- 1 **14** And at that time Michael departed and the doors closed. And a noise like thunder came.
- 2 And I asked the angel, "What is the noise?" And he said to me, "Now Michael is bringing the virtues^b of men to God."

- 1 **15** And at that time Michael came down, and the gate opened, and he brought oil.^a
- 2 And for the angels who had brought the full baskets, he filled (the baskets) with oil, saying, "Take, give a hundredfold reward^b to our friends, and to those who have laboriously done good works.^c For those who have sown well, harvest well."
- 3 And he said to those who had brought half-full baskets, "Come you also, receive the reward according to what you brought, and give it to the sons of men."
- 4 Then he said to those who brought the full (baskets) and those (who brought) the half-full (baskets), "Go, bless our friends and tell them that thus says the Lord: You have been faithful over a little, he will set you over much; enter into the delight of our Lord."^d Mt 25:23

- 1 **16** And turning, he said to those who had brought nothing, "Be not sad, and cry not, but do not let the sons of men alone."

- 2 But since they have provoked me to anger by their deeds, go and provoke them to jealousy, and provoke them to anger, and embitter them against those who are no nation, against a people without understanding.

- 3 Moreover, send forth caterpillars and locusts, rust and grasshoppers, hail with lightning and fury. Punish them with the sword and death, and their children with demons. Deut 32:21 (LXX) Rom 10:19

elaion as eleos. Seth seeks the "oil of mercy" from the garden of Eden in ApMos 9:3; 13:1; cf. also 2En 8:1. Enoch is anointed before God with a "good oil" (2En 22:8), or the "oil of God's glory" (2En 56:2). Cf. E. Quinn, *The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life* (Chicago, 1962) for other traditions concerning this oil.

b. Cf. Mt 19:29 and Mk 10:30.

c. Cf. nn. to 11:9 and 14:2.

d. The Gk. paraphrases the NT verse. The Slavonic parallel seems to be addressed to only those who brought an insufficient measure, but also appears to be Christian.

4 And the angel said to me, "By the command of the Ruler I say to you, Baruch, stand on the right side and you will see the glory of God.^a And you will see the resting place of the righteous, glory and joy and rejoicing and celebration.^b And you will see the torture of the impious, wailing and groans and lamentations and the eternal worm. Their voice goes up to heaven and implores, 'Have mercy on us, God.' "

5 And I Baruch said to the angel, "Lord, who are these?"

6 And he said to me, "These are the sinners, having despised the command of God."

7 And I said to the angel, "Permit me, Lord, to cry on their behalf."

8 And the angel said to me, "You also may cry for them; perhaps the Lord God will hear your voice and have mercy on them."

1 **17** And a voice from heaven came, saying, "Bring Baruch down to the face of all the earth so that he will tell the sons of men that which he has seen and heard, and all the mysteries you have shown him. And glory be to our God forever." AMEN.

16 a. There appear to be three glories of God referred to in this work: that of the sun (6:12; 7:2; 7:5), that of Michael (11:2; 13:4[S]), and that of

the righteous in their resting place (16:4). Note that Adam lost the glory of God in the Fall (4:16[G]).

b. This promise is not fulfilled.

4 For they did not listen to my voice, nor observe my commands, nor carry them out, but they despised my commands and my churches, and insulted the priests proclaiming my words to them."

5

6

7

8

1 **17** And while he was speaking, the door closed and we withdrew.

2 And taking me, the angel returned me to where I was at the beginning.

3 And when I came to myself, I praised God, who had deemed me worthy of such honors.

4 And you, brethren, who happen upon these revelations, glorify God also so that he will glorify us now and forever to all eternity! AMEN.

APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

(First to Second Century A.D.)

A NEW TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION

BY R. RUBINKIEWICZ

The theme of the Apocalypse of Abraham seems to be Israel's election and its covenant with God. The document can be divided into two parts, chapters 1-8 and chapters 9-32. Chapters 1-8 constitute a story of Abraham's youth and his perception of idolatry. Abraham concludes that his father's idols are not gods, because some stone idols are crushed and a wooden idol is accidentally consumed by fire. Abraham consequently beseeches God to reveal himself, whereupon he hears God's voice, which instructs Abraham to leave his father's house.

Abraham is commanded to offer a sacrifice so that God will reveal "great things which you have not seen . . ." (9:6). God sends his angel Iael to lead Abraham up to heaven (15:4), where he sees seven visions: the light and fiery angels (15:5-7), the fire (17:1-3), the throne (18:1-14), the firmaments (19:4-9), the world (21:2-7), the seven sins of the world (24:3-25:2), and the destruction of the Temple (27:1-3). Finally God announces the punishment of the gentiles through ten plagues (chs. 29f.) and the victory of the just (chs. 31f.).

Texts

The Apocalypse of Abraham is known only in an Old Slavonic translation, which has come down to us in several Russian redactions. The combined witness of six manuscripts that contain essentially the full text allows us to discern fairly clearly the original form of the Slavonic text, although many details remain obscure. Four manuscripts provide confirmatory evidence only for the first eight chapters. Other fragments, summaries, and reworkings are obviously derived from the older long form; they will not concern us here.

The apocalypse appears as a completely independent unit only in one manuscript, but basically the same text is found in a second manuscript with a slightly different beginning and a radically truncated ending. A slightly different redaction is reflected in the text that has been incorporated into the Explanatory Palaia (*Tolkovaja Paleja*), a broad account of Old Testament history interspersed with exegesis, much of it anti-Jewish polemic. These are the manuscripts:

- S- Sil'vestrovskij sbornik, Moscow, Central'nyj Gosudarstvennyj Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov, Sin. Tip. 53, fols. 164-83. 14th cent. Facsimile published as vol. 99, *Obščestvo ljubitelej drevnej pis'mennosti*, St. Petersburg, 1891. Published by N. S. Tikhonravov in *Pamjatniki otrečenoj russkoj literatury* (St. Petersburg, 1863) vol. 1, pp. 32-53.
- D- A miscellany, Lenin Library, Moscow, Tikhonravov 704, fols. 70-79. 16th cent. Unpublished.
- A- The Volokalamsk Paleja Tolkovaja, Moscow, Lenin Library, Mosk. Dukh. Akad. 172/549, fols. 85-101. 15th cent. Printed in N. S. Tikhonravov, *Pamjatniki*, vol. 1, pp. 54-77.
- B- The Synodal Paleja Tolkovaja, Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej, 869 (Sin. 211) fols. 76-90. 16th cent. Unpublished.

13 tercessions of the prophets, nor help of the righteous.^r *There is the proclamation
of judgment to corruption,^s regarding the way^t to the fire and the path that leads
14 to the glowing coals.^u *Therefore, there is one Law by One, one world and an end 48:24
15 for all those who exist. *Then^v he will make alive those whom he has found, and^w
he will purge them from sins, and at the same time he will destroy those who are
polluted with sins.

1 86 When you, therefore, receive the letter,^a read it carefully in your assemblies.
And think about it, in particular, however,^b on the days of your fasts. And
remember me by means of this letter in the same way as I remember you by means
of this, and always.^c Bar 1:14
Col 4:16
1Mac 12:11
Rom 1:9

1 87 And^a it happened when I had finished all the words of this letter and had
written it carefully until the end, I folded it, sealed it cautiously, and bound it to
the neck of the eagle. And I let it go and sent it away.

The end of the letter of Baruch, the son of Neriah.

r. Cf. Ps-Philo 33:5.
s. "To corruption," l; "of corruption," c *solus*.
t. "Regarding the way," l; "and the way," c
solus.
u. "To the glowing coals," l; "to the realm of
death," c *solus*.
v. "Then," l; "And then," 6h14 10g1 12d2 c.
w. "Has found and . . .," l; "has found

that . . .," c *solus*.

86 a. "The letter," l; "this my letter," c *solus*.
b. "However," l; om., c *solus*.
c. "And always," l; "and it may fare you well
always," c *solus*.

87 a. This ch. is available in c only.

3 (Greek Apocalypse of) BARUCH

(First to Third Century A.D.)

A NEW TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION

BY H. E. GAYLORD, JR.

In this pseudepigraphon, Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah, weeps over the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple and the mockery of its heathen destroyers. The Lord sends an angel to comfort him and to guide him through the heavens and show him their mysteries. This angel then leads Baruch through five heavens:

1. The first contains a plain where those being punished for waging war against God are found (ch. 2).

2. The second contains a plain where those who forced others to build a tower to heaven in order to discover its contents are found (ch. 3).

3. The third contains a plain in which are a snake, a sea, and primal rivers, as well as the garden of Eden (perhaps Hades), the sun with the Phoenix, and the moon (chs. 4-9).

4. The fourth contains a plain on which are a pool and exotic birds, and the gathering place of the souls of the righteous (ch. 10).

5. The fifth is where the angels responsible for men on earth bring the gifts of men to Michael, who presents them to God. Baruch does not pass inside the gates of this heaven; they remain closed. In these chapters, three classes of mankind are mentioned: the righteous, the insufficiently righteous, and the sinners. In the Slavonic version, Baruch is granted permission to intercede for the suffering sinners (chs. 11-16).

After his heavenly journey, Baruch is returned to earth to relate what he has seen to his fellow men (ch. 17).

Texts

3 Baruch is found in both Greek and Slavonic. The Slavonic is a translation from a lost Greek original.

GREEK MANUSCRIPTS

1. BM MS Add. 10073. This manuscript is dated from the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth century. It is described by M. R. James.¹

2. Andros, Monastery of the Hagia, MS 46; dated by J.-C. Picard to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

On the relation between these manuscripts, Picard concludes that they "were both copied from the same manuscript, today lost."²

¹ *Apocrypha Anecdota II*.

² J.-C. Picard, *Apocalypsis Baruchi Graeci*, p. 69. MS 46 is described in P. Lambros, "Katalogos ton en te kata ten Andron mone tes Hagias Kodikon," *Epeteris tou Parnassou* 2 (1898) pp. 180-83, and A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der Griechischen Kirche* (Leipzig, 1939-1952), 1.3, pp. 587, 839. The first sixty-two fols. contain homilies, but it should be noted that all subsequent items of this MS are also contained in BM MS Add. 10073.

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of Adam and Eve
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edited by
Gary A. Anderson
Michael E. Stone

ABZ Early Judaism
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Introduction

This book is a substantial revision of the synopsis we first published in 1994. In this revised synopsis we have provided fresh English translations of each of the versions and we have provided the original language of each version in a facing column. In spite of this considerable advance, this book must still be considered “a tentative document.” Text-critical problems still remain and the Greek, Latin and Slavonic versions are especially problematic from this perspective.

Here we will not discuss the text-critical problems that attend the individual language traditions. A very detailed and up-to-date discussion of these issues can be found in Stone’s recent publication on the Adam literature (1992). However, some background information is required about the origin of the texts provided in this volume and the conventions of formatting used to present them.

I. Text Versions

The Greek Version

The text used in this edition was produced by Nagel just shortly before his death and printed in the concordance of Denis (1987). The English translation has been provided by Gary Anderson.

Nagel did not produce a critical text for Denis’ concordance. Rather, it appears that he chose manuscript S from Family I as a base text and supplemented it with additional material from an important subgroup of Family I: ATLC. In his dissertation, Nagel was of the opinion that this subgroup was secondary, though its importance stemmed from the fact that it closely resembled the Georgian version (Nagel only spoke of and knew the similarities to the Georgian; the parallels to the Armenian became clear only after the publication of Stone’s edition).

It has not yet been determined finally whether the Armenian and Georgian versions stem from an existing sub-family within the Greek textual tradition or whether, as seems more likely,

Introduction

represent a witness to an independent form of the Greek text that has been lost. The text Nagel bequeathed us leaves this question open for further study.

A thorough review of the Greek material in light of the publication of the Georgian and Armenian editions is now being undertaken by J. Tromp (Leiden).

Nagel divided the Greek manuscripts into three families:

I	II	III
1. DSV	RM	1. NI(J)K
2. KPB		2. QZ
3. B		3. HEW XF
4. ATLC		

The manuscript group DSV in Family I appears to be the least corrupted. Manuscript D (11th century) is the oldest of these three witnesses, but it lacks chapters 18-35. Perhaps for this reason, Nagel favored S over D and most of his text conforms to this manuscript.

In the present edition we have set all the additions to S from ATLC within square brackets. Longer additions that stretch over several verses, such as those found in chapters 13 and 29, have been put in italics. The long addition found in 29:7 (the so-called “Penitence” narrative) is found in Family II only and is, therefore, in a different category. It is also put in italics.

The Latin Version

The Latin text printed here was supplied by Wilfried Lechner-Schmidt. He is currently finishing a dissertation in Germany on the topic under the direction of K. Berger. The English translation was prepared by Gary Anderson.

The textual condition of the Latin version presents the most text-critical difficulties. For this reason it is important to say something more about it. Meyer (1878) divided the manuscripts which he knew into 4 groups or families, which he numbered from I to IV in Roman numerals. These Roman numerals are also used in this synopsis as abbreviations for the different forms of the text.

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- I Group I of Meyer
- II Group II of Meyer
- III Group III of Meyer
- IV Group IV of Meyer

The text presented in the Latin column is normally that of Meyer's Group I.

Those parts of the Latin column which do not present the text of Group I are enclosed within square brackets ([]). For example: "*Quando expulsi sunt* [II,III=*Cum expulsi (fuissent? essent?) Adam et Eva*]II,III *de paradiso. . .*" means that Groups II and III read "*Cum expulsi ... Adam et Eva*" whereas Group I reads "*Quando expulsi sunt Adam et Eva.*" The question marks after "*fuissent*" and "*essent*" indicate that some manuscripts read "*fuissent*" whereas others, "*essent.*" If there are variant readings within Group I, readings other than the text are put in round brackets () and a question mark is put at the end. Consider the example of 29:4, *ex ore maiestatis suae dabit omnibus mandata et paecepta (ex ore eius exiet gladius ex utraque parte acutus?)*. If there is more than one variant, then the different readings are separated by a comma. Compare *Et iterum (die tertio?, septimo?)* in 29:6.

Occasionally, additional narrative material was woven into the Latin text. Group III includes the Holy Rood legend in chapters 43, 44, and 48. Meyer chose not print this supplementary material in his edition. The present edition of the *Vita* has marked such material as follows: "[III+****legenda de ligno crucis****]III" At one point material from the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is introduced. This is marked by the abbreviation: *Nic.*

In addition the following symbols are used:

- + additional word / words
- missing word / words
- = other variant / variants

The Armenian Version

The Armenian text that is published here is based on the printed edition of the Armenian published in 1981. That edition was in turn based on three manuscripts, all the copies known so far. These are the following:

- A Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, No. 1458, pp. 380-431, 17th century.

Introduction

- B Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, No. 1370, pp. 127-150, 17th century.
- C Erevan, Matenadaran, No. 3461, fols. 66r-87v, dated 1662 C.E.

The questions of the intrinsic value of the Armenian version as a witness to the *Life of Adam and Eve* and of its relationship to the other versions have been debated. The work is closely related to the Georgian *Book of Adam*, which was translated and published after the publication of the Armenian version. J.-P. Mahé made a comparative study of the two and concluded that, together with Latin, they go back to a single recension, related to Greek manuscripts A, C and L. Moreover, he concludes correctly that Armenian and Georgian are closer to each other than either is to any other version.

The special readings of the Armenian version were discussed first by Stone, *Penitence of Adam* (1981) and his conclusion that Armenian preserves certain readings preferable to any other version is supported by G.A. Anderson. We see no reason to change this conclusion today (*pace de Jonge and Tromp*). Our study so far has uncovered no special relationship between the Armenian *Penitence of Adam* and any of the other numerous Armenian Adam books.

Due to the editorial policy of the series in which the *editio princeps* was published, readings of only one manuscript were given in the text and other readings, even if they were considered preferable, were put in the apparatus and marked *lege*. Such readings are now included in the text in square brackets and equally in the translation. The text and translation thus contain the best readings available. Variants are not noted. In a number of places small errors of the previous editions have been corrected and the translation has been revised to accord with the translations of the other versions, as far as is practicable.

Chapters had been marked already in the *editio princeps*. In the present text and translation, verses are also marked, which are coordinated with those of the other versions. Capitalization has been introduced and the punctuation normalized.

The Georgian Version

The Georgian text provided in this synopsis is that of C. K'urc'ikidze. We have not noted emendations, corruptions, etc. in the text we have printed. The English translation was made

Introduction

for this synopsis by J.-P. Mahé. C. K'urc'ikidze's edition is based on the following manuscripts:

Recension alpha

- A A153, pp. 1-54, 17th century
- Q K'ut'aisi 128, pp. 1-23, 17th century
- B H443, fols. 1r-23r, 19th century
- C H881, fols. 1r-16r, 19th century

In addition Museum of Literature, no. 186, pp. 1-10, 19th century, belongs to this recension but it was not utilized by K'urc'ikidze.

Recension beta

- S S5157, 8 leaves with fragments, 17th century. This manuscript was written by the copyist of the famous Queen Mariam's Collection of Georgian Chronicles, known as *K'art'lis Cxovreba* "The Life of Georgia."

In Mahé's French translation of the Georgian he followed, in the main, the text of redaction *alpha*. Readings that were taken from *beta* were chosen because they were thought to provide a better text and were printed in italics. Here we have attempted to standardize the way in which variants have been presented.

The Slavonic Version

This version still requires a fair amount of work. We have published the Slavonic text prepared by Jagič in 1893. It is discussed in Stone (1992) where the known manuscripts and editions are listed.

Addendum: Notes on the Translation of the Georgian prepared by J.-P. Mahé

1:1 “to live in”: Thus QBC; A has a synonym.

2:2 “till we find out – who knows – (perhaps) the Lord”: This is better, on contextual grounds, than “testing (the food), etc.” They are attempting to see whether God will take them back.

4:3 “do penance”: Georgian has, literally, “let us repent in penitence,” meaning “let us do penance.” The construction resembles “to die a death” in 3:1 *supra*.

6:1a “stay and be”: Thus K’urc’ikidze, using the imperative and following AC; QB have “do.”

8:2 “for me”: Thus QB; “for us” K’urc’ikidze, following AC.

15:1 “heard”: The enclitic particle *ya* here means “still,” stressing the simultaneity of the action. Alternatively translate: “while the six ...that, then my speech...”

16:2 “by your power”: Thus B; “before you” K’urc’ikidze, following AQC.

20:1c “lamb”: Perhaps “little ewe”; if *t’arigi* means *k’ravi*. It means, most likely, “small female lamb” (like French “agnelle”).

20:2a “[luminaries]]”: or “[lights]].” The manuscripts have *natesavta* “generations” which we emend to *mnatobu* “luminaries”: see 44(32):2. One might also emend to *nateli* “light”: see 44(34):1.

21:2 “because of Adam, (the) elect (one)”: We use a different word division to K’urc’ikidze, reading *adamis gamo, rčeulisa* in place of her *adamis, gamorčeulisa* which might be translated “...of Adam, the elect ...”

“you are sure to have conceived”: In fact, the power says, “you have conceived,” not using an aorist, which would mean an objective, real fact, but a perfect with some sort of dubitative nuance. Alternatively render, “it seems you have conceived.”

21:3d “I have taught”: Thus QAC which read *ray vasc’ave*: B has *rayta asc’ave*, followed by K’urc’ikidze, “so that you teach.”

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23(3):2a “[Tell Adam]”: This is an emendation by K’urc’ikidze, with no manuscript support. Note, however, that Armenian reads *asa Adamay* “Tell (or: say to) Adam.”

23(3):2b “[he] will teach you”: This is an emendation of the text of QAC from *gasc’ao šen* “I will teach you” to *gasc’aos šen* “he will teach you.” This would accord with Armenian Ms B which has *c’uc’c’ē k’ez* “he will teach you.”

23(3):3a This verse is given according to recension *alpha*. Recension *beta* reads: “[God told Gabr]]iel; the angel came and told Adam and Adam kept these words in his heart. And they were both sad, Adam and Eve.

23(3):3a This verse occurs only in recension *alpha*.

23(3):3d “hand(s)”: It is impossible to distinguish the singular from the plural in Georgian at this point.

24(4):2 “before me” *alpha*; “before you (sing.)” *beta*.

30(5):4-5 Recension *alpha* reads: “And his sons told him: What is this, Father Adam? or how will a man become ill?” Recension *beta* reads: “And his sons told him: What is (this), Father? And he told them: I am sick my sons. And they told him the ...”

32(7):1 “to eat its fruit”: Thus recension *beta*; *alpha* omits and adds, “But there was one of the plants, beautiful, in the garden.”

32(7):3b “to ascend”: Thus recension *beta*; *alpha* omits.

32(7):4 “the garden”: This word, not found in the text of *alpha* is introduced into it by K’urc’ikidze from recension *beta*.

35(9):2 “Eve” is an addition in *alpha* supported by *beta*.

36 (9):4 This occurs only in *alpha*.

37(10):1 This passage occurs only in *alpha* with no variants.

37(10):3 “Did you dare”: This reading presumes a different word division.

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38(11):2 “You [[on account]] of whom”: Here the text reads *romlisa gamoy* which is emended into *romlisa <gamo>*. The unemended text would mean “whose taste the form of everything is changed.” The syntax is unclear and it does not really make sense.

42(13):3b [[resurrect]]”: There is a corruption in Georgian of *aḡsrulobad* “to finish, accomplish” for *aḡdginebad* “to resurrect.” K’urc’ikidze keeps the mistake, but marks it with an exclamation mark.

43(13):4 “that unction”: This, rather than oil, seems to be the meaning. For “oil” Georgian uses the word *zet* “(olive) oil”. Here, however, there is the word *sacxdeli* which derives from *cxebay* “to anoint,” and therefore the translation “unction” has been chosen here.

44(16):2a “I [[hear]] that”: Recension *alpha* reads, “the Devil told the serpent: You are wiser”; recension *beta* reads: “the Devil thirdly told the serpent: You are wiser.” The text must be corrupted and we emend *mesamed vitarmed* into <*vitarmed*> *mes<mis> vitarmed*. *mes<mis>* is exactly equivalent to Armenian *lsem* here.

44(16):3 “inferior”: From this point on, we follow recension *beta*. The remaining text of recension *alpha* is: “why do you eat (something) inferior and contemptible, and not the good fruit of the garden? But came and hearken to me, so that I (thus QAC; we B) may have him expelled outside the wall of the Garden.” The word “wall” (*alpha*) seems better than “enclosure” (*beta*) since Armenian reads *orm* “wall.” The Georgian *zḡade* may have both meanings.

44(17):2c The text of recension *alpha* resumes here and is used in the translation.

44(17):5 “Yes, we eat”: Thus *beta*; “I eat” *alpha*.

44(18):4 “you would become”: Thus B; “you were” AQC K’urc’ikidze *alpha*; “you would be” *beta*.

44(18):5 “Go to”: Thus B K’urc’ikidze; “look at” *beta*; “take” QAC.

44(21):2 We propose reading *raymetu* instead of *rametu* accepted by K’urc’ikidze.

44(21):4a “[[she told me]]”: An addition by the translator.

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44(21): 5 Recension *alpha* reads: “Then I gave (it to) your father and we learned that we were naked. And it happened when God came to the garden, we hid from the face of the Lord, because both of us had covered ourselves with a leaf of a fig tree.”

44(23):1 Recension *alpha* reads: “And God summoned Adam: Adam, Adam where were you? And he told him: I am here, Lord, because I was naked and I hid from you.”

44(24):1 “[[Because]]”: So we have emended the text to *rametu*, cf. Armenian *p’oxanak zi*. Recension *beta* has *rata* and K’urc’ikidze proposed the emendation *raysa* “why (do).”

44(24):3 All the negatives were added by K’urc’ikidze into the text of the one manuscript extant for this section. “have [[no]] rest” is confirmed by the Armenian *mi lic’i k’ez hangist*. There is no support “[[not]] be sated” and “[[not]] taste” in Armenian. The second occurrence of “[[not]] be sated” (following “bitterness”) might well be a dittography in Georgian.

“fle[[e to soak yourselves]] with water”: Only the first four letters of “fle[[e]]” survive and the instrumental of “water.” The rest is conjecture.

44(26):1 The translation here combines readings of *alpha* and *beta*. *Alpha* has “and God (AQC: he B) told the serpent: You too perish...” *Beta* has “When he had said all this to me, he became very angry with the serpent: Be cursed ...”

44(26):3 “exhausted and broken”: Thus *beta*; *alpha* has “thin and [unknown word].”

44(28):4 The translation follows *beta*. *Alpha* reads: “... from every evil, and you say: I shall die. And [[after]] death, I will arise in the future, then I will give you of the tree ...”

44(29):1 Thus *beta*: *alpha* reads: “When the Lord had said that in the garden.”

44(31):3 “alone”: Thus *beta*: *alpha* omits.

“do not move”: Thus *beta*: *alpha* has a third person.

44(32):2 The text of *beta* reads: “I have sinned against you before your angels and I have sinned before the Cherubs, and I have sinned before your altar, and I have sinned before the

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holy light, and I have sinned against the winged birds of the heavens and the beasts of the earth.”

44(32):3 “on her [[knees]]”: So *alpha* emended: *beta* reads “while Eve was praying that ...” The text is emended from “feet” to “[[knees]]” since the next phrase says that she arose. Does kneeling down to pray indicate something about the original context of the text?

44(33):2 “[winds]”: This is an addition by K’urc’ikidze.

44(33):4 “cups”: This occurs only in *beta*.

“three angels”: This occurs only in *alpha*. Both these readings are confirmed by the following words.

44(34):1 “before God”: Thus *beta*; “before him” *alpha*.

44(35):4 “the blood of my spouse”: Thus *beta*; *alpha* has “the deeds of blood” K’urc’ikidze; “the deed of blood” QABC.

47(37):2 Thus *beta*; *alpha* reads: “Blessed are you, Lord, who have pardoned the protoplast.”

47(38):4 That is to say that they had fallen into a deep sleep, like Adam before the birth of Eve. See below 48(42):3.

48(40):2 Emend *sindisani* into *sindnisani* or *sindonisani* “of [[cloth]].”

48(41):1 “Here I am, [[Lord]].” Emending here to *upalo*. The manuscripts have *parao* “Pharaoh” or *para* “he hid” or “he said.”

48(42):3 “[when]] she saw all [[that]]”: We read *ese ray* instead of *esera*.

“...”: There is a lacuna here and K’urc’ikidze’s reconstruction is unacceptable.

II. Principles of Versification

1. The chapters correspond to the chapters of the Latin as found in Charles.
2. Where the Greek also exists, its numbers are given in parentheses.
3. When one Latin chapter corresponds to numerous Greek chapters, the Latin chapter number is repeated at the start of each "Greek" chapter.
4. Where Armenian and Greek are longer than Latin, the Latin number is repeated in square brackets.
5. The versification is taken from Charles from chapter 1 to chapter 22 who follows the Latin, thereafter it follows the Greek. From time to time we have altered the versification slightly so that the various versions can be brought into proper alignment.
6. If a verse is exceptionally long, we have subdivided it by adding the markers: "a," "b," "c," etc.

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Gary A. Anderson
Michael E. Stone

April 1998

Introduction

Sigla

(XXX)	addition provided to English for sense
[XXX]	addition to base manuscript from another supporting manuscript; correction of orthography
{XXX}	corruption
[[XXX]]	editor's conjectural emendation

INTRODUCTION IN THE GREEK

0.1 διήγησις καὶ πολιτεία Ἀδὰμ καὶ Εὕας τῶν πρωτοπλάστων ἀποκαλυφθεῖσα παρὰ θεοῦ Μωϋσῇ τῷ θεράποντι αὐτοῦ ὅτε τὰς πλάκας τοῦ νόμου ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐδέξατο διδασχθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ. κύριε εὐλόγησον.

SLAVONIC 1.1 Бѣше Адамъ въ раи прѣжде съгрѣшения и вса имѣаше въ хотѣнїе свое и вса въ хотѣнїе юго ходѣху. 1.2 звѣрие и скоти и все птице перьнатѣ, и вса же повелѣнїемъ юго хранѣху се и ходѣху и лѣтаху. 1.3 не повелѣвшу Адаму къ вещьмъ не смѣаху ни ходити ни лещи ни сънѣсти чѣто, донѣдеже не повелитъ имъ Адамъ. 1.4 такожде и Къвага.

INTRODUCTION IN THE GREEK

0.1 The story and the history of Adam and Eve the first-created, revealed by God to Moses his servant, when he received the tablets of the law from His hand, having been instructed by the Archangel Michael. O Lord pronounce a blessing.

SLAVONIC

1.1 Before the trespass, Adam was in Paradise and had everything he wanted and everything happened according to his will: 1.2 the wild animals and the domestic animals and all the feathered birds--all drew near, left and fled at his command. 1.3 Apart from Adam's command nothing was allowed to move around, or land, or eat anything before Adam permitted it. 1.4 It was the same with Eve.

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SLAVONIC

29:7a [<i>Ἐγένετο δὲ ἡμᾶς πενθῆσαι ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ</i>	1:1 Quando expulsi sunt [II,III=Cum expulsi (fuissent? essent?) Adam et Eva]II,III de paradiso, fecerunt sibi tabernaculum et fuerunt VII dies lugentes et lamentantes in magna tristitia.	1.1 <i>ხეჩი ქრანსის Ադამայ ի դրախտէ անտի. հանդիք՝ կնամ իրով, ի դուրս ի կողմ արեւելից դրախտին. և արարին իրեանց տաղասար բնակութեան, և մտին անդ. և իրանէին արտասուք իրեանց անդադար, և եղին զատուր իրեանց միաբան յալով և տրտմութեամբ, և ասին ցմիւնասան ի՞նչ հեռացաք ի կենացս:</i>	1:1 და იყო ოდეს გამოვიდა ადამ და ევა, ცოლი მისი, სამოთხიო, გამოვიდეს სამოთხეს აღმოსავალით კერძო. კმნა ადამ ტალავარი საყუდელად თვისა. და შევიდეს ორნივე და დაყვეს მუნ შვიდი დღე. ტიროდეს ორნივე ტირილითა დიდითა, რამეთუ ჯუოდეს საყოფელთა მათთვის სასუფეველი-სათა, რომელთა განშორნეს.	28-29.1 И сѣдохомъ прѣдъ дверьми раискими .
29:7b [<i>καὶ μετὰ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐπεινάσαμεν</i>	2:1 Post VII autem dies coeperunt esurire et quaerebant escam, ut manducarent et non inveniebant.	2.1 <i>և ապա յետ ասուրց ելին քաղցեան և խնդրէին կերակուր:</i>	2.1 და შემდგომად შვიდისა დღისა შეემშია და ეძიებდეს საჭმელსა.	28-29.2 Адамъ прилежъ къ земли и плака се за .3. дѣни и ничѣто сѣньдѣно не имѣхомъ и възалькахомъ велико .
29:7c [<i>καὶ εἶπον τῷ Ἀδὰμ· ἀνάστα καὶ φρόντισον ἡμῖν βρώματα ἵνα φάγωμεν καὶ ζήσωμεν ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν, ἐγερθόμεν καὶ κυκλώσωμεν τὴν γῆν εἰ οὕτως εἰσακούσῃ ἡμῖν ὁ θεός.</i>	2:2 Tunc dixit Eva ad Adam: domine mi, esurio. vade, quaere nobis, quod manducemus. forsitan respiciet et miserebitur nobis dominus deus et revocabit nos in locum, quo prius eramus.	2.2 <i>և ասէ Եւա Եւրամ. Տէր իմ քաղցեալ, արի խնդրես կերակուր զի ապրեսցուք, և գիտասցուք ե՞նչ գալոց է Աստուած և ասնիցի զմեզ ի դրախտ, ի տեղի մեր:</i>	2:2 ჰრქუა ევა ადამს. "უფალო ჩემო, ადამ, აღდეგ და მიდი მე საზრდო, რათა ვჭამოთ ვიდრე განცდამდე, ვინ უწყის, შემიწყნაროს ჩუენ უფალ-მან და შემიყუანნეს ჩუენ მასვე აღვიღსა სამოთხისასა".	28-29.3 азъ же Къвѣга възъп ихъ гласомъ велиемъ . помылю мѣ, творьче, мѣне ради Адамъ сико патить . 28-29.4 и глаголахъ Адаму . вѣстани, господине мои, да поищевъ храню себѣ . оже бо доухъ мои омалѣ въ мнѣ и сръдце мое оледенѣло кѣстъ въ мнѣ .

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
29:7a <i>[And we grieved for seven days]</i>	1:1 When Adam and Eve were expelled from paradise they made for themselves a tent and spent seven days mourning and lamenting in great sadness.	1:1 It came to pass, when Adam went forth from the Garden with his wife, outside, to the east of the Garden, they made themselves a hut to live in and went inside. Their tears fell ceaselessly and they spent their days in unison of mind, weeping and saddened, and they said to one another, "We are far from life."	1:1 It came to pass, when Adam went out from the Garden with his wife Eve, they went out at the eastern part of the Garden. And Adam made a hut to live in. They both entered (it) and resided there for seven days. They both wept with abundant tears, for they regretted the residences of the kingdom from which they had been expelled.	28-29.1 And we sat ourselves down before the gates of Paradise.
29:7b <i>[and after seven days we grew hungry]</i>	2:1 But after 7 days they began to be hungry and sought food to eat and did not find any.	2:1 Then, after seven days, they grew hungry and looked for food.	2:1 And after seven days, they were hungry and looked for something to eat.	28-29.2 Adam lay down on the ground and cried for seven days and nights, and we had nothing to eat and felt horrible hunger.
29:7c <i>[and I said to Adam: "Rise and give some thought to food that we might eat and live and so that we do not die. Let us get up and circle the earth perhaps God will hear us."]</i>	2:2 Then Eve said to Adam: "My lord, I am hungry. Go, seek for us something to eat. Perhaps the Lord God will look upon us and have mercy on us and will call us back to the place where we were previously."	2:2 Eve said to Adam. "My lord, I am hungry. Arise, seek food so that we may live and know that God is going to come and bring us to the Garden, to our place."	2:2 Eve told Adam: "Adam, my lord, arise and (go) search for food for me that we may eat, until we find out-- who knows -- (perhaps) the Lord will accept us and take us back to the same place in the Garden.	28-29.3 I, Eve, cried out with a loud voice, "Have pity on me, O Creator, for on my account Adam suffers so severely." 28-29.4 And I said to Adam, "Get up, my husband, that we may seek nourishment; for my spirit is already diminishing in me and my heart is going numb within me."

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
29:7d [Καὶ ἀνέστημεν καὶ διωδεδύσαμεν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην καὶ οὐχ εὗρομεν.	3:1 Et surrexit Adam et ambulavit VII dies omnem terram illam et non invenit escam, qualem habebant in paradiso.	3.1 <i>Յարեան եւ շրջեցան ի վերայ երկրի, եւ ոչ գտին կերակուր նման կերակուրի որով կերակրէին ի [դրահատին]:</i>	3:1 და აღდგა ადამ შემდგომად შვიდისა ღღისა და იცევოდა პირსა ზედა ქუეყანისასა. და არა პოვა საზრდელი მსგავსად მისა, რომლისა-იგი ჭამდეს სამოთხესა მას შინა. მიუგო ადამ ევას და ჰრქუა: "სიკუდი ლითა მოსიკუდიდ ვართ.	
	3:2 Et dixit Eva ad Adam: domine mi, putas fac me uti- nam moriar. et forte introducat te dominus deus de- nuo in paradisum, quoniam propter me iratus est tibi dominus deus.	3.2a <i>եւ ասէ ხա ցარად. Մհրանիմք ի սովոյ ասալիկ. երանք էր եթէ ես մեռեայն էի. տէր իմ, քերեա տանէին զ[քեզ] ի դրահատն, զի վասն իմ իցէ բարկացեալ Աստուած:</i>	3:2a ჰრქუა ევა ადამს: "ნეტარ თუშცა მე მოვკუედი და შენ ზოლო შეგი- წყენარა სამოთხედ".	
		3.2b <i>Ասէ Ադამ. Մեծ ցասումն հասնայ է ի վերայ մեր, ոչ գիտեմ վասն քո եթէ վասն իս:</i>	3:2b მიუგო ადამ ევას და ჰრქუა: "ღიდი რისხვაი არს ჩუენ გამო ყოველ- თა ზედა დაბადებულთა. ესე არა უწყი, ანუ თუ ჩემ გამო, ანუ თუ შენ გამო".	

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29:7d *[We arose and went about the entire earth but we did not find food.]*

3:1 And Adam arose and walked for seven days over all that land but did not find food such as they had in paradise.

3:2 Eve said to Adam: "My lord, would that I might die. Perhaps then the Lord God would bring you back into the Garden, for it was because of me that the Lord God grew angry with you."

3:1 They arose and went about upon the earth, and they did not find food like the food by which they had been nourished in [the Garden].

3:2a Eve said to Adam, "I am dying of this hunger. It would be better if I were dead, my lord; perhaps (then) they would bring [you] into the Garden, for because of me God is angry."

3:2b Adam said, "Great wrath has come upon us, I know not whether because of you or because of me."

3:1 And Adam arose after seven days and went about upon the face of the earth and he did not find any food like that which they used to eat in the Garden. Adam replied to Eve and told her, "We are going to die a death."

3:2a Eve told Adam, "Oh, if only I were dead then God would have accepted you in the Garden!"

3:2b Adam replied to Eve and said to her, "Because of us a great anger lies upon all creatures. (However) I do not know this: whether it is because of me or because of you."

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29:8 [Καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα εἶπον τῷ Ἀδὰμ· ἀνάστα κύριε καὶ ἀνάλωσόν με ἵνα ἀναπαύσωμαι ἀπὸ προσώπου σου καὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ προσώπων τῶν ἀγγέλων ὅπως παύσονται τοῦ ὀργίζεσθαι σοι δι' ἐμοῦ.

29:9a [Τότε ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἀδὰμ εἶπέν μοι διὰ τί ἐμνήσθης τῆς κακίας ταύτης ἵνα φόνον ποιήσω καὶ ἐνέγκω θάνατον τῇ ἐμῇ πλευρᾷ; ἢ πῶς ἐπενέγκω χεῖρα τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ θεοῦ ἦν ἔπλασεν;

vis interficere me, ut moriar? et forte introducet te dominus deus in paradisum, quia propter meam causam expulsus es inde.

3:3 Respondit Adam: noli, Eva, talia dicere, ne forte aliquam iterum maledictionem inducat in nos dominus deus. quomodo potest fieri, ut mittam manum meam in carnem meam?

3:4 sed surgamus et quaeramus nobis, unde vivamus, ut non deficiamus.

4:1 Et ambulantes quaesierunt novem dies et non invenerunt sicut habebant in paradiso, sed hoc tantum inveniebant, quod animalia edebant.

3.2c Ասէ ցն(ա) նաւ. եթէ կամիս, սպան զիս. զի դարարեսցէ ցատսան եւ բարկութիւն իրեսաց քոց. զի վասն իմ եղիւ այդ. եւ տանիցեն զքեզ ի դրախտ անդ:

3.3 Ասէ ցնա Ադամ. Մի՛ նաւ լիշեսցես գալոքս, գուցէ ածիցէ Աստուած ի վերայ մեր այլ եւ չարիս յորովագորի, եւ իբրեւ այսպանողք լինիմք. իսկ զիս՝ ող կարեմ չար ինչ տանել քեզ. զի մարմին իմ եւ դու:

3.4 Ասէ նաւ. Արի՛ զի խնդրեսցուք կերակուր բանձարոյ.

4.1 [խնդրեցին] եւ ոչ գտին կերակուր [ճարակ բանջարոյ նման որ ի դրախտին էր]

3:2c მიუღო ევა ადამს: "უფალო ჩემო, უკუეთუ ჯერ-გისნს, მომაკლდინებ მე, რაითა მოვისპო პირისაგან ღმრთისა და ანგელოზთაგან მისთა, რაითა დაცხრეს რისხვაი ღმრთისაი შენ ზედა, რომელ არს ჩემ გამო და შეგვიყვან-ნოს მღვზე სამოთხედ".

3:3 მიუღო ადამ და ჰრქუა: "ნუვე, ნუცა მოიხსენებ მაგას საქმესა, რაითა არა ღმერთმან სხუთი სასჯელი მოავლინოს ჩუენ ზედა კლვისათვის, ვითარ-მე აღვიდო სელი ჩემი ვნებად ხორცთავე თვისთა ზედა?" მაშინ ჰრქუა ეავი:

3:4 "აღდეგ, ვიდოთ ორთავე მხალი".

4:1 და არა პოვეს გემო მსგავსად ხილისა მის, რომელი იყო სამოთხე-სა მას შინა.

28-29.5a тогда Адамъ къ мнѣ рече: "Евѣго, приходитъ ми на срьдѣце,

28-29.5b, 6 да съмрѣти прѣдамъ тебѣ, нь бою се, понеже образъ твои богъ сѣтворилъ юсть. того ради не могу сѣздание господне разорити, нь понеже каеши се и въпиешу къ богу, того ради срьдѣце мое не отлучаетъ се отъ тебѣ.

30-32.1 И вѣста Адамъ и обидоховѣ всѣмъ землю и не обрѣтоховѣ сѣнѣсти ничесоже, тѣкмо цволѣ траву селѣну

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29.8 [<i>And I answered and said to Adam: "Rise, O Lord and destroy me that I might cease from before you and from before God and the angels (and) so that they might cease their anger toward you on my account."</i>]	Do you wish to kill me, that I might die? Perhaps the Lord God will bring you back into the Garden, since on account of my action you were expelled from there."	3:2c Eve said, to h[im], "Kill me if you wish, so that the wrath and anger may abate from before you—for this has come about because of me—and they will bring you into the Garden."	3:2c Eve replied to Adam, "My lord, if you think it wise, kill me so that I will be exterminated from the sight of God and his angels, so that God's anger against you may cease, which came about because of me: and he will bring you back into the Garden."	28-29.5a Then Adam said to me, "Eve, I have half a mind to give you over to death,
29-9a [<i>Then Adam answered and said to me, "For what reason do you call to mind this evil that I could commit murder and impose death upon my rib. How could I lift a hand against the image of God which he made?"</i>]	3:3 Adam responded: "Don't say such things Eve lest the Lord God bring upon us some other curse. How could it be that I should raise my hand against my own flesh?"	3:3 Adam said to her. "Eve, do not (even) mention this matter; lest God bring upon us even greater evils and we become contemptible. How, indeed, can I do you any evil, for you are my body?"	3:3 Adam replied and told her, "No, no! Do not mention this matter, lest God send another judgment upon us because of (this) killing. How could I raise my hand and cause my own flesh to suffer?"	28-29.5b, 6 but I am afraid to do so, because God created your countenance. Thus, I cannot destroy the creation of God, on the contrary, because you now are filled with remorse and pray to God, my heart can never part from you."
	3:4 Let us arise and seek for ourselves something by which we might live so that we might not perish."	3:4 Eve said "Arise, so that we may seek vegetable food."	3:4 Then Eve told him, "Arise, let us both seek vegetables."	
	4:1 Walking about, they searched for nine days but did not find anything like they had in the Garden. They only found what animals eat.	4:1 [They sought] and they did not find [vegetable] food [like that which was in the Garden].	4:1 And they did not find (anything) tasting like the fruit of the tree which was in the Garden.	30-32.1 And Adam stood up and we traveled about the whole earth but found nothing to eat, except thorns, a wild grass.

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	4:2 Et dixit Adam ad Evam: haec tribuit dominus animalibus et bestiis, ut edant; nobis autem esca angelica erat.	4.2 քանզի գալս կերակուր բանճարոյ հաստատեալց Աստուած կերակուր գազանաց զի կերիցեն ինկրի. այլ մեր կերակուր այն է զոր հրեշտակքն կերակրին:	4:2 და ჰრქუა ევა: ესე დაბადა ღმერთმან მხეცთათვის, რაითა იზარღე-ბოლიან, ხოლო ჩუენდა საზრდელად იყო ანგელოზთა იგი ცხორებაი.	
	4:3 Sed iuste et digne plangimus ante conspectum dei, qui fecit nos. peniteamus penitentiam magnam; forsitan indulgeat et miserebitur nostri dominus deus et disponet nobis, unde vivamus.	4.3 Արի ապաշխարեսցուք ատուր քառասուն, թերեւ գիշացի Աստուած ի մեզ եւ տացէ (մեզ) կերակուր որ յապգոյն իցէ քան զգազանացն, զի մի նմանեսցուք յոցա:	4:3 აწ მოვედ და შევიზნართ სინანულითა დიდითა ფრიად ორმეოც დღე, რაითა წყალობა ყოს ღმერთმან ჩუენ ზედა და მომცეს ჩუენ საზრდელი უძჯობესი პირუტყუეთასა, რაითა არა მსგავსად მათსა ვიყვენით.	30-32.2 и пакы възвративъшемъ се намъ въ едемъ (ed. къ двѣремъ райскимъ) единоголассно възыпихомъ: помилуй, владыко, творьче, твою свою . господи, припѣсти намъ сьнѣдь .

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	4:2 Adam said to Eve: "The Lord gave these things to animals and beasts to eat. Ours, however was the angelic food.	4:2 (Eve said "...) because God established this vegetable food as food for the beasts that they might eat on the earth, but our food is that which the angels eat.	4:2 And Eve told him, "God created that for the beasts to get (as) their food; but our food was that by which the angels live.	
	4:3 But justly and worthily do we lament before the face of God who made us. Let us perform a great penitence. Perhaps the Lord God will yield and have mercy on us and give us something by which we might live."	4:3 Arise, let us repent for forty days; perhaps God will pity us and give [us] food which is better than that of the beasts so that we should not become like them."	4:3 Now, come and let us do penance for forty days, so that God may pity us and then give us better food than that of the animals, lest we should become like them."	30-32.2 And when we returned to Eden (ed. to the gates of Paradise), we cried together praying, "Have pity, O Master and Creator, on your creatures; furnish us with nourishment."

SLAVONIC

30-32.3 непрѣстанно молещемъ се намъ .єі. днѣи, тогда слышахомъ архаггела Иоила (ed. Михаила Иоила), молеща се о насъ.

30-32.4 и повелѣтъ господь Иоилу, и въземъ .з. чѣсть отъ рая и даде намъ.

30-32.5 Тогда рече господь : тръниѣ и вльчѣць изъ длани твоихъ да изидеть и отъ пота твоего снѣси . и да зърить жена твоя тебе и да трепещеть .

30-32.6 рхаггелъ Иоиль рече : тако глаголетъ господь къ Адаму : жену твою не сътворишь да естъ тебѣ на повелѣніе, нѣ да естъ тебѣ на послушание . по чѣто ты жену свою слушаеши;

30-32.7 Паки архаггелъ Иоиль повѣда Адаму : отлучи скоты и все вещи отъ летѣщихъ и отъ ходѣщихъ и сътвори дивіе и питомы, и нареци всѣмъ вещи имена .

30-32.8 такожде възетъ Адамъ воловы и възора, да сътворить себѣ храну.

33-34.1 Тогда дияволъ прииде и ста прѣдъ волями и не дасть Адаму землю работати

33-34.2 и рече дияволъ къ Адаму : моя естъ земля а божия суть небесная (и рай) .

33-34.3 да аще хоцѣши мои быти, тогда землю работай .

33-34.4 аще ли хоцѣши божию быти, поиди себѣ въ рай .

33-34.5 Адамъ рече : божия суть небеса и божию рай, божия земля и море и вса въселенная .

33-34.6 дияволъ рече : не дамъ ти землю работати, аще не запишѣши рукописание свое, да (є)си мои .

33-34.7 Адамъ рече : кѣто земли господинь, тому юсмъ азъ и чѣда моя . дияволъ възрадова се .

33-34.8 Адамъ бо знааше, яко господь хоцѣтъ снѣити на землю о облѣщи се хоцѣтъ въ чловѣчь образъ и попрали хоцѣтъ диявола .

33-34.9 и рече дияволъ : запиши мнѣ рукописание свое .

33-34.10 и записа юму и рече : кѣто земли господинь, тому азъ и чѣда моя

35-37.1 Дияволъ приетъ рукописание Адамле .

SLAVONIC

30-32.3 And as we prayed unceasingly for fifteen days, we heard the archangel Joel (ed Michael Joel) praying for us.

30-32.4 And the Lord commanded the archangel Joel and he took a one-seventh portion from Paradise and gave it to us.

30-32.5 Then the Lord spoke, 'Thorns and thistles shall come forth from your hands and from your sweat you will have nourishment, and your wife will look on you in trembling.'

30-32.6 And the archangel Joel said, 'Thus says the Lord to Adam, I have not created your wife to command you, but to obey you; why do you obey your wife?'

30-32.7 Moreover, the archangel Joel told Adam, that he was to make a separation between farm animals and every sort of flying and creeping creature, namely, the wild and the tame, and to give to each creature a name.

30-32.8 Accordingly, Adam took oxen and began to till, that he might obtain nourishment.

33-34.1 Then the Devil appeared and stood steadfastly in front of the oxen and wouldn't allow Adam to till the earth.

33-34.2 And the Devil said to Adam, 'the earth is mine, God owns Heaven (and the Garden).

33-34.3 If you want to become mine, then, by all means, till the earth.

33-34.4 If, however, you want to belong to God then go only into Paradise.'

33-34.5 Adam said, 'God owns Heaven and Paradise, but God also owns the earth and the sea and the entire world.'

33-34.6 The Devil said, 'I will not permit you to till the earth, unless you sign a *cheirograph*, pledging that you belong to me.'

33-34.7 Adam said, 'Whoever is Lord of the earth, to him both I and my children belong.'

33-34.8 Adam knew of course that the Lord would come down to the earth and take on himself the form of a man and trample down the Devil.

33-34.9 The Devil said, 'Write for me your *cheirograph*.'

33-34.10 And Adam wrote and said, 'Whoever is Lord of the earth, both I and my children belong to him.'

35-37.1 The Devil took the *cheirograph* for himself.

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5:1 Et dixit Eva ad Adam: domine mi, dic mihi, quid est penitentia et qualiter peniteam, ne forte laborem nobis inponamus, quem non possumus sustinere, et non exaudiat preces nostras.	5:1 Ասէ Ադամ Եւայ. զոր սարինակ սպաշխարիս դու. կամ քան՝ ի սար կարիս համբերել վաստակոց. քուցէ սկսանիս եւ ոչ կարիս սպաշխարել. եւ ոչ լուիցէ Աստուած.	5:1 მიუგო ადამ ევას და ჰრქუა: " ძიობარ-ლა მე აწ, რაბამითა სინანულ-ლითა ინანი, ანუ რადღენთა დღეთა შეუძლო სინანულად სინანულისა შენისა, ნუტუკუე აღუთუქუათ ღმერთსა	5:1 მიუგო ადამს ევა და ჰრქუა: " ძიობარ-ლა რიცხუნი იგი დღეთანი, რადღენ ჟამ ეგულები სინანული, ვინ იცის, შე-ცა- უმატო მას, რამეთუ მე შეგამთვვიენ ჯირნი ესე."	35-37.2 и азъ, чѣда моя , рѣхъ къ отцу вашему Адаму . въстани, госп одинѣ, и помоли се господу о семь, да избавитъ насъ отъ диявола сего, понеже сико патиши менѣ ради .
5:2 Et avertat dominus faciem suam a nobis, quia sicut promisimus non adimplevimus.	5:2 զի զոր ի սկզբանէ ստացաք եւ ոչ կարացաք պահել:	5:2 და ვერ აღუსრულოთ აღუქმად იგი მისი, რომელი აღუთუქუათ .	5:2 და ვერ აღუსრულოთ აღუქმად იგი მისი, რომელი აღუთუქუათ .	35-37.3 Адамъ же рече къ мнѣ . ѿ Къво, понеже сико каѣши сео злобѣ своѣи, и сръдце мое оуслышитъ те, понеже създа тебѣ господь отъ ребръ моихъ .
5:3 Domine mi, quantum cogitasti penitere, quod ego tibi induxi laborem et tribulationem.	5:3 Ասէ Եւայ. Տուր ինձ գիշիս ատուրեն զոր խորհեցայց սպաշխարել. քուցէ երկայնիքեն ատուրել. քանզի ես [ածի] ի վերայ քո զապաշխարութիւն դ գայի:	5:3 მიუგო ადამს ევა და ჰრქუა: " ძიობარ-ლა რიცხუნი იგი დღეთანი, რადღენ ჟამ ეგულები სინანული, ვინ იცის, შე-ცა- უმატო მას, რამეთუ მე შეგამთვვიენ ჯირნი ესე."	5:3 მიუგო ადამს ევა და ჰრქუა: " ძიობარ-ლა რიცხუნი იგი დღეთანი, რადღენ ჟამ ეგულები სინანული, ვინ იცის, შე-ცა- უმატო მას, რამეთუ მე შეგამთვვიენ ჯირნი ესე."	35-37.4 და პოწიმъ სე .მ. ძნიი, ედა како оумилосръдитъ се господь о насъ и прип оуститъ намъ разумъ и животъ (ed. разумъ животъни) .

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	5:1 Eve said to Adam: "My lord, tell me what is penitence and how long should I perform it, lest we place on ourselves a labor which we cannot endure, and he hears not our prayers, 5:2 and the Lord turn his face from us because we did not fulfill what we promised. 5:3 My lord, how much penitence are you thinking of doing since I brought labor and tribulation upon you."	5:1 Adam said to Eve, "In what fashion will you repent? How many days can you endure toils? Perhaps you will begin and be unable to repent, and God will not hearken, 5:2 so that we will not be able to keep that which we originally received." 5:3 Eve said, "Set me the number of days which I might think to repent; perhaps the days will be too long—for I brought this penitence upon you."	5:1 Adam replied to Eve and told her, "Explain to me now by what penitence you (wish to) repent, or for how many days will you be able to repent in your penitence, lest, perchance, we make a promise to God, 5:2 and be unable to fulfill the promise which we will have made to him." 5:3 Eve replied to Adam and she told him, "Tell me about the number of days, then; for what period of time will you consider doing penitence? Who knows, (perhaps) I will add more to that—for it is I who have brought these tribulations upon you."	35-37.2 But I, my children, said to your father Adam, 'Arise, my husband, pray to God, that he deliver us from the Devil, for you suffer so on my account.' 35-37.3 But Adam said to me, 'Eve, now you feel such remorse over your error, that you will listen to my heart, for God created you from my rib. 35-37.4 We will fast for forty days, perhaps the Lord will pity us and leave for us understanding and a portion of life (ed. life's understanding).'
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GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
29:9b [ἀλλὰ μετανοήσωμεν ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα ὅπως σπλαγχνισθῇ ἡμῖν ὁ θεός καὶ δώσῃ ἡμῖν τροφήν κρείσσονα τῆς τῶν θηρίων. 29-10a Ἐγὼ μὲν ποιήσω ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα σὺ δὲ ἡμέρας τριάκοντα τέσσαρας ὅτι σὺ οὐκ ἐπλάσθης τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ ἐν ᾗ ἐτέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ.	6:1a Et dixit Adam ad Evam: non potes tantum facere quantum ego, sed tantum fac ut salveris. ego enim faciam quadraginta diebus ieiunans.	6.1a Ասէ Ադամ. Ոչ կարես համբերել զպիղքաքի ասորս որպէս եւ ես, այլ արա դու զոր ինչ ասացից քեզ եւ կաց ի [նիին] քան: Ասէ Ադամ. Ես լինիմ ասորս քառասուն, անիւ քան զքեզ վեց ար. քանզի դու ստեղծար ասորս վեցերորդի զոր ստացաւ զարարածս իւր.	6:1a მიუგო ადამ და ჰრქუა ევას: "ვერ შეუძლო შეპყებულ, გარნა რა-ოღენი გრქუა, ევოლენ დაადგერ და ყავ. და მე შევივავო ორმეულ დღე და შენ შეინანე ოცდაათობმეტი დღე. ექუსნი იგი დღენი მე მომიტევნენ, რამეთუ შენ არა დაბადე დღესა მას მეექვსესა, რომელსა შექმნა ღმერთმან ყოველი დაბადებული?" 6:1b აწ შენ აღდეგ და მივედ მდინარესა ტიგრისისასა და მოიღე ქვაი ფერხთა ქუეშე შენთა და შთაღე წყალსა მას შინა და სამოსელი დაი-ფარენ ვიდრე ყელადმდე. და ვიდრე ილოცვიდ, ნუ გამოვალნ ხმაი პირობი შენით, რამეთუ არა ღირს ვართ აღებად პირთა ჩუენთა, რამეთუ ბაგენი ჩუენნი არაწმიდა არიან გარდასვითა მით მცნებათაითა ჭაპარისა მისგან სამოთხისა, რომლისა-იგი არა გვიბრძანა ღმერთმან,	35-37.5 азъ рѣхъ · госп одинѣ, ты пости се .м. дънеи, и азъ да пощю се .мд. 35-37.6 и рече Адамъ къ мьнѣ · прииди въ рѣку, и поими камыкъ великъ и подложи подъ нощъ свои и вьниди въ водѣ, и одѣжди се водою яко свитою до вьне своеѣ и моли бога въ срьдци своемъ и да не изидеть рѣчь изъ оустъ твоихъ .
29:10b [Ἄλλ' ἀνάστα καὶ πορεύου εἰς τὸν Τίγριν ποταμόν καὶ λάβε λίθον καὶ θες ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας σου καὶ στηθὶ ἐνδεδυμένη ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ἕως τοῦ τραχήλου, καὶ μὴ ἐξέλθῃ λόγος ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου· ἀνάξιοι γάρ ἔσμεν καὶ τὰ χεῖλα ἡμῶν οὐκ ἔστι καθαρά.	6:1b tu autem surge et vade ad Tigris fluvium et tolle lapidem et sta super eum in aqua usque ad collum in altitudine fluminis. et non exiet sermo de ore tuo, quia indigni sumus rogare dominum, quia labia nostra immunda sunt de ligno inlicito et contradicto.	6.1b արդ՝ արի այսունտե, գնա դու ի Տիգրիս գետ. եւ առ քար մի եւ դիր ի ներքոյ ոտից քոց. եւ կաց դու ի ջուր անդ հանդերձաւ քո մինչեւ ցպարակոց քո. եւ մի ելցէ քան ի բերանոյ քամմէ արպաչել գնառաժ, քանզի անարժան անձամբք եւ պիղծ են շրթնսք մեր եւ չեն սուրբ, վասն յանցանացն զոր արարար ի դրախտին լուսեղն մեր ի ծառոյ անտի.	6:1b აწ შენ აღდეგ და მივედ მდინარესა ტიგრისისასა და მოიღე ქვაი ფერხთა ქუეშე შენთა და შთაღე წყალსა მას შინა და სამოსელი დაი-ფარენ ვიდრე ყელადმდე. და ვიდრე ილოცვიდ, ნუ გამოვალნ ხმაი პირობი შენით, რამეთუ არა ღირს ვართ აღებად პირთა ჩუენთა, რამეთუ ბაგენი ჩუენნი არაწმიდა არიან გარდასვითა მით მცნებათაითა ჭაპარისა მისგან სამოთხისა, რომლისა-იგი არა გვიბრძანა ღმერთმან,	35-37.6 и рече Адамъ къ мьнѣ · прииди въ рѣку, и поими камыкъ великъ и подложи подъ нощъ свои и вьниди въ водѣ, и одѣжди се водою яко свитою до вьне своеѣ и моли бога въ срьдци своемъ и да не изидеть рѣчь изъ оустъ твоихъ .

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29:9b *[Rather let us repent for forty days so that God may have mercy on us and give to us better food than the animals. 29:10a I will do forty days of penitence whereas you shall do 34 days for you were not made on the sixth day when God made his creation.*

29:10b *[Arise and go to the Tigris river and take a stone and put it under your feet and stand there covered in the water up to your neck and let not a word come from your mouth for we are not worthy and our lips are unclean.]*

6:1a Adam said to Eve: "You cannot do as much as I, but do as much so that you might be saved. For I will do forty days of fasting.

6:1b You, however, arise and go to the Tigris River and take a stone and stand upon it in the water up to your neck in the depth of the river. Let not a word go forth from your mouth since we are unworthy to ask of the Lord for our lips are unclean from the illicit and forbidden tree.

6:1a Adam said, "You cannot endure the same number of days as I, but do what I tell you and abide by [this] instruction."—Adam said, "I shall be (in penitence) for forty days, six days more than you, because you were created on the sixth day (of those upon which) he accepted his works.

6:1b Now, therefore, arise, go to the T[i]gris river and take a stone and place it under your feet and stand in the water up to your neck, in your clothes. Let no word of supplication to God escape your mouth, for we are unworthy of [soul] and our lips are impure and unclean, because of the transgressions which we committed in the Garden when we ate of the tree.

6:1a Adam replied and said to Eve, "You will not be able to add (anything to it). On the contrary, as many (days) as I will tell you, that many (days, you should) stay and do. And I will do penitence for forty days, and you, do penitence for thirty-four days. Leave me these six days, since were you not created upon the sixth day, when God completed the creation of all creatures?

6:1b Now, you, arise and go to the river Tigris; and put a stone under your feet and stay in the water and clothe yourself (with it) up to your neck. While you pray, let no sound come from your mouth, for we are not worthy to open our mouths, for our lips are impure because we transgressed the commandments, so as to eat from (the tree) of the Garden which God had forbidden us.

35-37.5 I said, 'My husband, you fast forty days, and I will fast forty-four days.'

35-37.6 And Adam said to me, 'Come to the river called Tigris, take a stone and place it under your feet, stand up in the water and cover yourself with water, as with a coat up to the neck, and pray to God in your heart, but no word should come out across your lips.'

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	6:2 Et sta in aqua fluminis XXXVII dies. ego autem faciam in aqua Jordanis XL dies. forsitan miserebitur nostri dominus deus.	6.2 լոխայ կացցես անդ ի մէջ ջրոյն մինչև սպաշխարհացն[ս] գատուր երեսուն եւ չորս. եւ ես լինիմ ի Յորդանան գետ մինչև գիտացուի եթէ ահա լուսւ մեզ Աստուած, եւ տացէ մեզ գերակուրն մեր:	6:2 არამელ დადუმენ, ხოლო წყალსა მას შინა ინანდი : ლ : ლდე ყოვლითა გულთა შენითა და მე ეგრეთვე ვყოიორდანესა მდინარესა შინა, ვიდრემდე არა ისმინოს ჩუენი ღმერთმან და მოგუცეს ჩუენ საზრდელი .	35-37.7 и азъ рѣхъ : госп одине, азъ възвоу къ богу въсѣмъ сръдцѣмъ моимъ : 35-37.8 и рече къ мнѣ Адамъ : велико съблуди себе . аще не видиши мене и въсѣ бѣлєгы моє, не изиди изъ рѣкы ни върѹи глаголомъ , да не пакы съблажнєна бѹдеши .
	7:1 Et ambulavit Eva ad Tigris flumen et fecit sicut dixit ei Adam.	7.1 Գնաց Եվայն հետև ի Տիգրիս եւ արար որպէս հրամայեաց նաւ Ադամ:	7:1 წავიდა ევა მდინარესა მას ტიგრისასა და ყო ეგრე, ვითარცა აძ-ცნო მას ადამ:	
29:11a [Ἐπορεύθη δὲ Ἀδὰμ εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν καὶ ἡ θριξὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἠπλοῦτο εὐχομένου αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι.	7:2 Similiter ambulavit Adam ad flumen Jordanis et stetit super lapidem usque ad collum in aqua.	7.2 եւ Ադամ (գնաց) ի Յորդանան. եւ հեր գլխոյ նորա մեղկեալ էր:	7:2 ხოლო ადამ დადგრა იორდანესა მდინარესა და თმანი თავისა მი- სისანი გარდაემატნეს.	35-37.9 и иде Адамъ къ Иорданѹ и въниде въ водоу иорданѣскою и погрѹзи се въсь въ водѣ и въсь власы главы своєє погрѹзи .
29:11b [καὶ ἔκραξε φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγων σοι λέγω τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ Ἰορδάνου· Στήθι καὶ εὐχου ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ θηρία καὶ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔρπε- τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ θαλάσσῃ.	8:1 Et dixit Adam: tibi dico, aqua Jordanis, condole mihi et segrega mihi omnia natantia, quae in te sunt et circumdant me ac lugeant pariter mecum.	8.1 եւ աղաչեալ ասէր. Բեզ ասեմ Զուրբ Յորդանանու վրտակից լիրութ ինձ եւ ժողովեալ գամենայն կայտառ[ս] որ ի քեզ եւ, եւ շրջեցին գինեւ եւ լացցեն զիս:	8:1 და თქუა ადამ: " შენ გეტყუ, იორდანე, იჭირვოლე ჩემ თანავე და შე- კრიბენ ყოველივც, რომელნი არიან გარემოს შენსა პირელტყუნო, რაითა გარე- მოგადგვენ და მტირორიან მე,	35-37.10a молящѹ же се богу, молитвы въсылающѹ,

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	6:2 Stand in the water of the river for thirty-seven days. I however, will do forty days in the water of the Jordan. Perhaps the Lord will have mercy on us."	6:2 Stand silent there in the middle of the water until [you] have done penitence for thirty-four days, and I will be in the Jordan river, until we learn that, behold, God has hearkened to us and will give us our food."	6:2 Rather, be silent, only do penitence in the water for thirty-four days with all your heart and I will do the same in the Jordan river, until God hearkens and gives us food."	35-37.7 And I said, 'My husband, I will call out to God with my whole heart.' 35-37.8 And Adam said to me, 'Guard yourself carefully; if you don't see me and all my features, don't climb up out of the water, give no credence to words, so that you won't get into any more trouble.'
29:11a <i>[Adam went to the Jordan river and the hair of his head was spread out as he prayed in the water.</i>	7:1 Eve walked to the Tigris River and did just as Adam told her. 7:2 Likewise, Adam walked to the Jordan River and stood upon a rock up to his neck in the water.	7:1 Then Eve went to the Tigris and did as Adam had instructed her, 7:2 and Adam [went] to the Jordan. And the hair of his head was uncovered.	7:1 Eve went off to the Tigris river and she did as Adam had ordered her. 7:2 But, as for Adam, he remained in the Jordan river and the hair of his head spread out.	35-37.9 And Adam went to the Jordan and stood up in the water and immersed himself in water and also dampened the hair on his head.
29:11b <i>[And he cried in a loud voice saying: "I say to the waters of the Jordan stand still and pray with me even all the beasts, all the birds, and all which creeps on the land and the sea."</i>	8:1 Adam said: "I say to you, water of the Jordan, mourn with me and separate from me all swimming creatures which are in you. Let them surround me and mourn with me.	8:1 He prayed and said, "I say to you, waters of Jordan, be fellow sufferers for me and assemble all the moving thing<S> which are in you, and let them surround me and bewail me,	8:1 And Adam said, "I tell you, O Jordan, suffer with me and assemble all the animals which are around you, so that they (may come) to surround you and bewail me,	35-37.10a While he prayed to God and his prayers went up,

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	8:2 Non se plangent, sed me, quia ipsi non peccaverunt, sed ego.	8.2 ոչ եթէ վասն ամձանց իւրեանց, այլ վասն իմ. զի ի նոցանէ ոչ արգել Աստուած զկերակուր իւրեանց զոր հրամայեաց Աստուած ի սկզբանէ, իսկ ես արգելալ ի կերակրոյն իմոյ եւ ի կենացս:	8:2 არა თუ მათთვის, არამედ ჩემთვის, რამეთუ მათ არა მთავლო ღმერთ-მან საძოვარი, რომელი მისცა ღმერთმან დასაბამითგან, ხოლო მე მოვაკლ- დი ცხოვრებისა ჩემისაგან და საზრდელისა.	
29:11c /Καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ πάντα τὰ ποιήματα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκύκλωσαν τὸν Ἀδὰμ ὥς τεῖχος κύκλω αὐτοῦ κλαίωντες καὶ προσευχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ὅπως εἰσακου- σῇται αὐτοῦ ὁ θεός.	8:3 Statim omnia animantia venerunt et circumdederunt eum et aqua Jordanis stetit ab illa hora non agens cursum suum.	8.3 զայն իրրիւ ասաց Ադամ, ժողովեցան առ նա ամենայն կայստոր որ էին ի Յորդանան, եւ կացին շուրջ զնովա իրրիւ զպարիսպ. եւ դադարեցին ջուրք Յորդանանու ի ժամոյն յայնիկ, եւ զտեղի ադին ի գնացից իւրեանց: Ադամ աղաղակեաց առ Աստուած եւ մեկնեաց ի նոցանէ դասս վեց հարիւր ի ձայն աղաչանաց կարդալ առ Աստուած զամենայն ասորս:	8:3 ესე რა თქვა აღამ ტირილითა მწირითა, შეკრბეს ყოველნი საცხო-ვარნი მის თანა და გარე- მოადგეს მას ვითარცა ზღუდენი. მას უამსა, ვი- თარცა წყალმან იორდანემან დააცალა სლვაი თვისი, მაშინ აღუტევა აღამ ხმაი ღმრთისა მიმართ და იქცია მუხლნი ხმისა თვისისაი ექუსად მსგავსად ხმისა მის ყოველთა ანგელოზთაისა ყოველსა უამსა.	35-37.10b и тѣ сьнидоше сѣ аггели и всѣ вещи летеще, звѣриѣ и скоти, и всѣ пѣтице перьнатыѣ, ставшѣ яко и стѣна о кръсть Адама, молеще сѣ къ богу за Адама.

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29:11c *[And all the angels and all things made by God circled Adam like a wall around him and cried while praying to God on behalf of Adam so that God might hearken to him.*

8:2 Let them not lament for themselves, but for me, for they have not sinned, but I."

8:3 Immediately, all living things came and surrounded him and the water of the Jordan stood from that hour not flowing in its course.

8:2 not for their own sakes, but for mine. Because God did not withhold their food from them, which God appointed from the beginning, but I have been withheld from my food and from life."

8:3 When Adam said that, all moving things which were in the Jordan gathered to him and stood around him like a wall. And the waters of the Jordan stopped at that time and became stationary from their flow. Adam cried to God and he set apart six hundred orders of them to call to God in prayers all the days.

8:2 not for their own sakes, but for me. Because God did not withhold their fodder from them, which God gave them from the beginning, but I have been withheld from my means of life and from my food."

8:3 When Adam had said that with bitter tears, all the cattle gathered close to him and stood around him like walls. At the moment when the water (of) the Jordan had restrained its flow, then Adam raised his voice towards God and he varied his tone of voice six times, like the voices of all the angels in all times.

35-37.10b the angels assembled themselves and every flying creature, the wild and the domestic and every winged bird, and they stood as a wall around Adam, praying to God for him.

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
29:12a Ἰ'Ο δὲ διάβολος μὴ εὐρῶν τόπον εἰς τὸν Ἀδάμ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν Τίγγριν ποταμὸν πρὸς με· καὶ λαβὼν στήμα ἀγγέλου ἔστη ἐνώπιόν μου	9:1 Et transierunt dies XVIII. tunc iratus est Satanas et transfiguravit se in claritatem angelorum et abiit ad Tigrem flumen ad Evam.	9.1 Թորժամ կատարեցան ասորք ութ եւ տասն յայդ նոցա. Սատանայ ի ձեւ թրորէի ի դարդ վայելչութեան եւ գնաց ի Տիգրիս գետ խաբէլ գետ.	9:1 ოდეს აღესრულნეს დღენი იგი ათორმეტნი ტირილსა მას შინა მისსა შეძრწუნდა ეშმაკი და იქცია ხატი მისი და სამოსელი მისი სიცრუეითა მით ხელოვნებისა მისისათა და მივიდა იგი ევასთანა მდინარესა მას ტიგრისასასა და ღადგა იგი გარეშე.	38-39.1a Дия воль прииде къ мнѣ аггелскимъ образомъ и свѣтлостимъ,
29:12b [κλαίων καὶ τὰ δάκρυα αὐτοῦ ἔρρεεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. καὶ λέγει μοι· ἔξελθε ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ παῦσαι τοῦ κλαυθμοῦ	9:2 Et invenit eam flentem. et ipse diabolus quasi condolens ei coepit flere et dixit ad eam: egredere de flumine [II,III] et de cetero non plores. iam cessa de tristitia et gemitu. quid sollicita es tu et Adam vir tuus?	9.2 եւ արտասուք նորայ իցանէին ի վերայ դարդու նորայ միևնույն իրկիր: եւ ասէ Սատանայ ցեաւ. ել ի ջրոյ այդի եւ հանգիր զի լուսւ Աստուած ապաշխարութեան ձեր. քեզ եւ Ադամայ արն քո.	9:2 და ტირიდა და დაწოთბდა საცრუისა ცრემლთა მისთა ზედა სამოსელსა მისსა და სამოსლით ქუეყნად. და ჰრქუა ევას: "გამოვედ მაგიერ წყლით და დასცხერ ჯირთა მაგათგან, რამეთუ ისმინა ღმერთმან სინანუ-ლი შენი და აღამის, კმრისა შენისა".	38-39.1b идеще стояхъ въ водѣ, слъзы великы ронещи по земли, и глагола къ мнѣ · изиди къво изъ воды,
29:12c ἤκουσε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τῆς δεήσεώς σου ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ πάντα τὰ ποιήματα αὐτοῦ παρεκαλέσαμεν τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν.	9:3 Audivit dominus deus gemitum vestrum et suscepit penitentiam vestram; et nos omnes angeli rogavimus pro vobis deprecantes dominum,	9.3 վասն զի մեք արաչեցար գնառուած.	9:3 და ჩვენცა ვევედრებოთ ურვათა თქუენთათვის, რომელი ვიხილეთ.	38-39.2a услыша богъ молитву твою, и насъ аггелы услыша господъ, молящихъ се за васъ,
	9:4 et misit me, ut educerem vos de aqua et darem vobis alimentum, quod habuistis in paradiso et pro quo planxistis.	9.4 եւ Աստուած առաքեաց զիս) հանել զձեզ այսի եւ տալ ձեզ զկերակուրն ձեր վասն որոյ ապաշխարեցէք:	9:4 და მოძავლინა მე ღმერთმან გამოყვანებად თქუენდა და მიცემად საზრდელი, რომლისათვისცა ინანიო.	38-39.2b и посылა мене господъ къ тебѣ, да изидеши отъ воды сея .

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
29:12a [<i>But the Devil, not finding a place with respect to Adam, came to the Tigris river to me. And assuming the form of an angel he stood before me</i>]	9:1 Eighteen days passed. Then Satan grew angry and transfigured himself into the brilliance of an angel and went off to the Tigris River to Eve.	9:1 When eighteen days of their weeping were completed, then Satan took on the form of a Cherub with splendid attire, and went to the Tigris river to deceive Eve.	9:1 When the twelve days of his weeping were completed, the Devil trembled and changed his shape and his clothes by his artful deceit. He drew close to Eve, on the Tigris river, and stood beside the bank.	38-39.1a The Devil came to me in the form and radiance of an angel,
29:12b [<i>weeping and his tears flowed upon the ground. And he said to me, "Come forth from the water and cease your crying, for God has heard your request</i>]	9:2 He found her weeping, and then, the Devil himself, as if mourning with her began to weep and said to her: "Come out of the water [II,III+ and rest] II,III and weep no longer. Cease now from your sadness and lamenting. Why are you uneasy, you and your husband Adam? The Lord God has heard your lamenting and accepted your penitence.	9:2 Her tears were falling on her attire, down to the ground. Satan said to Eve, "Come forth from the water and rest, for God has hearkened to your penitence, to you and Adam your husband,	9:2 He was weeping and had his false tears dripping down on his garment and from his garment down to the ground. Then he told Eve, "Come out of that water (where you are) and stop your tribulations, for God has hearkened to your penitence, to you and to Adam, your husband.	38-39.1b there where I stood in the water, letting passionate tears fall to the ground, he said to me, "Come forth, Eve, out of the water.
29:12c [<i>because even we, the angels, and all things made by him, have beseeched God on your behalf.</i>]	9:3 All of us angels have pleaded for you, praying to the Lord.	9:3 because we beseeched God.	9:3 Moreover, we too have prayed because of your misfortunes which we have seen.	38-39.2a God has heard your prayer and also we angels, we who prayed for you,
	9:4 And he sent me to lead you forth from the water and to give you the nourishment which you had in the Garden and for which you have grieved.	9:4 And God sent [me] to lead you forth from there and to give you your food, on account of which you repented.	9:4 Thus God sent me to have you (pl.) come forth and to give you the food on account of which you repented.	38-39.2b and the Lord has sent me to you, that you should emerge from this water.'

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
29:13 [Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν δεύτερον ἠπάτησέν με ὁ ἐχθρὸς· καὶ ἐξέβην ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος.]	9:5 Nunc ergo egredere de aqua et perducam vos in locum, ubi paratus est victus vester.	9.5 <i>Քանզի այժմ առ Ադամ գնացի եւ նա առաքեաց զիս առ քեզ եւ ասէ. Գնա կոչեա զկիս իմ որդեակ, եւ յայժմ եկ գնասցուք առ Ադամ եւ տարայց զձեզ ի տեղին ուր կերակուր ձեր իցէ:</i>	9:5 აწ აღმოვხედ მაგვიერ, რამეთუ მისრულ ვარ აღამისა და მოძავლინა და მრქუა მე: "მივედ და ჟთხარ ცოლსა ჩემსა ევას და მოიყვანე იგი ჩემდა". აწ მოვედ და მოიყვანო შენ აღამისა, აღგილსა მას, სადა არს იგი და სადა- ცა-იგი არს საზრდელი თქუენი".	
	10:1 Haec audiens autem Eva credidit et exivit de aqua fluminis et caro eius erat sicut herba de frigore aquae.	10.1 <i>եւ երեսი ხა ի ջրոյ անտի եւ եղև մարմինք նորա իբրև: զիսու ցամաքեալ զի ի ջրոյն ալկակերպեալ էին մարմինք նորա, բայց պատկեր փառաց նորա կայր պայծառ.</i>	10:1 და აღმოვხვდა ევა მიერ წყლით და იყვნეს ხორცნი მისნი ვითარცა მხალნი დაპვნარ განთოშვითა წყლისაითა. გარდაქცეულ იყო ყოველი იგი ხატო ქმნულკეთილობისა მისისაი.	38-39.3 азъ же познахъ, яко дияволъ ксть и ничесоже ему не отвѣцахъ .
	10:2 Et cum egressa esset cecidit in terram et erexit eam diabolus et perduxit eam ad Adam.	10.2 <i>(իբրեւ եւ նա ի ջրոյ անտի) եւ անկեալ եկաց ի վերայ իրկրի մեծաւ աշխատութեամբ ատուր երկուս. զի ամենեւին չէր կարող շարժիլ ի տեղողէն. եւ ասպա յարեաւ. եւ Սատանայ եւ առաջնորդեաց նմա ուր եւ Ադամ էր:</i>	10:2 და ოდეს აღმოვხდა იგი მიერ წყლით, დაეცა პირსა ზელა ქუეყანისა- სა მრაველითა მით უძლურებითა და იღვა იგი შეუძრველად ორ დღე. და შემდგომად ორისა დღისა აღდგა და მოუძღვა მას ეშმაკი, სადაცა იყო აღამ.	38-39.4 И по .м. дѣнии гредущу Адаму отъ Иордана и обрѣте слѣды дияволовъ и ѿбоя се зѣло, ꙗко како прѣвѣстилъ мѣ ксть .

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29:13 [*And when he said these things, the enemy deceived me a second time. And I came out of the water.*]

9:5 Now, therefore, come out of the water and I will lead you to the place where your food is prepared."

10:1 Hearing this, Eve believed him and went out of the water of the river. Her flesh was like grass from the waters coldness.

10:2 When she had come out, she fell to the ground, but the Devil stood her up and led her to Adam.

9:5 Since just now I went to Adam and he sent me to you and said, 'Go, son, summon my wife,' now come, let us go to Adam and I will lead you to the place where your food is."

10:1. When Eve came forth from the water, her flesh was like withered grass, for her flesh had been changed from the water, but the form of her glory remained brilliant.

10:2 [When she came forth from the water] she fell down and remained upon the ground in great distress for two days, for she was quite unable to move from the spot. Then she arose and Satan also led her to where Adam was.

9:5 Now, come up from there, for I have gone to Adam and he sent me and told me, 'Go and speak with Eve, my spouse; bring her back to me.' Come, now, and I will lead you to Adam, to the place where he is and where your food also is."

10:1 And Eve came up out of the water and her flesh was withered like rotten vegetables because of the coldness of the water. All the form of her beauty had been destroyed.

10:2 And when she had come up out of the water, she fell on the face of the earth in great weakness and remained lying (on the ground) without moving for two days. And after two days she arose and the Devil led her to where Adam was.

38-39.3 And I discerned that he was the Devil, and answered him nothing at all.

38-39.4 But when after forty days, Adam emerged from the Jordan, he noticed the footprints of the Devil and was very afraid lest the Devil had duped me.

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10:3 Cum autem vidisset eam Adam et diabolum cum ea, exclamavit cum fletu dicens: O Eva, O Eva, ubi est opus penitentiae tuae? quomodo iterum seducta es ab adversario nostro, per quem alienati sumus de habitatione paradisi et laetitia spiritali.

11:1 Haec cum audisset Eva cognovit quod diabolus suavit exire de flumine et cecidit super faciem suam in terram et duplicatus est dolor et gemitus et planctus ab ea.

11:2 Et exclamavit dicens: ve tibi, diabole, quid nos expugnas gratis? quid tibi apud nos? aut quid tibi fecimus, quoniam dolose nos persequeris? aut quid pertinet ad nos malitia tua?

10.3 *Եւ իբրեւ հոնա Ադամ զՍատանայ եւ զՅաւ զի գալլո զհետ Նորա, ելաց լալին մեծ եւ արարականց մեծ բարբարոսի եւ ասէ ցնա. Ո՛ր է պատուին իմ ասպաշխարոյթնան զոր հաւո քեզ. զիս՝ որ մորորեցար դու զհետ դորա գալ, որով աստարացար ի բնակութենէ մերմէ:*

11.1 *Զայս իբրեւ լուսն եւ գիտաց ինէ Սատանայ է որ խաբէրեաց զնա, անկաւ ատաքի Ադամայ. այնուհետեւ կրկին ցար Ադամայ յանդէս իբրեւ հոնա զսատանայան կնոջ իւրոյ. զի լքաւ եւ անկաւ իբրեւ գմեռեալ.*

11.2 *տրտմեցաւ եւ արարականց հեծութեամբ մեծաւ եւ ասէ ցՍատանայ. զիս՝ որ արդափ մարտ ինքր ընդ մեզ, կամ զի՛նչ մեղանք են մեր առ քեզ. զի հաներ զմեզ ի տեղողէն մերմէ.*

10:3 და ვითარცა იხილა ადამიან ევას, ვითარ-იგი მისდევდა ეშმაკსა მას, იწყო ტირილითა მწარითა და ხმა-ყო ხმითა მაღლითა და ჰრქუა: " სადა არიან მცნებანი სინანულუსანი, რომელი გამცენ, ვითარ კჳლად შესცეთ მაგის მიერ, რომლისაგანცა უცხო ვართ საყოფელთაგან ჩუენთა".

11:1 ესე რა ესმა ევას, რამეთუ ეშმაკი არს, რომელმანცა აცთუნა იგი, და-ვარდა იგი წინაშე მისსა, ხოლო აღამს ორ წილ ექმნა საღმრთაი იგი ევას-სი, რამეთუ ხედვიდა იგი მას დავრდომილსა კუეყანასა ზედა ვითარცა მკუ-ღარსა.

11:2 შეჭუვნა და თქუა ღიღითა კუნესითა, ხმა-ყო: " ვაი შენდა, მბრძოლსა მაგას ჩუენთასა, რაი ბოროტი გიყავთ შენ, რამეთუ შენითა შეტყუვილითა იყო გამობღაი ჩუენი სამოთხით. უკუეთუ ჩუენ განგაგდეთ შენდა ჩუენდა მომართ არს მღუწვანი შენი?"

38-39.5 *егда же видѣ мене въ водѣ стоѣщу, възрѣдова се велико, и поумѣ мене и изведе ме изъ воды.*

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10:3 When Adam saw her and the Devil with her, he cried out with tears, saying: "O Eve, O Eve, where is the work of your penitence? How have you again been seduced by our adversary, through whom we were alienated from the dwelling of the Garden and spiritual happiness?"

11:1 When Eve heard this, she knew that it was the Devil who had persuaded her to go out from the river and she fell on her face on the ground and her grief was double, as was her wailing and lamentation.

11:2 He cried out, saying: "Woe to you, Devil. For what reason do you fight against us? What concern do you have with us? What have we done to you that you should persecute us so grievously? Why does your malice extend to us?"

10:3 When Adam saw Satan and Eve who was following him, he wept loudly and called out with a great voice and said to Eve, "Where is my command of repentance, which I gave you? How did you go astray, to follow him by whom we were alienated from our dwelling?"

11:1 When Eve heard this, she knew that he who deceived her was Satan; she fell down before Adam. From that time Adam's distress increased twofold when he saw the sufferings of his wife, for she was overcome and fell like one dead.

11:2 He was sad and called out great lamentation and said to Satan, "Why have you engaged in such a great conflict with us? What are our sins against you, that you have brought us out of our place?"

10:3 And as soon as Adam saw Eve (and) how she was following the Devil, he started to weep with burning tears and called out with a great voice and told her, "Where are the commands of repentance which I gave you? How have you been deceived again by him, because of whom we are aliens to our dwellings?"

11:1 When Eve heard that it was the Devil who had deceived her, she fell down before him and Adam's distress for Eve increased twofold for he saw her lying on the earth like one dead.

11:2 He was sad and called out with great groaning, "Woe to you who fight against us! What evil have we done to you? For it is because of your calumnies that we went out from the Garden. Is it because we have caused you to be expelled that you are angry against us?"

38-39.5 But when he saw me standing in the water, he was very happy, and he took me and led me out of the water."

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
	11:3 Numquid nos abstulimus gloriam tuam et fecimus te sine honore esse? quid persequeris nos, inimice, usque ad mortem impie et invidiose?	11.3 <i>մի թէ գլխաւոյն քո հանաք մեք ի քէն. մի թէ մեղքեցաք գթեզ լինել մեզ ստացուածս. գի մարտնչիս լինդ մեզ ի տարապարտուց:</i>	11:3 ანუ ჩუენ მიერ მოგვძრცუა დიდებაი შენი? ანუ სადამდე ჩუენითა შექმნითა ეგრეთ ნაკლულევან ხარ, ანუ ჩუენ ხოლო ვართ დაბადებულნი ღმრთისანი, რამეთუ ჩუენ გუბრძავთ?	

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
	11:3 Did we ever take your glory from you or cause you to be without honor? Why do you persecute us, O enemy, impiously and jealously unto death?"	11:3 Did we take your glory from you? Did we reject you from being our possession, that you fight against us unnecessarily?"	11:3 Or is it because of us that you were despoiled of your glory? Or is it, in some way, by our action that you are in such deficiency? Or are we the only creatures of God that you fight against us alone?"	

GREEK

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ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

12:1 Et ingemescens diabolus dixit: O Adam, tota inimicitia mea et invidia et dolor ad te est, quoniam propter te expulsus sum et alienatus de gloria mea, quam habui in caelis in medio angelorum, et propter te eiectus sum in terram.	12.1 <i>Եյաց եւ Սատանայ լալին մեծ եւ ասէ ցնդամ. Ամենայն ժպրուհոյքինք իմ եւ սրտմոլեքինք վասն քո եղես. զի վասն քո եյայ եւ ի բնակոյթնէ իմէ, եւ վասն քո աստարացայ եւ յաթոռոյ ճիւղոյքիցն, որ տարածեալ հոլասի ոմէին ինձ. վասն քո կոխեցին ոտք իմ զերկիր:</i>	12:1 ტირილად იწყო ეშმაკმან ტირილითა იძულებისათა, და ჰრქუა ადამს ეშმაკმან: "ჰოი ადამ, ყოველივე ანგარებაი და ძროღვადი, და ყოველი-ვე ჯუვილი გულისა ჩემისაი შენდა მოძარბო არს, რამეთუ შენ გამო გამოვარი მე საყოფელთაგან ჩემთა, შენ გამო უცხო ვიქმენ მე საყდრისაგან ჩემისა. ქერობინთაგან უფრო ფრთენი ჩემნი ზედა გარდამატებულ იყვენეს და დაფარულ ვიყავ მე მათ ქუეშე, აწ ვლენან ფერხნი ჩემნი ქუეყანასა ზედა, რომელ არა მრწმენა".
12:2 Respondit Adam: quid tibi feci? 12:3 Aut quae est culpa mea in te? cum non sis a nobis nocitus nec laesus, quid nos persequeris? 13:1 Respondit diabolus: Adam, tu quid dicis mihi? propter tuam causam projectus sum inde.	12.2 <i>Պատասխանի ხო Աდამ եւ ասէ ցნայ.</i> 12.3 <i>զի՞նչ [(մեղք)] ես մեր առ քեզ զի զայս ամենայն պարսբեր ընդ մեզ:</i> 13.1 <i>Պատասխանի հո Սատանայ եւ ասէ. Դու ինձ ինչ ոչ պարսբեր, բայց ես վասն քո եկի յայդադի, յորում ատոր դու ստեղծար. զի ես այն ար եկի:</i>	12:2 მიუგო ადამ ეშმაკსა და ჰრქუა: "რომელი არს ბრალი ჰემი, რომლი-თა-ეცა გიყავ შენ?" 12:3 რომელი არს ბრალი ჰემი, რომლი-თა-ეცა გიყავ შენ?" 13:1 მიუგო ეშმაკმან და ჰრქუა: "შენ არაი მიყავ მე, არამედ შენ გამო გამოვარი მე ქუეყნად.

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LATIN

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	12:1 Groaning, the Devil said: "O Adam, all my enmity, jealousy, and resentment is towards you, since on account of you I was expelled and alienated from my glory, which I had in heaven in the midst of the angels. On account of you I was cast out upon the earth."	12:1 Satan also wept loudly and said to Adam. "All my arrogance and sorrow came to pass because of you; for, because of you I went forth from my dwelling; and because of you I was alienated from the throne of the Cherubim who, having spread out a shelter, used to enclose me; because of you my feet have trodden the earth."	12:1 The Devil began to cry with forced tears and the Devil told Adam, "O Adam, all the greed and the anger and all the grief of my heart are directed against you because (it was) through you that I fell from my dwellings; (it was) by you that I was alienated from my own throne. My wings were more numerous than those of the Cherubim, and I concealed myself under them. Because of you, now my feet walk on the earth, which I would never have believed."	
	12:2 Adam answered: "What have I done to you?"	12:2 Adam replied and said to him,	12:2 Adam replied to the Devil and told him,	
	12:3 What fault do I have against you? Since you have not been harmed nor injured by us, why do you persecute us?"	12:3 "What are our [[sins]] against you, that you did all this to us?"	12:3 "What is my fault, by which I have done all that to you?"	
	13:1 The Devil answered: "Adam what are you saying to me? On account of you I was cast out from heaven."	13:1 Satan replied and said, "You did nothing to me, but I came to this measure because of you, on the day on which you were created, for I went forth on that day."	13:1 The Devil replied to him and told him, "You did nothing to me, but it is because of you that I have fallen upon the earth."	

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13:2 Quando tu
plasmatus es, ego
proiectus sum a fa-
cie dei et foras a
societate angelo-
rum missus sum.
quando insufflavit
deus spiritum vitae
in te et factus est
vultus et simili-
tudo tua ad imagi-
nem dei, et adduxit
te Michahel et fecit
te adorare in con-
spectu dei, et dixit
dominus deus: ecce
Adam, feci te ad
imaginem et simil-
itudinem nostram.

14:1 Et egressus
Michahel vocavit
omnes angelos di-
cens: adorate imagi-
nem domini dei,
sicut praecepit
dominus deus.

14:2 Et ipse
Michahel primus
adoravit, et vocavit
me et dixit: adora
imaginem dei
Jehova.

13.2 Իբրեւ փշեաց
Աստուած զողին
իւր ի ձեզ ամեր
դու զնմանութիւն
պատկերի տորա.
եկն այնուհետեւ
Միքայէլ եւ եւր քեզ
երկիր պազանել
ստացի Աստուծոյ:
եւ ասէ Աստուած
ցՄիքայէլ. Ահա,
արարի զԱդամ ի
նմանութիւն
պատկերի իմոյս:

14.1 Յայնժամ
Միքայէլ կոչեաց
զամենայն
հրեշտակսն, եւ
ասէ ցնոսա
Աստուած. եկալք
երկիր պազէք
Աստուծոյ զոր
արարի:

14.2 Եպազ երկիր
նախ Միքայէլ.
կոչեաց զիս եւ
ասէ. Երկիր պազ
եւ դու Ադամայ:

13:2 რომელსაცა
დღესა შეიქმენ
შენ, მასცა
დღესა
გამოვარდი
პირისა-გან
ღმერთისა,
რამეთუ ოდეს
შთაგებრა შენ
პირსა შენსა
სული
ღმერთმან,
გაქუნდა შენ
ხატო და
მსგავსებაი
ღმერთებისაი.
და მოვიდა
მიქაელ, წარ-
მოგადგინა შენ
და თაყუანის-
გაცემინა შენ
ღმერთისა და
ჰრქუა
ღმერთმან
მიქაელს: "
შევქმენ აღამ
მსგავსად
ხატისა და
ღმერთებისა
ჩემისა .
14:1 მაშინ
მოვიდა მიქაელ
და მოუწოდა
ყოველთა ერთა
ანგელოზთასა
და ჰრქუა მათ : "
თაყუანის-ეცით
მსგავსსა და
ხატსა
ღმრთეებისასა " .
14:2 და ოდეს
მოუწოდა
მიქაელ და
ყოველთა
თაყუანის-გცეს
შენ, და ძეცა
მომიწოდა,

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13:2 When you were formed, I was cast out from the face of God and was sent forth from the company of the angels. When God blew into you the breath of life and your countenance and likeness were made in the image of God, Michael led you and made you worship in the sight of God. The Lord God then said: 'Behold, Adam, I have made you in our image and likeness.'

14:1 Having gone forth Michael called all the angels saying: 'Worship the image of the Lord God, just as the Lord God has commanded.'

14:2 Michael himself worshipped first then he called me and said: 'Worship the image of God Jehovah.'

13:2 When God breathed his spirit into you, you received the likeness of his image. Thereupon, Michael came and made you bow down before God. God said to Michael, 'Behold I have made Adam in the likeness of my image.'

14:1 Then Michael summoned all the angels, and God said to them, 'Come, bow down to god whom I made.'

14:2 Michael bowed first. He called me and said. 'You too, bow down to Adam.'

13:2 The very day when you were created, on that day I fell from before the face of God, because when God breathed a spirit onto your face, you had the image and likeness of divinity. And Michael came; he presented you and made you bow down before God. And God told Michael, 'I have created Adam according to (my) image and my divinity.'

14:1 Then Michael came; he summoned all the troops of angels and told them, 'Bow down before the likeness and the image of the divinity.'

14:2 And then, when Michael summoned them and all had bowed down to you, he summoned me also.

GREEK

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SLAVONIC

14:3 Et respondi
ego: non habeo ego
adorare Adam. et
cum compelleret
me Michabel
adorare, dixi ad
eum: quid me
compellis? non
adorabo deteriorem
et posteriorem
meum. in creatura
illius prius sum.
antequam ille
fieret, ego iam fac-
tus eram. ille me
debet adorare.

15:1 Hoc audientes
ceteri qui sub me
erant angeli
noluerunt adorare
eum.

15:2 Et ait
Michabel: adora
imaginem dei. si
autem non adorave-
ris, irascetur tibi
dominus deus.

15:3 Et ego dixi:
si irascitur mihi,
ponam sedem
meam super sidera
caeli et ero similis
altissimo.

16:1 Et iratus est
mihi dominus deus
et misit me cum
angelis meis foras
de gloria nostra, et
per tuam causam in
hunc mundum ex-
puli sumus de
habitationibus nos-
tris et projecti
sumus in terram.

14.3 Ասեմ եւ ես. ի
բայ զնա դու
Միքայէլ. ոչ
պազան(ե)մ ես
[երկիր] յանտոյդ
իմոյ. զի առաջ ես
եմ, զի ոչ արժան է
[ինձ] դնա երկիր
պազանեի:

15.1 Լուսն եւ [այլ]
հրեշտակքն որ ընդ
իս էին եւ հառոյ
թուեցաւ բանք իմ
եւ ոչ պազին քեզ
երկրպագութիւն
Ադամ:

16.1 Բարկացաւ
այնուհետեւ
Աստուած ի վերայ
իմ, եւ հրամայեաց
հանել զմեզ ի
բնակութենէն
մերմէ եւ ընկենույ
երկիր զիս եւ
զհրեշտակս իմ որ
ընդ իս
հասանեցան, եւ դու
էիր անդրէն ի
դրախտին:

14:3 Լա թը
զարկիւ.՝
գանձե՞տորդ
ի՞նքն, ռա՞մեղ
տմբե՞քմեցես
ի՞նքն ա՞րա
տապտանիս -
ցեցե՞մ, ռա՞մեղ
տմբե՞մ մա՞ցիս
թը լա
մա՞ցիս լուսն
ի՞նքն
տապտանիս -
ցե՞մա՞ր՝.

15:1 Եւ-լա Եսմ
սեղտա
անցելո՞ւտ
քշտա լա՞ստ
լա՞ստ
լա՞ստ
սո՞ւրբ Ես
ի՞նքն լա՞րա
տապտանի-ցեցե՞
թըն.

16:1 Ժամ
գնորհե՞ն
լմբոտի հղե՞ն
թը լա
տմբանա
գարձա՞մեղ
ի՞նքն լա՞ մա՞ցի
քղեցնա՞լ
սապտա՞լ
հղե՞ն, եղո՞ւ
թըն ծր՞ն
պո՞ղ
սա՞մոտե՞ս
մա՞ն.

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ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

14:3 I answered: 'I do not have it within me to worship Adam.' When Michael compelled me to worship, I said to him: 'Why do you compel me? I will not worship him who is lower and later than me. I am prior to that creature. Before he was made, I had already been made. He ought to worship me.'

15:1 Hearing this, other angels who were under me were unwilling to worship him.

15:2 Michael said: 'Worship the image of God. If you do not worship, the Lord God will grow angry with you.'

15:3 I said: 'If he grows angry with me, I will place my seat above the stars of heaven and I will be like the Most High.'

16:1 Then the Lord God grew angry with me and sent me forth with my angels from our glory. On account of you we were expelled from our dwelling into this world and cast out upon the earth.

14:3 I said, 'Go away, Michael! I shall not bow [down] to him who is posterior to me, for I am former. Why is it proper [for me] to bow down to him?'

15:1 The other angels, too, who were with me, heard this, and my words seemed pleasing to them and they did not prostrate themselves to you, Adam.

16:1 Thereupon, God became angry with me and commanded to expel us from our dwelling and to cast me and my angels, who were in agreement with me, to the earth; and you were at the same time in the Garden.

14:3 And I told him, 'Go away from me, for I shall not bow down to him who is younger than me; indeed, I was master before him and it is proper for him to bow down to me.'

15:1 When the six classes of other angels heard that, then my speech pleased them and they did not bow down to you.

16:1 Then God became angry with us and ordered us, them and me, to be cast down from our dwellings to the earth. As for you, he ordered you to dwell in the Garden.

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SLAVONIC

16:2 Et statim facti sumus in dolore, quoniam expoliati sumus tanta gloria, et te in tanta laetitia delictiarum videre dolebamus.

16:3 Et dolo circumveniebam mulierem tuam et feci te expelli per eam de delictis laetitiae tuae, sicut ego expulsus sum de gloria mea.

17:1 Haec audiens Adam a diabolo exclamavit cum magno fletu et dixit: domine deus meus, in manibus tuis est vita mea. fac ut iste adversarius meus longe sit a me, qui quaerit animam meam perdere, et da mihi gloriam eius, quam ipse perdidit.

17:2 Et statim non apparuit diabolus ei.

17:3 Adam vero perseveravit XL diebus stans in poenitentia in aqua Jordanis.

16.2 *Իբրիս
գիտացի եթէ վասն
քո ելի ի
քնակութենէ
լուսոյն եւ եղէ ի
վաստակս եւ ի
ցասս.*

16.3 *յակնժամ
պատրաստեցի քեզ
որովայն զի
սատարացուցի(ց)
զքեզ
լուրսխութենէ
քումնէ, որպէս եւ
ես վասն քո
սատարացայ:*

17.1 *զայս իբրիս
լուսս Ադամ ասէ
առ Տէր. (Տէր անձն
իմ ի ձեռն քո). ի
բաց արա լիեն
զքէնամի իմ որ
կամի
մուրհեցուցանել
զիս որ ի խնդիրս
եմ եղեալ լուսոյն
զոր կորուսի:*

17.2 *Ի ժամոս
այնիկ շիրա
Սատանայ ի
նմանէ.*

17.3 *եւ Ադամ
այնուհետեւ եկաց
ի ջուրս
սպաշխարութեան.
եւ սա լքեալ եկաց
ի վերայ երկրի
անկեալ ատուրս
երիս իբրիս
զմեռեալ. եւ ապա
յնտ երից ատուրց
յարեաւ յերկրէ.*

16:2 ოდეს
გულისხმა-ვყავ,
რამეთუ შენ
ძლით
გარდამოვარდი,
და მე ვიყავ
ჭირსა შინა და
შენ
განსუენებასა,
16:3 და
მოგინადირე,
რაითა უცხო
გქმნა შენცა
სამოთხისა
მისგან სა-
შუებელისაისა,
ვითარცა მე
უცხო ვიქმენ
შენითა.

17:1 ესე რა ესმა
ადამს, ღაღად-
ყო ხმითა
მარღოთა და
თქუა: "უფალო,
ცხოვრებაი ჩემი
ხელთა შენთა
არს, განმაშორე
ჭკმგან მტერი
ესე, რომელსა
უნებს ცოტუნებაი
ჩემი და რომელი
ეძიებს
წარწყმედასა
ნათესავისა
ჩემი- სასა,
რომლისაგან
წარწყმედილ
არს ევა".

17:2 მას უამსა
უჩინო იქმნა
ბელიარი.

17:3 ხოლო ადამ
დადგრა
წყალსა მას
შინა და ინანდა,
ხოლო ევა
დავრდომილ იყო
ქუეყანასა ზედა
ვითარცა
მკუდარი. და
შემდგომად აღ-
დგა იგი
ქუეყანიით

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	16:2 Immediately we were in grief, since we had been despoiled of so much glory, and we grieved to see you in such a great happiness of delights. 16:3 By a trick I cheated your wife and caused you to be expelled through her from the delights of your happiness, just as I had been expelled from my glory." 17:1 Hearing this, Adam cried out with a great shout because of the Devil, and said: "O Lord my God, in your hands is my life. Make this adversary of mine be far from me, who seeks to ruin my soul. Give me his glory which he himself lost." 17:2 Immediately the Devil no longer appeared to him. 17:3 Adam truly persevered for forty days standing in penitence in the waters of the Jordan.	16:2 When I realized that because of you I had gone forth from the dwelling of light and was in sorrows and pains, 16:3 then I prepared a trap for you, so that I [might] alienate you from your happiness just as I, too, had been alienated because of you.' 17:1. When Adam heard this, he said to the Lord, "[Lord, my soul is in your hand.] Make this enemy of mine distant from me, who desires to lead me astray, I who am searching for the light that I have lost." 17:2 At that time Satan passed away from him. 17:3 Adam stood from then on in the waters of repentance, and Eve remained fallen upon the ground for three days, like one dead. Then, after three days, she arose from the earth,	16:2 When I had realized that I had fallen by your power, that I was in distress and you were in rest, 16:3 then I aimed at hunting you so that I might alienate you from the Garden of delights, just as I had been alienated because of you." 17:1 When Adam heard that, he cried in a loud voice and said, "Lord, my life is in your hands. Make this enemy distant from me, who desires to lead me astray and seeks to destroy my race. It is by him that Eve has been lost." 17:2 At that moment, Beliar became invisible. 17:3 As for Adam, he remained in the water and did penitence. But Eve had fallen upon the ground like one dead. Then she stood up from the ground.	
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GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

	18:1 Et dixit Eva ad Adam: vive tu, domine mi. tibi concessa est vita, quoniam tu nec primam nec secundam praevaricationem fecisti, sed ego praevaricata et seducta sum, quia non custodivi mandatum dei. et nunc separa me a lumine vitae istius, et vadam ad occasum solis et ero ibi usque dum moriar.	18.1 <i>ևստ ցեղամ. Դու ասպարտ ես յառաջին յանցանացն եւ երկրորդսն. բայց միայն ինձ յողմեաց Սատանայ ի պատճառ բանին Աստուծոյ եւ քո: Եւ ասէ դարձեալ եւս ցեղամ. Ահա երթամ ես ի մոտս արեւու եւ լինիմ անդ եւ կերակուրիմ խոտ մինչեւ մեռանիմ. զի պատճառն անարժան եմ կերակուրցն կենդանութեան:</i>	18:1 და ჰრქუა ადამს: "ცხონდი ადამ, რამეთუ შენ არა მიერთუ გარდა-სლვასა მცნებათასა არცა პირველსა, არცა მეორესა. მძლეს მე სიტყუამან ღმრთისამან". და ჰრქუა ევა: "აჲა ესეა, მე წარვიდე მზისა დასავალით კერძო და ვჭამდე თივასა ვითარცა პირუტყვი, ვიდრემდე მოვკლდე, რამეთუ რაითურთით არა ღირს ვარ ჭამადისა მისგან ცხოველთაისა".
	18:2 Et coepit ambulare contra partes occidentales et coepit lugere et amare flere cum gemitu magno.	18.2 <i>Գնաց եւս ի մոտս արեւու, եւ եղիւ եւս ի սուգ եւ ի տրտմութիւն.</i>	18:2 და წარვიდა ევა მზისა დასავალით კერძო და იყოფებოდა მუნ გლოვით და კუნესით.
	18:3 Et fecit ibi habitaculum habens in utero foetum trium mensium.	18.3 <i>ևս ասպა არար իւր տաղասար ի մոտս արեւու. եւ ձգեալ էր ամսագ, եւ ունէր լյարդանդի զհայէն ասարեն:</i>	18:3 და შემდგომად დღეთა მათ იქმნა მზისა დასავალით ტალავარი. ოდეს მიდგომილ იყო სამი თვით და მუცელსა ეღვა კენი.
	19:1a Et cum adpropinquasset tempus partus eius coepit conturbari doloribus et exclamavit ad dominum dicens:	19.1 <i>Իբրեւ եկին ժամանակք ծննդեանս նորա, սկսաւ աղաղակել ի ձայն մեծ եւ ասէ.</i>	19:1 ოდეს მოიწივნეს დღენი შობისა მისისანი, და შეძრწუნდა და ხმა-ყო ხმითა მაღლითა ღმრთისა მიმართ და თქუა:

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	18:1 Eve said to Adam: "Long may you live, my lord to you is my life submitted, since you did not take part in either the first or second collusion. But I conspired and was seduced, because I did not keep the commandment of God. Now separate me from the light of this life. I will go to the west and I will be there until I die. 18:2 She then began to walk toward the western regions and began to wail and weep bitterly with great moaning. 18:3 She made there a dwelling, being three months pregnant. 19:1a When the time of her delivery approached, she began to be distressed with pains, and she cried out to the Lord, saying:	18:1 and she said to Adam, "You are innocent of the first sin and of this second one. Only me alone did Satan overcome, as a result of God's word and yours." Again Eve said to Adam, "Behold, I shall go to the west and I shall be there and my food (will be) grass until I die; for henceforth I am unworthy of the foods of life." 18:2 Eve went to the west and she mourned and was sad; 18:3 and then she made a hut for herself in the west, and she was advanced in her pregnancy and she had Cain, the lawless one, [in] her womb. 19:1 When the times of her parturition came, she began to cry out in a loud voice and said,	18:1 and told Adam, "Be saved, Adam, for you did not join me in the transgression of the commandments, neither in the first (instance) nor in the second. (But) the word of God will prevail against me." And Eve told him, "Behold, I shall go in the direction of the setting sun and I will eat grass like an animal until I die, for by no means am I worthy of (having a part in) the food of the living." 18:2 Then Eve went away in the direction of the setting sun and she remained there in mourning and moaning. 18:3 And after these days, she made for herself a hut in the direction of the setting sun. She had conceived three months before, and Cain was in her womb, 19:1 and when the days of her parturition arrived, then she started to tremble; she wailed towards God in a loud voice and said:	
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GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

19:1b misere
mei, domine,
adiuva me. Et non
exaudiebatur nec
erat misericordia
dei circa eam.
19:2 Et dixit ipsa
in se: quis
nuntiabit domino
meo Adae? deprecor
vos luminaria
caeli, dum
revertimini ad
orientem, nuntiate
domino meo
Adam.

19.2 *Ուր է Ադամ
զի տեսցէ զցաա
իմ զայս. իսկ ո՞
պատմեսցէ
զտառապանս իմ
Ադամայ. եթէ իցէ
Հոյս ի ներքոյ
երկնից զի երթնայ
պատմեսցէ
Ադամայ. եթէ եկ
ազնական լեր
եայի. եւ ասէ.
Ադայեմ գեղ
ամենայն
լուստոյր յորժամ
երթնայց դուք
յարեմիս
պատմեսցէ տեսան
իմոյմ Ադամայ
վասն ցաոց իմոց:*

19:2 " Տաճա-մը
արև աճած,
հաճա
ժողովոնոս մը
ժիրտա ամառ
Մինա հըմտա անդ
զին տեսնես
Տաճածանի ղեց
հըմնի? արագին
արև
մղրինջվելոթաճան
ո, մի-մցա-ջիւղա
ը ձրէլա :
ժողվը ըս ղրիւ
ըզս . ցոլոՏա
ՄընՏա,
գըզըմընթի
տէլլըն,
յողվելոթաճը
նաղըՏաճա
ցիՏաթա, ըս ղղըՏ
միճջիւղա
աճմոՏաճաղիտ,
տոնընիտ
տղալոՏա հըմՏա
Տաճածանի ղեց
հըմնի".
20:1a ըս ղըմա
աճմոՏ
մըմնարըՏա Մինա
օղղմոՏանիՏա
եմա ղրիւղիլոՏա
ըս տղըճա
միՏաթա.

20:1 In illa autem
hora dixit Adam:
placuit Evae venit
ad me;

20.1a *Յայնժամ
լուսա Ադամ ի գեղ
Որդանան անդր.
զըզըզըզ յայլի եւ
զլայլիս նորա:*

20:1a ըս ղըմա
աճմոՏ
մըմնարըՏա Մինա
օղղմոՏանիՏա
եմա ղրիւղիլոՏա
ըս տղըճա
միՏաթա.

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

19:1b "Have mercy on me, O Lord, help me." She was not heard, nor was the mercy of God toward her.

19:2 She said to herself: "Who will tell my lord Adam? I beseech you, lights of the heavens, when you turn again to the east, tell my lord Adam."

20:1 In that very hour Adam said: "The lament of Eve has come to me;

19:2 "Where is Adam, that he might see this pain of mine? Who, indeed, will relate my afflictions to Adam? Is there a wind under the heavens that will go and tell Adam, 'Come and help Eve?!' And she said, "I implore you, all luminaries, when you come to the east, tell my lord Adam about my pains."

20:1a Then Adam, in the river Jordan, heard Eve's cry and her weeping.

19:2 "Where is Adam so that he can console me in my present pain, or who will tell him about my sufferings? Is there none among the birds, who would go to him and tell him, 'Come, help Eve, your spouse.' I beg of you, all you races of heaven, when you go to the east, tell my lord about my present sufferings."
20:1a Then Adam, in the river Jordan, heard her tearful crying and misfortunes.

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
		20.1b <i>Իբրիւ յաւս Աստուած ձայնի ապաշխարութեան Ադամայ</i> <i>և ոսույց նմա գլխարեկ և գնեծեխ և գեկեայ նմա և գասակի նորա:</i>	20:1b მაშინ ისმინა აღმერთმა ლიცვაი იგი აღამისი და მიუვლინა მი-ქაელ ანგელოზი და მოართუა მას თესლი შებეჭდული ბეჭდითა საღმრ-თოითა მორთუმაღ აღამისსა. და ასწავა მათ თესვაი და საქმე მისი, რაითა ცხოვნდენ იგინი მით და ყოველნი ნათესავნი მისნი.	
	forte iterum serpens pugnavit cum ea.	20.1c <i>և აպა յաւս Ադամ գձայն աղաչանացն ծալի ի մուտս արեւո և ասէ Ադամ ի սիրտ իւր. Զայն այն մարմնոյ ինոյ է և լալինն. յարեայց և գնացից առ նա և տեսից թէ վասն որոյ աղաղակէ. Գուցէ դարձեալ գազանն մարտեաւ ընդ նմա:</i>	20:1c და ვითარცა ესმა აღამს ლიცვაი ევასი და დაღადებაი იგი ტი-რილისა მისისაი დაღასავალით კერძო, იცნა ხმაი მისი და თქუა აღამ გულსა შინა თვისსა:” ხმაი გუერდისა ჩემისაი არს, ხმაი ტარივისა ჩემისაი არს, აღვღვე და ვიხილო, რაისათვის ხმობს, ანუ-მე კუალად გუეღო იგი ზრდავს?”	

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

20:1b When God
hearkened to
the sound of Adam's
penitence,

he taught him
sowing and reaping
and that which was
to come upon him
and his seed.

20:1c Then Adam
heard the sound of
Eve's entreaty in
the west, and Adam
said to himself,
"That voice and
weeping are of my
flesh. Let me arise
and go to her and
see why she is
crying out. Perhaps
the beast is
fighting with her
once more!"

Perhaps the serpent
has fought with her
again."

20:1b Then God
hearkened to
Adam's prayer and
sent him the angel
Michael who
brought him seeds,
sealed with the
divine seal,
destined to be
brought to Adam.

Then he taught
him sowing and
the work related to
it, so that thus
they might be
saved, (they) and
all their
descendants.

20:1c And when
Adam (had) heard
the prayer of Eve
and the wailing of
her tears from the
west, Adam
recognized her
voice and said in
his heart, "This is
the voice of my
rib, the voice of
my lamb; I will
arise and I will see
why she cries.
Perhaps the serpent
is attacking her
once more?"

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

20:2a Et ambulans
invenit eam in
luctu magno; et
dixit Eva: ex quo
vidi te, domine mi,
refrigeravit anima
mea in doloribus
posita.

20:2a *Թարեա
Ադամ եւ Էնայ
գհետ բարբառոյն
ուր նա էր. Իբրեւ
նտես նա
խաանցաւ եւ ասէ
ցԱդամ. Կամ՝ ր
գձայն լալոյ իմոյ.
Իմացուցի՜ն քեզ
հողմք յորում
սղաղակեց(ի)
վասն քո, եթէ
իմացուցի՜ն քեզ
լուսաւորք երկնից
որ կային ի
կողմանս
յար(եւ)եկից ար
լուստ արեւ ի
մնացից իրեանց,
կամ թէ իմացուցի՜ն
քեզ թուոմք
երկնից կամ
գազանք երկրի
զոր կոչեցի եւ
ստաքեցի առ քեզ,
զի պատմեացն
քեզ:*

20:2a აღდა
აღამ და
მისდევდა
კუთლსა მას
მისსა, და
ვითარცა მოვიდა
მისა დასავალით
კერძო, სადაცა
იყო ევა, და
ვითარცა იხილა
აღამი ევამან,
ტიროლა
ტირილითა
დიდითა და
თქუა: " უფალო
ჩემო, აღამ, არა
გესმა ხმაი
ტირილისა
ჩემისა? რამეთუ
დღეს ცხრა დღე
არს და დღით და
ღამით არს
ღაღადებაი ესე
ჩემი შენდა
მოძარო, არა
გაუწყესა შენ
ნათესავთა
აღმოსა-
ვალისათა
აღმოსლვასა
მათსა, ანუ არა
გაუწყესა შენ
მფრინველთა
ცისა-თა და
მხეცთა
ქუეყანისათა,
რამეთუ
ვევმდრებოლე
მათ ყოველთა,
რაითამ-ცა
გითხრეს შენ!

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

20:2a Walking, he found her in great distress. Eve said: "How is it that I see you, my Lord. My soul has grown cold being in such pains.

20:2a Adam arose and followed the noise (to) where Eve was. When Eve saw him, she spoke and said to Adam, "Did you hear the sound of my crying? Did the winds inform you, whom [I] entreated concerning you? Did the luminaries of heaven inform you, who are in the [east]ern regions every day, in their courses? Did the birds of the heavens inform you, or the beasts of the earth whom I summoned and dispatched to you, to tell you?

20:2a Adam arose and followed her footsteps. When he had come close to her, in the part of the west where Eve was, and when Eve saw Adam, she was crying with abundant tears and said, "My lord, Adam, did you not hear the sound of my tears? For, today, it is nine days, day and night, that there has been this crying of mine towards you. Is it that the [[luminaries]] of the east have not informed you when they arose? And have not the birds of the heavens and the beasts of the earth informed you, for I begged them all that they tell you about it.

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

20:2b et nunc
deprecare dominum
deum pro me ut
exaudiat te et
respiciat ad me et
liberet me de
doloribus meis
pessimis.

20:3 Et deprecatus
est Adam dominum
pro Eva.

21:1 Et ecce
venerunt XII angeli
et duo virtutes
stantes a dextris et
a sinistris Evae.

20.2b Արդ արի
աղաչեա
դատեղծիչն քո, զի
փրկեսցէ զիս ի
ցատց աստի:

20.3 ելաց Ադամ եւ
աղաչեա եկաց
յասն նորա առ
Աստուած:

21.1 եւ ահա իջին
յերկնից երկու
հրեշտակք եւ
երկու
զաւրութիւնք, եկին
առ ծառ եւ կացին
առաջի երեսաց
նորա,

20:2b აღდევ და
ევედრე
შემოქმედსა
შენსა, რაითა
წყალობა ყოს და
ისმინოს შენი
ღმერთმან და
მოსხნეს მე
საღმობათაგან
ჩემთა, ანუ თუ
ჯერ - უჩნდეს,
მოავლინოს ჩემ
ზედა
სიკუდილი, ანუ
ურვათა
ჩემთაგან
განმარი-ნოს
ლოცვითა
შენითა".

20:3 ილოცვიდა
და იტყორდა ადამ
მისთვის
ვედრებასა
წინაშე ღმრთი-
სა. და ისმინა
მისი უფალმან.

21:1 და აჰა
ესერა მოვიდეს
ზეციით
ათორმეტნი
ანგელოზნი და
ორნი ძალნი. და
მოვიდეს
ადგილსა მას
ევაისსა.

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

20:2b Now pray to the Lord God on my behalf that he might hear you and look down upon me and free me from my very bad pains.

20:3 Adam then prayed to the Lord for Eve.

21:1 And behold, twelve angels came and two Virtues, standing to the right and to the left of Eve.

20:2b Now arise, entreat your Creator to deliver me from these pains."

20:3 Adam wept and prayed to God on her behalf.

21:1 And behold, two angels and two powers descended from heaven, came to Eve and stood before her.

20:2b Arise, entreat your Creator to have pity, so that God may answer your prayer and deliver me from my sufferings or, if it seems fitting to Him, send death to me or, by your prayers, liberate me from my torments."

20:3 Adam prayed and spoke a plea to God on her behalf and the Lord hearkened to him.

21:1 And behold, twelve angels and two powers came from heaven. And they came to the place (where) Eve (was).

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

21:2 Et Michahel
erat stans a dextris
et tetigit faciem
eius usque ad pec-
tus et dixit ad
Evam: beata es,
Eva, propter Adam.
quoniam preces
eius magnae sunt
et orationes, mis-
sus sum ad te, ut
accipias adiutorium
nostrum. exsurge
nunc et para te ad
partum

21:3a Et peperit
filium et erat
lucidus.

21:3b et continuo
infans ex surgens
cucurrit et manibus
suis tulit herbam et
dedit matri suae. et
vocatam est nomen
eius Cain.

21.2 *և ասին ցնա
զարուքինք.
երան է քեզ նա
վասն Ադամայ
ընտրելոյ
նստութոյ. զի մեծ
են ինդրութեք
նորա, եւ նովա
եղեւ* *սաղմականութիւն
քեզ յԱստուծոյ.
բայց ի նմանէն ի
ծննդենէդ քո
յարգանսն ոչ
կարելի ապրել: եւ
ասէ հրեշտակն
ցնա. Կազմեա
զանձն քո եւ ես
լինիմ քեզ դայեակ:*

21.3a *Ապա իբր
ծնաւ զմանուկն էր
զոյն մարմնոյ
նորա իբրեւ զգոյն
աստեղաց.*

21.3b *ի ժամոյն
իբրեւ մանուկն ի
ծնաւ դայեակին
անկաւ. ի վեր
վազեաց եւ
ծնուաքն ինտեր
զխոր երկրին առ
տաղապար մար
իւրոյ եւ
անպտորութիւնք
բազում լինէին ի
տեղոյն:*

21:2 ერთი იგი
ძალთავანი
მოვიდა და
შეეხო პირსა
ევასსა და
მკერდ- სა მისსა
და ჰრქუა ევას: “
ნეტარ ხარ შენ,
ევა, ადამის
გამორჩეულისა
და მონისა
ღმრთისა,
რამეთუ დიდ
არიან ლოცვანი
მისნი წინაშე
ღმრთისა და მის
გამო გიხსნეს
შენ ღმერთმან.
უკუეთუდცა მის
გამო არა ყოფილ
იყო შეწევნაი
შენი, ეგევითარი
ეკალი მუცლად-
გიღებდეს,
ვერმცა განერე
სალ- მობათავან
შენთა. აღდეგ აწ
და განეწესე
შობად ყრმისა”.
21:3a აღდგა ევა,
ვითარცა ასწავა
მას ანგელოზმან
, და შვა ყრმაი
და იყო ფერი
მისი ვითარცა
ვარსკვლავთაი.
21:3b და ხელთა
ზელა
ამკუმელოსათა
გარდამოვარდა
და იწყო
ფხურად თივისა,
რამეთუ
ტალავარსა
ღედისა
მისისასა დგა
მცენარე
თივისაი.

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

21:2 Michael was standing to her right and touched his face to her chest and said to Eve: "Blessed are you, Eve, on account of Adam, for his prayers and supplications are great. I was sent to you that you might receive our help. Arise now and prepare yourself for birth."

21:3a She brought forth a son who shone brilliantly.

21:3b At once the infant stood up and ran out and brought some grass with his own hands and gave it to his mother. His name was called Cain.

21:2 The powers said to her, "Eve, you are blessed because of Adam, God's elect one, for his prayers are mighty and through him help from God has come to you. Apart [from him], you would not be able to survive this birth." The angel said to Eve, "Prepare yourself, and I will be a midwife for you."

21:3a Then, when she bore the child, the colour of his body was like the colour of stars.

21:3b At the hour when the child fell into the hands of the mid-wife, he leaped up and, with his hands, plucked up the grass of the earth near his mother's hut; and infertilities became numerous in that place.

21:2 One of the powers came, touched Eve's face and her breast, and told Eve, "Blessed are you, Eve, because of Adam, the elect one and servant of God, for his prayers are great before God and, because of him, God will deliver you. If you had not been brought help because of him, you are sure to have conceived such a thorn (i.e., Cain the killer) that you could not have rescued yourself from your sufferings. Rise up now and prepare yourself to give birth to a child."
21:3a Eve arose as the angel had instructed her: she gave birth to an infant and his color was like that of the stars.
21:3b He fell into the hands of the midwife and (at once) he began to pluck up the grass, for in his mother's hut grass was planted.

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
		21.3c ხე სათქ ჯრეზთასკს ფსა. სრერარ ჭ სათოთაძ ვჩი ოჯ ხო გხვ ასსკასსჩქ ჩ ძხთა ჩამ, ვჩი ხა ჯაქს ასსარქსს ორ რაროქ ხე. { } ხე სხსტასსოქს (სხსტოქ) ქიჭჩა ხე სოქოასსჩქ ხე ჯსოქჩქს, რასოქოქჩქს ხე ოჯ რაოქოქოქჩქს 21.3d ხე სათქ ჯრეზთასკს რარგხაქ ფსრჟამ. სკაფ ხე მწა ათ ხა ვჩი არასაფქ ხა ვჩი ჩსჯ ჯრამასჩხეჩქ	21:3c მიუგო ამქუტელმან მან ღა ჰრქუა: "მართალ არს ღმერთი, რამეთუ არასაღა ღაგიტევა შენ ხელთა ჩემთა, რამეთუ შენ ხარ კაენი, გულარძნილი და მკულელი კეთილისაი, რამეთუ ნაყოფიერისა ხისა აღმომგზერელი ხარ და არა ღამნერგული, განმამწარებელ ი ხარ და არა ღამატკობელი". 21:3d და ჰრქუა აღამს ძალმან:" დაღგერ ევას თანა ვიდრე ყოფადმღე მისა ყრმისა მისთვის, რაი ვასწავე .	

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
		21:3c The angel said to him, "God is just, that he did not make you fall into my hand, for you are Cain, the lawless one, who will be destroyer of the good and { . . . } and living [p]lant and adultery, bitterness and not sweetness." 21:3d And again the angel said to Adam, "Remain by Eve, so that she will do what I commanded."	21:3c The midwife replied to him and told him, "God is just that he did not at all leave you in my hands. For, you are Cain, the perverse one, killer of the good, for you are the one who plucks up the fruit-bearing tree, and not he who plants it. You are the bearer of bitterness and not of sweetness." 21:3d And the power told Adam, "Remain by Eve until she has done with the infant what I have taught her."	

GREEK

LATIN

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GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

1:1 Αὕτη ἡ διήγησις Ἀδὰμ καὶ Εὔας. Μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου, 1:2 [ἔλαβεν] Ἀδὰμ Εὖαν καὶ ἀνήλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ ἔτη δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ μῆνας δύο.	22:1 Et tulit Adam Evam et puerum et duxit eos ad orientem.	22(1):2 [սոս] <i>այնուհետեւ Ադամ զԵւայ եւ գմանուկն եւ ած զնոսա ի կողմ արեւելից, եւ եղի նա անդ նովա հանդերձ, եւ այսպ լցան ամբ ութուստան եւ ամիսք երկու.</i>	22(1):2 ხოლო ადამ წამოიყვანა ევა და ყმადა იგი და მოიყვანნა იგინო აღმოსავალით კერძო და დაადგრა მუნ. და ოდეს აღესრულნეს წელნი მე-რვენი და თუეო იგი მეორე,	2.1 Когда же съгрѣши и прѣстоупи заповѣди госп одьнѣ, изгьнанъ бысть Адамъ изъ раю 2.2a и поемъ (Адамъ) жену свою Еву и изышдъ сѣде при едемѣ (ed. m: на мѣстѣ) прѣдъ двѣрьми райскими .
1:3 Καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ εἴληφεν Εὖα καὶ ἐγέννησε δύο υἱοὺς τὸν Διὰφωτον τὸν καλοῦμενον Κάϊν καὶ τὸν Ἀμιλαβὲς τὸν καλοῦμενον Ἄβελ.	22:3 Postea enim concepit Eva et genuit filium, cui nomen Abel. et manebat Cain cum Abel in unum.	22(1):3 <i>յղացաւ եւ ծնաւ որդի զգաբար որ անուանեաց եւ կոչեաց Հաբէլ դայեակն], եւ բնակեցան ի միասին:</i>	22(1):3 მოუღვა ევა და შვა სხუი ძე, რომელსა უწოდა ძალმან ღმრთი- სამან აბელ და დაადგრა მუნ ღრთი-ეთას.	
2:1 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένοντο μετ' ἀλλήλων Ἀδὰμ καὶ Εὖα κοιμωμένων δὲ αὐτῶν, εἶπεν Εὖα τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτῆς Ἀδὰμ·	23:1 Et dixit Eva ad Adam:	23(2):1 <i>եւ ասէ նա ցԱդամ.</i>	23(2):1 მას უამსა ჰრქუა ევა აღამს:	

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
1:1 This is the story of Adam and Eve. After they had gone out of Paradise,				2.1 But after he committed the trespass and violated the command of the Lord, Adam was expelled from Paradise,
1:2 Adam [took] Eve and went to the east and abode there eighteen years and two months.	22:1 Adam took Eve and the boy and led them to the east.	22(1):2 Thenceforth Adam took Eve and the child and brought them to the eastern region, and he was there with her, and then eighteen years and two months were completed.	22(1):2 As for Adam, he took Eve and the child and he brought them into the eastern parts and he stayed there. And when the eighth year and the second month were completed	2.2a and (Adam) having taken his wife and left, he sat near Eden, (ed. on the spot) before the door of Paradise,
1:3 And Eve conceived and bore two sons; Diophotos, who is called Cain and Amilabes who is called Abel.	22:2 The Lord God sent various seeds by Michael the angel, who gave them to Adam and showed them how to work and tend the ground, in order to have fruit, from which they and all their generations might live. 22:3 Afterwards, Eve conceived and bore a son, whose name was Abel, and Cain and Abel remained together as one.	22(1):3 She became pregnant and bore a son, [Gap'at' whom the midwife named and called Abel:] and they dwelt together.	22(1):3 Eve became pregnant and bore another son whom the power of God called by the name Abel, and they remained there together.	
2:1 And after this, Adam and Eve were with one another and while they were sleeping, Eve said to Adam her lord:	23:1 Eve said to Adam:	23(2):1 Eve said to Adam,	23(2):1 At that time Eve told Adam,	

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
2:2 Κύριέ μου, ἴδων ἐγὼ κατ' ὄναρ τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ υἱοῦ μου Ἀμὶλαβὲς τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου "Ἀβελ βαλλόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα Κάϊν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔπινεν αὐτὸ ἀνελετημόνως. Παρεκάλει δὲ αὐτὸν συγχωρήσαι αὐτῷ ὀλίγον ἐξ αὐτοῦ. 2:3 Αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅλον κατέπιεν αὐτό. Καὶ οὐκ ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοιλίαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξῆλθεν ἕξω τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ. 2:4 Εἶπε δὲ Ἀδάμ· Ἀναστάντες πορευθόμεν καὶ ἴδωμεν τί ἐστὶ τὸ γεγονὸς αὐτοῖς, μήποτε ὁ ἐχθρὸς πολεμῇ τὶ πρὸς αὐτούς.	23:2 domine mi, dormiens vidi visum quasi sanguinem filii nostri Abel in manu Cain ore suo deglutientis eum. propterea dolorem habeo. 23:3 Et dixit Adam: Vae, ne forte interficiat Cain Abel! sed separemus eos ab invicem et faciamus eis singulas mansiones. 23:3 Et dixit Adam: Vae, ne forte interficiat Cain Abel! sed separemus eos ab invicem et faciamus eis singulas mansiones.	23(2):2 <i>Տէր իմ, Ադամ. Ենթեցի եւ տեսանէի ի տեսիլսան գիշերոյ. զի արիւն որդւոյ իմոյ Աբելի մտանէր բերան Կայինի որդւոյ մերոյ եղբար նորա եւ ըմբեր գարին նորա անորորմ, եւ աղաչէր գնա Աբել զի թողցէ սակաւիկ մի</i> 23(2):3 <i>եւ ոչ թողոր եւ ոչ անապր նմա, այլ ըմբեր գարին նորա բաանդակ:</i> 23(2):4a <i>Ասէ Ադամ ցնա. Արդեաւ սպանանէ Կային զԱբել. աղէ մենկնացուք զնոսա ի միմեանց. արասցուք նոցա իւրաքանչիւր տեղիս եւ թողցուք զնոսա անդ. եւ մի տացուք ի մեզ տեղի չարին:</i>	23(2):2 "უფალო ჩემო, აღამ, ძილსა შინა ჩემსა ვიხილე, ვითარმედ სისხლი ძისა ჩემისა აბელისი შთავიდოდა პირსა კაენისა, და შესვლიდა უწყალოდ. და ევედრებოდა აბელი, რაითამეცა სისხლისა მისგან უტევა, 23(2):3 და მან არა ისმინა მისი, არამედ შესუა ყოველივე. და არა დაადგრა მუცელსა მისსა, არამედ გამოხდა გარე. დაეცვია ყოველთა ასოთა მისთა და არა განეშორა გუამსა მისსა ყოლაღვე." 23(2):4a მოუგო აღამ ევას და ჰრქუა: "ნუთუჲ შეცა მოკლვავი ეგულე"-ძის მისი კაენს, განვაშორნეთ ურთი-ერთას და ვიყვანეთ მათ თანა, რაითა არა ვსცეთ აღვილი რისხვასა."	2.2b и видѣ Адамъ сынѣ, како хошеть родити Каина и Авела брата его, и видѣ како хошеть ꙗвити Каинъ Авела, и въскрьбѣ Адамъ всѣми. 2.3 тъгда прииде архаггелъ Михаилъ къ Адаму и рече ему: Адамѣ, не скрьби, ни изрьци ни имая Каина въ срьдци своемъ. 3.1 И тоу прѣбывъ Адамъ при едемѣ .и.і. лѣтъ, и тоу роди Каина и Авела, брата его.

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
2:2 "My lord, Adam, behold, I have seen in a dream this night the blood of my son Amilabes who is styled Abel being poured into the mouth of Cain his brother and he went on drinking it without mercy. But he begged him to leave a little of it. 2:3 Yet he hearkened not to him, but gulped it down completely; nor did it stay in his stomach, but came out of his mouth.	23:2 "My lord, while asleep I saw a vision like the blood of our son Abel on the hand of Cain who tasted it with his mouth. On account of this I am pained."	23(2):2 "My lord, Adam, I fell asleep and I saw in a night vision that the blood of my son Abel was entering the mouth of our son Cain, his brother, and he drank his blood without mercy. Abel beseeched him to leave a little, 23(2):3 and he did not leave (any), and did not hearken to him, but drank his blood completely."	23(2):2 "My lord Adam, in my sleep I saw that the blood of my son Abel was pouring into the mouth of Cain his brother and he drank it without mercy. And Abel beseeched him to leave him (a little) of his blood, 23(2):3 and he did not agree to hearken to him but he drank it completely and (it) did not remain in his stomach but it went forth and all his limbs were smeared with it and it could not at all be removed from his body." 23(2):4a Adam replied to Eve and told her, "Lest Cain plan to kill him, let us separate them from one another, and let us be with them, so as to provide no room for anger."	2.2b and he saw a vision, how Cain and his brother Abel would be begotten, and he saw, how Cain would kill Abel, and Adam was very troubled. 2.3 Then the archangel Michael came to Adam and said to him, "O Adam, Adam, don't be troubled, don't speak about this and don't have Cain on your heart."
2:4 And Adam said, "Let us arise and go and see what has happened to them. (I fear) lest the adversary may be assailing them somewhere."	23:3 Adam said: "Woe, let not Cain kill Abel, but let us separate them from each other and make separate houses for them."	23(2):4a Adam said to Eve, "Surely Cain is killing Abel. Come, let us separate them from one another. Let us make individual places for them and leave them there, and let us not provide room in us for the evil one."	23(2):4a Adam replied to Eve and told her, "Lest Cain plan to kill him, let us separate them from one another, and let us be with them, so as to provide no room for anger."	3.1 And here, near Eden, Adam spent eighteen years, and here Cain and his brother Abel were born to him.

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
	23:4 Et fecerunt Cain agricolam, Abel fecerunt pastorem, ut ita fuissent ab invicem separati.	23(2):4b <i>bi</i> <i>արարին նորա բառ</i> <i>բանին այնմիկ. bi</i> <i>սաէ ցնոսա Ադամ.</i> <i>Որդեակք իմ, արիք</i> <i>գնացէք</i> <i>իւրաքանչիւր</i> <i>տեղիս ձեր:</i> <i>Թարեան bi</i> <i>գնացին նորա բառ</i> <i>բանին այնորիկ:</i>	23(2):4b და ყვეს ეგრე. ვითარცა თქუა ადამ და ჰრქუა: "შვილნო ჩემო, მოველით და მიმოვეგნეთ თითოეულად ადგილსა თვისსა.	3.2 и по врѣмєни възрастєнии (възраста къ?) послєста ихъ къ скотомъ в Курино мѣсто. 3.3 и ꙗгда сѣврѣшишє сє .дї. лѣтъ, призыва Адамъ жену свою Къѣгѣ и рече ѣи 'сѣврѣшишє сє лѣтъ .дї. и сѣтворишь кєсть Кайнѣ крѣвь на братѣ своемъ Авєлѣ, ꙗкоже кєсть ѹрєчєно, немилостивно . 3.4 изидѣшь, да видимъ. 3.5 Изъшѣдъшє и обрѣтошє Авєла ѹбийєна немилостивно рукою Кайновѣю.
3:1 Πορευθέντες δὲ ἀμφοτέρωθεν εὗρον πεφονευμένον τὸν Ἀβελ ἀπὸ χειρὸς Κάιν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ.	23:5 Et post haec interfecit Cain Abel. erat autem tunc Adam annorum CXXX. interfecit autem Abel cum esset annorum CXXII.			
3:2a Καὶ λέγει ὁ θεὸς Μιχαὴλ τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ· Εἰπὲ τῷ Ἀδὰμ ὅτι τὸ μυστήριον οὐκ οἶδας μὴ ἀναγγείλῃς· Κάιν τῷ υἱῷ σου, ὅτι ὀργῆς υἱός ἐστιν.		23(3):2a <i>bi</i> <i>սպա</i> <i>յետ այսց բանից</i> <i>սաէ Աստուած</i> <i>ցՄիքայել</i> <i>Հրեշտակապետն.</i> <i>Գնա bi առա</i> <i>Ադամայ թէ</i> <i>գիտորդուդ որ</i> <i>գիտես, մի</i> <i>պատմեսցես զայդ</i> <i>Կայնի, զի որդի</i> <i>բարկութեան է</i> <i>դա bi սպանակ</i> <i>դՀաբել գեղբայր</i> <i>իւր.</i>	23(3):2a ძაშობ ჰრქუა ღმერთმან გაბრიელ ანგელოზსა: არქუ ადამს ზნახვაი საიდუმლოთ, რომელი ჴყუი, ნუ აღუწყებ კახეა, რამეთუ ნაშობი რისხვისაი არს, რამეთუ მოკლვად არს მისკან ძმაი მისი,	3.6 и рече господь архаггелу Михаилу рьци Адаму, не изрьци ничьто сыну своему Кайну о дѣлѣ томъ ничьто не въскрьби, ни (нь?) въсьхрани въ срьдци своемъ.

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
	23:4 They made Cain to be a farmer, and Abel to be a shepherd that they might thus be separated from each other.	23(2):4b They acted according to this proposal. Adam said to them, "My sons, arise, go each of you to your place." They arose and went according to this proposal.	23(2):4b And they acted as Adam had said, and he told them, "My sons, come and let us disperse, each to his own place."	3.2 And when they were grown, they sent them to tend the flocks at a place called Cyrene. 3.3 And when fourteen years had passed, Adam called his wife Eve and said to her, "Fourteen years have passed and Cain has spilled his brother Abel's blood, as it was announced, in a merciless way. 3.4 Let us go out to see." 3.5 And when they went out they found Abel murdered in a merciless manner by the hand of Cain.
3:1 And they both went and found Abel murdered by the hand of Cain his brother.	23:5 But even after this, Cain killed Abel. Adam was then 130 years old. Abel was killed when he was 122 years old.			3.6 And the Lord spoke to the archangel Michael, "Warn Adam, 'You should not say anything to your son Cain about this matter, and do not be troubled on account of it, instead keep it in your hearts.'"
3:2a And God said to Michael the archangel: "Say to Adam: 'Reveal not the mystery that you know to Cain your son, for he is a son of wrath.		23(3):2a Then, after these proposals God said to the archangel Michael, "Go say to Adam, 'Do not relate the mystery that you know to Cain, for he is a son of wrath and he is killing Abel, his brother.	23(3):2a Then God told the angel Gabriel, "[[Tell Adam]] 'Do not reveal to Cain the secret plan which you know, for he is a son of wrath, because his brother will be killed by him!'	

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
3:2b Ἀλλὰ μὴ λυποῦ· Δόσω σοι γὰρ ἄντ' αὐτοῦ ἕτερον υἱόν. Οὗτος δηλώσει πάντα ὅσα ποιήσης· Σὺ δὲ μὴ εἴπῃς αὐτῷ μηδέν. 3:3 Ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ ἄρχ- αγγέλῳ αὐτοῦ. 'Αδὰμ δὲ ἐφύλαξε τὸ ῥῆμα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ Εὐά, ἔχον- τες τὴν λύπην περὶ 'Αβελ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῶν.		23(3):2b բայց մի տրտմանցիս վասն նորա. տաց քեզ փոխանակ (տորա) զՍէթ որ նման է ատաղի պատկերին իմոյ և նա ցուցցէ զամենայն իշատակս լինէն. և ոչ եթէ ինչ ասասցես նմա: 23(3):3 Զայս ասաց Աստուած ցրեշտակն, և նա եկեալ խառնցաւ Ադամայ. և Ադամ պահեալ զայն ի (սրտի) իւրում և տրտմեալ ինքն և նա:	23(3):2b არაშედ ნუ შეტყუვებდის აღამ მისთვის, რამეთუ აღუღვინო მის წილ სეით, და ეძსგავ-სოს იგი ხატსა ჩემსა, და გასწაროს შენ ყოველი, რომელი მოვიხსენო, ხოლო ამას ნუვის აუწყებ თვინიერ აღამისა". 23(3):3ა ესე ჰრქუა ღმერთმან ანგელოზსა მას და ანგელოზმამ მან ჰრქუა აღამს სიტყუაი ესე, ხოლო აღამ დაიმარხა სიტყუაი იგი გულსა შინა. და ჭუთღეს ორნივე - აღამ და ცოლი მისი.	

GREEK

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3:2b But do not be sad, for I will give you another son instead of him ; he shall show (to you) all that you shall do. Do not tell him anything."

3:3 Thus God spoke to his archangel. But Adam kept the word in his heart, and with him also was Eve, though they were sad concerning Abel their son.

23(3):2b However, do not be sad because of him; instead of him I shall give you Seth, who is like my first image, and he shall show all memories through me, and not only what you shall say to him."

23(3):3 God said this to the angel, and he came and spoke to Adam and Adam kept it in his own [heart]; and he and Eve were sad.

23(3):2b However, let Adam not be sad, for I will raise up Seth for him instead of Abel, and he will resemble my image and [[he]] will teach you everything of which I have a memory. But do not reveal this to anyone but Adam!"
23(3):3a That is what God told the angel, and the angel spoke this word to Adam. Then Adam kept the word in his heart. And they both were sad, Adam and his spouse.

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
			23(3):3b და იყო ჟამი იგი, რამეთუ მოიკლა აბელი კაენისაგან, ძმისა მისისა, და ჰრქუა: "დასდვა ღმერთმან აღსასრული ყოველთა კაცთაი, არა თუ სხუაი რაიმე იყო სიკუდილი იგი, არამედ კლვაი იგი, რომელ მოიკლა აბელ კაენისგან და მისცა შურმან კაენისამან სიკუდილად. რამეთუ ნა- თესავი გულარძნილი იყო. 23(3):3c და იყვნეს ჟამნი, რომელსა აღსრულ იყვნეს კაენ და აბელი ველსა შინა მათსა, მოვიდეს ორნი ეშმაკნი, მსგავსნი აბელისი და კაენისი ხოლო ეშმაკი იგი ეშმაკსა მას ესჯოდა, განრისხნა მას ზედა და მოიღო მახვილი ქვისაგან, რომელი იყო ქარწბია, და უკუეთა ყელი და მოკლა იგი	

GREEK

LATIN

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23(3):3b And the time arrived when Abel was killed by Cain his brother and he (i.e., Adam) told her, "God has established an end for all human beings. Was death anything else but the killing by which Abel has been killed by Cain and Cain's jealousy delivered him to death because (Cain) was of a perverse race?"

23(3):3c And the time arrived when Cain and Abel had gone up towards their fields. Two demons resembling Cain and Abel came. Now, one demon reproached the other demon. He became angry with him and took a stone sword, which was of a transparent stone. He cut his throat and killed him.

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
4:1 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔγνω Ἀδὰμ τὴν γυναικα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔσχεεν καὶ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Σῆθ. 4:2 Καὶ λέγει Ἀδὰμ τῇ Εὐᾶ· Ἴδὸν ἐγεννήσαμεν υἱὸν ἀντὶ "Αβελ δὲν ἀπέκτεινεν Καὶν. Δώσωμεν δόξαν καὶ θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ.	24:1 Et post haec cognovit Adam uxorem suam et genuit filium et vocavit nomen eius Seth. 24:2 Et dixit Adam ad Evam: ecce genui filium pro Abel, quem occidit Cain. 24:3 Et postquam genuit Adam Seth, vixit annos DCCC et genuit filios XXX et filias XXX, simul LXIII. et multiplicati sunt super terram in nationibus suis.	24(4):1 <i>Եւ Կադ ապօրիկ յղացաւ նա եւ ծնաւ զՍէթ.</i> 24(4):2 <i>Եւ ասէ Ադամ Եւայ ի խաանքն իրեանց առ միմեանս. Ահա ծնաւ(ք) որդի փոխանակ Աբելի զոր սպան Կայնն առաջի մեր:</i>	23(3):3d და ვითარცა იხილა კაენმან სისხლი იგი, მივიდა სწრაფით და აღიღო ქვაი იგი ხელითა თვისითა, ხოლო ვითარცა იხილა აბელმან მიძავეა- ლი მის ზედა, ევედრებოდა მას: ნუ მომაკუდინებ, ძმაო კაენ. ხოლო მან არა ინება ვედრებაი მისი და დასთხია სისხლი აბელისი წინაშე მისა. და ჭუჭოღეს აღამ და ევა რაოდენ უამ მწუხარებითა დიდითა. 23(4):1 და შემდგომად ამისა შევიდა აღამი ცოლისა. მიიღვა ევა და შვა სეით, მსგავსი აღამისი. 24(4):2 და ჰრქუა აღამ ევას: ავა ესერა ვშევქე აბელის წილ, რომელი მოაკუდინა კაენმან წინაშე ჰემსა.	4-5.1 По томъ роди сына Ёвѣга и нарече име юму Сидѣ . 4-5.2 и рече Ёвѣга къ Адаму азъ родихъ сына мѣсто Авела, югоже ѿби Каинъ . нъ прииди, госп одине мои, да въздаси (въздасы?) хвалу богу и хрѣтву принесемъ юму .

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

			23(3):3d And when Cain saw the blood, he went quickly and took the stone in his hand(s). But when Abel saw him coming upon him, he begged him, "Do not make me die, O my brother Cain!" He, however, did not accept his prayer and he spilled Abel's blood in front of him. And Adam and Eve afflicted themselves all that time with great sadness.	
4:1 And after this, Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bore Seth.	24:1 After this Adam knew his wife and begot a son and called his name Seth.	24(4):1 After this, Eve became pregnant and bore Seth.	24(4):1 And after this, Adam entered his spouse and Eve became pregnant and bore Seth who resembled Adam.	4-5.1 Afterwards, Eve bore a son and called him Seth.
4:2 And Adam said to Eve: "Behold! we have begotten a son in place of Abel, whom Cain killed,	24:2 Adam said to Eve: "Behold, I have begotten a son in place of Abel, whom Cain killed."	24(4):2 Adam said to Eve when they were speaking with each other, "Behold, we have begotten a son in place of Abel, whom Cain killed before us."	24(4):2 Adam told Eve, "Behold, I have born a son in place of Abel, whom Cain killed before me."	4-5.2 And she said to Adam, "I have borne a son in the place of Abel, whom Cain killed; come my husband,
let us give glory and sacrifice to God."				that you may thank God, and that we may make an offering to Him."
<i>see pericope 9</i>	24:3 After Adam begot Seth, he lived for 800 years and begot 30 sons and 30 daughters -- 63 altogether -- and they were multiplied over the earth in its nations.	<i>see pericope 9</i>	<i>see pericope 9</i>	<i>see pericope 9</i>

25:1 Et dixit Adam ad Seth: audi, fili mi Seth, ut referam tibi, quae audiui et vidi. postquam eiecti sumus de paradiso ego et mater tua, 25:2 cum essemus in oratione, venit ad me Michahel archangelus nuntius dei. 25:3 Et vidi currum tamquam ventum et rotae illius erant igneae et raptus sum in paradysum iustitiae. et vidi dominum sedentem et aspectus eius erat ignis incendens intolerabilis. et multa milia angelorum erant a dextris et a sinistris currus illius. 26:1 Haec videns perturbatus sum et timor comprehendit me et adoravi coram deo super faciem terrae. 26:2 Et dixit mihi deus: ecce tu morieris, quia praeteristi mandatum dei, quia plus audisti vocem uxoris tuae quam tibi dedi in potestatem, ut haberes eam in voluntatem tuam. et audisti illam et verba mea praeteristi. 27:1 Et cum haec audiui verba dei, procidens in terram adoravi dominum et dixi: domine mi, omnipotens deus et misericors sancte et pie, ne deleatur nomen memoriae tuae maiestatis. sed converte animam meam, quia morior et spiritus meus exiit de ore meo. 27:2 Ne proicias me a facie tua quem de limo terrae plasmasti, nec postponas gratiae tuae quem nutristi. 27:3 Et ecce verbum tuum incedit mihi et dixit dominus ad me: quoniam figurantur dies tui factus es diligens scientiam, propter hoc non tolletur de semine tuo usque in seculum ad ministrandum mihi. 28:1 Et cum haec verba audiui, prostravi me in terram et adoravi dominum deum dicens: tu es aeternus deus et summus et omnes creaturae tibi dant honorem et laudem. 28:2 Tu es super omne lumen fulgens vera lux, vita vivens, incomprehensibilis magnitudinis virtus. tibi dant honorem et laudem spiritales virtutes. tu facis cum genere humano magnalia misericordiae tuae. 28:3 Postquam adoravi dominum, statim Michahel archangelus dei adprehendit manum meam et eiect me de paradiso visitationis et iussionis dei. 28:4 Et tenens Michahel in manu sua virgam tetigit aquas quae erant circa paradysum et gelaverunt. 29:1 Et pertransivi et Michahel pertransivit mecum et reduxit me in locum, unde me rapuit. 29:2 Audi, fili mi Seth, et caetera mysteria sacramentaque futura quae mihi sunt revelata, qui per lignum scientiae comedens cognovi et intellexi, quae erunt in hoc seculo. [29.3 II,III,IV+temporali [III+futura]III quae facturus est Deus creaturae suae humano generi. 29:4 Apparebit Dominus in flamma ignis. ex ore maiestatis suae dabit omnibus mandata et praecepta (ex ore eius exiet gladius ex utraque parte acutus?) et sanctificabunt eum in domo habitationis maiestatis illius. et ostendet illis locum mirabilem maiestatis suae. 29:5 Et tunc aedificabunt domum domino deo suo in terra, qua pavit illos (quam praeparabit eis?), et ibi praeteribunt praecepta eius et accendetur sanctuarium eorum et terra eorum deseretur et ipsi dispergentur propter quod exacerbaverunt Deum. 29:6 Et iterum (die tertio?, septimo?) saluos faciet illos a dispersione illorum, et iterum aedificabunt domum Dei et exaltabitur novissime domus Dei maior quam prius. 29:7 Et iterum superabit iniquitas aequitatem. et post haec habitabit Deus cum hominibus in terris videndus. et tunc incipiet aequitas fulgere. et domus Dei in saeculum honorabitur et non poterunt adversa amplius nocere hominibus, qui sunt in Deo credentes. et suscitabit sibi Deus plebem fidelem, quam salvabit in secula seculorum. et impii punientur a deo rege suo qui noluerint amare legem illius. 29:8 Celum et terra noctes et dies et omnes creaturae obedient ei et non praeteribunt mandatum eius nec mutabunt opera sua. homines autem mutabuntur derelinquentes legem Domini. 29:9 Propter hoc repellet Dominus a se impios et iusti fulgebunt sicut sol in conspectu Dei. et in tempore illo purificabuntur homines per aquam a peccatis. 29:10 Condemnati autem erunt nolentes purificari per aquam. et felix erit homo, qui correxerit animam suam, quando erunt iudicia et magnalia dei inter homines et inquirerentur facta eorum a Deo iusto iudice.]II,III,IV

25:1 Adam said to Seth: "Hear, my son Seth, let me recount for you what I have heard and seen. After I and your mother were cast out of the Garden, 25:2 when we were at prayer, the archangel Michael, the messenger of God, came to me. 25:3 I saw a chariot like the wind, and its wheels were afire, and I was caught up into the the Garden of the just. I saw the Lord seated, his face like fire burning intolerably. Many thousands of angels were at the right and the left of his chariot. 26:1 Seeing this, I was disturbed and fear seized me and I worshipped before God above the face of the earth. 26:2 Then God said to me: 'Behold, you shall die because you transgressed the commandment of God, because you harkened more to the voice of your wife whom I gave over to your control that you might have her in your will. You listened to her and transgressed my words.' 27:1 When I heard these words of God, falling down on the ground I worshipped the Lord and said: 'My Lord, Almighty and merciful God, holy and faithful, do not let the name of the memory of your majesty be destroyed, but turn my soul around, for I will die and my spirit will go forth from my mouth. 27:2 Do not cast me out from your sight, whom you formed from the dust of the earth, nor put me out from your grace whom you nourished. 27:3 Behold, your word has come over me.' Then the Lord said to me: 'Since your days are numbered, you have become attentive to knowledge. On account of this no one shall ever be taken from your offspring to minister unto me.' 28:1 When I heard these words, I prostrated myself on the ground and worshipped the Lord God saying: 'You are the eternal and most high God. All creatures give you honor and praise. 28:2 You are above all, the shining light, the true light, the living life, the Virtue of incomprehensible greatness. To you the spiritual virtues give honor and praise. With the human race you show the great deeds of your mercy.' 28:3 After I worshipped the Lord God, straightway Michael, the archangel of God, took my hand and threw me out of the the Garden of God's visitation and commanding. 28:4 Michael, holding in his hand a rod, touched the waters which surrounded the Garden and they froze. 29:1 Then I crossed over, and Michael crossed over with me and brought me again to the place from which he had taken me. 29:2 Hear also, my son Seth, the other mysteries and promised things to come which have been revealed to me. By eating of the tree of knowledge I have known and understood the things which are in this age, [29:3 II,III,IV+ temporary [III+future]III which God will do to his creation, the human race. 29:4 The Lord will appear in a flame of fire. From the mouth of his majesty he will give commandment and precepts to all (from his mouth will go forth a sword, sharp on both edges?) and they will sanctify him in the house of the dwelling of his majesty. He will show to them the marvelous place of his majesty. 29:5 Then they will build a house for the Lord their God in the land which he will prepare for them, and there they will transgress his precepts. Their sanctuary will be set afire, and their land shall be desolate, and they themselves will be dispersed because they provoked God. 29:6 But again, (on the third / seventh day ?) he will save them from their dispersion and they will build once more the house of God, and it will then be higher than it was before. 29:7 But once again, iniquity will conquer justice. After this, God will dwell, living with men on the earth. Then justice will begin to shine, and the house of the Lord will be honored forever. The opponents will no more be able to kill men who are believers in God. God will then receive unto himself a faithful people, whom he will save forever and ever. But the impious who did not wish to love his law will be punished by God their King. 29:8 Heaven and earth, night and day, and all creatures will obey him and will not transgress his commandment, nor will they alter his works. Men who forsake the law of the Lord, however, will be changed. 29:9 On account of this, the Lord will cast away from himself the impious, but the just will shine like the sun in the sight of God. At that time, men will be purified by water of their sins. 29:10 Those unwilling to be purified by water, however, will be condemned. Blessed will be the man who shall amend his soul when the judgments and great deeds of God will be among men. Their deeds will be investigated by God, the just judge." II,III,IV

GREEK

LATIN

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5:1 Ἐποίησεν δὲ Ἀδὰμ υἱοὺς τριάκοντα καὶ θυγατέρας τριάκοντα. Ἐζήσεν δὲ Ἀδὰμ ἔτη ἑνακόσια τριάκοντα.	30:1 Postquam factus est Adam annos DCCCCXXX,	30(5):1 <i>Եւ ապա յիտ ականորիկ եղին նորա ոստերք եւ դատերք երեսուն երեսուն, եւ անցին նորա: Եւ էր Ադամ ի վերայ չորիք ինն հարիւր եւ երեսուն ամ.</i>	30(5):1 და ამისსა შემდგომად მერმეცა ესხნეს ადამს ოცდაათ ძე და ოცდაათ ასულ, რამეთუ იყვნეს ყოველნი წელი ადამისნი ცხრაას ოცდაათ წელ. და მისგან განმრავლდეს ქუეყანასა ზედა და დაემეწნეს მას ზედა. და ოდეს აღესრულა ცხრაას ოცდაათ იგი წელი, 30(5):2 დასწულდა ადამ, დაღაღ-ყო ხმითა დიდითა და თქუა: "შემოკეზბით ჩემდა ყოველნი ნაშობნი ჩემნი და ვიხილნე იგინი ვიდრე სიკუდილადმდე ჩემდა".	4-5.3 И роди Адамъ сыновъ .л. и дщерии .л. и жить Адамъ .д. сътъ лѣтъ и .л.
5:2 Καὶ περιπεσὼν εἰς νόσον ἐβόησεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγων· Ἐλθέτωσαν πρὸς με οἱ υἱοί μου πάντες, ὅπως ὄψομαι αὐτοὺς πρὶν ἀποθανεῖν με.	30:2 sciens quoniam dies eius finiuntur dixit [II,III+ad Evam]II,III: con-gregentur ad me omnes filii mei, ut benedicam eos, an-tequam moriar, et loquar cum eis.	30(5):2 <i>Եւ ապա հիանդացաւ Ադամ գախաւ մահու. եւ աղաղակեաց ի ձայն մեծ եւ ասէ. Եկեացին եւ ժողովեացին առ իւ ամենայն որդիք իմ, զի տեսից զնոսա յառաջ մինչ չեւ մեռեալ իցին:</i>	30(5):2 დასწულდა ადამ, დაღაღ-ყო ხმითა დიდითა და თქუა: "შემოკეზბით ჩემდა ყოველნი ნაშობნი ჩემნი და ვიხილნე იგინი ვიდრე სიკუდილადმდე ჩემდა".	4-5.4 и въпадє въ болєсть и възыпи гласомъ великємъ и рече · събєрѣте сє, чєда моя, кѣ мнѣ . 4-5.5 и ѿбоя сє Адамъ вєльми, помєжє нє знаашє чѣто єсть болєсть .

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5.1 And Adam begat 30 sons and 30 daughters and Adam lived 930 years;	30:1 After Adam reached the age of 930 years,	30(5):1 Then, after that, he had sons and daughters, 30 of each kind, and they grew up. Adam was upon the earth 930 years,	30(5):1 And again, after that, Adam had 30 sons and 30 daughters. For all the years of Adam were 930 years. And (those who were descended) from him multiplied over the earth and settled it. And when the 930 years were completed,	4-5.3 And Adam fathered thirty sons and thirty daughters, and he lived 930 years.
5:2 and he fell sick and cried with a loud voice and said, "Let all my sons come to me that I may see them before I die."	30:2 knowing that his days were ended, he said [II, III+to Eve]II,III: "Gather about me all my children that I might bless them before I die, and that I might speak with them."	30(5):2 and then Adam fell sick with a mortal affliction, and he cried out in a loud voice and said, "Let all my sons come and gather by me, so that I may see them first, before I die."	30(5):2 Adam fell ill and cried out in a loud voice and said, "Gather to me all my descendants and I will see them before my death."	4-5.4 And he fell ill and cried out in a loud voice and said, "My children, gather around me." 4-5.5 Adam, of course, was very anxious, since he didn't know what illness was.

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
5:3 Καὶ συνήχθησαν πάντες· ἦν γάρ οἰκισθεῖσα ἡ γῆ εἰς τρία μέρη. [καὶ ἦλθον πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τοῦ οἴκου ἐν ᾧ εἰσῆρχετο εὐξασθαι τῷ θεῷ.]	30:3 Et congregati sunt in tres partes ante conspectum eius coram oratorio, ubi adorabant dominum deum. [III+erat autem numerus XV milia virorum exceptis mulieribus et parvulis]III	30(5):3 <i>և ժողովեցան առ նա ամենայն որդիք իւր որ էին ամենայն կողմ երկրին [և ժողովեցան առ նա ի դռան տեղով ուր մտանէր նա] և յաղագիս կայր առ Տէր Աստուած:</i>	30(5):3 და შემოკრბეს მისსა ყოველნი ნათესავნი მისნი, რომელნი ღამკვიდრებულ იყვნეს, და ღაუპყრა სამი ნაწილი ქუყყანისაი ნაშობთა მისთა. და შემოკრბეს აღამისსა ყოველნი ნაშობნი მისნი, რამეთუ ღამკვიდრებულ იყვნეს წინაშე კართა მისთა, აღგილსა მას, რომელი კჳნა აღამ, რომელსა შევიდოდა და ილოცვიდა ღმრთისა მიმართ.	4-5,6 и събраше се чедѣ юго и сташе на три страны.
5:4 Εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ Σηθ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ· Πάτερ Ἀδάμ, τί σοὶ ἐστὶ νόσος	30:4 Et interrogaverunt eum: [II, III+et cum congregati essent omnes una voce dixerunt] II,III quid tibi est, pater, ut congregares nos? et quare iaces in lecto tuo?		30(5):4 და ჰრქუეს ძეთა მისთა: "რაი არს ესე, მამათ აღამ?"	6-7.1a И рече сынъ юго Сидъ · отьче, отьче Адамѣ, чьто юсть немощь твоя;
5:5 Καὶ λέγει· Τεκνία μου, πόνος πολὺς συνέχει με. Καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Τί ἐστὶ πόνος, τί ἐστὶ νόσος	30:5 Et respondens Adam dixit: filii mei, male mihi est doloribus. et dixerunt ad eum omnes filii eius: quid est pater male habere doloribus?		30(5):5 და მან ჰრქუა: "სნეულ ვარ, შეილნო ჩემნო", და ჰრქუეს მას: "რაი არს სენი შენი, ანუ ვითარ დასნეულდი?"	6-7.1b и рече Адамъ · ѿ чедѣ мое, болесть велика юсть въ мнѣ.
6:1 Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς Σηθ λέγει αὐτῷ· Μὴ ἐμνήσθης, πάτερ, τοῦ παραδείσου ἐξ ὧν ἦσθιες καὶ ἐλυσπῆθης [ἐπιθυμῆσας αὐτῶν.]	31:1 Tunc filius eius Seth dixit: domine forte desiderasti de fructu paradisi, ex quo edebas, et ideo iaces contristatus?	31(6):1 <i>և ասէ որդի իւր Սէթ ցԱբաժ. Հայր իմ, լիջեցեր դու գպտուղ դրախտին յորմէ կերակրէիր ի նմանէ և ի ցանկութենէ անտի տրտմեցար.</i>	31(6):1 მოუგო სეთი, ძემან მისძან და ჰრქუა: "მამათ აღამ, რაი არს შენ-და, ანუ მცა მოგესენა ნაყოფი იგი სამოთხისაი და გულმან გითქუა და სჭუვი მისთვის?"	6-7.2 И рече юмоу чедѣ юго · отьче, юда поминаеши блага райская и того ради болиши тако;

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
5:3 And all assembled, for the earth was divided into three parts. [And they all came to the door of the house in which Adam would enter to pray to God]	30:3 They were gathered before his sight in three parts, in front of the oratory where he worshipped the Lord God. [III+They numbered 15,000 men, not counting women and children.]III	30(5):3 All his sons who were in every part of the world gathered by him. [They assembled by him inside the place which Eve had entered,] and he prayed to the Lord God.	30(5):3 And all his progeny gathered to him who had settled, and he divided the three parts of the earth among his descendants. And all Adam's descendants assembled by him, for they had taken a position before his doors, in the place which Adam had made, and into which he would enter and address his prayers to God.	4-5.6 And his children gathered around and stood on three sides.
5:4 And Seth his son said to him: "Father Adam, what is your pain?"	30:4 They asked him [II,III+and when they all had been gathered, they said with one voice]II,III: "What is wrong with you, father, that you have gathered us together? Why are you lying on your bed?"		30(5):4 And his sons told him, "What is this, Father Adam?"	6-7.1a And his son Seth said, "Father, Father Adam, what is your sickness?"
5:5 And he said, "My children, I am crushed by the burden of pain. "And they say to him, "What is pain, what is illness?"	30:5 Answering, Adam said: "My children, I am in great pain." All his children said to him: "What does (it) mean, father, to have great pain?"		30(5):5 [He told them, "I am sick, my sons." And they told him, "What is your illness] and how does a human being fall ill?"	6-7.1b Adam said, "My child, a great pain is in me."
6:1 And Seth answered and said to him: "Did you remember, father, the fruit of paradise of which you used to eat, and have you become sad [in yearning for it]?"	31:1 Then his son, Seth, said: "Lord, do you perhaps long for some of the fruit of paradise, which you used to eat, and therefore you lie there saddened?"	31(6):1 His son Seth said to Adam, "My father, did you remember the fruit of the Garden, of which you used to eat, and have you become sad from that longing?"	31(6):1 Seth, his son, replied to him and told him, "Father Adam, what is with you? Have (you) remembered, perchance, the fruit of the Garden, and you longed for it and have you become sad because of it?"	6-7.2 And his children said to him, "Father, perhaps you are brooding about the delights of Paradise and for this reason it hurts you so."

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
6:2 Εἰς οὕτως ἔστιν, ἀναγγεῖλον μοι καὶ ἐγὼ πορεύσομαι καὶ ἐνέγκω σοι καρπὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ παράδεισου. Ἐπιθήσω γὰρ κόπρον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν μου καὶ προσεύξομαι· καὶ εἰσακουσεταιί μου κύριος καὶ ἀποστελεῖ τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνέγκω σοι ἵνα καταπαύσῃ ὁ πόνος ἀπὸ σοῦ.	31:2 Dic mihi et vadam ad proximas ianuas paradisi et mittam pulverem in caput meum et proiciam me in terram ante portas paradisiet plangam in lamentatione magna deprecans dominum. forsitan audiet me et mittet angelum suum ut adferat mihi de fructu quod desiderasti.	31(6):2 <i>Եթէ արդարեւ (արդաբէս) իցէ ասա ինձ, զի վնայից մերձ ի դարխան եւ արկից հող գգլիով իմով եւ լացից, զի թերեա տաքէ ինձ Աստուած ի պտղոյ անտի, զի բերից քեզ եւ փարատէ ի քէն ցաւ:</i>	31(6):2 უკუეთუ ევრეთ არს, მითხარ მეღა მივიღე წინაშე სამოთხესა მას ღა გარდავისხა მტუერი თავსა ჩემსა ღა ვტირიდი. ღა ისმინოს ჩემი ხოლო თუ ღმერთმან, ღა მოავლინოს ანგელოზი მისი ღა მომართუას მე ნა- ყოფი სამოთხისაი, ღა მოგართუა შენ, რათა დასცხნე ჭუვილისაგან შენისა.	6-7.3 и рече Сидъ · отъче, азъ идоу съ материмъ своимъ и принесю отъ рая, ѣда како болестъ штолить ти се. 6-7.4 Адамъ рече · ѿ чедо, како да вънидеши ты въ рай; 6-7.5 Сидъ рече · отъче, изидоу на пространо мѣсто противу раи и въсп лачу се изъ срьдѣца, ѣда како оуслышитъ ны господь и принѣститъ изъ рая аггела и штолить болестъ твою.
6:3 Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀδάμ· Οὐχί, υἱέ μου Σήθ, ἀλλὰ νόσον καὶ πόνους ἔχω.	31:3 Respondit Adam et dixit: non, fili mi, non desi- dero, sed infirmi- tatem et dolorem magnum habeo in corpore meo.	31(6):3 <i>Ասէ ցնա Ադამ. Ոչ է այդպէս (որդեակ իմ Սէթ) այլ հիւանդութիւն եւ ցաւ մահու ունիմ:</i>	31(6):3 ღა ჰრქუა ადამ: შვილო სეით, არა ევრრე არს, არამედ სნეულ ვარ ღა მელმის.	6-7.6 и рече Адамъ · не такъ, сынъ мои, не такъ, нѣ болестъ чръвьную имамъ.
6:4 Λέγει αὐτῷ Σήθ· Καὶ πῶς σοι ἐγένοντο;	31:4 Respondit Seth: quid est dolor, domine pater, nescio; sed noli nobis abscon- dere, sed dic nobis [quia penitus ignoramus] III.	31(6):4 <i>Ասէ ցნա Սէթ. Թո՞րսէ եղի քեզ այդ ցաւ:</i>	31(6):4 მიუგო სეით: "მამათ, რაი არს საღმობაი, ანუ ვითარ გელმის?"	8-10.1 И рече Сидъ · како ти естъ болестъ, како ли ти прииде;

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6:2 "If this be so, tell me, (and) I will go and bring you fruit from paradise. For I will set dung upon my head and will weep and pray that the Lord will hearken to me and send his angel (and bring me a plant from paradise), and I will bring it you that your pain may cease from you."	31:2 Tell me and I will go up to the entrance of paradise and cast dust on my head and throw myself on the ground before the gates of paradise, mourning in great lamentation, beseeching the Lord. Perhaps he will hear me and send his angel to bring me some of the fruit you desire."	31(6):2 If indeed [this] is the [case], tell me, so that I may go close to the Garden and cast dust upon my head and weep. For, perhaps God will give me of the fruit, that I might bring (it) to you, and this pain may be driven away from you."	31(6):2 If it is thus, tell me and I will go before the Garden and I will cast dust upon my head and I will weep. And, if only God hears me, he will send his angel and he (the angel) will bring me the fruit of the Garden and I will bring it to you so that you may calm your distress."	6-7.3 And Seth said, "Father, I will go with my mother and bring something out of Paradise, by which perhaps your pain will be eased." 6-7.4 Adam, however, said, "My child, how will you be admitted into Paradise?" 6-7.5 Seth said, "Father, I will go to the great plaza before Paradise and cry out from my heart, perhaps the Lord will hear us and permit the angel (from Paradise) to come and your pain will be stilled." 6-7.6 And Adam said, "Not so, my son, not so, I have pain in my belly."
6:3 Adam said to him: "Nay, my son Seth, but I have (much) sickness and pain! "Seth said to him: "And how has this come upon you?" 6:4 Seth said to him: "And how has this come upon you?"	31:3 Adam answered and said: "No, my son, I do not desire it, even though I am suffering infirmity and great pain in my body." 31:4 Seth answered: "What is pain, my lord, father, for I do not know. Do not hide it from us, but tell us [III+ for inwardly we do not know.]III."	31(6):3 Adam said to him, "It is not so, [my son, Seth]; rather do I have mortal sickness and pain." 31(6):4 Seth said to him, "Through whom did this pain come to you?"	31(6):3 And Adam told him, "My son Seth, it is not so, rather I am sick and I have pain." 31(6):4 Seth replied to him, "Father, what is pain and how do you have pain?"	8-10.1 And Seth said, "In what way are you ill, how did it come over you?"

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7:1 Εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀδὰμ· "Ὅτε ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν μητέρα ὑμῶν, δι' ἧς καὶ ἀποθνήσκω, ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν πᾶν φυτόν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, περὶ ἐνὸς δὲ ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν μὴ ἐσθίειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, δι' οὗ καὶ ἀποθνήσχομεν.	32:1 Et respondit Adam et dixit: audite me, filii mei. quando fecit nos deus, me et matrem vestram, et posuit nos in paradisum et dedit nobis omnem arborem fructiferam ad edendum et interdixit nobis: de arbore scientiae boni et mali, quae est in medio paradisi, ne comedatis ex ea.	32(7):1 Ասէ ցնա Ադամ. Իբրեւ արար զմեզ Աստուած, զիս եւ զմայր քո, հրամանս եւս մեզ ի ծառոյ անտի չտառել.	32(7):1 ჰრქუა ადამ სეთს: "შვილო, ოდეს შეგუქმნა ღმერთმან მე და დედაი შენი, და დამადგინა ჩუენ სამოთხესა მას ფუფუნებოსასა ჯამად ნაყოფისა მისისა, ხოლო ერთი ნერგი იყო შორის სამოთხესა, რომლისა გუ-ამცნო ღმერთმან ჩუენ, ვითარმედ ნუ სჭამო.	8-10.2 и рече Адамъ · ꙗгда сътвори богъ мене и матеръ твою, и отъ нея ѿмираемъ и въ вси мрътви бѹдете, даде намъ богъ садъ райскыи, нь Къвгы ради погѹбихомъ
7:2 "Ἦγγισε δὲ ἡ ὥρα τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν διατηρούντων τὴν μητέρα ὑμῶν τοῦ ἀναβῆναι καὶ προσκυνῆσαι τὸν κύριον. Καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἐχθρὸς καὶ ἔφαγεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, ἐγνωκὼς ὅτι οὐκ ἦμην ἔγγιστα αὐτῆς οὐτε οἱ ἄγγελοι.		32(7):2 Խափեաց զմեզ Մատանայ ի ժաման Իբրեւ վերացան հրեշտակքն որ պահապանք էին ծառոյն երկիր պազանել Աստուծոյ. յայնժամ եւս ոտել Մատանայ ի պտղոյ անտի եսայի.	32(7):2 და აცთუნა დედაი თქუენი გულმან და აჭამა მას, რომლი-საგან აწ მოვკუდებოთ. უამი ოდეს იყო მცველთა მათ ანგელოზთაი აღლ-ვისა თაყუანის-ცემად ღმრთისა, აცთუნა იგი მტერმან და აჭამა მისგან	8-10.3 и тогда приближи сѣ часъ .S., видѣ Къвга диявола и поклони сѣ, понеже сътвори сѣ аггелъскыи образомъ . и даде Къвзѣ отъ дрѣва, и прѣстоппи зап овѣди госп одньи, и сънѣсть яже даде змиа.
7:3 Ἐπειτα ἔδωκε καὶ μοι φαγεῖν.		32(7):3a եւս ոտել եսა ինձ. Իբրեւ ոչ գիտել:	32(7):3a და მან მეცთუნა მე, შვილნო ჩემნო, რამეთუ არა უწყოდე.	
32:2 Deus autem partem dedit paradisi mihi et matri vestrae: arborem orientalis partis et boreae quae est (et erubie que est?, et bone que est?, boree quod est?) contra aquilonem dedit mihi, et matri vestrae dedit partem austri et partem occidentalem.		32(7):3b Քանզի, որդեակ իմ Սէթ, բաժանեաց Աստուած զդրախտն ինձ եւ մայր քո եսայի. որպէս զի պահապանք մեք զնա, ինձ եւս զկողմ արեւելից եւ զ(հիւսիսի), եւ մայր քո զկողմ արեւմտից եւ զ(հարաւոյ):	32(7):3b და განვიცყო ჩუენ ღმერთმან სამოთხე, მე და დედასა შენსა, ევას, რათამცა დავიცევით იგი, ხოლო მე მომცა აღმოსავლით კერძო და ჩრდილოით, დედასა თქუენსა, ევას, მისცა სამხრით კერძო და დასავლით.	

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7:1 And Adam said to him: "When God made us, me and your mother, through whom also I die, he gave us power to eat of every tree which is in the Garden, but, concerning that one only, He charged us not to eat of it, and through this one we are to die.	32:1 Adam answered and said: "Hear me, my children. When God made us, me and your mother, and placed us in paradise and gave us all fruit-bearing trees for food, he forbade us, saying: 'Of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, which is in the midst of paradise, you may not eat.'	32(7):1 Adam said to him, "When God made us, me and your mother, he gave us a command not to eat of that tree.	32(7):1 Adam told Seth, "Son, when God made us, your mother and me, he set us in the the Garden of delights [to eat its fruit.] But there was one plant in the middle of the Garden, (very) beautiful, concerning which God ordered us, 'Eat not of it.'	8-10.2 And Adam said, "When God created me and your mother, through whom we die and through whom you will all be mortal, he gave us the Garden in Paradise, which we lost on account of Eve.
7:2 And the hour drew near for the angels who were guarding your mother to go up and worship the Lord, And the enemy gave it to her and she ate from the tree. You know that I was not near her nor the holy angels.		32(7):2 Satan deceived us at the hour when [the] angels [who] were guardians of the tree ascended to worship God. Then, Satan caused Eve to eat that fruit;	32(7):2 And the serpent deceived your mother and caused her to eat of it, because of which, now, we are going to die. When it was the hour for the guardian angels [to ascend] to worship God, the enemy deceived her and she ate of it	8-10.3 At that time, when it was the sixth hour, Eve saw Satan and venerated him, because he came in the form of an angel, and he gave to Eve from the tree and she transgressed the commands of the Lord and ate of what the serpent had handed her."
7:3 Then she gave also to me to eat.	32:2 God, however, gave part of the Garden to me, and part to your mother: to me he gave the tree of the eastern and northern part which is against the north, and to your mother he gave the southern and western part.	32(7):3a Eve gave [it] to me to eat when I did not know. 32(7):3b For, my son Seth, God divided the Garden between me and your mother Eve, so that we might watch it. To me he gave the eastern portion and the [northern], and to your mother, the western and the [southern].	32(7):3a and she deceived me, my children, for I did not know. 32(7):3b And God had divided the [Garden] between us---myself and your mother Eve--so that we might guard it. As for me, he had given me the eastern and northern portion; to your mother Eve he had entrusted the southern and the western portion.	

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	33:1 Dedit nobis dominus deus angelos duos ad custodiendos nos.	33:1 <i>Եւ անկաք մեք երկուսսան հրեշտակք որ շրջին ընդ մեզ խրաբանչիք վասն պահպանութեան գորտիստին մինչեւ ի ժամանակ լուսոյն.</i>	33:1 და იყვენს ჩუენ თანა თითოეულად: օ'ზ': ანგელოზნი ცვალ ჩუენლა ვიდრე განთენებოსა უამდმდე.	
	33:2 Venit hora ut ascenderunt angeli in conspectu dei adorare. statim invenit locum adversarius diabolus dum absentes essent angeli. et seduxit diabolus matrem vestram, ut manducaret de arbore illicita et contradicta.	33:2 <i>քանզի հանապազ ապր ելանէին (երկիր պագանել Տեսան), ի ժամանակին իբրեւ նորա գնասցին յերկինս յայնժամ խափեաց Սատանայ գմալը քո, եւ ետ ոտել նաւ ի մրդոյ անտի. գիտաց Սատանայ եթէ եւ ոչ էի առ նա եւ ոչ հրեշտակք. յայնժամ ետ ոտել</i>	33:2 ხოლო ყოველსა დღესა აღზდიან ზელა. აღსვასა ოდენ მათსა აც- თუნა დედაი ზენი გუელმან, და ხისა მისგანი აჭამა-ლა. და ოხილა არცა მე ვრთე. არცა ანგელოზნი.	8-10.4 И рече Сидъ · кѣто науми змию; 8-10.5 рече Адамъ сыноу своему · сътвори се дияволъ свѣтъль и аггелъскимъ образомъ прииде къ змии и рече ки · ты кси мудра много, ты даи отъ дрѣва ꙗвѣ да сънѣсть и дасть Адаму. 8-10.6 и тако сътвори · и того ради болести и смърти прѣдахомъ се.
8:1 Καὶ ὀργίσθη ἡμῖν ὁ θεός· καὶ ἔλθων ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ὁ δεσπότης [ἔθηκε τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ καὶ] ἐκέλευσε θωνῇ φοβερά λέγων· Ἀδάμ, ποῦ εἶ; καὶ ἵνα τί κρύβεσαι ἀπὸ προσώπου μου; Μὴ δυνήσῃται κρυβῆναι οἰκία τῷ οἰκοδομήσαντι αὐτήν;	34:1 Et statim iratus est nobis dominus deus et dixit ad me dominus.	34(8):1 <i>Գիտացի այնուհետեւ իբրեւ կերպ ի մրդոյ անտի եթէ բարկացաւ Աստուած ի վերայ մեր:</i>	33:3 მეცა მაჭამა და არა გულისხმა-ვყავ. 34(8):1 ოდელ ვჭამეთ, განრისხდა ღმერთი ჩუენდა	8-10.7 Тѣгда прииде владыка и поставише прѣстолъ господень по срѣдѣ рая, и възвѣа страшнымъ гласомъ · Адамѣ, Адамѣ, гдѣ кси; 8-10.8 азъ рѣхъ · нагъ ꙗсмь, господи, и не могу изити .

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8:1 And God was angry with us, and the Lord came into the Garden [and set up his throne] and called me in a terrible voice and said: "Adam, where art you? And why do you hide from my face? Shall the house be able to hide itself from its builder?"	33:1 The Lord God gave us two angels to watch over us.	33:1 We had twelve angels who went around with each of us, because of the guarding of the Garden, until the time of the light.	33:1 And there were twelve angels with each of us to guard us until the time of the dawn,	8-10.4 And Seth asked, "Who instructed the serpent?" 8-10.5 Adam said to his son, "The Devil changed himself into radiant form and came to the serpent in the form of an angel and said to it, 'You are very intelligent, give to Eve from the tree, she will taste it and also give it to Adam.' 8-10.6 And thus it happened and for this reason we have fallen prey to sickness and death.
	33:2 The hour came for the angels to ascend to the sight of God for worship. At once, the Devil, the enemy, found the place while the angels were absent. And the Devil deceived your mother so that she ate from the unlawful and forbidden tree."	33:2 Since, every day they would go forth [to worship the Lord], at the time when they went to the heavens, at that time Satan deceived your mother and caused her to eat of the fruit. Satan knew that I was not with her, nor the angels, at that time he caused her to eat.	33:2 but each day, they ascended (there). And at the moment of their ascent, the serpent deceived your mother and caused her to eat of the tree, for he had seen that I was not with her any more than the angels.	
	33:3 Then she ate it and gave it to me to eat.	33:3 [Afterwards, also, she gave (it) to me.]	33:3 She also made me eat of it and I did not understand.	
	34:1 Immediately, the Lord God grew angry with us and said to me:	34(8):1 I knew then, when I ate the fruit, that God was angry with us.	34(8):1 When we had eaten, God became angry with us	
				8-10.7 Then the Master came, and in the center of Paradise his throne was set up, and he called out in a frightful voice, 'Adam, Adam, where are you?' 8-10.8 I said, 'I am naked, O Lord, and I cannot come out.'

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
8:2 Καὶ λέγει· 'Επειδὴ ἔγκατέλιπας τὴν διαθήκην μου, ὠπλήνευκα τῷ σώματί σου ἐβδόμηκοντα πληγὰς. Πρῶτον νόσος πληγῆς ὁ βιασμός τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν· δευτέρον πληγῆς ἀκοῆς καὶ οὖτως καθεξῆς πᾶσαι αἱ πληγαὶ παρακολουθοῦσαι τῷ σώματι.	34:2 eo quod dereliquisti man- datura meum et verbum meum quod confortavi tibi non custodisti, ecce inducam in corpus tuum LXX plagas; diversis doloribus ab initio capitis et oculorum et au- rium usque ad un- gulas pedum et per singula membra torquebimini. haec deputavit in flagel- lationem dolori uno cum arboribus (dolorum pro transgressionem fruc- tus arboris?). Haec autem omnia misit dominus ad me et omnes generationes nostras.	34(8):2 եւ ասէ Աստուած. Փոխանակ զի անցեր զովասիւ իմով. ասից ի վերայ մարմնոյ քո հաւթանասուն պիտ. ցաւ աշաց եւ ականջաց եւ ամենայն զատրածոց դէշտընդումս եւ համարեցաւ զիս ի վիշտս հիաստութեանց որ պահին ի շտեմարանս զի արձակեցէ զնոսա Աստուած ի յիտին ժամանակս:	34(8):2 ღა გუტქუა: " შეუ- რაცხ-ჰყავთ ბრძანებაი ჩემი ღა მეცა შეურაცხ-ჰყვნი თქვენ" . ღა მთავლი- ნა სამეტყდაათი სალმობაი ჩუენ ზეღა, თუალთა ღა ყურთა ღა ვიღრე ფერ- ხთამღე, გულმაი ღა სასწაულნი ღაუნჯებლნი საუნჯეთანი. ესე მიყთ მე ღმერთმან წარსაწყმედელა ღ აღსრულებისა".	8-10.9 и рече господь . никогда тако скрыль се еси отъ мене. егда скрываехи се отъ мене, прѣстѹпиль еси заповѣди моѣ. 8-10.10 умножь тѣло твоѣ ранами и срьдцѹ твоѣмѹ болѣсти. 8-10.11 .а.-ая ꙗза бѹдетъ чрѣвоболь, .в.-ая ꙗза оцеболь и по томъ послѣдѹють вѣсе ꙗзы .о. и .в..

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8:2 And he said to me: "Since you have abandoned my covenant, I have brought upon your body seventy-two strokes; first a stroke to the eyes, second a stroke to the hearing, and likewise in turn strokes shall follow upon (all parts of) the body."	34:2 'Because you have forsaken my mandate and have not kept my word which I entrusted to you, I will bring upon your body seventy afflictions. You will be racked with pains from the top of your head, eyes, and ears, to the toenails on your feet, and in every single member.' This he counted as punishment fitting in suffering [to the seriousness of our transgression] concerning the trees (of suffering for the transgression of the fruit of the tree?) The Lord sent all these ills upon me and all our generations."	34(8):2 God said, 'Because you transgressed my commandment, I shall bring seventy afflictions [upon] your body, pain of the eyes and ringing of the ears and all the joints.' It will be reckoned for me (?) among the afflictions of sickness which are preserved in the treasures, so that God might send them in the last times."	34(8):2 and he told us, 'You have, therefore, scorned my commandment; I too will scorn you.' And he sent 70 evils upon us, to our eyes, and to our ears and as far as our feet, plagues and portents laid up in (his) treasures. This God did to me to cause me to die a death."	8-10.9 And the Lord said, 'You have never hidden yourself from me.' Since you hide from me, you have thus transgressed my commandment. 8-10.10 I will inflict your body abundantly with injuries and your heart with pains. 8-10.11 The first sickness will be a pain in the belly, the second sickness [will be] dimness of vision and deafness, and on top of this, there will follow seventy-two illnesses of all sorts besides."

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9:1 Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων ὁ Ἀδὰμ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀνεστέναιξε μέγα καὶ εἶπεν· Τί ποιήσω ὅτι ἐν μεγάλῃ λύπῃ εἰμὶ;	35:1 Haec dicens Adam ad omnes filios suos comprehensus est magnis doloribus et clamans magnis vocibus dicebat: quid faciam infelix, positus in talibus doloribus.	35(9):1 <i>Զար իբրեւ ասաց Ադամ ցորդին իր Սէթ. աղաղակեաց եւ ասէ. Յի՛նչ անեմ զի ի մեծ ցաւ եւ յաշխատութիւնս եմ:</i>	35(9):1 ესე რაი ეტყოდა ადამი ძესა თვისსა სეითს, ღაღად-ყოლა თქუა: "რაი-მე ვყო? დიდისა შრომასა შინა ვარ".	11-15.1 Тогда паки въздыхнувъ Адамъ рече къ сыновомъ своимъ . великоу болѣзнь имамъ, чѣда моя .
9:2 Ἐκλαυσε δὲ ἡ Εὐὰ λέγουσα· Κύριέ μου Ἀδὰμ, δός μοι τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς νόσου σου καὶ ὑπενέγκω αὐτό, ὅτι δι' ἐμὲ τοῦτό σοι γέγονεν, δι' ἐμὲ ἐν καμάτοις τυγχάνεις.	35:2 Et cum vidisset eum Eva flentem coepit et ipsa flere dicens: domine deus meus, in me transfer dolorem eius, quoniam ego peccavi. Et dixit Eva ad Adam: domine mi, da mihi partem dolorum tuorum, quoniam a me culpa haec tibi accessit.	35(9):2 <i>Երայ եւ ասէ. Տէր իմ, Ադամ. արի տուր ինձ ի ցաւդ. զի րեկալայց եւ համբերեցից նմա. զի վասն իմ եղեն ցաւդ այդ որ եկեալ հասեալ եմ ի վերայ քո:</i>	35(9):2 ტირილით თქუა ევა: "უფალო ჩემო, აღამ, მომეც ზოგი სალმობათა შენთაი და შრომაი ეგე შენი ვიტივროთო, რამეთუ ჩემ გამო არს სალმობაი შენი და მე შეგამთხვიენ შრომაი ეგე".	11-15.2 тогда Къва съ плачемъ рече Къму . Господине, дай мнѣ отъ болести твоѣе, да си оби подѣливъ . отъ мене бо тако трѣпиши болести .
9:3 Εἶπε δὲ Ἀδὰμ τῇ Εὐᾷ· Ἀνάστα καὶ πορεύου μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἡμῶν Σήθ πλησίον τοῦ παραδείσου· καὶ ἐπίθετε γῆν ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν καὶ κλαύσατε,	36:1 Et dixit Adam ad Evam: exsurge et vade cum filio meo Seth ad proximum paradisi [III=portas paradisi] III et mitte pul-verem in capita vestra et prosternite vos in terram et plangite in conspectu dei.	36(9):3 <i>Ասէ ցնա Ադամ. Արի եւ վնայ որդով քո Սէթաւ մերձ ի դրախտն եւ անդ արկանուք հող զգլխով ձերով եւ յացէք առաջի Աստուծոյ.</i>	36(9):3 და პრეტა აღამ ევას: "აღდეგ და მოვედ სეითის თანა, ძისა ჩემისა თანა სამოთხედ. დაისხით მოწაი თავსა თქუენსა და ტიროდეთ წინაშე ღმრთისა,	11-15.3a рече Адамъ къ Къвъзѣ . не възможно естъ подѣлити, нь вьстани съ сыномъ своимъ Сидомъ и иди противу раю, и съ плачемъ посыпаше прѣсть на главѣ свои,

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9:1 As he said this to his sons, Adam groaned sore and said: "What shall I do? I am in great distress."	35:1 Saying this to all his children, Adam was seized with great pains, and crying out with a great voice, he said: "What shall I do, I who am unfortunate, being in so much pain?"	35(9):1 When Adam said this to his son Seth, he cried out and said, "What shall I do, for I am in great pains and toils."	35(9):1 When Adam said this to his son Seth, he cried out and said, "What shall I do? I am in great pain."	11-15.1 Then Adam sighed again and spoke to his sons, "I have a great pain, my children."
9:2 And Eve wept and said: "My lord Adam, rise up and give me half of your pain and I will endure it; for it is on my account that this has happened to you, on my account you have these troubles."	35:2 When Eve saw him, she began to cry and she herself crying said: "My Lord God, transfer his pain over to me, since it was I who sinned." Eve then said to Adam: "My lord, give me part of your pain, since by me this blame came upon you."	35(9):2 Eve wept and said, "My lord Adam. Arise, give me some of your pain, so that I might receive and bear it, for these pains which have come upon you, came about because of me."	35(9):2 Eve said, weeping, "My lord Adam, give me half of your sufferings and I will bear your present pain, for your suffering is due to me and it is I who caused these pains to come upon you."	11-15.2 Then Eve said to him amid tears, "Stand up, my husband, and give me a portion of your pain, we will both share it together; for on account of me you suffer such agony."
9:3 But Adam said to Eve, "Arise and go with my son Seth near to the Garden, and put earth upon your heads and weep	36:1 Adam then said to Eve: "Rise, go with my son, Seth, near the Garden [III]=to the gates of the Garden]III and cast dust on your heads, and prostrate yourself on the ground, lamenting in the sight of God.	36(9):3 Adam said to her, "Arise, go with your son Seth, close to the Garden and there cast dust on your heads and weep before God.	36(9):3 And Adam told Eve, "Arise and go with Seth, my son, to the Garden; cast soil on your head and weep before God so that he might give us grace.	11-15.3a Adam, however, said to Eve, "It is impossible to share it, but rise up together with your son Seth and go to Paradise, and cry, while sprinkling dust on your heads,

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
9:4 δεόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπως σπλαγχνισθῇ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ [εἰς τὸν παράδεισον,] καὶ δώσῃ μοι ἐκ τοῦ δένδρου ἐν ᾧ ῥέει τὸ ἔλαιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνέγκῃς μοι, καὶ ἀλείψομαι καὶ ἀναπαύσομαι ἀπὸ τῆς νόσου μου. 9:5 [καὶ δηλώσω σοι τὸν τρόπον ἐν ᾧ ἡπατήθημεν τὸ πρότερον.]	36:2 Forsitan miserebitur et transmittet angelum suum ad arborem misericordiae suae, de qua currit oleum vitae, et dabit vobis ex ipso modicum, ut me unguatis ex eo, ut quiescam ab his doloribus, ex quibus consumor.	36(9):4 <i>թերեալ զՅիսակի Աստուած ի վերայ իմ եւ աստքսցէ զհրահրակ իւր ի դրահրտ անդր. եւ երթիցէ ի տեղին ուր կայցէ ծառն ձիթենեաց, յորմէ ելանէ ձէթն, եւ տայցէ քիչ ասկակի մի ի նմանէ, զի բերցես առ իս եւ ւաճից զուկիրս իմ եւ իարատեցայց ի ցաւոց աստի</i> 36(9)5 <i>եւ իմացուցից քիչ զասակս զայս զոր իորձեցար մեր երբեմն:</i>	36(9):4 რაითა წყალობად ყოს ჩუენ ზედა და მთავლობოს ანგელოზი თვისი სამთხელე, სადაცა არს ხე იგი ცხთვებოსაი, რომლისა გამოსდის ზეთი, რაითა კნინ გცეს ზეთი იგი . და მომართუთ მე იგი აქა და ვიცხო და განვიცუენო საღმებათაგან ჩემთა. 36(9):5 მაშინ-ლა გაუწყო შენ ყოველი იგი სახე, რომლითა განვიცადე-ნით.	11-15.3b <i>егда како услышитъ господь молитву ваю и припоуститъ ми отъ дрѣва маслинна, да виждѹ егда како покоитъ ми се болѣсть.</i>

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9:4 and pray God to have mercy upon me and send his angel to the Garden, and give me of the tree out of which the oil flows, and bring it me, and I shall anoint myself and shall have rest from my illness. 9:5 And I will show you the way in which we were deceived at first."	36:2 Perhaps he will take pity and send his angel over to the tree of his mercy from which flows the oil of life, and will give you a little of it with which to anoint me so that I may have rest from these pains with which I am consumed."	36(9):4 Perhaps God will pity me and send his angel to the Garden, and he will go to the place where the olive-tree stands, from which oil comes forth, and give you a little of it, so that you might bring it to me and I might anoint my bones and be separated from pain, 36(9):5 and I might teach you this way...which we were tried formerly."	36(9):4 And (God) will send his angel to the Garden where the Tree of Life is, from which the oil flows out, so that he may give you a little of that oil. And you will bring it here to me and I will anoint myself and I will be healed of my sufferings. 36(9):5 Then I will let you know the whole way in which we were tried.	11-15.3b perhaps God will hear your prayer and grant to me from the Tree of Oils, that I might learn if perhaps my pain may be eased."

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10:1 Ἐπορεύθη δὲ Σηθ καὶ ἡ Εὐὰ εἰς τὰ μέρη τοῦ παραδείσου. [Καὶ πορευομένων αὐτῶν] εἶδεν ἡ Εὐὰ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς καὶ θηρίον πολεμοῦντα αὐτόν.	37:1 Et abierunt Seth et mater eius contra portas paradisi; et dum ambularent, ecce subito venit serpens bestia et impetum faciens morsit Seth.	37(10):1 Գնացին այնուհետև Մէթ եւ նա ի կողմ ի դրախտին. մինչդեռ երթալին, ետես նա (զորդին իւր զի) գազան մի մարտնչէր ընդ Մեթ[այ] եւ խաժանէր զնա. յալ սկսաւ նա եւ սսէ.	37(10):1 ეცე და ესმა, წარვიდეს სეით და ევა, საღა-ოგო იყო სამოთხე აღამისი. სლვასა მისსა იხილა ნაშობთა მისთაგანი, რომელსა ჰბრძოდა მხეცო და ჟებენდა ყრმასა მას, მაშინ ტირილად იწყო ევა და თქლა:	11-15.4 И въставъши Квъга съ сыномъ своимъ Сидомъ приходяще къ раю . 11-15.5 и видѣ Квъга свѣра велия, именемъ Котѣрь, гонѣше изѣсти сына юе Сидра.
10:2 Ἐκλαυσε δὲ ἡ Εὐὰ λέγουσα· Οἶμμοι οἶμμοι, ὅτι ἐὰν ἔλθω εἰς τὴν ἡμεραν τῆς ἀναστάσεως, πάντες οἱ ἁμαρτήσαντες καταράσσονται με λέγοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἐφύλαξεν ἡ Εὐὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ.	37:2 Et cum vidisset Eva flevit dicens: heu mihi miserae, quoniam maledicta sum, quoniam non custodivi praecepta domini.	37(10):2 Զի եթէ եկեսցէ արդատաստանին, ամենայն մեղադրք մեղադիր լինիցին ինձ եւ ասացեն թէ մայրն մեր ոչ լուաւ պատուիրանին Տեառն Աստուծոյ:	37(10):2 “ვაი ჩემდა, რამეთუ ოდეს მივიწყო მე დღესა მას სასჯელი- სასა, ყოველნი შეცოდებანი ჩემნი მჭვიდენ მე და მრქელან: პირველად შენ არა დამარხვენ მცნებანი დამრთისანი”.	11-15.6a и въсплака се Квъга зъло и рече ѿ горѣ мнѣ, чедо мое сладкоѣ, отъ селѣ до свършениа и до .в.-го приишвѣяа клети мѣ хотѣть въси мене бо ради въса зла ѣмножише се.

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10:1 Then Seth and Eve went toward the direction of the Garden. [And while they were going,] Eve saw her son and wild beast assailing him. 10:2 And Eve wept and said: "Woe is me; if I come to the day of the Resurrection, all those who have sinned will curse me saying: 'Eve has not kept the commandment of God.'"	37:1 Seth and his mother went away opposite the gates of the Garden. As they were walking, there suddenly appeared the serpent, the beast, who attacked and bit Seth. 37:2 When Eve saw this, she cried saying: "Alas, woe is me, for I am cursed because I did not keep the precepts of the Lord."	37(10):1 Thereafter, Seth and Eve went in the direction of the Garden. As they were going, Eve saw that a wild beast was fighting with [her son] Seth and was biting him. 37(10):2 Eve began to weep and she said, "[When] the day of Judgment comes; all sins will be blamed upon me and (men) will say, 'Our mother did not hearken to the commandment of the Lord God!'"	37(10):1 When they heard that, Seth and Eve went (to the place) where the Garden of Adam was. As she went she saw one of her descendants who was being attacked by a beast and (the beast) was biting the child. 37(10):2 Then Eve began to weep and said, "Woe is me, for when I arrive at the day of judgment, all my sins will burn me and (people) will tell me, 'In the first instance, it was you who did not observe God's orders.'"	11-15.4 And Eve arose along with her son Seth and set off for Paradise, 11-15.5 and Eve saw a huge animal, called Mongrel, which followed her son Seth, to devour him. 11-15.6a Eve began to cry bitterly and said, "Woe is me, my sweet child, from now on until the end and until the second coming all will curse me, because it is on my account all sorts of evil have multiplied."

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10:3 Καὶ εἶπε πρὸς τὸ θηρίον· ὦ θηρίον πονηρόν, οὐ φοβήσῃ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ πολεμήσαι αὐτήν· Πῶς ἡνοίγη τὸ στόμα σου; πῶς ἐνίσχυσαν οἱ ὀδόντες σου; πῶς οὐκ ἐμνήσθης τῆς ἐποταγῆς σου ὅτι πρότερον ὑπέταγης τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ θεοῦ;	37:3 Et dixit Eva ad serpentem voce magna: bestia maledicta, quomodo non timuisti mittera te ad imaginem dei, sed ausus es pugnare cum ea? aut quomodo prae- valuerunt dentes tui?	37(10):3 <i>ბი գոշհաց ծա ի վերայ գազանին եւ ասէ. Ով գազան, դու զի՞ս որ (դու ոչ) երկեար ի պատկերդ Աստուծոյ. զի Համարձակեցար մարտնել ի պատկերդ. Աստուծոյ. եւ կամ զի՞ս որ բացա(ւ) բերան քո եւ զարացան ժանիք քո եւ խոզացաւ մազ քո. եւ զի՞ս որ ոչ լիշեցեր զհնազանդութիւն որ յառաջն էիր. զի բացաւ բերան քո ի պատկերդ Աստուծոյ:</i>	37(10):3 ხმა-ყოფო ევა და ჰრქუა მხეცსა მას ბოროტსა: ჰოი მხეცო უკეთურო, არა გეშინის შენ, იკადრებ და მბრძავ ხატსა ღმრთისსა? ვითარ ვუფლელ აღებად პირისა შენისა, ანუ ვითარ განაწონენ კბილნი შენნი, ანუ ვითარ არა მოიხსენებ პირველი იგი ბრძანებაი ღმრთისაი? და აღვიღებოც პირი შენი ხატსა ღმრთისსა ზელა?	11-15.6b и възъпи къ свѣрѣ глаголю великъ и рече 11-15.7 ѿ свѣрѣ, не боиши ли се иконы божияго образа, нъ хощеши извѣсти его; како смѣеши оуста своя отврѣсти на образъ божий и обья вити зѡбы свое къ нему; како не помѣнѣши, свѣрѣ, како те хранѣхъ роукою моею;
11:1 Τότε τὸ θηρίον ἐβόησε λέγων· ὦ Εὐα, οὐ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡ πλεονεξία σου οὕτε ὁ κλαυθμός, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σέ, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν θηρίων ἐκ σοῦ ἐγένετο.	38:1 Respondit bestia voce hu- mana: O Eva, numquid non ad vos est malitia nostra? nonne con- tra vos est furor noster?	38(11):1 <i>Յայնժամ գոշհաց գազանն եւ ասէ ցեա. Ապաքէն վասն քո են ժպրհութիւնք մեր. զի ի քէն եւ աւրինակն.</i>	38(11):1 მაშინ მიუგო მხეცმან მან და ჰრქუა ევას: არა ჩუენისა ანგარებოსაგან არს მღურვაი შენი და ტირილი, არამელ შენისა ანგარე- ბისაგან არს მღურვაი შენი და ტირილი, რამეთუ პირველ დასაბამსა შენ ისმინე მხეცისა მის გუელისაი,	11-15.8 тогда свѣрѣ рече къ нѣи · ѿ къво, отъ сель не имаше власти надъ нами да повелѣваеши намы, понеже прѣжде отъ тебе зачело се естъ .

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10:3 And she spoke to the beast: "You wicked beast, Do you not fear to fight with the image of God? How was your mouth opened? How were your teeth made strong? How did you not call to mind your subjection? For long ago you were made subject to the image of God."

11:1 Then the beast cried out and said: "It is not our concern, Eve, your greed and your wailing, but your own; for (it is) from you that the rule of the beasts has arisen."

37:3 Eve said to the serpent in a great voice: "O cursed beast, why are you not afraid to cast yourself at the image of God, but dare to fight against it? Why have your teeth prevailed?"

38:1 The beast answered in a human voice: "O Eve, was our malice ever not against you? Isn't our anger against you?"

37(10):3 Eve called out against the wild beast and said, "O wild beast, how do you [not] fear the image of God, that you dared to fight with the image of God? How was your mouth open[ed] and your fangs bared, and your hair stood on end? How did you not remember the obedience which you formerly displayed, that your mouth was opened against the image of God?"

38(11):1 Then the wild beast cried out and said to Eve, "In truth, our insolence is because of you, for the example came from you."

37(10):3 Eve called out and told the wicked beast, "O evil beast, have you no fear? [Did you dare] to fight with the image of God? How did you take it upon yourself to open your mouth and how have you (thought to) sink your teeth? Or how have you not recalled the first order of God and have opened your mouth against the image of God?"

38(11):1 Then the beast replied to her and told Eve, "It is not from our greed that your discontent and your weeping come, but your discontent and your weeping come from your own greed, for at the beginning of creation, it was you who hearkened to the beast, the serpent."

11-15.6b And she screamed in a loud voice at the animal and said, 11-15.7 "O beast, aren't you afraid before the image of the divine countenance? Will you devour him? How do you dare to open your mouth against the image of God and to bare your teeth against him? Don't you remember, O beast, how I fed you with my own hand?"

11-15.8 Then the animal said to her, "O Eve, from now on you have no power over us to command us, for it has departed from you."

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11:2 Πῶς ἡνοίγη τὸ στόμα σου φαγεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου περὶ οὗ ἐντείλατό σοι ὁ θεὸς μὴ φαγεῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ; Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμῶν αἱ φύσεις μετεπλάγησαν.	38:2 Dic mihi, Eva, quomodo apertum est os tuum, ut manducares de fructu, quem praecepit tibi dominus deus ut non manducares:	38(11):2 <i>զիս'րդ բացաւ բերան քո համարձակել եւ ի նստել ի միջոյ անտի. վասն որով պատուիրեսց քեզ Աստուած եթէ մի նստել ի նմանէ.</i>	38(11):2 ვითარ იქადრე აღუბად პირისა შენისა და ჯამად ხისა მისგან, რომლისა გამცნო შენ ღმერთმან არაჯამაი?ხოლო რომლისა გამო ყოველთა სახე იცვალეძის.	11-15.9 како смыяше ты отвѣсти оуста своя и смыѣсти отъ дрѣва, отъ негоже ты не рече господь;
11:3 Νῦν οὖν οὐ δυνήσῃ ὑπενεγκεῖν, ἐὰν ἀπάρεωμαι ἐλέγχῃν σε.	38:3 nunc autem non potes portare, si tibi incepto ex- probrare?	38(11):3 <i>[մինչեւ փոխեսցէ մեր ամենեցուն քնովքինք. դու այսուհետեւ ոչ կարես հանդարտել որ խօսեսցայս առ քեզ. կամ եթէ սկսայց յանդիմանել գրեզ]:</i>	38(11):3 აწ შენ ვერ უძლო დათმენად, უკუვეთ ვიწყო სიტყუდ და მხოლეუბად შენდა.	11-15.10 за то и азъ хошу оубити тебе и избѣсти чѣда твоя. 11-15.11 Тогда Къвѣга не отвѣща ни что .
12:1 Λέγει ὁ Σῆθ πρὸς τὸ θηρίον. Κλείσαι σου τὸ στόμα καὶ σίγα καὶ ἀπόστηθι ἀπὸ τῆς εἰκόνης τοῦ θεοῦ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς κρίσεως.	39:1 Tunc dixit Seth ad bestiam: inrepet te dominus deus. stupe, ob- mutesce, claude os tuum, maledicte in- imice veritatis con- fusio perditionis; recede de imagine dei usque in diem, quando dominus deus iusserit in comproportionem te adduci.	39(12):1 <i>Յայնժամ ասէ Սէթ ցգազանն. եցցի բերան քո, ո Սատանայ. ի բաց քնա ի պատկերէ Աստուծոյ. [մինչեւ [[հասցէ ար]]] յորում Աստուած ածքէ գրեզ ի յանդիմանութիւն]:</i>	39(12):1 მიუფო სეით და ჰრქუა მხედსა: "დაიყავნ პირი შენი და დალუ- მეზ, მხედო, და განგუეშორე ჩუენ ხატისაგან ღმრთეებისა, ვიდრე მუნ ღლეღმდე, ოდეს წარმოგადგინოს შენ ღმერთმან".	11-15.12 тогда Сидъ рече къ свѣримъ : да затвореть се оуста твоя до суда, понеже такое дрѣзньше на образъ божии, и въ ложи своемъ да прѣбываеши въ вѣки . и такое прѣбываеи въ вѣки.
12:2 Τότε λέγει τὸ θηρίον τῷ Σῇθ· 'Ἰδοὺ ἀφίσταμαι ἀπὸ τῆς εἰκόνης τοῦ θεοῦ.	39:2 et dixit bestia ad Seth: ecce recedo, sicut dixisti, a facie imaginis dei.	39(12):2 <i>յայնժամ ասէ ցՍէթ. Ահա ի բաց կամ ի պատկերէր Աստուծոյ.</i>	39(12):2 მაშინ - და ჰრქუა მხედმან სეითსა: " აჲ ესერა მე შენ განგე- შორედი ხატისაგან ღმრთისა, თუალთ- შეუდგამისაგან ღმრთისა".	
12:3 [Τότε ἔφωγε τὸ θηρίον καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν πεπληγμένον] καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ.	39:3 statim recessit plaga de dentibus a Seth.	39(12):3 <i>փախստիս եղի գազանն ի նմանէ:</i>	39(12):3 და ოდეს დალტევა, ივლტოდა მხეცი იგი სეითისაგან. და მოვიდა კაცი წყალთი ტალავარსა მას აღამისა, მამისა თვისისა,	

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11:2 How was your mouth opened to eat of the tree concerning which God commanded you not to eat of it? On this account, our nature also has been transformed. 11:3 Now therefore you cannot endure it, if I begin to reprove you."	38:2 Tell me, Eve. How could you open your mouth to eat the fruit which the Lord God commanded you not to eat.	38(11):2 How was your mouth opened to dare to eat of the fruit concerning which God commanded you not to eat of it?	38(11):2 How did you dare to open your mouth and eat of the tree of which God had ordered you not to eat? You, [[on account]] of whom the aspect of everything has changed,	11-15.9 How did you dare to open your mouth and eat from the tree, which the Lord did not allow you?
12:1 Then Seth spoke to the beast, "Close your mouth and be silent and stand off from the image of God until the day of Judgment."	38:3 Now, however, you are not able to bear it, if I should begin to reproach you?"	38(11):3 [Until he will change all of our natures, henceforth you are unable to resist that which I speak to you, or if I begin to rebuke you.]"	38(11):3 now, you will not be able to endure, if I start speaking and rebuking you."	11-15.10 On account of this I will also kill you and devour your child."
12:2 Then the beast said to Seth: "Behold, I stand off from the image of God."	39:1 Then Seth said to the beast: "May the Lord God reproach you. Be mute, grow silent, close your mouth, cursed enemy of the truth, disorder of destruction. Fall back from the image of God until the day when the Lord God shall order you to be brought in for trial."	39(12):1 Then Seth said to the wild beast, "Close your mouth, O Satan. Get away from the image of God [until [[the day will come]] on which God will bring you to rebuke.]"	39(12):1 Seth replied to him and told the beast, "Let your mouth be closed and be silent, beast, and get away from us, the image of the divinity, until the day when God will have you standing (before him)."	11-15.11 At this Eve didn't answer.
12:3 [And the beast fled and left him wounded] and went to his hut.	39:2 The beast said to Seth: "Behold, I am going away, just as you have said, from the face of the image of God."	39(12):2 Then he said to Seth, "Behold, I am standing apart from you, the image of God."	39(12):2 Then also the beast told Seth, "Behold, then, I get away from you, image of God, dazzling (splendor) of God."	11-15.12 Then Seth spoke to the beast, "Your mouth will be closed until the judgment, for you yourself were so bold against the image of God; you will stay in your lair right into eternity. And so it will remain even in eternity."
	39:3 At once the wound from its teeth disappeared from Seth.	39(12):3 The beast fled from him.	39(12):3 And when the beast had left them, the beast fled (far) from Seth and the wounded man went to the hut of Adam his father."	

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13:1 Επορεύθη δὲ Σήθ μετὰ Εὔας πλησίον τοῦ παραδείσου. Καὶ ἔκλανσαν δεόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ ὥπως ἀποστείλῃ τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ δώσει αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦ ἐλέου.	40:1 Seth autem et mater eius ambulaverunt in partes paradisi propter oleum misericordiae, utungerent Adam infirmum. et pervenientes ad portas paradisi tulerunt pulverem de terra et posuerunt super caput suum. et prostraverunt se in terram super faciem suam et coeperunt plangere cum gemitu magno deprecantes dominum deum, ut misereretur Adae in doloribus suis et mitteret angelum suum dare eis oleum de arbore misericordiae suae.	40(13):1 Եւ զեսց Մէթ Եւայի(ւ) հանդերձ մերձ ի դրախտն. եւ լացին մեծաձայն լալիս եւ խնդրեցին լիստոծոյ. զի առաքիսցէ զհրեշտակ ապակահուսիս լսել նոցա.	40(13):1 ხოლო სეით წარვიდა ევს თანა სამოთხელ. და ტიროდეს ზღუდესა თანა სამოთხისასა და მუნ ილოცვიდეს ღმრთისა მიმართ, რაითამცა მოავლობნა ანგელოზი თვისი.	16-17.1 И прииде Сидръ къ раи съ матерію своєю, плачуще се и рыдающе и въпийше къ богу, посыпаше пръстимъ главѣ свои.
13:2a Καὶ ἀπέστειλε ὁ θεὸς Μιχαὴλ τὸν ἀρχάγγελον καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ·	41:1 [NIC+ Orantibus autem eis horas multas et deprecantibus ecce angelus Michahel apparens eis dixit: ego missus sum ad te a domino, ego sum constitutus a domino super corpus humanum. tibi dico.	41(13):2a Եւ առաքիսց Աստուած զՄիքայէլ զհրեշտակ առ նոսա, որ է իշխան հոգւոց եւ (սաւ) ցնտա զբան զայս].	40(13):2a და მოავლობნა ღმერთმან მოვარ-ანგელოზი მიქაელ, რომელ არს სულთა ზედა. და ჰრქუა	16-17.2a и пирпѣсти господь архаггела Михаила, и рече Сидрѣ
13:2b Σήθ ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, μὴ κάμῃς εὐχόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ ἱκεσίᾳ ταύτῃ περὶ τοῦ ξύλου ἐν ᾧ ῥέει τὸ ἔλαιον ἀλείψαι τὸν πατέρα σου Ἀδὰμ·	41:2 [Seth homo dei, noli lacrimare orando et deprecando propter oleum ligni misericordiae, ut perunguas patrem tuum Adam pro doloribus corporis sui.	41(13):2b Մէթ [այլ Աստուծոյ]. մի ինչ աշխատիր դու աղաչել վասն խորի որ ի ծառոյն ելանէ. եւրն այն ցնծութեան, ասանել զհայր թր զԱդամ:	40(13):2b სეითს:“ კაცო ღმრთისაო, ნუ შურებდი ღოცვასა მავას ხისა მისთვის ზეთისხილთაისა ცხებად მაშისა შენისა აღაშისა,	

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13:1 And Seth went with Eve near the Garden,	40:1 Seth and his mother then walked to the region of the Garden for the oil of mercy to anoint the sick Adam.	40(13):1 Seth, [with] Eve, went close to the Garden,	40(13):1 As for Seth, he went with Eve to the Garden.	16-17.1 And Seth came with his mother to Paradise,
and they wept there praying to God to send his angel and give them the oil of mercy.	Arriving at the gate of the Garden, they picked up dust from the ground and cast it on their heads, and prostrated themselves on the ground and began to lament with a great moan, beseeching the Lord God that He might have mercy on Adam in his pains, and send his angel to give them some oil from the tree of his mercy	and they wept with loud lament and asked God to send an angel to help them.	And they were weeping close to the wall of the Garden, and there they supplicated God to send them his angel.	they cried and sobbed and entreated God, sprinkling their heads with dust.
13:2a And God sent the archangel Michael and he said to Seth:	41:1 <i>[NIC+After they had prayed and pleaded for many hours, behold, the angel Michael appeared to them and said: "I was sent to you by the Lord. I was given power over the human body.</i>	41(13):2a God sent to them the angel Michael, who is prince of souls, and [he spoke these words to them],	41(13):2a [And God sent to them the archangel Michael,] who is in charge of the souls, and he told Seth,	16-17.2a And God sent his archangel Michael and he spoke to Seth,
13:2b "Seth, man of God, weary not yourself with prayers and entreaties concerning the tree which flowed with oil to anoint your father Adam.	41:2 <i>[I tell you, Seth, man of God, do not weep, praying and pleading for the oil of the tree of mercy to anoint your father Adam on account of the pains of his body.</i>	41(13):2b "Seth, [man of God]: Do not labour to supplicate for the oil which issues forth from the tree—that oil of joy—to anoint your father Adam.	41(13):2b "Man of God, do not labor to supplicate thus concerning the olive tree, in order to anoint your father Adam.	

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13:3 Οὐ γενή- σεται σοι νῦν [ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν. τότε ἀναστήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης τῆς μεγάλης ὅσοι ἔσονται λαὸς ἄγιος. 13:4 [Τότε αὐτοῖς δοθήσεται πᾶσα εὐφροσύνη τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ ἔσται ὁ θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν. 13:5 [Καὶ οὐκ ἔσονται ἔτι ἐξαμαρτάνοντες ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἀρθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡ καρδία ἢ πονηρὰ καὶ δοθήσεται αὐτοῖς καρδία συνετιζομένη τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ λατρεῦν θεῷ μόνῳ.]	42:1 [Quia nullo modo poteris ex eo accipere, nisi in novissimis diebus, quando completi fuerint quinque milia et quingenti anni. 42:2 [Tunc veniet super terram amantissimus rex dei resuscitare corpus Adae et cum eo resuscitare cor- pora mortuorum. 42:3 [Et ipse filius dei veniens baptizabitur in flumine Jordanis et dum egressus fuerit de aqua Jordanis, tunc de oleo misericordiae suae perunguet omnes credentes in se. 42:4 [Et erit oleum misericordiae in generationem et generationem eis, qui renascendi sunt ex aqua et spiritu sancto in vitam aeternam. 42:5 [Tunc descendens in terris amantissimus filius dei Christus introducet patrem tuum Adam in par- adisum ad arborem misericordiae.] NIC	42(13):3a Այլ այլ ոչ ունի լինել, բայց սպա ի ժամանակին իբրեւ լնուն եւ կատարին ամբ կատարածին. 42(13):3b յայնժամ եկեաց սիրելին Քրիստոս. յարուցանել զմարմինն Ադամայ. վասն յանցանաց նորա որ եղին: 42(13):3c եկեաց ի Թորանան եւ մկրտեացի ի Նմանէ եւ յորժամ եցէ նա ի ջրոյ անտի. յայնժամ եկեաց Միքայէլ եւ խղովն ցնծութեան ստեց զնոր Ադամ նովաւ. 42(13):4 եւ սպա յնտ աշտրիկ դովին աւրինակաւ լինիցի ամենայն զազանաց երկրի որ յարիցեն ի յարութեան, եւ լինիցին արժանատրք մտանել ի դրախտ անդ. եւ եւ ամբից զնոսա խղով այնուրիկ: 42(13):5 [Tunc descendens in terris amantissimus filius dei Christus introducet patrem tuum Adam in par- adisum ad arborem misericordiae.] NIC	42(13):3a აწვე არა ყოფად არს, არამედ მერმეთა უამთა, ოდეს ადესრუ- ლოს ხელთათსი წელიო. 42(13):3b ხოლო მეხელთათსესა და ნახევარსა წელი- მთვიდეს ქუე- ყანად საყუარელი იგი ძე ღმრთისაი, ქრისტე, აღვდებად გუამისა მის აღამისა დაცემისა მისგან გარდასლვითა მცნებათაითა. 42(13):3c მთვიდეს და ნათელ-იღოს იორდანესა მდინარესა. და ოდეს მიერ წყლით გამოვიდეს ზეთითურთ, და სცხოს იგი მას 43(13):4 და ყოველთა ნათესავთა მისთა, რათა აღვცნე უამსა მას აღვგომისასა. თქუა უფალმან: და შევიყუანნე მუნ სამოთხედ და ვსცხო მათ საცხებელი ესე.	

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13:3 For it shall not be yours now, [but at the end of the times. Then shall all flesh be raised up from Adam till that great day,—all that shall be of the holy people. 13:4 [Then shall the delights of the Garden be given to them and God shall be in .their midst 13:5 [And they shall no longer sin before his face, for the evil heart shall be taken from them and there shall be given them a heart understanding the good and to serve God only.]	42:1 [<i>For in no wise can you receive any until the last days, after 5500 years have passed.</i> 42:2 [<i>Then the most loving king of God will come upon the earth to resurrect the body of Adam and, with him, the bodies of the dead.</i> 42:3 [<i>The very Son of God, when he comes, will be baptized in the river Jordan, and when he comes forth from the water of the Jordan, he will then anoint all who believe in him with the oil of his mercy.</i> 42:4 [<i>This oil of mercy will be from generation to generation on those who are reborn of water and the Holy Spirit into eternal life.</i> 42:5 [<i>Then, the most loving Son of God will descend into the earth and lead your father, Adam, back into the Garden to the tree of mercy.</i>] NIC	42(13):3a This cannot be now: but then, at that time when the years of the end are filled and completed, 42(13):3b then the beloved Christ will come to resurrect Adam's body, because of his sins which took place. 42(13):3c He will come to the Jordan and be baptized [by] him, and when he will come forth from the water, then Michael will come and anoint the new Adam with the oil of joy. 42(13):4 Then, after that, it shall happen in the same fashion to all the wild beasts of the earth, who will arise in resurrection and be worthy of entering the Garden. I shall anoint them with that oil.	42(13):3a This is not to be right now but in the future times, when five thousand years have been completed. Then, at the 5500 year 42(13):3b the beloved Son of God, Christ, will come upon the earth to re[[urrect]] Adam's body from his fall, because of the transgression of the commands. 42(13):3c He will come and he will be baptized in the river Jordan. And as soon as he will have come forth from the water, with the (anointing) of oil, he will anoint him, him 43(13):4 and all his descendants, so that they will rise at the time of the resurrection. The Lord said, 'I will admit them into the Garden and I will anoint them with that unction.'	
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GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
13:6 Σὺ δὲ πάλιν πορεύου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα σου, ἐπειδὴ ἐπληρώθη τὸ μέτρον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ εἰς ὧν ἡμερῶν ἐξέρχομένης δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, μέλλεις θεάσασθαι τὴν ἀνοδὸν αὐτῆς φοβερὰν.	43:1 Tu autem, Seth, vade ad patrem tuum Adam, quoniam completum est tempus vitae illius. adhuc sex dies tunc exhibit anima eius de corpore et, cum exierit, videbis magna mirabilia in caelo et in terra et in luminaribus caeli.	43(13):6 Բայց դու գնա առ Ադամ հայրն քո. քանզի լցան ժամանակք նորա. մինչև ցերիս ատորս: (ոմիս) տեսանել զարմանալիս բազումս յերկինս եւ յերկրի եւ ի (լուսատորս) ամենայն որ յերկինս է:	43(13):6 ხოლო აჲ მივედ მაძისა შენისა ადამისა, რამეთუ აღსრულე-ბულ არიან დღენი ეამთა მისთანი, სამ დღე გამოვიდეს სული გუდამისაგან მისისა და თხილნეს საკვირველებანი მრავალნი ცათა შინა.	16-17.2b чловѣче божи, възврати се къ отцю своему, понеже приближилъ се къ тебѣ днь сирѣти, и не имать врачѣбъ.
14:1a Εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ἄγγελος ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν.	43:2 Haec dicens Michahel statim recessit a Seth.	43(14):1a Զայս իբրիս խառնցաւ հրեշտակն, քաղաքի եղիւ ընդ ծառով դրախտին:	43(14):1a ესე რაო თქუა ანგელოზმან მან, და დაეღუარა ნერგსა მას ქუე-შე სამთხისასა.	16-17.3 и даде ему .г. проты (от дрѣва, отъ негоже изгнанъ бысть) . певьги, кедръ и кypressъ. 16-17.4 И въземъ Сидъ проты и принесе къ отцю своему.
14:1b Ἦλθε δὲ Σήθ και ἡ Εὕα εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν ὅπου ἔκειτο ὁ Ἀδάμ.	43:3 et reversi sunt Eva et Seth. ac tulerunt secum [III+ ramusculum et odor]III odora-menta hoc est nardum et crocum et calaminthen et cinamomum. [III+***]legenda de ligno crucis***]III 44:1 Et cum per-venissent Seth et mater eius ad Adam dixerunt ei [III+omnia, quae gesta fuerant in via, et dixit]III, quia bestia serpens morsit Seth.	44(14):1b եկին այնուհետեւ Սէթ եւ Եւա ի տաղաարն ուր Ադամ կար հիանդացեալ. իջեալ Ադամ վասն ծառոյն կերակրոյն յանցմանն,	43(14):1b ხოლო სეით და ევა წარვიდეს ტალავარსა მას ადამისსა. და ტიროდა ადამ წყულულებასა მას მხეცისასა	16-17.5 и видѣ Адамъ и позна и въздѣхнувъ зѣло и свѣить себѣ вѣньць и възложи на главоу свою 16-17.6 и призыва чѣда своя и вѣнучета ихъ.

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13:6 But do go back to your father since the term of his life is filled in three days, and when his soul goes forth you will see its awesome ascent."	43:1 But you, Seth. go to your father, Adam, for the time of his life is complete. Six days hence, his soul will go forth from his body, and when it does, you will see great wonders in heaven and on earth, and in the lights of heaven."	43(13):6 But you, go to Adam your father, for his times will be full in three days and you [have] to see many wonders in heavens and upon earth and in all [luminaries] which are in the heavens."	43(13):6 But now, go to your father Adam, because the days of his times are completed. (In) three days his soul will go out of his body and numerous wonders will be seen in the heavens."	16-17.2b "Man of God, go back to your father, for his day of death is drawing near, and there is no cure for him."
14:1a After the angel said these things it left them.	43:2 Saying this, Michael at once withdrew from Seth. 43:3 Seth and Eve went home, carrying with them [III+a small branch and incense]III spices — nard, crocus, calaminth, and cinnamon. [III +*** Legend of the Wood of the Cross***]III	43(14):1a When the angel had spoken this, he disappeared behind a tree of the Garden.	43(14):1a When the angel had told that to him, (immediately) he was hidden underneath the plant of the Garden.	16-17.3 And he gave him three branches (from the tree, on account of which he was expelled): from the spruce, from the cedar, and from the cyprus. 16-17.4 And Seth took the branches and brought them to his father.
14:1b And Seth and Eve came to the hut where Adam was lying.	44:1 When Seth and his mother reached Adam, they said to him [III+ all that had been done on the way, and said]III that the beast, the serpent, had bitten Seth.	44(14):1b Thenceforth, Seth and Eve came to the hut where Adam lay sick. Adam remembered about the transgression of the eating of the tree,	44(14):1b Now, Seth and Eve departed for Adam's hut. And Adam wept because of the wound of the beast	16-17.5 And Adam saw and recognized them, and with a heavy sigh he coiled a wreath, and set it on his head, 16-17.6 and [Adam] called his sons and grandchildren to him.

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14:2 Λέγει δὲ Ἀδὰμ τῇ Εὕᾳ· ὦ Εὗᾶ, τί κατειργάσω ἐν ἡμῖν; Ἐπήνεγκας ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὄργην μεγάλην, ἥτις ἐστὶ θάνατος κατακυριεύων παντὸς τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν. 14:3 Λέγει Ἀδὰμ τῇ Εὕᾳ· Κάλεσον πάντα τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα τῶν τέκνων ἡμῶν καὶ ἀνάγγειλον αὐτοῖς τὸν τρόπον τῆς παραβάσεως ἡμῶν.	44:2 Et dixit Adam ad Evam: quid fecisti? induxisti nobis plagam magnam, delictum et peccatum in omnem generationem nostram. et hoc quod fecisti post mortem meam refert filios tuos, 44:3 quoniam qui exsurgent a nobis laborantes non sufficient sed deficient et maledicent nos dicentes: 44:4 quoniam omnia mala intulerunt nobis parentes nostri, qui ab initio fuerunt. 44:5 haec audiens Eva coepit lacrimare et ingemescere. [III+***]legenda de ligno crucis***]III.	44(14):2 <i>Եւ ասէ ցեւա. Ոհ, զի՞նչ արարիր. կամ որպիսի ցաւ ածեիր ի վերայ մեր եւ ի վերայ զսասկի մերոյ.</i> 44(14):3a <i>արդ այսուհետեւ որպէս զիս՞ող եղիւ յանցանքն պատմեսցիս որդեց թոց.</i> <i>զի լքայ ասսիկ ի պակասել զպրութ(եանս) իմոյ.</i> 44(14):3b <i>զի գուցէ իբրեւ մեռանիցիմք, եկեսցեն աշխատութիւնք ի վերայ երկրի. եւ աշխատեսցին ամենայն ազգ որ եղեալ են ի մէ(ն)ք. եւ նզովեսցեն զմեզ եւ ասասցեն եթէ</i> 44(14):4 <i>հայր մեր եւ մայր մեր ածին զ[չարիս գայս] ի վերայ մեր:</i>	44(14):2 და ჰრქუა ევას: “რაი მყო ჩუენ, რამეთუ მოიწია ჩუენ ზედა გუებაი, და ყოველისა ნათესავისა ჩუენისა. 44(14):3a რამეთუ რაი არიან შეცოდებანი შენნი, აღწყვენ შეილთა შენთა, 44(14):3b რამეთუ ჩუენ მოვკლდეთ, მე და შენ, და განუფინენ ჭირნი ქუეყანასა ზედა. ყოველნი ნათესავნი, რომელნი არიან გაბოსრულნი ჩუენ- გან, გუწყევდენ ჩუენ და თქუან, ვითარმედ: 44(14):4 “მაჰა-ღელათა ჩუენთა მოიღეს ჭირი ესე ჩუენ ზედა”.
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14:2 And Adam said to Eve: "O Eve, What have you done to us? You have brought great wrath upon us which is death which will rule over our entire race." 14:3 And Adam said to Eve: "Call all our children and the children of our children and tell them the manner of our transgression."	44:2 Adam said to Eve: "What have you done? You have brought on us a great affliction, fault and sin unto all our generations. What you have done will be passed on to your children after my death, 44:3 for those who arise from us will not have all they need from their labors, but will be lacking. They will curse us, saying: 44:4 "Our parents, who were from the beginning, brought all these evils on us." 44:5 Hearing this, Eve began to weep and moan. [***III + Legend of the Wood of the Cross***]	44(14):2 and he said to Eve, "Oh, what did you do? What sort of pain did you bring upon us and upon our seed? 44(14):3a Now, then, tell your children how the sin took place; for, behold, I am weakened unto the exhaustion of my strength. 44(14):3b For, perhaps, when we die, toils will come upon the earth and all the generations who will issue from u[s] will labor. And they will curse us and say, 44(14):4 'Our father and our mother brought [these evils] upon us.'"	44(14):2 and he told Eve, "What has been done with us? For an evil has come upon us and upon all our descendants. 44(14):3a Indeed, tell your children what your sins are: 44(14):3b for we will die, you and I, and misfortunes will spread over the earth. All the descendants who have come forth from us will curse us saying, 44(14):4 'It was our father and mother who brought this misfortune upon us.'"	
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15:1 Τότε λέγει ἡ Εὐα πρὸς αὐτοῦς· Ἀκούσατε, πάντα τὰ τέκνα μου καὶ τὰ τέκνα τῶν τέκνων μου, καὶ γὰρ ἀναγγελῶ ὑμῖν πῶς ἠπάτησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ ἐχθρός.		[44](15):1 Յայնժամ լալ սկսաւ նա, և ասէ. նկայք յապրողք ինձ և պատմեցից ձեզ զառաքի գալս, որպէս զհարդ եղին յանցանք մեր:	[44](15):1 მამონ ტინოლად იწყო ევა და თქვა: "ისმინეთ აწ ჩემი, შვილნო ჩემნო, და ვითხრა თქვენ, ვითარ შევიტყუეხენოთ..	18-20.1 Събравъшими се чедомъ его, и бысть въсѣхъ числомъ двѣ хилядѣ людемъ, и въп рочише глаголюще: о мати наша, ты вѣса знаеши отца нашего Адама съкровенна и обьявляюща, повѣждь намъ, мати наша, чѣто се дивное видимъ; 18-20.2 тогда Къва рече: прѣпоручаю вамъ, чѣда моя, яко прѣльсти насъ врагъ, да не прѣльстити и васъ прѣзь законъ нашъ. 18-20.3 Адамъ блядѣше раи отъ въсточныя страны и съвернюю страну, азъ же съблѣдахъ западную и пладную страну.
15:2 Ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ φυλάσσειν ἡμᾶς τὸν παρ᾽αδείσων, [ἐφυλάττομεν] ἕκαστος ἡμῶν τὸ λαχόν τι αὐτῷ μέρος ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφύλαττον ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ μου νότον καὶ δῦσιν.		[44](15):2 Ի ժամանակին յորժամ պահէր հար ձեր զվիճակ բաժանի իւրոյ զոր տուեալ էր նմա յԱստուծոյ, և ես պահէի իմում վիճակին ի կողմանէ հարաւոյ (և արեւմտից)	[44](15):2 და იყო მამაი თქუენი სცვიდა თვისსა სამთხისა ნაწილსა აღმოსავალით და ჩრდილოთი, ხოლო მე ვსცევდი თვისსა ნაწილსა დასავა-ლით და სამხრით. [44](15):3 და მოვიდა ეშმაკი ნაწილსა აღმოსასა. და იყვნენ მუნ მხეცნი.	
15:3 Ἐπορεύθη δὲ ὁ διάβολος εἰς τὸν κλῆρον τοῦ Ἀδάμ, ὅπου ἦν τὰ θηρία,		[44](15):3 գնաց Մատանայ ի վիճակ հար ձերոյ, ուր էին գազանքն, կռչեաց զամեն և ասէ քնա. Արի եկ դու առ իս,	[44](15):3 და მამალი ყოველი მისცა ადამს და თვითთუელად ვზრდიდით მათ.	
15:4 ἔπειδὴ τὰ θηρία ἐμέρισεν ὁ θεός, τὰ ἀρσενικά πάντα δέδωκε τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ θηλυκὰ πάντα δέδωκεν ἑμοί. [καὶ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔτρεφ.]		[44](15):4 քանզի գազանս բաժանեաց Աստուած և ես մեզ զարտան ես հար ձերոյ և զգզան ես ինձ, և անուցանեաք մեք ըստ իւրաքանչիւր որում հասեալ էր:	[44](15):4 რამეთუ მხეცენიცა განვეყვენა უფალმა: მამალი ყოველი მისცა ადამს და თვითთუელად ვზრდიდით მათ.	18-20.4 Адамъ съблѣдаше свѣри мѡжьскыи поль, азъ же съблѣдахъ свѣри женъскыи поль.

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

15:1 Then said Eve to them: "Hear all my children and children's children and I will relate to you how the enemy deceived us.		[44](15):1 Then Eve began to weep and said, "Come near me and I will tell you this way, how our sin took place.	[44](15):1 Then Eve began to cry and she said, "Now hearken to me, my children, and I will tell you how we were tricked.	18-20.1 When all his children had assembled themselves--and they were altogether nearly two thousand people--they bid Eve, saying, "Our Mother, you know every secret and open thing of our father Adam, tell us, our mother, what does this incredible manifestation which we see mean?" 18-20.2 Then Eve said, "I will share with you, my children, in what manner our enemy deceived us, so that he will not be able to incite you as well against our law.
15:2 It befell that we were guarding the Garden, each of us [was guarding] the portion allotted to us from God. Now I guarded in my lot, the west and the south.		[44](15):2 At the time when your father was guarding the lot of his portion which had been given to him by God and I was guarding in my lot, at the southern [and western side],	[44](15):2 It happened, (then), that your father was guarding his portion of the Garden, the east and the north, while I was guarding my own portion, the west and the south.	18-20.3 Adam watched the eastern and northern sides of Paradise, I guarded the western and southern side.'
15:3 But the Devil went to Adam's lot, where the male creatures were.		[44](15):3 Satan went to your father's lot, where the wild beasts were. He summoned the serpent and said to him, 'Arise, come to me!'	[44](15):3 And the Devil came to Adam's portion. And there were beasts there,	
15:4 For God divided the creatures; all the males he gave to your father and all the females he gave to me. [Each of us guarded his own portion.]		[44](15):4 For God had divided the wild beasts and given them to us--the male ones he gave to your father and the female ones he gave to me. We used to nourish them according to whichever of us it had been allotted.	[44](15):4 for the Lord had also divided the beasts between us. All (that were) male He had given to Adam, and all (that were) female, He had given to me. And we each fed our own ones.	18-20.4 Adam guarded the male animals, I tended the female animals.

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

16:1 Καὶ ἔλαλθε τῷ ὄφει ὁ διάβολος λέγων· Ἀνάστα, ἔλθε πρὸς με [καὶ εἶπω σοι ῥῆμα ἐν ᾧ ὠφειληθῆς.] Καὶ ἀναστὰς ἦλθε πρὸς αὐτόν.

16:2 Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ διάβολος· Ἀκούω ὅτι φρονιμώτερος εἶ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ θηρία. [Ἐγὼ δὲ ἦλθον κατανοῆσαί σε· εὖρον δὲ σε μερίζονα πάντων τῶν θηρίων] καὶ ὁμίλῳ σοι· [ὁμῶς προσκυνεῖς τὸν ἑλαχιστότερον]

[44](16):1 *Եւ սաէ Սատանայ ցամաւն. Արի եկ դու առ իս եւ սանմ քիզ քան մի ինչ որ շահ լինի քեզ:*

[44](16):2a *Յայնժամ եկն առ նա ամեն, եւ սաէ ցնա Սատանայ. Լսեմ զի իմաստունն ես դու քան գամենայն գազանս, եւ ես եկի տեսանել զքեզ (եւ գոի զքեզ յամենայն գազանս). զի չիք նման հանճարոյ քո. որպէս եւ Ադամ տալլ լեռնակուր ամենայն գազանաց, նոյնպէս եւ դու:*

[44](16):2b *Եւ ապա յորժամ գնացին գազանքն երկիր պազանեի Ադամայ. գնաց եւ Սատանայ ընդ նոսա եւ սաէ ցամաւն. Ընդէ՞ր դու երկիր պազանես Ադամայ ամենայն առաւատ. յառաջ դու ես երեւել քան դատ. զիս՞ող երկիր պազանես առաջինդ յետնոյ, ալլ պարտ է փոքուն երկիր պազանեի առաջին,*

[44](16):1 ოდეს მოვიდა ეშმაკი ნაწილსა მას მამისა თქუენისასა, მოუწოლა ეშმაკმან გუელსა მას და ჰრქუა· „აღდეგ და მოვედ ჩემლა და გაუწყო შენ სარგებელი სიტყვისაო“.

[44](16):2a მაშინ მოვიდა გუელი იგი და ჰრქუა ეშმაკმან გუელსა მას, ვითარმედ· „უბრძნეს ხარ შენ ყოველთა პირუტყუთა და მოსრულ ვარ გან“ ცლად მეცნეირებისა შენისა, რამეთუ აღამამან მისცის საზრდელი ყოველთა პირუტყუთა, ეგრეცა შენ ზედა,

[44](16):2b ოდეს-იგი მოვიდან ყოველნი პირუტყუნი თაყუანის-ცემად აღამისა დღითი-ღღე და დღითი-ღღილად . ყოველსა ღღესა მიხვიდი შენცა თაყუანის-ცემად. პირველად მისსა შენ დაბადებული ხარ, დიდი ესე, და კნინსა მას თაყუანის-სცემ!

18-20.5 и тако вьниде дия воль вь страну ону, отъ коуду бѣше Адамъ, и призыва змию къ себѣ и рече ѿи · ты еси лмбовьна оу бога, та ра(звѣ) всѣхъ вещей тебѣ хощеть вѣровати .

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

16:1 And the Devil spoke to the serpent saying, "Rise up, come to me [and I will tell you a word whereby you may have profit]." And he arose and came to him.		[44](16):1 Satan said to the serpent, 'Arise, come to me and I will tell you something which is of profit to you.'	[44](16):1 When the Devil came to your father's portion the Devil summoned the serpent and told him, "Arise and come to me, and I will teach you a useful word."	18-20.5 And so the enemy entered in from that side on which Adam was, and he called the serpent to himself and said to it, 'You are loved by God, therefore she (Eve) will give credence to you before any other creature.'
16:2 And the Devil said to him: "I hear that you are wiser than all the beasts, [I have come to observe you. I have found you greater than all the animals] and I have come to converse with you. [Nevertheless you worship the lesser.]		[44](16):2a Then the serpent came to him and Satan said to it, 'I hear that you are wiser than all the wild animals and I have come to see you. [I found] that there is none like [you] in your cunning [among all the animals]. Even as Adam gave nourishment to all the wild beasts, so also you did." [44](16):2b And then, when the wild beasts went to worship Adam, Satan went with them and said to the serpent, 'Why do you worship Adam every morning? You came into being before him: why is it that you, who are the former one, worship the later? Rather should the younger worship the older.	[44](16):2a Then, the serpent came and the Devil told the serpent, "I ([hear]) that you are wiser than all the animals and I have come to test your knowledge, for Adam gives food to all the animals, thus also to you.	
			[44](16):2b When then all the animals come to bow down before Adam from day to day and from morning to morning, every day, you also come to bow down. You were created before him, as old (as you) are, and you bow down before this younger one!	

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
16:3 Διὰ τί ἐσθίεις ἐκ τῶν ζιζανίων τοῦ Ἀδάμ [καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐχὶ] ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου; Ἀνάστα καὶ ποιήσωμεν αὐτὸν ἐκβληθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου ὥς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐξεβλήθημεν δι' αὐτοῦ.		[44](16):3 <i>ընդ"ը հրկիր պառաննս, կամ կերակրիս դու լնդամայ, եւ ոչ կերակրիս դու ի պտղոյ դրախտին: Աղէ, արի, եկ դու առ իս եւ լուր զոր ինչ ասեմ քեզ. հանցուք զնրամ ի դրախտէս, որպէս զմեզ. զի դարձեալ մեք մտցուք ի դրախտ անդր:</i>	[44](16):3 ღა რაისა სჯამ ნარჩვესა აღამისსა და ცოლისა მისისასა, და არა ნაყოფთა კეთილთა სამოთხისათა? არამელ მოვედო და ისმინე ჩემი რაითა გამოვჰხადოლდ აღამ გარეშე ზღუდესა სამოთხისასა, ვითარცა ჩუენ გარე ვართ. და, ვინ უწყის, ვითარ ჩუენ ნუღუჟუე შევიდეთ სამოთხესა?.	
16:4a Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ὄφεις· Φοβοῦμαι μήποτε ὀργισθῇ μοι ὁ θεός.		[44](16):4a <i>եւ ասէ ասն. Ո՞րպէս եւ կամ զիս"րդ մարթնացուք հանել զնա ի դրախտէն:</i>	[44](16):4a და ჰრქუა გუელმან:"ვითარ გამოვჰხადოთ?"	
16:4b Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ διάβολος· Μὴ φοβοῦ· γενοῦ μοι σκευὸς καγὼ λαλήσω διὰ στόματός σου ῥήματα πρὸς τὸ ἐξαπατηῆσαι αὐτούς.		[44](16):4b <i>Ասէ Մատանայ ցաւն. Լեր դու ինձ ի կերպս քո քնար, եւ ես խաւանցայց ընդ բերան քո բան, որպէս մարթնացուք մեք աստեղ:</i>	[44](16):4b მიუგო ეშმაკმან და ჰრქუა გუელსა მას:"საჭურველ მექმედ და მე ვეძეყოდი დედაცესა მას პირითა შენითა სიტყვითა, რომლითა შევატყუოთ".	18-20.6 и наущи ю въсе и посылѧ ю къ мѣнѣ .

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
16:3 Why do you eat of the tares of Adam [and his wife and not] of the Garden? Rise up and we will cause him to be cast out of the Garden, even as we were cast out through him." 16:4a The serpent said to him, "I fear lest the Lord be wroth with me." 16:4b The Devil said to him: "Fear not, only be my vessel and I will speak through your mouth words to deceive them."		[44](16):3 Why do you worship (Adam) or (why) are you fed by Adam and are not fed by the fruit of the Garden? Come on, rise up, come to me and hear what I say to you. Let us expel Adam from the Garden like us so that we may re-enter the Garden.' [44](16):4a The serpent said, 'In what way or how can we expel him from the Garden?' [44]16:4b Satan said to the serpent, 'Be you, in your form, a lyre for me and I will pronounce speech through your mouth, so that we may be able to help. "	[44](16):3 And why do you eat (food) inferior [to Adam's and his spouse's and not the good fruit of the Garden? But come and hearken to me so that we may have Adam expelled from the wall of the Garden just as we are outside. Perhaps we can reenter somehow to the Garden." [44](16):4a And the serpent told him, "How can we have them excluded?" [44]16:4b The Devil replied and told the serpent, "Be a sheath for me and I will speak to the woman through your mouth a word by which we will trick them."	18-20.6 And he instructed it in everything and sent it to me.

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

17:1 Καὶ εὐθέως ἐκρεμάσθη ἐκ τῶν τειχέων τοῦ παραδείσου. Καὶ ὅτε ἀνῆλθον οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνῆσαι, τότε ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐγένετο ἐν εἰδεί ἁγγέλου καὶ ὕμνει τὸν θεὸν καθάπερ οἱ ἄγγελοι.		[44](17):1 <i>Եկին այնուհետև երկրքանն առ իս, եւ կախեցին զոտս իւրեանց զորմով դարստին: Իբրեւ վերացան հրեշտակքն յերկրպագութիւն Տեառն, եւ յարժամ եղև Սատանայ ի կերպս հրեշտակի եւ արհնէր գևատուած զայրհուքիսս հրեշտակաց. խոնարհեցալ ես առ որմովն, եւ միտ դնէի աւրհուքեանց նորայ.</i>	[44](17):1 და მოვიდეს ორივე ერთად, და მოჰვიდეს თავი მათი ზღუდესა სამოთხისასა, მას უამსა, ოდეს აღვიდეს ანგელოზნი თაყუანის-ცემად ღმრთისა, მაშინ გარდაიქცა ეშმაკი იგი ხატად ანგელოზისად, გალობდა გალობითა ანგელოზთაითა და მე ვიჭვირობდი ზღუდელ მიმართ სამოთხის-ად სემნად გალობისად.	18-20.7 змѣя мѣнѣши, яко аггелъ естъ, и прииде къ мѣнѣ .
17:2 Καὶ παρέκυσεν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν ὅμοιον ἁγγέλου.		[44](17):2a <i>Հայեցալ եւ տեսի զես ի նմանութիւն հրեշտակի. դարձեալ իբրեւ հայեցալ եւ ոչ տեսի զես:</i> [44](17):2b <i>Գնաց այնուհետև եւ կռչեաց դառն, եւ ասէ ցնս. Արի եկ դու առ իս զի մտից ի քեզ եւ խառնեցայց ընդ բերան քո, որչափ եւ պարտ իցէ ինձ խառնել:</i>	[44](17):2a გაწვიცადე და ვიხილე იგი მსგავსად ანგელოზისა. და მეყ-სეუღლად უჩინო იქმნა, [44](17):2b რამეთუ წარვიდა იგი მოყუანებდალ გუელისა მის და ჰრეკა მას: აღდეგ და მოვედ და ვიყო მე შენ თანა და ვიტყოდო მე პიროთა შენი-თა, რაი ჯერ-ანს სიტყუად შენდა.	18-20.8a и дия волю сътвори се аггелъскимъ образомъ и прииде свѣтль велико, поущѣ пѣснь аггелъскому, яко и аггелъ .

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

17:1 And instantly he hung himself from the wall of the Garden, and when the angels ascended to worship God, then Satan appeared in the form of an angel and sang hymns like the angels. 17:2a And he bent over the wall and I saw him, like an angel.		[44](17):1 Then the two of them came to me and hung their feet around the wall of the Garden. When the angels ascended to the worship of the Lord, at that time Satan took on the form of an angel and began to praise God with angelic praises. I knelt down by the wall and attended to his praises. [44](17):2a I looked and saw him in the likeness of an angel; when I looked again, I did not see him. [44](17):2b Then he went and summoned the serpent and said to him, 'Arise, come to me so that I may enter into you and speak through your mouth as much as I will need to say.'	[44](17):1 And the two of them came together and they allowed their heads to hang on the wall of the Garden at the time when the angels had ascended to prostrate before God. Then the Devil changed himself into the image of an angel; he sang the praises of the angels. And I was gazing in the direction of the wall to hear the praises. [44](17):2a I stared, and I saw him like an angel and at once he became invisible [44](17):2b for he had gone forth to bring the serpent. And he told him, 'Arise and come and I will be with you and I will speak through your mouth that which is proper for you to say.'	18-20.7 The serpent believed that it was an angel, and came to me. 18-20.8a And the Devil had changed to the form of an angel and came here with radiance, singing an angel's song, just like an angel,
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GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

Καὶ λέγει μοι· Σὺ εἶ ἡ Εὕα· Καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· Ἐγώ εἰμι. Καὶ λέγει μοι· Τί ποιεῖς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ;

17:3 Καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· Ὁ θεὸς ἔθετο ἡμᾶς ὥστε φυλάσσειν καὶ ἐσθίειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

17:4 Ἀπεκρίθη δὲ διάβολος διὰ στόματος τοῦ ὄφως· Καλῶς ποιεῖτε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐσθίετε ἀπὸ παντὸς φυτοῦ.

[44](17):2c
Յայժմամ եղիւ նմա
առնն եւ քնար, եւ
եկն դարձեալ ի
պարիսպ
դրախտին.
աղաղակեաց եւ
ասէ. Ով կին, դու
որ ի դրախտդ
փափկութեան
կուրացեալ ես.
արի եկ դու առ իս
եւ ասացից քեզ
բանս ինչ:

[44](17):2d եւ
իրբն գնացի առ
նա, ասէ ցիս. Դու
ե՞ս ես. եւ
ասացի. Այո, ես եմ.
Պատասխանի ետ
եւ ասէ. Զի՞նչ
գործես ի
դրախտի ալդը:

[44](17):3 Ասեմ
ցես. Աստուած եղ
գմեզ ի դրախտի
պահպանութեան:

[44](17):4
Պատասխանի ետ
Սատանայ եւ ասէ
ցիս ընդ բերան
սահին. Բարի է
գործդ, բայց աղէ
նուէք դուք
կամենայն
ծառուղի որ ի
դրախտի աստէն:

[44](17):2c სახე
ექმნა მას
გუელი იგი
ზღუდისა
სამოთხისად. და
შთაე- ცუა
გუელსა მას
უმბაკი,
შთამოჰკიდა
თავი თვისი
ზღუდესა მას
სამოთხი-სასა,
ღაღად-ყო და
თქუა. ჰაი
შენდა
ღელაჰაცო,
რომელი-ეგე
ხარ სამო-თხესა
ფუფუნებისასა.
რომელი-იგი
ბრმა ხარ, მოვედ
ჩემდა და გარქუ
რაიმე სიტყუაი
საიდუმლოთი.
[44](17):2d და
ვითარ მივედ,
მრქუა მე. ევა!"
და ვარქუა. "აჰა
ესეა ვარ".
მომიგო და
მრქუა მე. რასა
ჴამ შენ
სამოთხესა
შინა?"

[44](17):3 მიუგე
და ვარქუა.
ღმერთმან
ღამადგინა ცვაღ
სამოთხისა და
ჴამად.
[44](17):4 მომიგო
უმბაკან მან და
მრქუა მე
პიროთა.
გუელისათა:
კეთილად
სჴამოთ თქუენ
ნაყოფსა
ყოვლისაგან
ხისა, რომელ
არს სამოთხე-სა
მას შინა?"

18-20.8b и рече
къ мнѣ
вѣса ли
райская
снѣдѹете;

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
		[44](17):2c At that time the serpent became a lyre for him, and he came again to the wall of the Garden. He cried out and said, 'Oh, woman, you who are blind in this Garden of delight, arise come to me and I will say some words to you.'	[44](17):2c He took on the form of the serpent (to go) close to the wall of the Garden and the Devil slipped inside the serpent and he allowed his head to hang on the wall of the Garden. He cried out and said, 'Shame on you, woman, you who are in the the Garden of delight (and) who are blind! Come to me and I will tell you a certain secret word.'	
And he said to me: "Are you Eve?" "And I said to him, "I am." And he said to me, "What do you do in the Garden?"		[44](17):2d When I went to him, he said to me, 'Are you Eve?' I said, 'Yes, I am.' He replied and said, 'What do you do in [the Garden]?'	[44](17):2d And when I had come, he said to me, 'Eve!' and I said to him, 'Here I am.' He replied to me and told me, 'What do you do in the Garden?'"	
17:3 And I said to him, "God set us to guard and to eat of it."		[44](17):3 I said to him, 'God set us to guard the Garden',	[44](17):3 I replied to him and told him, 'God has set me to guard the Garden and eat (of it).'	
17:4 The Devil answered through the mouth of the serpent: "You do well but you do not eat of every plant."		[44](17):4 Satan replied and said to me through the mouth of the serpent, 'This work is good, but come, do you eat of [all] the trees which are in the Garden?'	[44](17):4 The Devil replied to me and told me through the mouth of the serpent, 'Well (done!) Do you eat the fruit of every tree which is in the Garden?'	18-20.8b and said to me: 'Do you eat from everything in Paradise?'

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
17:5 Κάγω εἶπον· Ναὶ, ἀπὸ πάντων ἐσθίομεν, παρὲξ ἐνὸς μόνου ὃ ἐστὶ μέσον τοῦ παράδεισου περὶ οὗ ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς μὴ ἐσθίεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ θανάτῳ ἀποθανείσθε.		[44](17):5 Ասեմ Այո, յամենայնէ կերակրիմք. բայց միայն ի միտքէն ծառայ որ է իսկ ի մէջ դրահատիս, վասն որոյ պատուիրեաց Աստուած մեզ թէ մի կերակրիք ի նմանէ. ապա եթէ ուտիցէք մահու մեռանցիք:	[44](17):5 მოუგე ლა ვარკუთ: ჰე, ვჭამთ ყოველთსავე ნაყოფსა, ვარნა ერ-თისა მის ხისა, რომელ არს შუა სამთხესა ამას, რამეთუ ღმერთმან გუამცნო ჩუენ, ვითარმედ ნუ სჭამთ მისგანსა, რითა არა სიკუდილითა მოკუდეთ.	18-20.9 азь мьнеши, яко аггелъ есть, понеже прииде отъ Адамовы страны, и глаголахъ къ немюу · єдино дрѣво рече намъ господь не ясти, еже єсть по срѣдѣ рая.

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

17:5 And I said: "Yea, we eat of all, save one only, which is in the middle of the Garden, concerning which, God charged us not to eat of it, for, you shall die the death."		[44](17):5 I said to him, 'Yes, we eat of all of them ex- cept only of that one tree which is in the very middle of the Garden, con- cerning which God commanded us, "Do not eat of it, for if you eat you will surely die."'	[44](17):5 I replied to him and told him, 'Yes, [we] eat all the fruit except for only one tree which is here in the middle of the Garden, for God ordered us, 'Do not eat of it, so that you will not die a death.'	18-20.9 And at that time I took him for an angel, because he had come from Adam's side, so I said to him, 'From one tree the Lord commanded us not to eat, the one which stands in the middle of Paradise.'
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GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

18:1 Τότε λέγει μοι ὁ ὄφης· Ζῆ ὁ θεὸς ὅτι λυποῦμαι περὶ ὑμῶν· [ὅτι ὡς κτήνη ἐστέ.] οὐ γὰρ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν. Δεῦρο οὖν καὶ φάγε νόησον τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ ξύλου.		[44](18):1 <i>Յայնժամ ասէ ասն. Կենդան է Տէր, զի մեծ հոգամ վասն [ձեր] զի իբրեւ գանաստն էք, վասն զի խորեաց Աստուած ի ձէնք, այլ ոչ կամիմ եւ եթէ տգետք լինիցիք. արէ գնա դու եւ կեր ի ծառոյ անտի. եւ տեսանես զինչ լինելոց է քեզ պատիւ:</i>	[44](18):1 მაშინ მრქუა გუელმან მან: " ვჭუვი მე თქუენთვის, რამეთუ ხართ თქვენ ვითარცა პირუტყუნო. შუთრა თქუენი ღმერთსა და არა გააფუ- ლნა თქუენ, ხოლო მე არა მნებავეს უმეცრებაი თქუენი, არამედ მივედ და ჯამე და იხილო დიდებულედაი იგო, რომელ ყოფად არს შენ თანა".	18-20.10 Дия вошь рече · много жалю васъ, понеже не разумѣета ничьто, нь си глаголю вамъ · то дрѣво · естъ блажоу въсѣхъ дрѣвъ .
18:2 Ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον· αὐτῷ· Φοβοῦμαι μήποτε ὀργισθῇ μοι ὁ θεὸς καθὼς εἶπεν ἡμῖν.		[44](18):2 եւ ասեմ ցնա. Երկնչիմ գուցէ մեռանիմ որպէս ասաց ցմեզ Աստուած:	[44](18):2 ხოლო მე ვარქუე: მეშინის მე, ნელუაჲე მოვკუდე, ვითარცა თქუა ღმერთმან".	
18:3 Καὶ λέγει μοι· Μὴ φοβοῦ· ἅμα γὰρ φάγησ, ἀνοιχθήσονται σου οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἔσσεθαι ὡς θεοὶ· γινώσκοντες τί ἀγαθὸν καὶ τί πονηρόν.		[44](18):3 <i>Պատասխանի ետ ասն հանդերձ Սատանայի եւ ասէ ցիս. Կենդանի է Տէր, զի ոչ մեռանիք, այլ որժամ կերակրիք բանին աչք ձեր եւ լինիցիք որպէս գևաստուած հանաչել զբարի եւ զչար:</i>	[44](18):3 მომიგო გუელმან მან და მრქუა: " რაი- არს სიკუდილი, ანუ ვითარ მოკუდის? სიკუდილი ცხორებაი არს". მიუგე და ვარქუე: " არა უწყი მე". მომიგო და მრქუა: " ცხოველ არს ღმერთი, რაითა არა მოკუდეთ, არამედ რომელსა ეამსა სჭამოთ, განეხუენენ თუალნი თქუენნი და იყვებეთ მეცნიერ, ვითარცა ღმერთი, კეთილისა და ბოროტისა .	18-20.11 аще сънхсте отъ дрѣва того, то яко бози бѹдете и свѣтли бѹдете яко и аггели.

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

18:1 Then the serpent said to me, "As God lives! I am grieved on your account [that you are like animals,] for I would not have you ignorant. Come hither and eat and perceive the honor of that tree." 18:2 But I said to him, "I fear lest God be angry with me as he told us." 18:3 And he said to me: "Fear not, for as soon as you eat of it your eyes will be opened and you too shall be as gods knowing what is good and what is evil."		[44](18):1 Then the serpent said, 'As the Lord lives, I am greatly concerned about [you] for you are like beasts, since God has withheld (it) from you, but I do not wish you to be ignorant. Come on, come and eat of the tree, and you see what honour will be yours.' [44](18):2 I said to him, 'I fear lest I die as God said to us.' [44](18):3 The serpent, together with Satan, replied and said to me, 'As the Lord lives, you (will) not die, but when you eat, your eyes (will be) opened and you will become like God, knowing good and evil.'	[44](18):1 Then the serpent told me, 'I am distressed for you, for you are like the animals. God was jealous of you and he has not permitted you, but as for me, I do not desire your ignorance. Rather come, eat and you will see the glory which is to be with you.' [44](18):2 However, I told him, 'I am afraid of dying, perhaps, as God said.' [44](18):3 The serpent replied to me and told me, 'What is death and how does one die? Death is life!' I replied to him and told him, 'I do not know.' He replied to me and told me, 'God is living, just thus you (pl.) will not die, but at the moment when you (pl.) eat, your eyes will be opened and you will be instructed, like God, about good and evil.'	18-20.10 The Devil said, 'I am very sorry for you, because you don't understand, but I will tell you this: that tree is better than all the others.' 18-20.11 If you taste from that tree, you would become like gods and radiant like the angels.'
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GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
18:4 Τοῦτο δὲ γινώσκων ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἔσσεσθε ὅμοιοι αὐτοῦ ἐφθόνησεν ὑμῖν καὶ εἶπεν· Οὐ φάγεσθαι ἐξ αὐτοῦ.		[44](18):4 <i>այց գիտ[այց] Աստուած հիւ ի նմանողք լինիք նմա. նենգեաց ձեզ. զի ասաց հիւ մի կերակրիք ի նմանէ.</i>	[44](18):4 უწყყოლა ღმერთმან, რამეთუ მსგავს მისა იქნებოდით და შერ- და ღმერთსა თქუენი, მისთვის გრქუა თქუენ ღმერთმან, ვითარმედ: ნუ სჯამთ მსგავსსა.	
18:5 Σὺ δὲ πρόσχες τῷ φυτῷ καὶ ὄψει δόξαν μεγάλην. [Ἐγὼ δὲ προσέσχον τῷ φυτῷ καὶ εἶδον δόξαν μεγάλην περὶ αὐτοῦ. Εἶπον δὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι ὥραϊον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς κατανόησαι.]		[44](18):5 <i>ևւ ասէ. Հայեալ դու ի ծառն եւ տես զինչ փառք են շուրջ դռաւորս: Ասեմ ցնա. (ես իբրեւ Հայեցալ ի ծառն եւ տեսի զի մեծ փառք էին շուրջ գետակա):</i>	44(18):5 მივედ ხელსა ძას ღა იხილე გარემოსს მისსა დიდებულებაი მისი“. ხოლო ვითარცა მივედ და ვიხილე გარემო მისა დიდებულებაი მისი. და ვთქუ:	
18:6 Ἐφοβήθη γὰρ καὶ λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ.		[44](18):6 <i>Բարի է ծառն եւ հաճոյ թուեցաւ յաշի իմ. բայց զնալ եւ անուղ ի մրգոյ անտի ոչ կարեմ. երկնչիմ. (աղէ ե)թէ ոչ երկնչիս դու բեր ինձ ի մրգոյ անտի եւ կերայց. զի ծանեայց հիւ իցին բանք քո ճշմարիտ թէ ոչ. կոչեաց այնուհետեւ ամեն զիս եւ ասէ. եկ բաց գորտն ինձ եւ մտից եւ տաց քեզ ի մրգոյ անտի:</i>	[44](18):6 კეთილ არს ხე ესე და საცნაურ არს თელთა ჩემთა ნაყოფი მისი, ხოლო მე მიყოფად ხელისა და მოღებად მეშინის, ხოლო შენ თუ არა გეშინის, მოძართუ მე და ჯჯამო და ვცნა, უკუეთუ ჯეშმარიტ არიან სიტ- ყუანი შენნი ესე. ანუ არა“. მოძიგო გუელმან მან და ძრქუა:“ მოვედ და განმიღე მე კარი და გეც შენ მისგანი“.	
Καὶ λέγει μοι· Δεῦρο καὶ δώσω σοι· ἀκολούθει μοι.				

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18:4 But God knew that you would be like Him, so he envied you and said, 'You shall not eat of it.' 18:5 But, do give heed to the plant and you will see its great glory." [I gave heed to the plant and saw its great glory. I said to him that it was pleasing to the eyes to look at.] 18:6 Yet I feared to take of the fruit. And he said to me: "Come hither, and I will give it you. Follow me."		[44](18):4 But God kn[ew] that you (will) become like him; he deceived you, that he said, "Do not eat of it."' [44](18):5 And he said, 'Look at the tree and see what glory is around the tree.' When I looked at the tree, I saw (that) great glory was around it. I said to him, [44](18):6 'The tree is good and it looks pleasing to me, but I cannot go and take of the fruit: I am afraid. [Come here!]If you are not afraid, bring me of the fruit and I will eat, so that I may know whether your words are true or not.' Then the serpent called to me and said, 'Come, open the gate for me and I will enter and I will give you of the fruit.'	[44](18):4 God knew that you would become like him and God was jealous of you. Because of that God told you, "Do not eat of it!" [44](18):5 [Look at] the tree and see the glory around it.' As for me, when I had gone and I had seen its glory around it then I said, [44](18):6 'This tree is good and its fruit is worthy of notice in my eyes. However, I am afraid to stretch out my hand and take (it). But you, if you are not afraid, bring it to me and I will eat (of it) and I will know whether your (present) words are true or not.' The serpent replied to and told me, 'Come, open the gate and I will give you of it.'	

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19:1a Ἦνοιξα δὲ καὶ εἰσήλθεν ἕσω εἰς τὸν παρὰ δεισον καὶ διώδενυσεν ἔμπροσθέν μου. Καὶ περιπατήσας ὀλίγον ἐστράφη καὶ λέγει μοι· 19:1c Μετα- μεληθεὶς οὐ δώσω σοι φαγεῖν. [ταῦτα εἶπε θέλω εἰς τέλος δελεᾶσαι με. Καὶ λέγει μοι]		[44](19):1a <i>Իբրևի հին հմուտ գնաց սակաւիկ մի ի մէջ դրախտին եւ գտեղի առ.</i> [44](19):1b <i>սահմ ես. Ձի առեղ գտեղի.</i> [44](19):1c <i>սաւ ցիւ. Գուցէ իբրևի քեզ տամ ոստի, բանին աչք քո եւ լինիցիւ իբրևի զկատուած, նենդեսցես Արամայ եւ ոչ տաս ոստի նմա ի մրգոյ անտի եւ լինի նա իբրևի գանաստուն ստաջի քո.</i>	[44](19):1a და ვითარ მივედ და განუღე კარი, და ვითარცა შემოვიდა სამოთხედ, წარვიდა და დადგა მცირედ. [44](19):1b მიუგე და ვარქუ მას: "რასა სდგა?" ხოლო მან, შვილნო ჩემნო, იწყო ზაკუად ჩემდა მომარო. [44](19):1c მომიგო და მრქუა: "ამისთვის ვდეგ მე, რამეთუ შევიწინავე, ნულუკუე შენ გეც. და სჯამო და განგებუნენ თუალნი შენნი და იყო შენ ვითარცა იმერთი და სცნა კეთილი და ბოროტი და განჰლანე და გშურდეს აღამისთვის და არა აჯამო მას და იყოს იგი ვითარცა პირუტყვი შენ წინა- შე, ვითარცა თქუენ იყვენით წინაშე ღმერთისა, რამეთუ შურდა ღმერთსა თქუენი.	
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19:1a And I opened (it for him) and he entered the Garden and went before me. He walked a little way, then turned and said to me:

19:1c "I have changed my mind and I will not give you (something) to eat [These things he said wishing to trap me in the end. And he said to me:]

[44](19):1a When he entered, he proceeded a little way into the Garden and stopped.

[44](19):1b I said, 'Why did you stop?'

[44](19):1c He said to me, 'Perhaps, when I shall give you to eat and your eyes are opened and you become like God, you will deceive Adam and will not give him to eat of the fruit and he will become like a beast before you.'

[44](19):1a And when I had gone to open the gate for him and he had entered the Garden, he went forth, and then he stopped a little.

[44](19):1b I replied to him and said, 'Why have you stopped?'

[44](19):1c But he, my children, began to use trickery with me. He replied to me and told me, 'If I have stopped it is because I changed my mind for fear that, perhaps if I should give you of it and you eat it, and your eyes will be opened and you will become like God, and you will know good and evil, and you will become prideful and become jealous of Adam and you will not make him eat of it, and he will be like an animal before you, as you were before God, because God was jealous of you.'

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19:1d ἐδὼν μὴ ὁμόσῃς μοι ὅτι δίδῃς καὶ τῷ ἀνδρί σου. 19:2 Ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον αὐτῷ ὅτι οὐ γινώσκω ποίῳ ὄρκῳ ὁμόσω σοι, πλὴν ὃ οἶδα, λέγω σοι· μὰ τὸν θρόνον τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ τὰ χερουβὶμ καὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ὅτι δώσω καὶ τῷ ἀνδρί μου. 19:3 Ὅτε δὲ ἔλαβεν ἅπ' ἐμοῦ τὸν ὄρκον, τότε ἦλθε [καὶ ἐπέβη ἐπ' αὐτόν] καὶ ἔθετο ἐπὶ τὸν καρπὸν ὃν ἔδωκε μοι φαγεῖν τὸν ἰὸν τῆς κακίας αὐτοῦ, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, ἐπιθυμία γάρ ἐστι κεφαλὴ πάσης ἁμαρτίας. Καὶ κλίνας τὸν κλάδον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἔλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ ἔφαγον.		[44](19):1d <i>ալլ եթէ կամիս դու երդուիր ինձ ճշմարիտ եթէ տալցես նմա ուսով եւ ոչ նենգեսցես ասն քո Ադամայ:</i> [44](19):2 <i>Ասեմ ցես. Զերդրան ես ինչ ոչ գիտեմ թէ որով երդում էքզ, բայց զոր գիտեմ ասեմ քեզ. տնկաք դրախտի եւ քերովբէիք եւ սերովբէիք, եւ որ նստի հայր ի յերկինս եւ իջանել ի դրախտս. թէ կերայց եւ ծանեայց զամենայն ինչ [ոչ խորեցից], ալլ տաց ուսով ասն իմում Ադամայ:</i> [44](19):3 <i>Իբրեւ երդմամբ ընկալաւ զիս, ապա առաջտորդեաց ինձ եւ տարաւ զիս ի ծառ անտր, եւ ել ինքն ի ծառն, եւ եղ նա զխաթլէութիւնն ի պտղոյ նորա, այսինքն ցանկութիւն մեղաց, պտմկութիւնք, շնութիւնք, ազարտութիւնք. եւ խոնարհեցուց զոսս ծառոյն, մինչեւ երկիր. եւ առի յայնժամ ի մրգոյ անտի եւ կերպ:</i>	[44](19):1d უკუეითუ გინებს მეფუცე მე ჯემდარიტად, ვითარმედ მე თუ გაჯამო შენ, არა გმურდეს აღაძისთვის, ქმრისა შენისა, არამედ აჯამო და სცე მასცა". [44](19):2 მოუგე და ვარკუე მას: "ფიცო არა ვიცი, ვითარ გეფუცო შენ?" და მარკუა მე: "თქუ, ვფუცავ ნერგთა მათ სამთხისათა და ქეობინთა ზედა, რომელთა ზედა ზის მამაი, და გარდამოხდის სამთხესა მას უკუეითუ ვჯა-მო და ვცნა ყოველი, არა მმურდეს, არამედ ვსცე აღაძსცა". [44](19):3 და ოდეს მოიღო ჩემ ზედა ფიცო, შემკრა მე, მცა ხისა მისგანი და ვჯამე.	18-20.12a и азъ чохъ такова слова и ꙗгда сънѣдохъ отъ древа того,

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19:1d unless you swear to me that you will give also to your husband."

19:2 But I said, "I do not know what sort of oath I should swear to you? Yet what I know, I say to you: By the throne of the Master, and by the Cherubim and the Tree of Life, I will give also to my husband to eat."

19:3 And when he had received the oath from me, he came [and entered] and placed upon the fruit which he gave me the poison of his wickedness -- which is (the sense of) desire, for it is the beginning of every sin -- and he bent the branch to the earth and I took of the fruit and I ate.

[44](19):1d But you, if you wish, swear to me truly that you will give him to eat, and will not deceive your husband Adam.'

[44](19):2 I said to him, 'I do not know any oath by which I can swear [to you], but I will say to you that which I do know: By the plants of the Garden and by the Cherubs and the Seraphs and (by) the Father who sits in the heavens to descend to the Garden, if I eat and learn everything, [I shall not withhold], but I will give to my husband Adam to eat.'

[44](19):3 When he had caught me through an oath, he then led me and brought me to the tree and he went forth to the tree. He set the deception in its fruit, that is desire of sins, harlotries, adulteries, greeds. He lowered the branches of the tree to the earth. Then I took some of the fruit and I ate.

[44](19):1d If you want it, swear to me truly that, if I make you eat it, you will not be jealous of Adam, your husband, but will make him eat of it and give of it also to him.'

[44](19):2 I replied to him and told him, 'I do not know any oath, how could I swear to you?' And he told me, 'Say: I swear by the plants of the Garden and by the Cherubs upon which the Father sits and (upon which) he descends to the Garden, that if I eat and know all, I will not be jealous but will give of it also to Adam.'

[44](19):3 And when he had made me take the oath, he bound me (to it), gave me of the tree and I ate it.

18-20.12a And I listened to these words and as I tasted from the tree,

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20:1 Καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἤνεσθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου καὶ ἔγνων ὅτι γυμνὴ ἦμην τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἧς ἦμην ἐνδεδυμένη. Καὶ ἔκλαυσα λέγουσα·		[44](20):1 <i>bi Ի ժամոն արևմիկ գիտացի ես աշաք իմովք եթէ մերկացայ ես Ի փառացն զոր զգեցեալ էի. այնունհոռի սկսայ լալ եւ ասեմ.</i>		18-20.12b тогда отвѣрзоста се очи мои и видѣхъ яко и нага есмь, и въсплакахъ се сѣло, чѣто сѣтворихъ. дьяволъ же невидимъ бысть.
20:2 Τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας ὅτι ἀπηλλοτριώθην ἐκ τῆς δόξης μου [ἧς ἦμην ἐνδεδυμένη;]		[44](20):2 <i>Զի՞նչ արարեր ինձ (այլ ոչ եւ ճգնէի ես վասն մարտին զոր եղեալ էր ինձ) թշնամի: Թախժամ գիտացի այնունհոռի եթէ այս առաջնորդեացէ ինձ յանդմառ դժուոր:</i>		
20:3 Ἐκλαίον δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὄρκου. Ἐκεῖνος δὲ κατήλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ φωτοῦ καὶ ἄφαντος ἐγένετο.		[44](20):3 <i>Զայս իբրեւ արար Սատանայ էջ Ի ծառոյ անտի, եւ եղիւ Թաքստեա Ի դրախտին.</i>		18-20.12c дия воль же невидимъ бысть.
20:4 Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐζήτουν ἐν τῷ μέρει μου φύλλα ὀπωσ καλύψω τὴν αἰσχρὴν μου καὶ οὐχ εἶδρον· ἀπάντα γὰρ τὰ φυτόν τοῦ ἔμοῦ μέρους κατερρύη τὰ φύλλα, παρὲς τοῦ σύκου μόνου.		[44](20):4 <i>եւ ես խնդրէի Ի դրախտի յանտ, իմով կողմանս տերեւս ծառոյ ծածկել զ(մերկութիւն իմ) եւ ոչ գտանէի, քանզի Ի ժամոն արևմիկ տերեւաթափ լեալ էր ամենայն ծառոյ դրախտին, քաց միայն Ի Թգենոյ անտի.</i>	[44](20):4 ნო. . . შეშლულედაი ჩემი და არა ვპოვე ყოველთა მათ ზეთა თანა, რამეთუ რომელსა უამსა ვჭამე ყოველთა მათ ზეთა სამოთხისათა, ნაწილისა ჩემისათა, ფურცელი დაცვივა.	21-22.1 Азъ же събирахъ листвіе смоковне да покрыю срамоту мою, 21-22.2 понеже яко бѣше раздѣленъ рай, половина Адаму а половина мнѣ, кое дрѣвие бѣше въ мою страну, все листвіе повръже,
20:5 Λαβοῦσα δὲ φύλλα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐποίησα ἑμαυτῇ περιζώματα· [καὶ ἔστι παρὰ τὸ φυτόν ἐξ οὗ ἔφαγον.]		[44](20):5a <i>առի եւ ծածկեցի գանդկութիւն իմ. եւ կացի առ ծառոյն յորմէ կերայ.</i>	[44](20):5a ძოვილდე მისგან და ვჭმე საფარველად ჩემდა და დავდეგ ხეს მას თანა, რომლისაგან ვჭამე, შვილნო ჩემნო.	21-22.3 смоковница не повръже . 21-22.4a и възехъ отъ листвія и прѣпоясахъ се и вънидохъ, подъ дрѣво,

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
20:1 And in that very hour my eyes were opened, and I knew that I was naked of the righteousness with which I had been clothed, and I wept and said to him: 20:2 "Why have you done this that I have been deprived of the glory [with which I was clothed]?" 20:3 But I wept also about the oath, which I had sworn. But he descended from the tree and vanished. 20:4 And I began to seek, in my nakedness, in my part for leaves to hide my shame, but I found none, for, as soon as I had eaten, the leaves showered down from all the trees in my part, except the fig-tree alone. 20:5 I took leaves from it and made for myself a girdle [and it was from the same plant of which I had eaten].		[44](20):1 At that hour I learned with my eyes that I was naked of the glory I with which I had been clothed. Thenceforth, I began to weep and said, [44](20):2 "What did you do to me?" [But I was no longer mortified about the war which (the) enemy had made against me;] then I learned, thenceforth, that he will lead me to the depths of hell. [44](20):3 When Satan did this, he descended from the tree and hid in the Garden. [44](20):4 In my parts of the Garden I sought leaves of a tree to cover [my nakedness], and I could not find any on all the trees. For, at that hour all the trees of the Garden became leafless, except for the fig-tree alone. [44](20):5a I took (its leaves) and covered my nakedness, and I stood by the tree of which I had eaten.	[44](20):4 [... (I was searching for leaves to cover)...] my nakedness and found none on all the trees, for at the moment at which I had eaten, the leaves from all the trees of the Garden, in my portion, fell down. [44](20):5a I took some and made a covering for myself and stood by the tree of which I had eaten, my children.	18-20.12b immediately my eyes were opened and I saw that I was naked, and I cried bitterly about what I had done. 18-20.12c The Devil, however, became invisible. 21-22.1 I, however, gathered fig leaves to cover my shame. 21-22.2 Because of how Paradise was apportioned, the one half to Adam, and the other to me, all the trees in my half had let fall all their leaves. 21-22.3 The fig tree, however, did not do this. 21-22.4a And I took from its leaves and wrapped myself and went under the tree, from which I had tasted,

59 Pericope 22 **EVE'S TALE:***Eve's Recognition of Sin* (Gen 3:7a)

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
		[44](20):5b <i>որդեակ իմ Սէթ վասն երդմանն զոր երդուալ եթէ տաջ ուսեղ տուն իմոյ Ադամայ:</i>	[44](20):5b შემეშინა ფიცისა მისგან, რომლისგან ვფიცე სამოთხისა რომლისა(!) და ვთქუე, ვითარმედ აღამსცა ვაჭამო.	

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

		[44](20):5b I was afraid, my son Seth, because of the oath I swore that I would give my husband Adam to eat.	[44](20):5b I was afraid because of the oath which I had sworn by the Garden and in which I had said, 'I will make Adam eat of it as well.'	
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GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

21:1 Καὶ ἐβόησα αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ λέγουσα· Ἀδὰμ, Ἀδὰμ, ποῦ εἶ; Ἀνάστα, ἐλθὲ πρὸς με καὶ δείξω σοι μέγα μυστήριον.		[44](21):1 <i>Աղաղակեցի ի ձայն մեծ Ադամայ. Արի եկ առ իս եւ ես ցուցիք քեզ զառակս զայս:</i>		21-22.4b отъ нѣгоже сѣньдохъ и въ зѣвахъ гласомъ велинемъ къ Адаму, глаголюе . Адаме, Адаме, где еси; 21-22.5 встанѣ и прииди къ мнѣ, да ти исповѣмъ чюдо.
21:2a "Οτε δὲ ἦλθεν ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν		[44](21):2 <i>Ելաւ զայն Ադամ մեծ փառաք իւրով եկն առ իս.</i>	[44](21):2a մաժնե մոջօրս մամօ տէլլենօ ալամ ,	
21:2b εἶπον αὐτῷ λόγους παρανομίας οἵτινες κατήγαγον ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ μεγάλης δόξης.			[44](21):2b ეგრე ეგონა, ვითარმედ მხეცი შემოჰხელა სამოთხესა და მარქუა მე: "არა რასა ჰხმობ, ანუ რაი არს შენ თანა ფურცელი ეგე ლელვისაი?" [44](21):2c მოუგე და ვარქუ: "არა გნებავს თხრობაი ჩემი, რამეთუ გნე- ბავს ჩემი? ვიყუენით ვიღრე ღღეინღელად ღღეღღღე. ვითარცა პირუტყუნო.	21-22.6a И прииде Адамъ къ мнѣ,
21:3 "Αμα γὰρ ἦλθεν, ἤνοιξα τὸ στόμα μου καὶ ὁ διάβολος ἐλάλει καὶ ἠρξάμην νουθετεῖν αὐτὸν λέγουσα· Δεῦρο κύριέ μου Ἀδὰμ ἐπάκουσόν μου καὶ φάγε ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ δένδρου οὗ εἶπεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσει ὡς θεός.			[44](21):3 ვითარცა განვიცადე, რომლისა-იგო გულქუა ჩუენ უფალმან, ვითარმედ ნუ შჰამთ მისგანსა, და ვიხილუ ღიღებულებაი მისი, მოვიღე და ვჰამე მისგანი და ვცან კეთილო და ბოროტო. აწ ჰამე შენცა და იყო ვითარ- ცა ღმერთო"	21-22.6b и азъ отвори зохъ уста моя, и дьяволъ глаголаше въ мнѣ о дрѣвѣ и развѣтъ, егда како сѣньсть и ты."

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

21:1 And I cried out in that very hour, "Adam, Adam, where are you? Rise up, come to me and I will show you a great mystery."		[44](21):1 I cried out to Adam in a loud voice, 'Arise, come to me and I will show you this way.'		21-22.4b and called in a loud voice to Adam, saying, 'Adam, Adam, where are you? 21-22.5 Stand up and come here so that I can share something incredible with you.'
21:2a But when your father came,		[44](21):2 Then Adam came to me with his great glory,	[44](21):2a Then your father Adam came.	
			[44](21):2b He had thought thus: that a beast had entered the Garden and he said to me, 'What are you shouting for and why do you have this fig-leaf on yourself?'	21-22.6a And Adam came to me
21:2b I spoke to him words of transgression which have brought us down from our great glory.			[44](21):2c I replied to him and I told him, 'Don't you wish me to tell you something or do you wish me to? Until today we were like animals.	
21:3 For, when he came, I opened my mouth and the Devil was speaking, and I began to exhort him and said, "Come hither, my lord Adam, hearken to me and eat of the fruit of the tree of which God told us not to eat of it, and you shall be as a God."			[44](21):3 When I understood [that of which] the Lord had said to us, 'Do not eat of this' and when I saw its splendor, I took of it and ate of it and I learned good and evil. Now, eat also of it and you will you become like God.'	21-22.6b and I opened my mouth and the Devil spoke through me about the tree and about knowledge, so that he would also want to taste of it.

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
21:4a Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν εἶπεν· Φοβοῦμαι μήποτε ὀργισθῇ μοι ὁ θεός. 21:4b Εγὼ δὲ εἶπον· Μὴ φοβοῦ· ἅμα γάρ φαγγίς ἔσται γινώσκων καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν. 21:5 Καὶ τότε ταχέως πείσασα αὐτόν, ἔφαγεν. Καὶ ἠνεῶχθησαν αὐτοῦ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἔγνω τὴν γύνωσιν αὐτοῦ. 21:6 Καὶ λέγει μοι· ὦ γύναι πονηρά, τί κατειργάσω ἐν ἡμῖν; Ἀπηλλοτριώσας με ἐκ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ.		[44](21):5 <i>ևս ետուստի նմա ի մրգոյ անտի. և արարի զնա ի բրբի զիս. եկն ևս նա այնուհետև առ տերևի թզենոյն. և ծածկնաց զմերկութիւն իւր:</i>	[44](21):4a მომიგო და მრქუა მე აღამ: "მეშინის, ნუფუჟუე განმირისხნეს მე ღმერთი და მარქუას მე: მცნებაი ჩემი, რომელი გამცენ შენ, არა ღაიპარხე". [44](21):4b ხოლო მე ვარქუ მას: "ჩემ ზელა იყოს ბრალი ესე, უკუეთუ გეითხოს შენ, ესრეთ თქუ: ღელაკაცი ესე, რომელი შენ მომეც, მისი ბრალი არისო. გეშო იხილუე ღიდებისა ამის". [44](21):5 მაშინ ვეც მისგან, ჯამა და იქმნა ვითარცა მე. და მოიღო მანცა ლელვისა ფურცელი და ღაიფარა შიშულთებაი მისი.	21-22.7a И сънѣде Адамъ и отвѣрзостѣ се очи ѣмоу и видѣ наготу мою и свою . 21-22.7b и рече ми · ѡ жено, чѣто сътвори мнѣнъ; 21-22.8 почѣто оудалихомъ се отъ милости божіе;

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
21:4a And your father answered and said, "I fear lest God be angry with me. 21:4b And I said to him, "Fear not, for as soon as you have eaten you shall know good and evil." 21:5 And speedily I persuaded him, and he ate and his eyes were opened and he too knew his nakedness. 21:6 And to me he said, "O wicked woman! what have you done to us? You have deprived me of the glory of God."		[44](21):5 and I gave him to eat of the fruit, and I made him like me. Subsequently, he, too, came (and) took a fig leaf and covered his nakedness.	[44](21):4a Adam replied to me and told me, 'I fear lest God be angry with me and tell me, "You did not keep my commandment which I gave to you!"' [44](21):4b But I told the father, "This blame shall be on me. If He asks you, say thus: "This woman whom you have given me said she is to blame for that; [[she told me]]: See the flavor of this glory!"' [44](21):5 Then I gave [him of it and he ate of it and became like me, and he also took a leaf of the fig tree and covered his nakedness with it.]	21-22.7a And Adam tasted, and his eyes were opened, and he saw his and my nakedness, 21-22.7b and he said to me, 'O wife, what have you done to me? 21-22.8 Why have we departed from the grace of God?"

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
22:1 Καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἤκούσαμεν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ σαλπίζοντος [ἐν τῇ σάλπιγγι αὐτοῦ] καὶ καλοῦντος τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ λέγοντος· 22:2 Τάδε λέγει κύριος· "Ἐλθατε μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον καὶ ἀκούσατε τοῦ κρίματος ἐν ᾧ κρινῶ τὸν Ἀδάμ. Καὶ ὧς ἤκούσαμεν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου σαλπίζοντος, εἵπομεν· 'Ἰδοὺ ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν παράδεισον ἔρχεται κρῖναι ἡμᾶς. 'Εφοβήθημεν δὲ καὶ ἐκρύβημεν. 22:3 Καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν παράδεισον ἐπιβεβηκώς ἐπὶ ἄρματος χειρουβὶμ, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι ὑμνοῦντες αὐτόν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἦλθεν ὁ θεός [εἰς τὸν παράδεισον.] ἐξήνθησαν τὰ φυντά τὸν κλήρου τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πάντα ἐστερεῖτο. 22:4 Καὶ ὁ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστηρίχτετο ὅπου ἦν τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς.		[44](22):1 <i>Թեւ ալորիկ լուար զի Գարրիէլ հրեշտակն փող հարկանէր եւ կոչեաց զհրեշտակն ամենայն եւ ասէր ցնոսա.</i> [44](22):2 <i>Զայս ասէ Տէր. եկալք առ ի զի ձեար հանդերձ իջից) եւ ի դրահտն, եւ լուարուք դուք դատաստանի իմով զոր ինչ դատեմ եւ զկրամ: Եւ իջրիւ լուար մեք զձայն փողոյ հրեշտակին գիտացար եթէ Աստուած գալոց է ի դրահտս դատել զմեզ.</i> [44](22):3 <i>Եկալ ի կառս քերորէից. եւ հրեշտակք արհեսէին զնս. երկար այնուհետեւ եւ ի թագաւորի եղար. եկն Աստուած ի դրահտն եւ ծաղկեցան ամենայն տունիք դրահտին.</i> [44](22):4 <i>Եւ արկ գաթող իւր մեր(ձ) առ ծառն կենաց:</i>	[44](22):1 <i>შემდგომად ამისა გუესმა ანგელოზისაგან, ვითარმედ დასცა საყვირისა. უწოდა ანგელოზთა და პრეტუა:</i> [44](22):2 <i>"ესრეთ იტყვის უფალი, მოვედით სამოთხეს, ისმინეთ სასჯელო, რომელსა ვსჯით". მრქუა აღამ: ვცოთი, ვითარმედ ღმერთი სამოთხისა მოვალს დასჯად ჩუენდა." შეგუშინდა და დავიძალებნით.</i> [44](22):3 <i>და მოვიდა ღმერთი სამოთხედ მკლდმარე ქერობინთა ზედა და წინაშე მისისა გალობდეს ანგელოზნი. მოოდენ-ვიდა სამოთხეს, მუნთქუეს- ვე ფურცელი გამოიღო ყოველმან ხემან</i> [44](22):4 <i>და ღაღვნეს საყდარნი ხესა მას თანა ცხობებისასა.</i>	23-24.1 Тогда услышахомъ въ небесныхъ гласъ архангела Михаила, призываеаггелы все и глаголюе имь . 23-24.2 тако глаголетъ господь . снидѣмъ въ рай да услышите сѣудъ, где юсть сѣгрѣшихъ ядамъ и како да суждаю юмоу . 23-24.3 и сниде господъ на раму херувимъскою и множество аггелъ, поущее немлъчнѣюу пѣснь, славаще бога неспѣстанно . 23-24.4 и ста по срѣдѣ рая прѣстоль госп однь . 23-24.5 адамово дръвие цвѣтѣше цвѣтнемъ велиемъ, моу страны дръвие оубело бѣ и отъпало .

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

22:1 And in that same hour, we heard the archangel Michael blowing [with his trumpet] and calling to the angels and saying: 22:2 "Thus says the Lord, Come with me to the Garden and hear the judgment with which I shall judge Adam." And when we heard the archangel sound the trumpet we said, "Behold God is coming into the Garden to judge us." We feared and we hid. 22:3 And God came into the Garden, mounted on the chariot of his Cherubim with the angels proceeding before him and singing hymns of praises. As God entered [the Garden,] the plants of Adam's portion flowered but all mine were bereft of flowers. 22:4 And the throne of God was fixed where the Tree of Life was.		[44](22):1 After that, we heard the angel Gabriel blowing a trumpet and summoning all the angels and saying to them, [44](22):2 'Thus says the Lord, "Come to me so that I [may] descend to the Garden with you, and listen to my judgement with which I will judge Adam.'" When we heard the sound of the angel's trumpet, we knew that God was about to come to the Garden to judge us. [44](22):3 He set forth upon the Cherub chariot and the angels were praising him; consequently, we were afraid and hid. God reached the Garden and all of the plants of the Garden flowered. [44](22):4 He set up his throne close to the Tree of Life.	[44](22):1 After which we heard from an angel that (God) blew the trumpet. He (had) summoned the angels and told them, [44](22):2 'Thus says the Lord, "Come to the Garden and hear the sentence by which we are going to judge (them)."' Adam [[told me]], 'We have sinned, for God is going to come to judge us.' We were afraid and we hid. [44](22):3 And God came to the Garden sitting upon the Cherubim and the angels were singing hymns before him. When he had arrived at the Garden, at once all (the) tree(s) cast off their (its) foliage, [44](22):4 and thrones were set up near the Tree of Life.	23-24.1 Then we heard the voice of the archangel Michael in the heavenly realm, who called together all the angels and said to them: 23-24.2 'Thus says the Lord, "We will go down to Paradise to hold a hearing where Adam has sinned, and I will pronounce the verdict on him."' 23-24.3 And the Lord came down on the shoulders of the Cherubim and a host of angels with him, singing the eternal song, glorifying God without end. 23-24.4 And the throne of God was set up in the center of Paradise. 23-24.5 The trees of Adam burst forth in great blossoms, the trees of my half became withered and all their leaves were fallen.
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GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
23:1 Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ λέγων· Ἀδὰμ, ποῦ ἐκρύβης; νομίζεις ὅτι οὐχ εὗρισκω σε; Μὴ κρυβήσεται οἶκος τῷ οἰκοδομήσαντι αὐτόν; 23:2 Τότε ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ πατήρ ὡμῶν εἶπεν· Οὐχί κύριε, οὐ κρυβόμεθα σε ὡς νομίζοντες ὅτι οὐχ εὗρισκόμεθα ὑπὸ σοῦ· ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι ὅτι γυμνός εἰμι καὶ ᾗδέσθην τὸ κρᾶτος σου, δέσποτα. 23:3 Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ θεός· Τίς σοι ὑπέδειξεν ὅτι γυμνός εἶ εἰ μὴ ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπας τὴν ἐντολήν μου [ἣν παρέδωκά σοι] τοῦ φυλάξαι αὐτήν; 23:4 Τότε Ἀδὰμ ἐμνήσθη τοῦ λόγου οὗ ἐλάλησα αὐτῷ [ὅτε ᾗθελον ἀπατήσαι αὐτόν] ὅτι ἁκίνδυνον σε ποιήσω παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.		[44](23):1 <i>Կոչեաց Աստուած զԱդամ եւ ասէ. Ադամ, Ադամ, ու՞ր ես. համարիս եթէ թաքուցեալ ես եւ ասես եթէ ոչ գիտէ նա զիս. միթէ թաքել կարէ շինուածն ի շինողէ անտի. զի թաքուցեալ ես աս ծառովդ ձիջենոյ:</i> [44](23):2 <i>Պատասխանի ետ Ադամ եւ ասէ. Ոչ Տէր, ոչ եթէ թաքուցեալ համարիցիմ թէ ոչ գտահիցես զիս, այլ երկեալ, զի մերկ եմ, եւ ամաչեմ:</i> [44](23):3 <i>Ասէ ցնա Աստուած. Ո՞ր եցուց քեզ մերկ լինել, եթէ ոչ թողեալ էր քո դպաստութիւնն իմ զոր ետու քեզ պահել զիս:</i> [44](23):4 <i>Յանձնամ լիշեաց Ադամ զբանն զոր ասաց նմա գործել եւ պահել. ասէ Ադամ. Կի՛նս զոր ետուր, աս խափեաց զիս եւ կերպ:</i>	[44](23):1 და უწოდა ღმერთმან ადამს და ჰრქუა: "ადამ, ადამ, სადა ხარ, მე დამეძალები?" ან უ ვითარ დამძლოს სახლი მაშენებელსა თვისსა, ანუ რაისა დამალულ ხარ ხესა თანა სამთხისასა?" [44](23):2 მაშინ მიუტო მაშამან თქუენმან და ჰრქუა უფლოსა: "დამალ - ლუ ვარ მე, რამეთუ მეშინის, შიშუელ ვარ და მრცხუენის". [44](23):3 მიუტო ღმერთმან და ჰრქუა: "ვინ გითხრა შენ, ვითარმედ შიშუელ ხარ? ნუთუ შეუტრაცხ-ჰყავ მცენებაი ჩემი, რომელი გამცენ შენ?" [44](23):4 მაშინ მოესენა ადამს სიტყუაი იგი ჩემი, რომელი ვთქუე ვითარმედ: ნუ ზრუნავ, არამედ ჩემ ზედაცა იყოს ესე და თქუა ადამ: "უფალო, დედაკაცი ესე, რომელ მომცე მე, მან მაცთუნა".	23-24.6 И възва господь Адама, Адаме . 23-24.7 Адамъ рече . госп оди гласъ твои услышавъ и ѡбояхъ се съшло, пониж е нагъ ясмь . 23-24.8 и рече господь къ немю . къ то ти повѣда, яко нагъ еси, аще не бы сънѣлъ отъ дрѣва, еже те рѣхъ не ясти; 23-24.9 и поше насъ аггели и сверѣпо гонѣху ны .

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
23:1 And God called Adam saying, "Adam, where are you hiding? Do you think that I won't find you? Can the house be hidden from the presence of its builder?" 23:2 Then your father answered; "It is not because we think we can't be found by you, Lord, that we hide, but I was afraid, because I am naked, and I was ashamed before your might, (my) Master." 23:3 God said to him, "Who showed you that you are naked, unless you has forsaken my commandment, [which I gave to you] to keep."		[44](23):1 God summoned Adam and said, 'Adam where are you?' Do you think that you have hidden and do you say, "He does not know me?" Can the building hide from the Builder, that you hide near that olive-tree? [44](23):2 Adam replied and said, 'No, Lord, it is not that having hidden, I think that you will not find me, but I was afraid, for I am naked and I am ashamed.' [44](23):3 God said to him, 'Who showed you to be naked, if you have not abandoned my commandment which I gave you to observe?'	[44](23):1 And God summoned Adam [and told him,] 'Adam, Adam, where are you? [Are you hiding from me? Or how will a house hide from its builder? Or why have you hidden near the tree of the Garden?' [44](23):2 Then your father replied and told the Lord, 'I have hidden because I am afraid: I am naked and I am ashamed.'] [44](23):3 God replied to him and told him, 'Who told you that you are naked? Have you scorned the commandment which I gave you?'	23-24.6 And the Lord called Adam, 'O Adam, Adam.' 23-24.7 Adam said, 'Lord, I heard your voice and was terribly afraid, since I am naked.' 23-24.8 And the Lord said to him, 'Who told you that you are naked, unless you have tasted from the tree, of which I told you not to taste?' 23-24.9 And the angel took us and brusquely drove us away.

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
Καὶ στραφεὶς πρὸς με εἶπεν· Τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας; 23:5 Κἀγὼ εἶπον ὅτι ὁ ὄφεις ἡπάτησέ με.		<i>ხე ჟარბათ არ ჯუ ხე სასტ. ლხე"რ არარხერ ჟარცე</i> [44](23):5 <i>მჩხეჩ ხე ჟჳას სატჳის ხე სასხმ, სადს ჯარხაყ ჟჳა:</i>	მაშინ მომექცა მე და მარქუა : რაი ჰყავ?" [44](23):5 მე მოვახსენე სიტყუაი იგი გუელისა მის და ვთქუ. ვითარ- მედ: " გუელმან მაცთუნა მე".	

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

23:4 Then Adam remembered the word which I spoke to him [when I wished to deceive him] "I will make you secure before God;"

and he turned and said to me: "Why have you done this?"

23:5 And I said, "The serpent deceived me."

[44](23):4 Then Adam remembered the injunction which He had spoken to him, to do and observe. Adam said, 'This woman, whom you gave, deceived me and I ate.'

He turned to me and said, 'Why did you do that?'

[44](23):5 I recalled the serpent's speech and said, 'The serpent deceived me.'

[44](23):4 Then Adam remembered my word(s) which I had said, 'Do not be concerned for (the blame) for it will lie upon me.' And Adam said, 'Lord, it is this woman whom you gave to me who deceived me.' Then He turned towards me and told me, 'What have you done?' [44](23):5 And I remembered the serpent's word and I said, 'It is the serpent who deceived me!'

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

24:1 Καὶ λέγει ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀδὰμ· Ἐπειδὴ παρήκουσας τὴν ἐντολήν μου καὶ ἤκουσας τῆς γυναικὸς σου, ἐπικατάρατος ἦ γῆ ἕνεκα σου.		[44](24):1 <i>Եւ ասէ այնունհոռի Աստուած ցԱդամ. Փոխանակ զի լուար ձայնի կնոջ քո եւ անցեր գպատուիրանաւ իմով, նախատեալ լինիցիք դու ի վերայ երկրի.</i>	[44](24):1 მიუგო ღმერთმა ადამს და პირქუა: "რასია ისმინე ცოლისა შენისაი და შეურაცხ-ჰყავ მცნებაი ჩემი? წყუელ იყავნ ქუეყანაი საქმეთა შინა შენთა,	
24:2 Εργάσει αὐτὴν καὶ οὐ δώσει τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῆς· ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἀνατελεῖ σοι καὶ ἐν ὑδρώτῃ τοῦ προσώπου σου φάγει τὸν ἄρτον σου.		44.24.2 <i>վաստակեալ եղիցի ի նմա (եւ նա մի տաց քեզ զգորութիւն իւր). փուշ եւ տաւասկ) բուսցի քեզ. ջրտամբ երեսաց քոց կերիցիս զհաց քո.</i>	[44](24):2 იქმოდგე და არა გამოგცეს ნაყოფი, ეკალსა და კუროსთავ- სა აღმოგიცენებდეს შენ. ოფლითა პირისა შენისაითა სჯამდე ჰურსა.	
24:3 Ἐσεὶ δὲ ἐν καμάτοις πολυ- τρόποις, [καμῆ καὶ μὴ ἀναπαύσῃ] θλιβεὶς ἀπὸ πικρίας, καὶ μὴ γεύσῃ γλυκύτητος, θλιβεὶς ἀπὸ καύματος καὶ στενωθεὶς ἀπὸ ψύξεως. [Καὶ κοπιάσεις πολλὰ καὶ μὴ πλουτήσεις καὶ παχυνθήσῃ καὶ εἰς τέλος μὴ ὑπάρξεις.]		[44](24):3 <i>եւ մի լիցի քեզ հանգիստ. քաղցիցիս եւ յազնացիս եւ նեղեսցիս ի դանութենէ. եւ սպա ճաշակ(եսցես) ի քաղցրութենէ. ճղեսցիս ի տաւթոյ եւ նեղեսցիս ի ցրտոյ. սղքատասցիս եւ մեծասցիս, լցիրասցիս եւ տկարասցիս</i>	[44](24):3 იყავ კუნესითა ძრავლითა, შრომითა შეერ და არა განსლევ- ნო, გშიოდეს და არა განსძღე, იჭირვოდე სიძწარისაგან და არა განსძღე, გემოი არა ობილო სიტკბობისაგან , გჭირდეს სიცხისაგან და გვევებოდეს ყინელისაგან, დაგლახაკეთ და არა გამდიდრნეთ, ჯამდეთ და არა განსლქ- ნეთ, განსტყვეთ ცეცხლითა და არა განხურდეთ, ილტო. . . წყლითა და განჰყო- ნენ	

Pericope 25 EVE'S TALE: *Judgment of Adam and Eve* (Gen 3:14-19) 65E

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

24:1 God said to Adam: "Since you transgressed my commandment and hearkened to your wife, cursed is the earth on your account. 24:2 You shall work it and it shall not give its strength: thorns and thistles shall spring up for you and in the sweat of your face you shall eat your bread. 24:3 You shall be in manifold toils [and you shall not rest]; you shall be crushed by bitterness, but of sweetness you shall not taste. You shall be crushed from heat and constrained by cold. [You shall struggle greatly and not become rich and you shall grow fat, but in the end you will not be.]		[44](24):1 Subsequently God said to Adam, 'Because you obeyed your wife's voice and transgressed my commandment, you will be condemned upon the earth. [44](24):2 You will toil upon it, [and it will not give you its strength]; thorns and thistl[es] will sprout forth for you. By the sweat of your brow you shall eat your bread [44](24):3 and you shall have no rest; you [shall hunger] and you shall be sated and you shall be afflicted by bitterness then you shall eat of sweetness; you shall be tormented by heat and afflicted by cold; you shall be pauperized and become great; [you shall grow fat and you will be weakened	[44](24):1 God replied to Adam and told him, '[Because] you hearkened to your wife and scorned my commandment, let the earth be cursed in your deeds. [44](24):2 May you work it and it will give you no fruit; it will sprout only thorns and thistles for you. By the sweat of your brow you shall eat bread. [44](24):3 May you be with many sighs, toil in labors and have [[no]] rest. You shall hunger and you shall [[not]] be sated. You shall be affected by bitterness and you shall [[not]] taste sweetness; you shall be tormented by heat and will undergo cold; you (pl.) shall be pauperized and you shall [[not]] be enriched; you shall eat and shall [[not]] grow fat; you shall warm yourselves with fire, and you shall not be heated. You will fle[e (to soak yourselves)] with water and it will draw back.	
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GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
24:4 Καὶ ὃν ἐκυρίευσεν θηρίων ἐπαναστήσονται σοὶ ἐν ἀκαταστασίᾳ, ὅτι τὴν ἐντολὴν μου οὐκ ἐφύλαξας.		[44](24):4 <i>hi որոյ տիրէիր գազանայ յարիցեն ի վերայ քո անգամութեամբ, վասն զի անցեր դու գաատուիրանա իմով եւ ոչ պահեցեր:</i>	[44](24):4 <i>ღა მხეცთა, რომელთა ზედა შენ უფლებდი, იგინი შენ ზელა აღგვენ. ლაუმტკიცებელ იყო, რამეთუ მცნებანი ჩემნი არ ღაიმარხვენ.</i>	
25:1 Στραφεὶς δὲ πρὸς με ὁ κύριος λέγει· Ἐπειδὴ ἐπηκουσας τοῦ ὄφεως καὶ παρήκουσας τὴν ἐντολὴν μου, ἔσει ἐν καμάτοις καὶ ἐν πόνοις ἀφορήτοις.		[44](25):1 <i>Դարձաւ Աստուած եւ ասէցիս. փորձանակ զի լուար դու ամին [եւ անցեր գաատուիրանա իմով] լիցիր դու ի վաստակս եւ ի ցասս.</i>	[44](25):1 <i>მომქეცა მე ღა მრქუა: "რასი ისმინე შენ გუელისა ღა ლაუ- ტვევენ მცნებანი ჩემნი, რომელნი გამცვენ შენ? აჲაჲ შრომათა შინა ღა სალ- მობათა,</i>	
25:2 Τέξει τέκνα ἐν πολλοῖς τρόποις καὶ ἐν μιᾷ ὥρᾳ ἔλθεις τοῦ τεκεῖν καὶ ἀπολέσεις τὴν ζώην σου ἐκ τῆς ἀνάγκης σου τῆς μεγάλης καὶ τῶν ὀδυνῶν.		[44](25):2 <i>ծնցիս որդիս բազումս, եւ ի ժամանակի ծնեբան վախճանեցի[ս ի] իննաց քոց, եւ ի մեծ վշտաց քոց եւ ի ցատց</i>	[44](25):2 <i>შეც ნაყოფი მრავალი. ღა ოღეს შვა, წარსწრო ცხორებაი შენი ურვათა ღა სალმობათა,</i>	
25:3 Εξομολογήσει δὲ καὶ εἴπεις· Κύριε, κύριε, σῶσόν με καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐπιστρέψω εἰς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῆς σαρκός. [ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν ἐπιστρέψεις.]		[44](25):3 <i>խոստովանեցիս բերանով քրդով եւ ասացես. Եթէ ապրեցայց ի վշտացս յայցանէ, ոչ ես արարից դարձ յայլն իմ. եւ իբրեւ եյանիցես ի վշտացս, դարձ արատցիր դու ատժամայն իբրկիր այլս.</i>	[44](25):3 <i>უკუეთუ განერჯიროთა მათ, არღარა მოიქცე კმრისად. ღა განაფიცზე გული შენი ბრძოლისა მისგან დიდისა, რომელი დაღვა გულმან შენ თანა,</i>	
25:4 Διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν λόγων σου κρινῶ σε, διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν ἣν ἔθετο ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἐν σοί. Στραφήσῃ δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα σου, καὶ αὐτὸς σου κυριεύσει.		[44](25):4 <i>զի ի բերանոյ քումէ դատապարտեսչիր, վասն զի խոստովանեցար ի տագնապախս ցանս եթէ ոչ դարձայց իբրկիր այլս. եւ ապա դարձար ի [նոյնն. ցաւօք] ծնցիս որդիս եւ գնաւք դարձիս առ այլ քո, եւ նա տիրեցէ քեզ:</i>	[44](25):4 <i>მიიქეც მეცუელად მუხვე. ჯუვილითა შეც ნაშობი შენი ღა მოწყალებითა მიიქეც კმრისა შენისა ღა იგი შენ ზელა უფლებდეს.</i>	

Pericope 25 EVE'S TALE: *Judgment of Adam and Eve* (Gen 3:14-19) 66E

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
24:4 The beasts, over whom you ruled, shall rise up in rebellion against you, for you have not kept my commandment."		[44](24):4 and] the beasts [which] you ruled will rise up against you malignantly, because you transgressed my commandment and did not observe (it).'	[44](24):4 And the beasts over whom you (sing.) used to rule shall rise up against you. You shall be weakened because you have not kept my commandments.'	
25:1 And the Lord turned to me and said: "Since you has hearkened to the serpent, and transgressed my commandment, you shall suffer torments and intolerable pains;		[44](25):1 God turned and said to me, 'Because you obeyed the serpent [and transgressed my commandment,] you shall suffer torments and pains.	[44](25):1 God turned to me and told me, 'Why did you hearken to the serpent and abandon my commandments which I commanded you? (May you) be in toils and pains;	
25:2 you shall bear children in much trembling and in one hour you shall come to the birth, and lose your life, from your sore trouble and anguish.		[44](25):2 You shall bear many children and at the time of birth [you shall] bring your life [to] an end and, from your great agonies and pains	[44](25):2 ((may you) give birth to many fruits and when you give birth to them you will despair of your life because of the torments and pains.	
25:3 But you shall confess and say: "Lord, Lord, save me, and I will turn no more to the sin of the flesh." [But even another time you shall so turn.]		[44](25):3 you shall promise with your mouth and say, "If I survive these agonies, I shall never go back to my husband." And when you emerge from the agonies, you shall return immediately to the earth.	[44](25):3 (You shall promise yourself) that if you are ever delivered from the agonies, you will never go back to [[your husband]] and you will harden your heart in view of the great combat which the serpent instituted with you.	

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
26:1 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ εἰπεῖν μοι ταῦτα, εἶπεν τῷ ὄφει ἐν ὀργῇ μεγάλη λέγων· Ἐπειδὴ ἐποίησας τοῦτο καὶ ἐγένου σκευὸς ἀχάριστον ἕως ἄν πλανήσῃς τοὺς παρεμένους τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐπικατάρατος σὺ ἐκ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν.		[44](26):1 <i>և լինա սահլոյն ինձ զայս ամենայն, բարկացաւ Տէր ի վերայ ամէն բարկութեամբ մեծաւ եւ սաւ. Փոխանակ զի արարիր դու դարձ եւ եղեր քնար [մոլորեցուցանել լքեալ սրտիւրդ]. անխեղալ լիջիր դու ամենայն անասնոց.</i>	[44](26):1 ოდეს მრქუა მე ესე ყოველი, განისხნა გულსა ზელა რისხვითა და პრქუა მას: წარწყმდი შენცა და წყუთლ იყავ ყოველთა შორის პირუტყუთა,	
26:2 Στερηθήσεται τῆς τροφῆς σου ἥς ἴσθιες καὶ χοὺν φάγεις πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου. Ἐπὶ τῷ στηθεὶ καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ πορεύσεται ὑστερηθεὶς καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν σου.		[44](26):2 <i>արգելիր դու ի կերակրոց քոց [զոր կերակրէիր]. հող կերակուր լիցի քեզ եւ ի վերայ լանջաց եւ որովայնի քոմ քանացես. արգելցին ոտք քո եւ ձեռք քո</i>	[44](26):2 მოაკლდი საზრდელისაგან შენისა, რომელსა სჭამდი, და მიწა იყავნ საჭმელად შენდა ყოველთა ღღელთა ცხორებისა შენისათა, მკერდითა და მუცლითა შენითა ხვიდოდე შენ. მოაკლდენ შენგან ხელნი და ფეხნი შენნი	
26:3 Οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται σοι ὥτιον οὐτε πτέρυξ οὐτε ἐν μέλος τοῦτων ὧν σὺ ἐδελέασας ἐν τῇ κακίᾳ σου καὶ ἐποίησας αὐτοὺς ἐκβληθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου.		[44](26):3 <i>և մի լուիցեն ականջ[ք] քո. [և մի ինչ լանդամոց քոց. նմանութիւն խաչին գորդին իմ բերելոց է լերկիր. վասն ալարիկի զոր դու խաբեցիր. լքեալ եւ խցեալ լիջիր դու վասն չարութեան սրտի քո.</i>	[44](26):3 და ნუ იყვნენ ყურნი და ფრხილნი შენნი და ნუ იყოფინ ნუფა ერთი ასით შენი, დაგსაჯენ შენ პატიოსანმან ჯუარმან, რომელი აღიღოს ძემან ჩემმან ჭუეყანასა ზელა, საცთურისა მისთვის, რომელი აცთუნე აღამი. არამედ შენ იყავ კუალადვი მკლინავ და განსხუთლ (!) უკეთურებითა გულისა შენისაითა.	

Pericope 25 EVE'S TALE: *Judgment of Adam and Eve* (Gen 3:14-19) 67E

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

25:4 And on this account, from your own words I will judge you, by reason of the enmity which the enemy has planted in you. And you shall return again to your husband and he will rule over you."

26:1 After he said these things to me, he spoke to the serpent in great wrath saying: "Since you has done this, and become a thankless vessel until you has deceived the innocent hearts, be cursed (more than) all beasts.

26:2 You shall be deprived of the food which you ate and you shall eat dust all the days of your life; on your breast and your belly you shall walk and be robbed of hands and feet.

[44](25):4 For you shall be condemned by your own mouth, since you promised when the pain was acute, "I will never go back to this earth" and then you returned to [the same. In pain] you shall bear children and in pity you shall return to your husband and he will rule over you.'

[44](26):1 After he had said all this to me, the Lord became very angry at the serpent and said, 'Because you did this and became a lyre [to lead astray those who were weak of heart], be cursed more than all the animals.

[44](26):2 Be withheld from your foods [which you used to eat]. Dust will be your food and you shall go upon your breast and your stomach; your feet and hands will be withheld

[44](25):4 (But may you) return at once to the same point, may you bear your offspring in hurt and return in pity (lit: begging for alms) to your husband, and he will rule over you.'

[44](26):1 [When he had said all this to me, he became very angry with the serpent,] and God told the serpent, 'You, too, perish and be cursed among all the animals.

[44](26):2 (May you) be withheld from your food which you used to eat and (may) the soil be to you as food all the days of your life; you shall go on your breast and on your stomach; your hands and your feet will be taken from you.

68 Pericope 25 EVE'S TALE: *Judgment of Adam and Eve* (Gen 3:14-19)

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
26:4 Καὶ θήσω ἔχθραν ἀνὰ μέσον σοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῶν· αὐτὸς σοῦ τηρήσει κεφαλὴν καὶ σὺ ἐκείνου πτέρναν ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς κρίσεως.		[44](26):4 <i>թընամութիւն եղից ի մէջ քո եւ զասակին Ադամայ. դու նորա գարշապարին սպասես եւ նա քոյ պիտուղ. մինչեւ յաւրն յորոյս տանջեսցիք.</i>	[44](26):4 და დავდვა მტერობაი შორის შენსა და შორის ნათესავისა მისგან დედაკაცისა, იგი უშვირდეს თავსა შენსა და შენ უშვირდე ბრჯალ-სა მისსა ვიდრე დღედმდე სასჯელისა”.	

Pericope 25 EVE'S TALE: *Judgment of Adam and Eve* (Gen 3:14-19) 68E

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
26:3 May you have neither ears nor wings, not even one of the limbs with which you ensnared them in your malice and so caused them to be cast out of the Garden;		[44](26):3 and your ear[s] will not hear, and [none of your limbs.] A likeness of the cross will bring my son to the earth, because of him whom you deceived. Be disabled and broken because of the evil of your heart.	[44](26):3 And (may you) have neither ears nor nails and may not even one limb remain for you. Let the precious cross which my Son will take upon the earth condemn you because of the deceit by which you deceived [Adam]. But may you again [be exhausted and broken] because of the evil of your heart.	
26:4 and I will put enmity between you and their seed: he shall lie in wait for your head and you [shall lie in wait] for that one's heel until the day of Judgment."		[44](26):4 I have set enmity between you and Adam's seed. You will lie in wait for his heel and he for your head, until the day upon which you will be punished.'	[44](26):4 And I will set enmity between you and the offspring of the woman: she will lay in wait for your head and you will lay in wait for her heel until the day of judgment.'	

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
27:1 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν κελεύει τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐκβληθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου.		[44](27):1 <i>Զայս իրրիւ ասաց Աստուած, Հրամայեաց Հանել զմեզ ի դրախտէն.</i>	[44](27):1 ესე თქუა ღმერთმაჲს და მძდაბა ჩუენი ორთავე გამოვლინებაი სამოთხით.	25-27.1 И тако сътвори насъ отъждены отъ рая,
27:2 Ἐλαυνον- μένων δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ ὀδυρομένων, παρεκάλεσεν ὁ πατὴρ ὁμῶν Ἄδᾰμ τοὺς ἀγγέλους λέγων· Ἐάσατέ με μικρὸν ὅπως παρακαλέσω τὸν θεὸν καὶ σπλαγχνισθῇ καὶ ἐλεήσῃ με, ὅτι ἐγὼ μόνος ἥμαρτον.		[44](27):2 <i>Եւ վարեցին հրեշտակքն Հանել զմեզ: Աղաչաց Ադամ զհրեշտակս եւ ասէ. Թողացուցէք ինձ սակաւիկ մի, զի աղաչեցիք զԱստուած վասն յանցանաց իմոց. Բերեա տաքէ ինձ ապաշխարութիւն, եւ ոչ Հանել ի դրախտէս:</i>	[44](27):2 ევეღრებოდა აღამ ანგელოზთა და ჰრქუა: "მაცადეთ მე, რაი- თა ევეღრო უფალსა, ვინ უწყის, თუ სინანული მცეს მე უფალმაჲს ამისა"- თვის, რომელი-ესე ვყავ მე და არა გამოვხდე სამოთხით".	25-27.2 мы же моляхось се ангеломъ и глаголахомъ имъ · потрипъте насъ мало, да помолимъ се богу .
27:3 Αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπαύσαντο τοῦ ἐλαύνειν αὐτόν, ἐβόησε δὲ Ἄδᾰμ μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ λέγων· Συγγώρησόν μοι, κύριε, ὅ ἐποίησα.		[44](27):3 <i>Թողացուցին նաև հրեշտակքն ի Հանելոյ ի դրախտէ անտի. եւ ասէ Ադամ. Շնորհեա ինձ Տէր Աստուած, զի մեղա քեզ:</i>	[44](27):3 მაშინ დააცადეს ანგელოზთა გამომივბაი ჩუენი, ევეღრებოდა აღამ უფალსა და თქუა: "გევეღრებო, მომიტევე მე, უფალო, რომელი-ესე ვყავ ."	25-27.3 и кличе Адамъ гласомъ величемъ · помилуй ны, владыко, яко съгрѣшихомъ · оумили сръди се о насъ, владыко .
27:4 Τότε λέγει ὁ κύριος τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ· Τί ἐπαύσασθε ἐκβάλλοντες τὸν Ἄδᾰμ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου; Μὴ ἐμὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ἁμάρτημα, ἢ κακῶς ἔκρινα;		[44](27):4 <i>Յալմամ ասէ Տէր [հրեշտակս]. Մի տաք դնա անուղ զտեղի, այլ Հանելք ի դրախտէս. միթէ իմ մեղանք իցեն կամ ի գոր ինչ դատիմ:</i>	[44](27):4 მაშინ ჰრქუა უფალმაჲს ანგელოზთა: "რაისა დააცადეთ გა- მოყვანებაი აღამისი სამოთხით, ნუუჯუე ჩემი ბრალი არსა, ანუ თუ არა მართალი ვსაჯე?"	

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

27:1 After saying these things he commanded the angels to cast us out of the Garden: 27:2 and as we were being driven out amid our loud lamentations, your father Adam besought the angels and said: "Leave me a little (space) that I may entreat the Lord that he have compassion on me and pity me, for I only have sinned." 27:3 And they left off driving him and Adam cried aloud and wept saying: "Pardon me, O Lord, my deed." 27:4 Then the Lord said to the angels, "Why have you ceased from driving Adam from the Garden? Is it I who have done wrong? Or have I judged badly?"		[44](27):1 When God had said this, he commanded our expulsion from the Garden, [44](27):2 and the angels set about expelling us. Adam beseeched the angels and said, 'Let me be for a little, so that I may beseech God about my sins. Perhaps he will grant me penitence and not expel (me) from the Garden.' [44](27):3 The angels let him be from expelling (him) from the Garden, and Adam said, 'Be gracious to me, Lord God, for I have sinned against you.' [44](27):4 Then the Lord said [to the angels], 'Do not let him stand still, but expel (him) from the Garden. Were the sins mine? Do I pronounce judgement in vain?'	[44](27):1 Thus God said, and he ordered both of us to be expelled from the Garden. [44](27):2 Adam beseeched the angels and told them, 'Wait for me to beseech the Lord; who knows, perhaps the Lord will grant me a penance for that which I have done and I will not go out of the Garden.' [44](27):3 Then the angels waited for us to ask. Adam beseeched the Lord and said, 'I beseech you, Lord, pardon me for what I have done.' [44](27):4 Then the Lord told the angels, 'Why have you been waiting (before) separating Adam from the Garden? Is the blame mine (Am I to blame) or have I not judged justly?'	25-27.1 And so he exiled us from Paradise. 25-27.2 We, however, bid the angel saying to him, 'Be a little patient with us, so that we may entreat God.' 25-27.3 And Adam cried out in a loud voice, 'Have mercy on our sin, O Master, be merciful with us, O Lord.' <i>see 25-27.10 in pericope 27 for parallel material</i>
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GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
27:5 Τότε οἱ ἄγγελοι πεισόντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν προσεκύνουσιν τῷ κυρίῳ λέγοντες· Δίκαιος εἶ, κύριε, καὶ εὐθύτητας κρίνεις. 28:1 Στράφεις δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ εἶπεν· Οὐκ ἀφήσω σε ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἶναι ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. 28:2 Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἀδὰμ εἶπεν· Κύριε, δός μοι ἐκ τοῦ φυτοῦ τῆς ζωῆς ἵνα φάγω πρὶν ἢ ἐκβληθῆναι με. 28:3 Τότε ὁ κύριος ἐλάλησεν πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ· Οὐ λήψαι νῦν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ὥρισθαι γάρ τῷ χερουβὶμ καὶ τῇ φλογίνῃ ῥομφαίᾳ τῇ στρεφομένῃ φυλάσσειν αὐτὸ διὰ σέ, ὥπως μὴ γεύσῃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀθάνατος ἔσθαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἔχεις δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ὃν ἔθετο ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἐν σοί.		[44](27):5 <i>Յայնժամ Հրեշտակքն երկիր պագին Աստուծոյ եւ ասեին. Արդար ես դու Տէր եւ ուղիղ են իրատմբ քո:</i> [44](28):2 <i>Դարձաւ Ադամ եւ ասէ ցԱստուած. Տէր իմ. աղաչեմ գրեզ, տուր ինձ ի ծառոյն կենաց զի կերայց ես մինչ չեւ ելեալ իցեմ ի դրախտէս:</i> [44](28):3 <i>եւ ասէ Տէր ցԱդամ. Ոչ ունիս ասուլ ի նմանէ ի կեանս քո, քանզի հրաման եսու սերորդից շուրջնակի պահել զես զիտուք վասն քո. զի այլ մի ես ճաշակեսցես դու ի նմանէ եւ լինիցիս անմահ, եւ ասես եթէ ահա որ ոչ մեռայց, եւ պարծեսցիս ի նմա, եւ յաղթեսցես դու պատերազմին, զոր երեպս է թշնամոյն ընդ քեզ.</i>	[44](27):5 მამინ დავარდეს ანგელოზნი ქუეყანასა ზედა და ჰრქუეს თაყუანის - ცემით უფალსა: - მართალ ხარ შენ, უფალო, და წრფელ არს სასჯელი შენი". [44](28):1 მოექცა უფალი და ჰრქუა ადამს: - არა დატევებად ხარ შენ სამოთხესა შინა". [44](28):2 მოუგო ადამ და ჰრქუა უფალსა: - გვედრებდი შენ, უფალო, მეც მე ხისა მისგან ცხოვრებისა, რათა ვჰაძო გამოსლვად იქმდამდე". [44](28):3 მამინ ეტყუღა უფალი ადამს და ჰრქუა: - არღარა მიიღო იგი ცხოვრებასა შენსა, დამიდგინებია ქერობინი მოტყინარე და მახვილი იქცე- ვისი დაცვად მაგისა შენთვის, რათა არა გემო იხილო და უკუღდავ იყო და იქადლოდ, ვითარმდე: არა მოვეკუდე მე უკუთნისამდე. და ჰყო ბრძოლოლა, რო- მელ ჰყო მტერმან შენ ზედა.	

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

27:5 Then the angels fell down on the ground and worshipped the Lord saying, "You are just, O Lord, and you judge righteously."

28:1 But the Lord turned to Adam and said: "I will not suffer you henceforward to be in the Garden."

28:2 And Adam answered and said, "Grant me, O Lord, of the Tree of Life that I may eat of it, before I be cast out."

28:3 Then the Lord said to Adam, "You shall not take of it now, for the Cherubim with the flaming sword that turns (every way) has been stationed to guard it from you that you taste not of it and live without death forever, but you have the war which the adversary has put into you."

[44](27):5 Then the angels worshipped God and said, You are just, O Lord, and your judgments are upright.

[44](28):2 Adam said again to God, 'My Lord, I beseech you, give me of the Tree of Life, so that I may eat before I shall have gone forth from the Garden.'

[44](28):3 God said to Adam, 'You cannot take of it in your lifetime, because I have given an order to the Seraphs to guard it round about with weapons because of you, lest you should eat more of it and become immortal and say, "Behold, I shall not die;" and you will be boastful of it and be victorious in the war which the enemy has made with you.'

[44](27):5 Then the angels fell to the ground and told him, bowing before the Lord, "You are just, Lord, and your sentence is upright."

[44](28):1 The Lord turned and told Adam, 'You are not to remain in the Garden.'

[44](28):2 Adam replied to the Lord and told him, 'I beseech you, Lord, give me of the Tree of Life so that I may eat before I shall have gone forth.'

[44](28):3 Then the Lord addressed a speech to Adam and told him, 'You will not take of it anymore in your lifetime. I have posted burning Cherubim and a turning sword to keep it from you, lest you should taste it and become immortal and boast saying, "I shall not die ever;" and you should conduct the fight which the enemy has conducted against you.'

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
28:4 'ἄλλ' ἐξερχομένου σου ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου, ἐάν φυλάξεις ἐαυτὸν ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ ὡς βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν, ἀναστήσῃς πάλιν γενομένης, ἀναστήσῃ σε καὶ δοθήσεται σοι ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς καὶ ἀθάνατος ἔσει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.		[44](28):4 <i>սլլ իրիւ ելանիցես դու ի դրախտէ անտի, եւ պահեսցես զանձն քո ի շարահաւանքինէ, ի պոռնկութիւնէ, ի շնութիւնէ, ի կախարդութիւնէ, յարժախիրութիւնէ, ի գաւաքադութիւնէ, եւ յամենայն մեղաց. եւ ապա յարիցես ի մահոանէ անտի. որ լինելոց է յարութիւն. եւ յալնժամ տաքից քեզ ի ծառոյն կենաց եւ լինիս դու անմահ մինչեւ յախտեան:</i>	[44](28):4 უკუეოთ განვვიდე სამთხიოთ და დაიცვა ყოვლისაგან ბორო- ტისა, მოჰყუდე და შეძღვომად სიკუდილისა აღსდგე შერმესა მას აღდგომა- სა. მაშინ-ღა მიგეც ხისა მისგან ცხორებისა და უკუდავ იყო უკუენისამდე”.	

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
28:4 Yet when you have gone out of the Garden, if you keep yourself from all evil, as one wishing to die, when again the Resurrection has come to pass, I will raise you up and then there shall be given to you from the Tree of Life and you will be without death forever."		[44](28):4 Rather, when you go out of the Garden, guard yourself from slander, from harlotry, from adultery, from sorcery, from the love of money, from avarice and from all sins. Then, you shall arise from death, (in the) resurrection which is going to take place. At that time, I will give you of the Tree of Life and you will be eternally undying.'	[44](28):4 If you go out of the Garden and guard yourself from every evil, [you will die and after death you will arise in the future resurrection. Then, indeed,] I will give you of the Tree of Life and you will be undying for ever.'	

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
29:1 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ κύριος ἐκέλευσεν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐκβλήθηναι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου. 29:2 Ἐκλάνσε δὲ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀπέναντι τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτῷ· Τί θέλεις ποιήσωμέν σοι, Ἀδάμ; 29:3 Ἐποκρθεὶς δὲ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν εἶπεν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις· Ἰδοὺ ἐκβάλλετε με· δέομαι ὑμῶν, ἄφετέ με ἄραι εὐωδίας ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου, ἵνα μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν με ἀνεγέκω θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ ὅπως εἰσακουσεται μου ὁ θεός. 29:4 Καὶ προσελθόντες εἶπον οἱ ἄγγελοι τῷ κυρίῳ· Ἰαήλ, αἰώνιεν βασιλεῦ, κέλευσον δοθῆναι τῷ Ἀδὰμ θυμιάματα εὐωδίας ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου.		[44](29):1 Զայս իբրեւ ասաց Աստուած, հրամայեաց հանել զմեզ ի դրախտէ անտի. [44](29):2 Կալ սկաւ Ադամ ասացի հրեշտակացն. եւ ասեն ցնա հրեշտակքն. Զի՞նչ կամիս եւ անենմք քեզ: [44](29):3 Պատասխանի եւս Ադամ եւ ասէ ցհրեշտակսն. Աղաչեմ զմեզ թողացուցէք սակարիկ մի. զի առից ընդ իս խոնկս անուշոմա ի դրախտէ աստի. զի իբրեւ ելանիցեմ աստի. մատուցանեմ Աստուծոյ խոնկս անուշս, եւ պատարագս. զի թերեւ լուիցէ մեզ Աստուած:	[44](29):1 ესე რა თქუა უფალმან, ბრძანა გამოძეაი ჩუენი სამოთხით. [44](29):2 და ტიროლა მამაი თუქუენი წინაშე ანგელოზთა. ხოლო მათ ჰრქუეს მას: "რაი არს, ანუ რაი გოყთ შენ?" [44](29):3 მაშინ მიუტო მამამან თუქუენმან და ჰრქუა: "ავა ესე რა მე განვალ, აწ გვედრებო თუქუენ, რაითა განსლვასა ამას ჩემსა აღვიდო საკუ- მვევლი სამოთხისაგან, რაითა ოდეს განვიდო, შევსწინო საკუმვევლი სულ- ნელეღისაი და ისმინოს ჩემი ღმერთმან".	25-27.4 тогда пославише аггели, гонещи ны . 25-27.5 Адамъ же помоли се и рече : господи, пирпоusti мнѣ храню, како живю азъ . 25-27.6 Изведоше ны аггели изъ рая и затворише раи отъ насъ . 25-27.7 тогда Адамъ въпияше, глаголюе помилуй ны, владыко, и припоusti ми благоухание, ꙗгда хоуоу сътворити хрътвю богу, да принесю кадило . 25-27.8 аггелъ Иоиъль неспръстанно моле се глаголаше помилуй, владыко, пръво създание твоё . 25-27.9 и рекоше аггели вси тоу же рѣчь къ богу о Адамъ помилуй, владыко, пръво създание твоё .

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
29:1 When the Lord had said these things he ordered us to be cast out of the Garden. 29:2 But your father Adam wept before the angels opposite the Garden and the angels said to him: "What would you have us to do, Adam?" 29:3 And your father said to them, "Behold, you cast me out. I pray you, allow me to take away fragrant herbs from the Garden, so that I may offer an offering to God after I have gone out of the Garden that he hear me." 29:4 And the angels approached God and said: "Jael, Eternal King, command, my Lord, that there be given to Adam incense of sweet odor from the Garden."		[44](29):1 When God had said this, he commanded to expel us from the Garden. [44](29):2 Adam began to cry before the angels, and the angels said to him, "What do you want us to do for you?" [44](29):3 Adam replied and said to the angels, 'I beseech you, let (me) be a little, so that I may take sweet incenses with me from the Garden, so that when I go out of here, I may offer sweet incenses to God, and offerings, so that, perhaps, God will hearken to us.'	[44](29):1 When the Lord had said that [he ordered us to be chased out of the Garden.] [44](29):2 And your father wept before the angels, but they told him, 'What is this or what shall we do for you?' [44](29):3 Then your father replied to them and told them, 'Behold, I am going out. Now I beseech you that at the very moment of my leaving the Garden I may take incense from the Garden so that, when I go out, I may offer a sweet-odored incense and God will be willing to hearken to me.'	25-27.4 Then the angels driving us forth relented a little, 25-27.5 and Adam prayed and said, 'O Lord, furnish me with nourishment, that I might live.' 25-27.6 The angel guided us out of Paradise and barricaded it off from us. 25-27.7 Then Adam prayed and said, 'Have mercy on us, O Master, let me have pleasing aromas, that whenever I make an offering to God, I may bring incense to him.' 25-27.8 Angel Joel prayed unceasingly and said, 'Have mercy, O Master, on your first creation.' 25-27.9 And all the angels spoke the same word to God concerning Adam, 'Have mercy, O Master, on your first creation.'

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
29:5 Καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐαθῆναι τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἵνα λάβῃ εὐωδίας καὶ σπέρματα εἰς διατροφήν αὐτοῦ. 29:6 Καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν οἱ ἄγγελοι, ἔλαβε τέσσαρα γένη, κρόκον καὶ νάρκον καὶ κάλαμον καὶ κινάμωμον, καὶ ἕτερα σπέρματα εἰς διατροφήν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ λαβὼν ταῦτα ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου· καὶ ἐγενόμεθα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. [two manuscripts from Nagel's family II have an epitome of the penitence narrative; see pericopes 2 and 4]		[44](29):6 Թողացուցին նմա հրեշտակք եւ առ ընդ իւր խումբկս անուշուխ. Հիւրիկս եւ ասպրամս: Առաք զայն եւ ելաք ի դարպասէ աստի լերկիրս այս:	[44](29):6 და მიუტევეს ანგელოზთა. და მთილთ საკუმეველი სურნელი ოთხი: ნარდნი, კროკონი, ლერწამი და იამინდლი - ესე გამოიღო საშობით აღამ ქუეყნად.	25-27.10 и рече господь къ аггеломъ своимъ · право ли кѣсть тако патити Адаму, како мѹ кѣсть соуждено, или неправедно кѣсть тако; 25-27.11 аггели непръстанно глаголахѹ · праведнь кѣсть соудъ твои, господи, въ истинѹ праведнь · 25-27.12 тогда господь припусти кѹмоу благоуханіе · тѣмیانъ, ладанъ и ливанъ · [Penitence narrative follows; see pericopes 2-4]

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
29:5 And God commanded it to be so for Adam that he might take sweet spices and seeds for his food.				25-27.10 And the Lord said to his angels, 'Is it right, that Adam suffers thus, just as the verdict was pronounced on him, or is it unjust?'
29:6 And as the angels let him go he took four kinds: crocus and nard and calamus and cinnamon and the other seeds for his food: and, after taking these, he went out of the Garden. And we were on the earth.		[44](29):6 The angels let him be, and he took sweet incenses with him, iris and balsam. We took them and went forth from the Garden to this land.	[44](29):6 And the angels let him and he took four sweet-odored kinds of incense: nard, saffron, reed, cinnamon; that is what Adam brought from the Garden onto the earth.	25-27.11 The angels spoke in one accord, 'Just is your judgment, O Lord, in truth it is just.'
<i>[two manuscripts from Nagel's family II have an epitome of the penitence narrative; see pericopes 2 and 4]</i>				25-27.12 Then God allowed him to provide the pleasing aromas: incense, laudanum, and libanum.
				<i>[Penitence narrative follows; see pericopes 2-4]</i>

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30:1 Νῶν ὁν, τεκνία μου, ἐδῆλωσα ὑμῖν τὸν τρόπον ἐν ᾧ ἡπατήθημεν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ φυσλάξατε ἐαυτοὺς μὴ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὸ ἀγαθόν.		[44](30):1 Արդ (որդեակ) իմ, Սէթ. (ցուցի) ձեզ զառակս զայս, որպէս զիս՝ որ յանցեաք: բայց դուք զգոյշացարուք զբարիս գործել. մի թողուք ի բաց զպատուիրանս Աստուծոյ. եւ մի մերժիք յորդրմութենէ նորա: Ահա զամենայն աւրինակ հատուցման զբարոյ եւ զբարի ցուցից ձեզ:	[44](30):1 " ხოლო აწ, შვილნო ჩემო, გაუწყე თქვენ ესე სახე ყოველი, რომელთა შევიტყუენით ლა აძას გავედრებო, რათა ღაცვნეთ თავნი თქუენნი ლა ნუ ღააცადებთ კეთილის ყოფასა".	
31:1 Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπούσα ἐν μέσφ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτῆς, κοιτωμένου τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐν τῇ νόσφ αὐτοῦ, ἄλλην δὲ εἶχεν μίαν ἡμέραν ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ. Καὶ λέγει τῷ Ἀδὰμ ἡ Εὐα·	45:1 Et sicut praedixit Michabel archangelus, post sex dies venit mors Adae.	[45](31):1 Ի ժամանակին իբրեւ կայր Ադամ ի հիանդութեանն եւ նորա շուրջ կային զմովա, քանզի սար մի միտս եա կայր ի կենաց նորա, եւ եյանէր ողին Ադամայ ի մարմնոյն: Պատմեաց եա զայս ամենայն, եւ դարձեալ եա ասէ ցԱդամ.	[45](31):1 ესე ღა თქუა ევა შორის შვილთა თვისთა, ოღეს ეძინა ადამს სნეულებასა მისსა. ღა მეორესა ღღესა გამოსლვად იყო სული გუამისაგან მისისა. ჰრქუა ევა ადამს:	[45](31):2 "რად- მე შენ ხოლო მოჰკუდებო და მე ცოცხალ ვარ, ანუ რა-ოღენ უაძაღმდე ვყოფ, ანუ რაი ყოფად არს ჩემდა შემდგომად სიკუდილისა შენისა? მაუწყე მე".
31:2 Διὰ τί ἀποθνήσκεις κάγω ῥῶ; ἡ πόσον χρόνον ἔχω ποιήσαι μετὰ θάνατόν σου; Ἀναγγεῖλόν μοι.	45:2 Cum cogno- visset Adam, quia hora venit mortis suae, dixit ad omnes filios suos: ecce sum annorum DCCCCXXX, et si mortuus fuero, sepelite me contra ortum dei magnum (contra ortum dei in agrum habita- tionis illius?) habi- tationibus.	[45](31):2 Ընդէ՛ր մեռանիս դու եւ ես կեամ. զի՛նչ սունեմ քեզ կամ որչա՛յի ժամանակս յինելոց եմ յերկրի յետ մահու քո պատմեցես ինձ:	[45](31):2 "რად- მე შენ ხოლო მოჰკუდებო და მე ცოცხალ ვარ, ანუ რა-ოღენ უაძაღმდე ვყოფ, ანუ რაი ყოფად არს ჩემდა შემდგომად სიკუდილისა შენისა? მაუწყე მე".	

GREEK

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30:1 Now then, my children, I have shown you the way in which we were deceived; and do guard yourselves from transgressing against the good."		[44](30):1 Now, my son, Seth, I [have] shown you the way, how we sinned. But you, take care to do the good things. Do not abandon God's command and do not depart from his mercy. Behold, I will show you every sort of recompense, both of good and of evil."	[44](30):1 Now, therefore, my children I have taught you the whole way in which we were tricked and I beseech you to watch yourselves and not to stop doing good."	
31:1 And Eve said this in the midst of her sons, while Adam was lying ill and had but one more day before he would depart from his body. Eve said to Adam:	45:1 Just as Michael had predicted, after six days the death of Adam came.	[45](31):1 At the time when Adam was ill and they were standing around him, because one more day remained of his life and Adam's soul was going forth from his body, Eve related all this. And again Eve said to Adam,	[45](31):1 That, then, is what Eve said in the midst of her children when Adam was lying ill. And on the second day his soul was about to go out of his body. Eve said to Adam,	
31:2 "How is it that you die and I live or how long have I to live after you are dead? Tell me."	45:2 When Adam knew that the hour of his death had come, he said to all his children: "Now I am 930 years old, and if I die, bury me opposite the great Garden of God near his dwelling (opposite the Garden of God in the field of his dwelling?)."	[45](31):2 "Why do you die and I live? Tell me, what shall I do for you? How long shall I be on the earth after your death?"	[45](31):2 "Why do you alone die and I live? Or, how long shall I exist? Or, what will become of me after your death? Let me know about that."	

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
31:3 Τότε λέγει ὁ Ἀδὰμ τῇ Εὐφ· Μὴ θέλε φροντίζειν περὶ πραγμάτων· οὐ γὰρ βραδυνεῖς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' ἴσα ἀποθνήσκομεν ἀμφοτέρω· καὶ αὐτὴ τεθήσεται εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἐμόν. Κἀν ἀποθανῶ, κατὰλειψόν με καὶ μηδεὶς μου ἄνηται ἕως οὐ ἄγγελος λαλήσεται περὶ ἐμοῦ. 31:4 Οὐ γὰρ ἐπιλήσεται μου ὁ θεός, ἀλλὰ ζητήσεται τὸ ἴδιον σκευός· ὃ ἐπλασεν. Ἀνάστα, μάλλον εὐδῆσαι τῷ θεῷ ἕως οὐ ἀποδώσω τὸ πνεῦμά μου εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ δεδωκότος μοι αὐτὸ διότι οὐκ οἶδαμεν πῶς ἀπαντήσωμεν τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς, ἢ ὀργισθῇ ἡμῖν ἢ ἐπιστρέψῃ τοῦ ἐλεῆσαι ἡμᾶς.	45:3 Et factum est, cum finisset omnes sermones illius, tradidit spiritum.	[45](31):3 <i>Աստ ցնա Ադամ. Միթէ զբաղեսցիս ինչ զերկրաւորս ամ վարկիր զի (զոյգ) մեռանիմք երկրքեանս, եւ զքեզ դիցեն ուր են կայսն. քայց իբրեւ մեռանիմ մի ինչ մերձենայք առ իս շարժի ի տեղորէ անտի, մինչեւ Աստուած խաւանցի ընդ Վասն իմ.</i> [45](31):4 <i>զի ոչ եթէ Աստուած մոռացի զիս, ամ խնդրէ զանայքն զոր իւրն ստեղծեալ է: Արդ, արի կաց յաղաքս առ Աստուած մինչեւ տամ զողի իմ ի ձեռս նորա, որ ետ ցիս զի ոչ զխեղմ որպէս զխարդ պահիցենք հարն ամենայնի. քարկացի եթէ ողորմեսցի մեզ:</i>	[45](31):3 <i>մաშობ 31-ეულია აღამ ევას. ნუგაი ბჭონ მე, რაიცა ჰყავ. უკუეთუ მოკვლეთ ონნივე, შენცა დაღებად ხარ იემ თანა და მე ხოლო თუ მოკვლულე, ნუ შემძრევნ ადგილით იემით, ვიდრე ოღეს ღმერთმა ნებდა. ნოს იემვის.</i> [45](31):4 <i>რამეთუ არა ღამივწყოს მე უფალმა, არამელ მოიძიოს ჴული, რომელი შექმნა. აღღებ და ილოცე ღმრთისა მიძართ, რაითა შეივე-ღრთოს სული იემი ხელთა შემოქმედისა იემისათა. რამეთუ არა უწყი, ვითარ შემთხუევად ვარ მე შემოქმედისა ყოველთაისა ანუ თუ მოისხავსა ანუ თუ შემოიწყნარებს?"</i>	40-41.1 Тогда възъва Адамъ великъмъ гласомъ шумлякии ѣвьго, иже бо доухъ мои омагъль есть въ мнѣ (ed. одолѣеть се, гead отъдѣля етъ се, отъ тѣла моего) . нѣ встани, изиди и помози се кь богѹ, дондѣже прѣдъамъ доухъ мои кь богѹ .

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
31:3 And Adam said to her: "Give no thought to this, for you will not tarry long after me, but both of us are to die together. And (as to) this one he shall set (her) in my place. But when I die, leave me alone and let no man touch me till the angel shall say something concerning me. 31:4 For God will not forget me, but will seek the vessel he made. Now, arise, and pray to God until I give up my soul, which he gave me, into His hands. For we know not how we are to meet our Maker, whether He will be angry with us, or will turn to show mercy on us."	45:3 And it happened that, when he had finished all his words, he gave up his spirit.	[45](31):3 Adam said to her, "Do not concern yourself with earthly things, but consider that we will both die as a couple, and they will place you where I will be. But when I die, do not come near me to move me from the place, until God speaks with you about me. [45](31):4 For God will not forget me, but he seeks the vessel which he made. Now, arise, pray to God until I give up my soul, which he gave me, into his hands. For I do not know how we shall preserve for the Father of all, whether he will be angry or will be merciful to us."	[45](31):3 Then Adam told Eve, "Be not concerned, whatever you have done. If we must both die, you too will be set near me. And if I [alone] am to die, [do not move] me from my place until God gives you a command about me, [45](31):4 for the Lord will not [forget] me, but rather he will seek out the vessel which he has made. Arise and pray a prayer to God that my soul be commended into the hands of my Creator. For I do not know how I am going to reach the Creator of all, or whether he is angry with me or whether he will accept me."	40-41.1 Then Adam called in a loud voice, "Stop talking, Eve, my spirit is already diminished in me (ed. lit. "is being overcome." Read instead "my spirit is departing from my body"), but arise, go out and pray to God, until I have given my spirit to God."

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

32:1 Τότε ἀνέστη
ἡ Εὐα καὶ
ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω· καὶ
πessoῦσα ἐπὶ τὴν
γῆν ἔλεγεν·

32:2 "Ἡμαρτον, ὁ
θεός, ἡμαρτον, ὁ
πατήρ τῶν
ἀπάντων,
ἡμαρτόν σοι,
ἡμαρτον εἰς τοὺς
ἐκλεκτούς σου
ἀγγέλους,
ἡμαρτον εἰς τὰ
χερουβὶμ, ἡμαρτον
εἰς τὸν
ἀσάλευτόν σου
θρόνον, ἡμαρτον,
κύριε, ἡμαρτον
πολλά, ἡμαρτον
ἐναντίον σου καὶ
πάντα ἁμαρτία
δι' ἐμὲ γέγονεν
ἐν τῇ κτίσει.

[45](32):1
*Ծալեալս յարեալ
Եւա, աղաչեաց
զևստոած եւ ասէ.*

[45](32):2 *Մեղայ
Աստուած. մեղայ
քեզ. Տէր իմ
սիրելի, մեղայ
ընտրելոյց) քոյց)
հրեշտակաց,
մեղայ քերորէիցն
մեղայ սերորէիցն,
մեղայ առաքի քո
Տէր, աղաչեմ
զամենեւեան զոր
ստացեալ է
Աստուծոյ յերկինս
եւ յերկրի. զի
բարեխաւսեալք
առ հայր ի
յերկինս:*

[45](32):1 მამონ
აღდგა ევა და
გამოვიდა
აღამისაგან და
იხანა და თქლა:

[45](32):2 "
შეგოდე,
ღმერთო,
შეგოდე და
ვეოდე წინაშე
შენსა, ვეოდე
წინაშე
რჩეულთა
ანგელოზთა
შენთა, ვეოდე
წინაშე
ქერობინთა,
ვეოდე წინაშე
საკურთხეველსა
სიწმიდისა
შენისასა,
ვეოდე წინაშე
ნათესავთა
ცისათა, ვეოდე
წინაშე
მფინველთა
ცისათა, ვეოდე
წინაშე მხეცთა
ქუეყა-ნისათა.
შეგოდე,
ღმერთო,
ყოველთა
ანგარებთა
ჩემთა
ყოველთა შორის
დაბადებულთა
შენთა,
გევედრები,
თქუენ ყოველთა
დაბადებულთა
ცისათა და
ქუეყანისათა,
ვედრებოდეთ
ჩემთვის
უფალსა
ყოველთასა".

40-41.2 тогда
въставъ Квѣга
изиде вънъ и
прилежѣ
образомъ къ
земли, и
помоли се къ
богѣ и рече .
40-41.3
сѣгрѣшихъ ти,
господи,
сѣгрѣшихъ ти,
владыко,
прѣдъ аггелы
твоими и
серафими
шестокрилатъ
ыми .
сѣгрѣшихъ ти
прѣдъ
страшными
прѣстоломъ .
сѣгрѣшихъ ти,
господи,
сѣгрѣшихъ .
вѣсакъ бо
грѣхъ мене
ради сѣтвори
се .

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
32:1 And Eve rose up and went outside and fell on the ground and said: 32:2 "I have sinned, O God, I have sinned, O Father of All, I have sinned against You. I have sinned against your elect angels. I have sinned against the Cherubim. I have sinned against Your unshakable Throne. I have sinned, o Lord, I have greatly sinned, I have sinned before You and all sin has begun through my doing in the creation."		[45](32):1 Then Eve arose, beseeched God and said, [45](32):2 "I have sinned, God; I have sinned against you, my beloved Lord; I have sinned against your elect angels; I have sinned against the Cherubim; I have sinned against the Seraphs; I have sinned before you, Lord. I beseech all (you) whom God created in the heavens and on the earth, that you intercede with the Father in heaven."	[45](32):1 Then Eve arose and went out from Adam('s place). She did penitence and said, [45](32):2 "I have sinned against you, God; I have sinned against you and I have sinned before you. I have sinned before your elect angels. I have sinned before the Cherubim. I have sinned before the altar of your holiness. I have sinned before the generations of the heavens. I have sinned before the birds of heavens. I have sinned before the beasts of the earth. I have sinned against you, God, by all my greed, among all your creatures. I beseech you all, you creatures of heaven and earth, beseech the Lord of all for me."	40-41.2 Then Eve stood up, went out and fell with her face to the ground, and prayed to God and said, 40-41.3 "I have sinned before you, O Lord, sinned, O Master, before the angels and six-winged Seraphim, sinned before your awesome throne, sinned, O Lord, sinned; for each and every sin occurs through me."

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
32:3 "Ετι δὲ εὐχομένης τῆς Εὐῆας [ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα αὐτῆς οὖσῃ] ἰδοὺ, ἦλθεν πρὸς αὐτήν ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος καὶ ἀνέστησεν αὐτήν λέγων· 32:4 Ἀνάστα, Εὐῆα, ἐκ τῆς μετανοίας σου· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ Ἀδὰμ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ· Ἀνάστα καὶ ἰδὲ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἀναφερόμενον εἰς τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀπαντῆσαι αὐτῷ.		[45](32):3 <i>bi</i> <i>միկղբո կայր</i> <i>յաղաքս նաւ. ի</i> <i>ծունր իրեայ, ահա</i> <i>եկն առ նա</i> <i>Միքայէլ</i> <i>հրեշտակապետն</i> <i>կանգնել զնա, եւ</i> <i>ասէ.</i> [45](32):4 <i>Արի նա</i> <i>յապաշխարութենէ</i> <i>քրանէ, ահա</i> <i>կերամայ առն քո</i> <i>եւ հոգին ի</i> <i>մարմնոյ անտի:</i>	[45](32):3 ილოცვიდა ოდენ ევა მუხლთა თვისთა ზედა და მეყსეულად მოვიდა მიქაელ ანგელოზი კაცებისა და აღადგინა ევა და ჰრქუა: [45](32):4 აღდეგ სინანულისაგან მაგის შენისა, რამეთუ აღამ, ქმარი შე- ნი, გამოსრულ არს ხორცთაგან. აღდეგ და იხილე სული მისი, ვითარ-ღა ჰყავს შემოქმედსა თვისსა.	40-41.4a и прииде аггелъ господень къ Ѣвьѣзъ и рече· 40-41.4b въстани, Ѣвьго, отъ покаяния, иже бо ядѣмъ изиде отъ тѣла своего и дохъ его изиде и прииде прѣдъ господа.

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
32:3 Even as Eve prayed [on her knees] behold, the angel of mankind came to her, and raised her up and said: 32:4 "Rise up, Eve, from your penitence, for behold, Adam your husband has gone out of his body. Rise up and behold his spirit borne aloft to meet his Maker."		[45](32):3 While Eve was praying on bended knee, behold, the archangel Michael came to her, stood her up and said, [45](32):4 "Arise, Eve, from your penitence. Behold, the soul of your husband Adam has gone forth from the body."	[45](32):3 While Eve was praying on her [[knees]], suddenly Michael came, the angel of mankind, he stood Eve up, and told her, [45](32):4 "Arise from that penitence, for Adam your spouse has gone forth from the body. Arise and see his soul, how his Creator has already (got) it."	40-41.4a And the angel of the Lord came to Eve and said, 40-41.4b "Rise up, Eve, from your repentance, for Adam has already departed out of his body and his spirit is separated and gone before God."

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

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SLAVONIC

33:1 Ἀναστᾶσα δὲ Εὐὰ ἐπέβαλεν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ. [Καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος· ἄρον καὶ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν γῶνων.]		[45](33):1 <i>Կանկեցաւ նա,</i>	[45](33):1 აღდგა ევა და დაიდვა ხელი პირსა ზედა თვისსა და ამაღლდა ანგელოზი იგი და პრქუა ევას: „აღიხილენ თუალნი შენნი და განეშორე ზრუნვათაგან ქუეყანისათა“.	
33:2 Καὶ ἀτενίσασα εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἶδεν ἄρμα φωτὸς ἐρχόμενον ὑπὸ τεσσάρων ἀετῶν λαμπρῶν ὃ οὐκ ἦν δυνατόν γεννηθῆναι ἀπὸ κοιλίας ἢ εἰπεῖν τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν ἢ ἰδεῖν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν, καὶ ἄγγέλους προάγοντας τὸ ἄρμα.			[45](33):2 ხოლო ევა, ვითარცა აღიხილნა თვალნი თვისნი ზეცად და იხილნა ეტლნი ცეცხლისანი და ნათელი აღმავალი ოთხთა ქართა ზედა, ეგრე ბრწყინვალე იყვნეს, ვითარცა ვერარაი ემსგავსების თქუჲმად, ვერ შეძძლებელ იყო განცდად ვერცა მუცლით, ვერცა ზურგიით, და ანგელოზნი წინა უძღოლეს ეტლთა მათ,	
33:3 Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν ὅπου ἔκειτο ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν Ἀδάμ, ἔστη τὸ ἄρμα καὶ τὰ Σεραφίμ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἄρματος.			[45](33):3 და ვითარცა მივიდეს, სადაცა-იგი იყო მამაი, დადგა ეტლი იგი და სერაბინნი დგეს შორის მისსა და შორის ეტლთა.	

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

33:1 And Eve rose up and put her hand on the face (of Adam), [and the angel said to her, "Lift up your hand from that which is of the earth."] 33:2 And she gazed steadfastly into heaven, and beheld a chariot of light, borne by four bright eagles, (and) it was impossible for any man born of woman to tell the glory of them or behold their face—and angels going before the chariot. 33:3 But when they came to the place where your father Adam was, the chariot halted and the Seraphim were between the father and the chariot.		[45](33):1 Eve arose,	[45](33):1 Eve arose and put her hand on her face and the angel went up again, and he told Eve, "Raise you eyes and abandon earthly concerns." [45](33):2 As for Eve, when she had raised her eyes towards the heavens, she saw chariots of fire and a light which went up, (borne) by four [[winds]]: they were so resplendent that no word could express it, and it was impossible to sound them out, neither from the front nor from the back. And angels were proceeding before these chariots. [45](33):3 And when they had arrived (at the place) where the father was, the chariot stopped and the Seraphs stood between him and the chariots.	
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GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
33:4 Ἰδὼν δὲ ἐγὼ θυμιατήρια χρυσᾶ καὶ τρεῖς φιάλας· καὶ ἰδοὺ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι μετὰ λίβανον καὶ θυμιατήρια ἤλθον ἐν σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ ἐνεφύσαν αὐτά· καὶ ἡ ἀνμίς τοῦ θυμιάματος ἐκάλυψεν τὰ στερεώματα. 33:5 Καὶ προσέπεσαν οἱ ἄγγελοι τῷ θεῷ βοῶντες καὶ λέγοντες· Ἰαήλ ἄγιε, συγχώρησον, ὅτι εἰκὼν σου ἐστὶν καὶ ποίημα τῶν χειρῶν σου τῶν ἀγίων. 34:1 [καὶ ἀνθις] ἰδὼν ἐγὼ Εὐα δὴ μεγάλα καὶ φοβερὰ μυστήρια ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ἔκλαυσεν ἐκ τοῦ φόβου καὶ ἐβόησεν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν μου Σὴθ λέγουσα·	46:1 Obtenetratus est sol et luna et stellae per dies VII. et cum esset Seth amplexans corpus patris sui lugens desuper et Eva cum esset respiciens in terram intextas manus super caput eius habens et ca- put super genua imponens et omnes filii eius fletibus amaris simis lacrimassent:		[45](33):4 ლა ვიხილუ მე, ევა, სასაკუშმევლუ სამი ოქროსიანი ლა ფიალები და სამი ანგელოზნი მოვიდეს სწრაფით საკუთხეველსა ზედა. მოვიდეს ნა-კუერცხალი და შთაასხეს საკუთმევლი ანგელოზთა მათ მას ზედა. და ვითარცა მბერვიდეს, აღვიდოდა კუამლი და ლაჰფარნა სამყარონი ცისანი. [45](33):5 აქებდეს ანგელოზნი იგო და თაყუანის- სცემდეს, ღალღებდეს და იტყუოდეს: "ღმერთო, მიუტევენ აღამს, რამეთუ ხატი შენი და კმნილი ხელთა შენთა არს და ღაბადებული შენი არს". [46](34):1 ლა ვიხილუნ მე, ევა, ონნი ნათელნი ღღინი შიშით ღაცემულნი წინაშე ღმრთისა, და ვტიროდუ და ვარქუ ძესა ჩემსა სეთის:	40-41.5 И възврата се Къвѣга гдѣ лежить тѣло отца нашего Адама и видѣ кадильницѣ златѣ и .г. свѣтильницѣ горящѣ и .г. аггелы, дрѣжщѣ тѣхъ, кадещѣ тѣло адамово, и воня благосухания възидѣ до небесъ . 40-41.6 И съшъдѣшѣмъ се аггеломъ поклонимѣ се прѣдъ прѣстоломъ, глаголющѣ архаггелъ Иоиль : свѣтъ свѣтымъ, владыко прости тварь свою, яко тварь руку твоюю ѣстъ . 42-44.1а Къвѣга же видѣ велия чюдеса, строжаща се прѣдъ богомъ, и плака се съ страхомъ великимъ и възва сына своего Сидра, и рече ему :

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33:4 And I beheld golden censers and three bowls, and beheld all the angels with censers and frankincense came in haste to the incense-offering and blew upon it and the smoke of the incense veiled the firmament.

33:5 And the angels fell down to God, crying aloud and saying, "Jael, Holy One, have pardon, for he is Your image, and the work of Your holy hands."

34:1 [And then] I Eve beheld two great and fearful mysteries before the presence of God and I wept for fear, and I cried aloud to my son Seth and said,

46:1 The sun, moon and stars grew dark for seven days. Seth embraced the body of his father and mourned over it. Eve cast her eyes upon the ground with her hands clasped above her head and her head placed on her knees. All her children wept with very bitter tears.

[45](33):4 And I, Eve, saw three gold censers; and (three) [cups] and three angels come quickly upon the altar. These angels took a burning coal and put it in the censer and set the censer upon the (altar). And while they blew, the smoke went up and veiled the firmaments of the heavens.

[45](33):5 The angels were praising (God), they were bowing before him, crying out and saying, "God, forgive Adam for he is your image and the work of your hands: he is your creature."

[46](34):1 And I, Eve, saw two great lights prostrated in fear before [God] and I wept and told my son Seth,

40-41.5 And Eve returned again to where the corpse of our father Adam lay, and she saw a golden incense pot and three burning flares and three angels attending them, and the corpse of Adam anointed and the scent of fragrance ascending to Heaven.

40-41.6 And as the angels assembled, they bowed before the throne and the archangel Joel said, "Holy above holy, O Lord, forgive your creature, for it is the creation of your hands."

42-44.1a Eve saw great marvels, which were being performed before God and cried in great distress and called her son Seth and said to him,

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
34:2 Ἀνάστα, Σήθ, ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ πατρός σου καὶ ἔλθε πρὸς με καὶ ἰδὲ ἃ οὐκ εἶδεν ὀφθαλμὸς ποτε τινὸς καὶ πῶς δέονται ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός σου Ἀδάμ. 35:1 Τότε ἀνέσθη Σήθ καὶ ἦλθεν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ· Διὰ τί κλαίεις· 35:2 Καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ· Ἀνάβλεψον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου καὶ ἰδὲ τὰ ἐπὶ τὰ στερεώματα ἀνεφγμένα καὶ πῶς κεῖται τὸ σῶμα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι μετ' αὐτοῦ εὐχόμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντες· Συγχώρησον αὐτῷ, ὁ πατήρ τῶν ὅλων, ὅτι εἰκὼν σου ἔστιν. 35:3 Ἄρα δέ, τέκνον μου Σήθ τί ἐστὶν μοι; πότε παραδοθήσεται εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ ὁράτου θεοῦ ἡμῶν; 35:4 Τίνες δέ εἰσιν, υἱέ μου Σήθ, οἱ δύο Αἰθιοπες οἱ παριστάμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν προσευχὴν τοῦ πατρὸς σου;	46:2 Et ecce Michael angelus apparuit stans ad caput Adae et dixit ad Seth: exurge desuper corpus patris tui et veni ad me et vide, quid de eo disponat dominus deus. plasma eius est et misertus est ei.		[46](34):2 აღდგე გუამისაგან მამისა შენისა და მოვედ ჩემდა და იხილე რომელი თუალთა შენთა არა უხილავს აღამისთვის მამისა შენისა“. [46](35):1 მამენ აღდგა სეით და მივიდა ევაისა, ღუდისა თვისისა, და ჰრქუა:“რად სტირ?” [46](35):2 აღიხილენ თუალნი შენნი და იხილენ შვიდნი სამყარონი განხუშულნი და იხილენ მსგავსებაი მამისა აღამისი, ვითარ ძეს იგი წინაშე ღმრთისა. და ყოველნი ანგელოზნი ევედრებოან მისთვის და იტყვიან: მიუ- ტევე, ღმერთო, აღამს, რამეთუ ხატო შენი არს და მსგავსი, რამეთუ შენ შეჰქმენ“. [46](35):3 “ჰოი შვილო ჩემო, სეით, [46](35):4a ანუშგა ჰინდოთა იმათ მისცემენ სისხლსა კრმისა ჩემისასა, რამეთუ ყვენეს იგინი წინაშე ღმრთისა“.	42-44.1b встани, Сиде, отъ тѣла отца твоего и прииди, да видиши чюдо, же не видѣлъ еси николиже. 42-44.2a встанѣ же Сидъ прииде къ матери своеи, и рече кѣмѹ . 42-44.2b възри снѹ на небо. 42-44.3 и възрѣвъ и видѣ Сидъ всѣ воинство аггелъ, стояще прѣдъ прѣстоломъ господьнимъ и молюще сѣ глаголаху . помилѹи, владыко, тварь свою .

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
34:2 "Rise up, Seth, from the body of your father Adam, and come to me, and see a spectacle which no man's eye has yet beheld and how they supplicate on behalf of your father, Adam." 35:1 Then Seth arose and came to his mother and said to her: "Why do you weep?" 35:2 And she said to him: "Look up and see with your eyes the seven heavens opened, and see how the body of your father lies on its face and all the holy angels are praying on his behalf and saying: 'Pardon him, Father of All, for he is Your image.'" 35:3 Pray, my child Seth, what shall this mean? And will he one day be delivered into the hands of our Invisible God?	46:2 Then Michael the angel appeared, standing at Adam's head, and said to Seth: "Arise from the body of your father, and come with me and see what the Lord God has arranged for him. He is his creature and he has taken pity on him.		[46](34):2 "Rise up from beside your father's body, come towards me and see that which your eyes have not seen, concerning Adam your father." [46](35):1 Then Seth arose and went close to his mother Eve and told her, "Why are you weeping?" [46](35):2 Raise your eyes and see the seven firmaments open and see the likeness of father Adam, as he lies before God and all the angels are beseeching him and saying, 'God, forgive Adam, for he is your image and your likeness, because it is you who have created him.'" [46](35):3 "What is this, then, my son Seth?	42-44.1b "Arise, Seth, from the corpse of your father and come to see a marvelous thing, such as you have never seen before." 42-44.2a Seth arose and came to his mother and she said to him, 42-44.2b "Look, my son, toward heaven." 42-44.3 And looking up Seth saw the whole angelic host standing before the throne of the Lord, saying in prayer, "Pity your creation O Master."

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
36:1 Λέγει δὲ Σὴθ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ· ὅτι εἰσιν ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη, καὶ αὐτοὶ προσπίπτοντες καὶ εὐχόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς μου Ἀδὰμ. 36:2 Λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ Εὐὰ· Καὶ ποῦ ἐστὶν τὸ φῶς αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τί γεγόνασι μελανοειδεῖς; 36:3 Καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ Σὴθ· Οὐκ ἀπέστη τὸ φῶς αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ δύνανται φαίνειν ἐνώπιον τοῦ φωτὸς τῶν ὅλων, τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν φωτῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκρύβη τὸ φῶς ἀπ' αὐτῶν.	<i>see 46.1</i>		[46](35):4b მიუგო ევას სეით და ჰრქუა: "არა ეგრე, დედაო, არა იცან ესე, რომელთა ინლო-ებაი სოქუ სისხლისფერთაი მათ". [46](35):4c მიუგო ევა და ჰრქუა: "არა ვიცნო, შვილო ჩემო". [46](36):1 მიუგო სეით და ჰრქუა: "ესე არიან მზე და მთოვარე და იგიინი დავრდომილ არიან და ევერდებიან აღამისთვის, მაძისა ჩემისა". [46](36):2 "სადა არს ნათელი იგი მზისაი, რამეთუ არღა რაი არს მისი თანა. ანუ რადმე დაშავებულ არს ეგრე?" [46](36):3 მიუგო სეით და ჰრქუა ევას: "რამეთუ განქარდა ნათელი მისი წინაშე ღმრთისა ყოველთაისა და შავა ნათელი მისი შიშისაგან ღმრთისა".	42-44.4 пакы Сидъ рече къ матери своѣи · възъри, яко слъньце и луна покланя юта се прѣстолю и молеще се за отца нашего Адама . 42-44.5 и рече Евѣга · где юсть свѣтъ тѣмь; 42-44.6 рече Сидъ матери своѣи · югда вѣста архаггелъ Михайль молити се, и оумлькоше въсе силы аггелъскыѣ прѣдъ госп одомъ,

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

35:4 But who are, my son Seth, the two Ethiopians who stand by at the prayers for your father?"

36:1 And Seth said to his mother, "They are the sun and moon and themselves fall down and pray on behalf of my father Adam."

36:2 Eve said to him: "And where is their light and why have they taken on such a black appearance?"

36:3 And Seth answered her, "The light has not left them, but they cannot shine before the Light of all things, the Father of Light; and on this account their light has been hidden."

see 46.1

[46](35):4a Do they deliver [the blood of my spouse] to these Indians, for they were before God?"
[46](35):4b Seth replied to Eve and told her, "No, mother, [did you not recognize those whom you called Indians in these colors of blood]?"
[46](35):4c Eve replied to him and told him, "I do not know them, my son."

[46](36):1 Seth replied to her and told her, "These are the sun and the moon: they are prostrated and they are beseeching for Adam, my father."
[46](36):2 Where is the light of the sun, for it is no more with it, or why is it darkened thus?"

[46](36):3 Seth replied to her and told Eve, "Because its light has been eclipsed before the God of all and its light had become darkened by fear of God."

42-44.4 Again Seth spoke to his mother, "Look there, how the sun and moon bow down to the throne, praying for our father Adam."
42-44.5 And Eve said, "Where is their light?"

42-44.6 Seth said to his mother, "When the archangel Michael himself arose in order to pray, all the power of the angels before throne of the Lord ceased."

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

37:1 Λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Σηθ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Εὐάν, ἰδοὺ ἐσάπλισεν ὁ ἄγγελος· καὶ ἀνέστησαν πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐπ' ὄψεσιν κείμενοι καὶ ἐβόησαν φωνὴν φοβεράν λέγοντες·	47:1 Et omnes angeli canentes tubis dixerunt:		[47](37):1 ამას რაი ეტყულა სეით ევას, მეყსეულად ღიღამან ანგელოზმან ღაპბერა საყვირსა და აღეპართნეს ანგელოზნი, რომელნი ღაცემულ იყვნეს პირსა ზედა თვისსა. ევეღრებოდეს აღამისათვის, ხმა-ყვეს ხმითა ღიღითა და თქუეს: [47](37):2 კუთხოველ არს ღმერთი ყოვლითა კუთხოვეითა. შვიწყალე პირველი ღაბადებული". [47](37):3 ღაოდეს თქუეს ანგელოზთა ხმაი ესე, მოთვლინა მისა ერთი სერაბინთაგანი მიიტსფრთე ღა მიიტაცა აღამი ტბასა მას კეროვანისასა	42-44.7a и паки аггели великимъ гласомъ възъваше, глуще . 42-44.7b благословена слава господня, помилованыи тварь своимъ Адама. 45-46.1 Тогда прииде множество аггелъ, херувими и серафими, и възехе тѣло Адамово и поставише ю въ Герусимъ блато и прославивъше юго тѣмъ омываху .г.-ши .
37:2 Εὐλογημένη ἡ δόξα κυρίου ἀπὸ ποιημάτων αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἠλέησεν τὸ πλάσμα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ Ἀδάμ.	benedictus es, domine, quia misertus es plasmæ tuæ.			
37:3 Ὅτε δὲ εἶπον τὰς φωνὰς ταύτας οἱ ἄγγελοι, ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν ἐν τῶν Σεραφὶμ ἐξαπτερύγων· καὶ ἦρπασε τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἀπήγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἀχερουσίαν λίμνην καὶ ἀπέλουσεν αὐτὸν τρίτον καὶ ἦγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.				

GREEK

LATIN

ARMENIAN

GEORGIAN

SLAVONIC

37:1 Now while Seth was saying this to his mother, behold, an angel blew the trumpet, and all the angels who were lying on their faces rose up, and they cried aloud in an fearsome voice and said: 37:2 "Blessed (be) the glory of the Lord from the works of His making, for He has pitied Adam, the creature of His hands." 37:3 But when the angels had said these words, behold, there came one of the Seraphim with six wings and snatched up Adam and carried him off to the Acherusian lake, and washed him thrice, and led him before God.	47:1 Then all the angels, playing trumpets, said: "Blessed are you, Lord, for you have taken pity on your creature."		[47](37):1 As Seth was telling that to Eve, at once a great angel blew the trumpet and all the angels who were prostrated on their faces stood up again. They prayed for Adam and cried out in a loud voice, and said, [47](37):2 "Blessed [is God, by all blessing. You] pardoned the protoplast." [47](37):3 And when the angels had said these words, one of the six-winged Seraphim was sent towards him (Adam). He took Adam to the lake of (A)cheron,	42-44.7a And again the angels cried out in a loud voice saying, 42-44.7b "Blessed is the glory of the Lord, who has reprieved his creature Adam." 45-46.1 Then came a multitude of angels, Cherubim and Seraphim, and they took the corpse of Adam and laid him in the Sea of Gerusia and honoring him, they washed him three times.
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GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
37:4 Ἐποίησεν δὲ τρεις ὥρας κειμενος. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξέτεινεν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὄλων καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἦρεν τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ Μιχαὴλ λέγων·	47:2 Tunc vidit Seth manum do- mini extensam tenentem Adam; et tradidit Michaheli dicens:		[47](37):4 ლა განბანა სამჯერ, მოიყვანა იგი წინაშე ღმრთისა და იღვა იგი პირსა ზედა თვისსა ვიდრე სამ ქამ ოღენ. და შემღვთმად მისსა მიყთ ხელი თვისი ღმერთმან საყდრით თვისით და აღადგინა ადამი და მისცა მი- ქაელს და ჰრქუა მას:	45-46.2a въ .Г.-тии же часъ прострѣ господь рѣкъ своѣ, сѣдѣши на прѣстолѣ, и възѣтъ Адама, и прѣдѣстъ єго архаггелю Михаилу, и рече єму госп одъ .
37:5 Ἄρον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἄφες αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης τῆς μεγάλης τῆς οἰκονομίας ἧς ποιήσω εἰς τὸν κόσμον.	47:3 sit in custodia tua usque in diem dispensationis in suppliciis ad annos novissimos, quando convertam luctum eius in gaudium. Tunc sedebit in throno eius, qui eum supplantavit.		[47](37):5 "მოიყვანე ეგე მესამესა ცასა სამოთხეს და ლატუქვე წინაშე საკურთხეველსა ვიდრე ღლეღმდე განგებისა, რომელი მეგულვების ყოველ- თა თანა ხორციელთა საყუარელისა მისა ჩემისა თანა .	42-44.2b вънеси тѣло єго въ рай, доухъ же єго да прѣбываетъ въ третіємъ небеси . тѣло же єго тѣ да прѣбываетъ до въскрьсєнія моєго .
37:6 Τότε ὁ Μιχαὴλ ἦρεν τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ὅπου εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός· καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔμνουν ἔμνον ἀγγελικὸν θαυμάζοντες ἐπὶ τῇ συγχωρήσει τοῦ Ἀδὰμ.			[47](37):6 მაშინ მიქაელ წარიყვანა ადამი ადგილსა მას, რომელსა უბრძანა ღმერთმან, და ყოველნი ანგელოზნი ფსალმუნებდეს ფსალმუნსა ანგელოზთასა. აქებდეს საკვირველებასა ადამისსა და აღთქუმასა მას მერ- მისასა.	45-46.3 тогда архаггелъ поѣмъ Адама и принесе єго идеже рече єму господь .

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37:4 And he stayed there three hours, lying down, and thereafter the Father of all, sitting on his holy throne stretched out his hand, and took Adam and handed him over to the archangel Michael saying:	47:2 Then Seth saw the hand of the Lord outstretched, holding Adam. He handed him over to Michael, saying:		[47](37):4 and he dipped him in it three times. Then he led him back before God and (Adam) remained (prostrate) on his face for three hours. And after that, God stretched out his hand from his throne, raised Adam up and gave him to Michael, and he told him, [47](37):5 "Take him to the third heaven, to the Garden, and leave him before the altar until the day of the 'oikonomia' which I contemplate concerning all the fleshly (beings) with my well-beloved Son." [47](37):6 Then Michael took Adam to the place which God had ordered and all the angels were chanting angelic psalms. They were praising this wonder: the forgiveness of Adam and the promise of a future (life).	45-46.2a In the third hour, however, the Lord, seated on the throne, stretched forth his hand and took Adam and gave him to the archangel Michael and said to him,
37:5 "Lift him up into the Garden unto the third Heaven, and leave him there until that fearful day of my reckoning, which I will make in the world."	47:3 "Let him be in your care until the day of retribution, in supplication until the last years when I shall change his mourning into joy. Then he will sit on the throne of him who beguiled him."			42-44.2b "Carry his corpse into Paradise; his spirit shall tarry in the third Heaven, but his corpse shall remain here until my resurrection."
37:6 Then Michael took Adam and left him where God told him. And all the angels sang an angelic hymn being amazed at the pardoning of Adam.				45-46.3 Then the archangel took Adam and carried him there, to the place God had commanded him.

GREEK

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38:1 Μετά δὲ
τὴν γεγενημένην
χαρὰν τοῦ Ἀδάμ
ἐβόησεν πρὸς τὸν
πατέρα ὁ ἀρχάγ-
γελος Μιχαήλ
διὰ τὸν Ἀδάμ.
38:2 Καὶ
ἐλάλησεν ὁ
πατήρ πρὸς αὐτόν
ἵνα συναχθῶσιν
πάντες οἱ
ἄγγελοι ἐνώπιον
τοῦ θεοῦ, ἕκαστος
κατὰ τὴν τάξιν
αὐτοῦ, τινὲς μὲν
ἔχοντες
θυμιατήρια ἐν
χερσὶν αὐτῶν,
ἄλλοι δὲ κιθάρας
καὶ φιάλας καὶ
σάλπιγγας.

38:3 Καὶ ἰδοὺ
κύριος στρατιῶν
ἐπέβη καὶ
τέσσαρες ἄνεμοι
εἶλκον αὐτόν,
καὶ τὰ χερουβὶμ
ἐπέχοντα τοῖς
ἀνέμοις καὶ οἱ
ἄγγελοι ἐκ τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ
προάγοντες
αὐτόν. Καὶ
ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν
γῆν ὅπου ἦν τὸ
σῶμα τοῦ Ἀδάμ.

[47](38):2 *և ժողովեցան
հրեշտակք
ամենայն առաջի
նորա ըստ
իրաքանչիւր
կարգի. ոմանք
ունէին բուրմանս ի
ծնոս իրեանց.
ոմանք ունէին
կողոս, և ոմանք
ունէին
սարհնութիւնս:*

[47](38):3 *և ահա
Տէր զաւրութեանց
ի կառս քերորէից.
և չորք հորմք
ձգէին զնս, և
քերորէքս
սպասէին հողմոցն
այն. և
հրեշտակքն
գնացին առաջի
նորա: Եկն
Աստուած յիրկիր ի
տեղի ուր կայր
մարմինն Ադամայ.
և ամենայն
հրեշտակք
սարհնութեամբ
առաջի նորա:*

[47](38):1
შემდგომად
ადისსა ღაღად-
ყო მიქაელ
ღმრთისა შიშარს

[47](38):2 ღა
ღმერთმან
ბრძანა ღაცემად
საყვირისა და
შეკრებაი ყო-
ველთა
ანგელოზთაი
წინაშე ღმრთისა
თითოეულად
წესთა მათ,
რომელთა
აქუნდა
სასაყუმევლე და
რომელთამე
აქუნდა
საგალობლები
და რომელნი-მე
საყვირსა
სცემდეს.

[47](38):3 ღა აჰა
უფალი
საბაოთისა
აჰხდა
ქერობინთა
ქართა ზედა და
ანგელოზნი
შვიდით ციოთ
წინა უძღოლეს
მას, და მოვიდეს
ქუეყანად,
საღაცა ისხნეს
ხორცნი აღამისი.
და ყოველნი
ანგელოზნი
უგალობდეს.

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38:1 But after this joyous event of Adam, the archangel Michael cried to the Father concerning Adam. 38:2 And the Father commanded him that all the angels should assemble before God, each in his order, some having censers in their hands, and others lyres, bowls and trumpets. 38:3 And behold, the Lord of Hosts entered and four winds drew Him and Cherubim mounted on the winds and the angels from heaven escorting Him and they came on the earth, where was the body of Adam.		[47](38):2 and all the angels assembled before her, each according to his rank. Some of them bore censers in their hands, others bore trumpets and others bore blessings. [47](38):3 Behold, the Lord of hosts upon a Cherub chariot and four wind[s] were drawing him, and Cherubim were serving those winds and the angels were proceeding before him: God came to the earth, to the place where Adam's body lay, and all of the angels (were) before him with praises.	[47](38):1 After which Michael cried out towards God, [47](38):2 and God ordered that the trumpet be sounded and that all the angels assemble before God, each one in his rank: those who held a censer; those who held a psaltery; and those who sounded the trumpet. [47](38):3 And behold, the Lord of Sabaoth rose upon the winds of the Cherubim, and from the seven heavens angels were proceeding before him, and they came to the earth to the place where the fleshly (remains) of Adam had been put, and all the angels were sing-ing his (praises).	
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38:4 Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον· καὶ ἐκινήθησαν πάντα τὰ φυτὰ τοῦ παραδείσου, ὡς πάντα τὰ ἄνθρωπος γεγεννημένους ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδάμ νυστάζει ἀπὸ τῆς εὐωδίας, χωρὶς τοῦ Σῆθ μόνου, ὅτι ἐγένετο καθορῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. 39:1 [καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ θεός] πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀδάμ καὶ ἐλυπήθη σφόδρα ἐπ' αὐτόν· καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ θεός· Ἀδάμ, τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας; Εἰ ἐφύλαξας τὴν ἐντολήν μου, οὐκ ἂν ἐχαίροντο οἱ καταγαγόντες σε εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον.		[47](38):4 ხელს შათოაძ ხ ჟრახის ხ [ჯარძეჲას] ამხნაჲს თონსჲს ხე ამხნაჲს ქარო ჟი ათ სჲამ ღჲს ჟონ ღათ გნთაჲ, ჟაჲც მქაჲს სღჲ ათაჲრს სარჲონ ღჲ რათ თხს[ჯ]ოჲჲს შათოთჲ; [47](39):1 ხელს შათოაძ ათ ქარძჲს სჲამაჲ ოჲ ქაჲრ მხთაჲ, თრთმეჲთ შათოაძ ჟოჲ ხ ათ ჲ ღაჲს ჟაჲგროჲჲს. ო სჲამ. ჟჲ^ს არარჲრ ჟაჲრ. ხჲღ ყა^სნაჲ ღჲ რთ ყა^სათოჲრანს ჲმ, ოჲ ორახჲ ქს^სჲს ჲ ქს^სრჲჲ რთ, ოჲ ქოოჲრს ჟჲჲჲ ჟაჲრ თხ^სჲჲ.	[47](38):4 ღა მოწია პირველად სამოთხესა თვისსა, ღა შვიძრნეს ყუავილნი სამოთხისანი სულნელეთა თვისთა, სულნელეზისაგა ნ დიდებულისა ღმრთისა დასულბეს ყოველნი ნაშობნი აღამისნი, გარნა სეით ხოლო არა, რამეთუ ნაშობი იყო სიმდიდრისა ღმრთისაი. [47](39):1 ღა ოღეს მოვიდა უფალი დავრდომილსა მას ზელა გუამსა აღამისსა, შეჴვენა მას ზელა უფალი და ჰრეჴა ხმოთა მჴუხარებისაით ა: უჴუეთჲმცა დაგემარნეს მცნებანი ჯემნი, არამცა დავრდომილ იყავ მაგას ადგილსა, არამცა იხილა მტერმან შენმან შენი, რომელ გამოგაგდო შენ მაგას ადგილსა,	

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38:4 And they came to the Garden and all the leaves of the Garden were stirred so that all men begotten of Adam slept from the fragrance save Seth alone, because he was born according to the appointment of God.

39:1 [And God came] to the body of Adam and grieved greatly over him and God said to him: "Adam, what is this you have done? Had you kept my commandment, those who born you down to this place would not have rejoiced.

[47](38):4 God came to the Garden and all the plants [moved], and all the people who were with Adam fell asleep. Only Seth alone, the virtuous one, was awake, according to God's direction.

[47](39):1 God came to Adam's body, where he was lying dead. God mourned greatly and said in a sweet voice, "Oh, Adam. Why did you do that? If you had observed my commandment, those who brought you down to this place would not have rejoiced over you.

[47](38):4 And (God) first reached his Garden, and the flowers of the Garden, with their sweet odors, were moved at the sweet odor of the glorious God. All the children of Adam grew numb, except only for Seth, for he was son of the greatness of God. [47](39):1 And when the Lord had come to the body of Adam which had fallen (on the earth), the Lord was sorrowful for him and told him in a sad voice, "If you had kept my commandments, you would not have fallen in that place and your enemy would not have been able to see that he had caused you to be expelled in that place.

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39:2 Πλην λέγω σοι ὅτι τὴν χαρὰν αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψω εἰς λύπην, τὴν δὲ λύπην σου ἐπιστρέψω εἰς χαρὰν· καὶ ἐπιστρέψω σε εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν σου καὶ καθίσω σε εἰς τὸν θρόνον τοῦ ἀπατήσαντός σε. 39:3 Ἐκεῖνος δὲ [τὸν καθίσαντα ἐπ' αὐτῷ πρὶν γένεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ] εἰσβληθήσεται εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ἵνα ἴδῃ σε καθήμενον ἐπ' αὐτὸν· τότε κατακριθήσεται αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἀκούσαντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ λυπηθήσεται ὁρῶν σε καθήμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ. 40:1 Μετὰ ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ Μιχαήλ· Ἄπελθε εἰς τὸν παράδεισον ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἔνεγκε τρεῖς σινδόνας βυσσίνους καὶ σηρικὰς.	48:1 Et dixit iterum dominus ad Michahel et Urihel angelos: afferte mihi tres sindones bissinas	[47](39):2 բայց զուրախութիւն նոցա դարձուցից ի տրտմութիւն. եւ զտրտմութիւն քո դարձուցից յուրախութիւն. արարից զքեզ սկիզբն ուրախութեան եւ նստեցուցից զքեզ յաթոռ նորա, որ խաբեացն զքեզ [47](39):3 եւ արկից զնոսա ի տեղի խաարի եւ մահու: [48](40):1 Յետ այսորիկ խաաեցաւ Աստուած զՄիքայել եւ ասէ. Երթ դու ի դուրստն (երրորդ) երկնից եւ բեր ինձ կտան երկու.	[47](39):2 არამედ სიხარული მისი ზღუდილად გარდავაქციო და მოგა- ქციო მას მთავრობასა და ღაგსუა შენ საყდართა ზედა მტევისა შენისათა, რომელ იგი ჯდა მას ზედა, რომლისა თანა იბოვა ამპარტავანებაი იგი. [47](39):3 გაშვარდეს მაგას აღგილსა და შენ გიხილოს მაგას აღგილსა მკლდმარე საყდართა ზედა. [48](40):1 და ამისა შემდგომად უბრძანა ღმერთმან მიქაელს	

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39:2 Yet, I tell you that I will turn their joy to grief and your grief will I turn to joy, and I will return you to your rule, and seat you on the throne of your deceiver.

39:3 But that one [the one who sat on it prior to his becoming arrogant] shall be cast into this place that he may see you seated upon it. Then he himself shall be condemned along with those who obeyed him and he shall grieve when he see you sitting upon his throne.

40:1 Then God said to the archangel Michael: "Go away to Paradise in the third heaven, and carry away three fine linen clothes."

48:1a Again the Lord said to the angels Michael and Uriel: "Bring me 3 linen shrouds

[47](39):2 But I will turn their rejoicing into sorrow, and I will turn your sorrow into rejoicing. I shall make you the beginning of rejoicing and I shall set you on the throne of him who deceived you, [47](39):3 and I shall cast them into a place of darkness and death."

[48](40):1 After this, God spoke to Michael and said, "Go to the Garden of the [third] heaven and bring [me] three linen cloths".

[47](39):2 But I will change his joy into sorrow and I will lead you back towards this realm and I will set you upon your enemy's throne, where he was seated, close (by the place) where his rebellion was discovered. [47](39):3 He will fall in the place (where) you (are) and he will see you in that (other) place sitting upon a throne."

48(40):1 And after that, God gave an order to Michael who took (Adam) back to the Garden, which is in the third heaven.

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
40:2 Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ Μιχαὴλ καὶ τῷ Γαβριήλ καὶ τῷ Οὐριήλ· Στρώσατε σινδόνας καὶ σκεπάσατε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ 'Αδάμ· καὶ ἐνεγκόντες ἔλαιον ἐκ τοῦ ἐλαίου τῆς εὐωδίας ἐκχέετε ἐπ' αὐτόν. Καὶ ἐκήδευσαν αὐτόν οἱ τρεῖς μεγάλοι ἄγγελοι.	48:1b et expandite super Adam. et alias sindones super Abel filium eius, et sepelite Adam et filium eius.	[48](40):2 <i>իրիւ հրիւ, ասէ Աստուած ց' ի քալելի եւ ց' Ուլէլ եւ ց' Գաբրիէլ· տարածեցէք զկտաւադ եւ ծածկեցէք գմարմինս Ադամայ, եւ բերէք իւղս անուշս. բերին եւ արկին զնովաւ. եւ «պատեցին» զնա նովին Հանդերձովն:</i>	[48](40):2 ლა მიავლნა სამთხელს, რომელ არს მესამესა ცასა. მოიხუნეს სამნი არმენაკნი სინდესანი წარგრაგნილნი და ჰრქუა ღმერთმან მიქაელს და გაბრიელს: „განმ არტენით არმენაკნი ეგე და შეგრაგნეთ გულამი აღამისა და მოიღეთ საცხებელი ზეთის ხილისაგან და დაასხით მაგას ზედა. და შე- ძოსეს იგი სამთა ანგელოზთა. და ოღეს შემოსეს გულამი იგი აღამისი, [48](40):3 <i>եւ Իրիւ կատարեցին զամենայն, Հրամայեաց Աստուած բերել զԱբելի մարմինս. բերին եւ լալլ կտաւա եւ Հանդերձեցին զնա.</i>	[48](40):3 ლა ჰრქუა ღმერთმან: „მოიღ ეთ გულამი იგი აბელისაგა და მოი- ხუნეთ სხუანიცა არმენაკნი და შემოსეთ იგიცა, 45-46.4 Паки господь рече къ архангелу · въниди въ раи и възьми плащаницу порфиру и покрови тело Адамово, и прими маслинно масло и прѣлви его . 45-46.5 также и тѣло Авелово сътвори при немъ .
40:3 Ὅτε δὲ ἐτέλεσαν κηδεύοντες τὸν 'Αδάμ, εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ἐνεχθῆναι καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ 'Αβελ· καὶ ἐνεγκόντες ἄλλας σινδόνας ἐκήδευσαν αὐτόν.				

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
40:2 And God said to Michael and to Gabriel and Uriel: "Spread out the clothes and cover the body of Adam." And they bore the sweet olive oil and poured it upon him. And the three great angels prepared him for burial. 40:3 When they finished preparing Adam, God said they should bear the body of Abel also. And they brought more linen and prepared him for burial.	48:1b and stretch them over Adam. Bring other shrouds and stretch them over Abel, his son. Then bury Adam and his son."	[48](40):2 When he had brought them, God said to Michael and to Ozel and to Gabriel, 'Bring these linen cloths and cover Adam's body, and bring sweet oil.' They brought them and set them around him and wound him in that garment. [48](40):3 When they had finished everything, God ordered them to bring Abel's body. They brought still other linen cloths and dressed him.	48(40):2 They seized three folded shrouds of [[cloth]] and God told Michael and Gabriel, "Unfold these shrouds and envelop Adam's body and take the ointment from the olive tree and pour it upon him." And three angels dressed him (in it) and when they had dressed Adam's body (in it), 48(40):3 God told them, "Take Abel's body as well, seize other shrouds and dress him in them also	45-46.4 Once again the Lord spoke to the archangel, "Go into Paradise and take the purple cloth and cover the corpse of Adam and take the olive oil and pour it over him." 45-46.5 The same was done to Abel's body.

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
40:4 Ἐπειδὴ ἀκήδευτος ἦν ἄφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐφόνευσεν αὐτὸν Κάιν ὁ ἀδελφός αὐτοῦ. Καὶ πολλὰ ἐθέλησε κρῦψαι αὐτὸν ὁ Κάιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδυσήθη, ὅτι ἀνεπήδα τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐξήρχετο φωνὴ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς λέγουσα· 40:5a Οὐ κρυβήσεται εἰς τὴν γῆν ἕτερον πλάσμα ἕως οὗ ἀφίενται μοι τὸ πρῶτον πλάσμα τὸ ἀρθὲν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, τὸν χοῦν ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθη. 40:5b Ἐλαβον δὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ ἔθεντο αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν ἕως οὗ ἐτάφη Ἀδάμ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ.	48:2 Et processerunt omnes virtutes angelorum ante Adam. et sanctificata est dormitatio mortuorum. 48:3 Sepelierunt Adam et Abel Michahel et Urihel angeli in partibus paradisi videntibus Seth et matre eius et alio nemine. et dixerunt Michahel et Urihel: sicut vidistis, similiter sepelite mortuos vestros. [III+***]legenda de ligno crucis***]III	[48](40):4 <i>քանզի կայր յարէ յայնման[է] նա յորում պպան զնա Կային անարէնն, եւ կամեցաւ ծածկել զնա եւ ոչ կարաց. քանզի վարկաղ էին մարմինք նորա ի հողոյ անտի. ձայն եղև երկնից եւ ասէ.</i> [48](40):5a <i>Ոչ է արէն ծածկել զդա [յ] երկրի. եթէ ոչ [նախ] ստարին ստեղծուածն դառնայ [յ] երկիր ոստի եկն:</i> [48](40):5b <i>Առին զնա պկուհետի ի նմին քարածերպէ ուր էրն, մինչեւ մեռաւ Ադամ. ապա յետ այտորիկ բերին զնա եւ արարին նմա զոր պրինակ արարին Ադամայ հար նորա.</i>	[48](40):4 რამეთუ შეუძღოსილი იდგა მიერ ღლითგან, ვინაიცა მოკლა იგი კაენმაჲს უკეთუჲრმან და უნდა დაფლავად ქუეყანასა და ვერ უძლო, რამეთუ აღმოვარდის ქუეყანით გუამი იგი მისი. და ხმაი ესმა ზეცით. და ჰრქუა მას: [48](40):5a ⁷ვერ დაეფლას ვგე ქუეყანასა, არა თუ პირველად ქმნილი მიეპცეს ქუეყანად. რომლისაგან შეეკმნეს. [48](40):5b მას უამსა მოიღო იგი რომელსამე კლდესა ზედა და იდგა იგი მუნ, ვიდრეჲმდის მოკულა აღადმი. მაშინ მოიღეს და შეძოსეს იგი ვითარცა მამაი თვისი.	

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
40:4 For he was unburied since the day when Cain his brother slew him; for Cain took great pains to conceal (him) but could not, for the body sprang up from the earth and a voice went out of the earth saying:	48:2 And all the virtues of the angels processed before Adam, and thus was the dormition of the dead sanctified.	[48](40):4 For he had remained [from] that day upon which Cain the lawless one had killed him and had wished to hide him, and had been unable. For, as soon as his body was in the dust, a heavenly voice came and said,	48(40):4 for he had remained lying naked since the day when wicked Cain killed him. And he wished to bury him in the earth and he was unable (to do so), because his body came back out of the earth. For a voice made itself heard from heaven and said to him,	
40:5a "No other body can be covered until --with respect to the first creature who was taken from me -- the earth from which he was taken is returned to me."		[48](40):5a "It is not permitted to hide him [in] the earth [before] the first creature has returned to the earth from which he came."	48(40):5a "He will not be able to be buried in the earth before he who was created first has returned to the earth from which he was created."	
40:5b And the angels took at that moment and put him upon a rock until Adam, his father, was buried.	48:3 The angels Michael and Uriel buried Adam and Abel in the regions of paradise which Seth and his mother saw, but no one else. Michael and Uriel: "Just as you see us doing, likewise bury your dead."	[48](40):5b Thenceforth, they took him into that same cave where he was until Adam died. Then, after this, they brought him and treated him just as they had treated his father Adam.	48[40]:5b Then he took it to a rock and it remained spread out there until the death of Adam. Thus (the angels) took him and dressed him like his father.	
	[III+***Legend of the Wood of the Cross***]III			

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
40:6 Καὶ προσέταξεν ὁ θεὸς μετὰ τὸ κηδεῦσθαι καὶ τὸν Ἄβελ ἄραι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ μέρη τοῦ παρὰδείσου, εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἦρεν χοῦν ὁ θεός· καὶ ἐπλασεν τὸν Ἀδὰμ. Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὀρυγῆναι εἰς δύο τὸν τόπον. 40:7 Καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸν ἄγγελον εἰς τὸν παρὰδεισον· καὶ ἦγαγον εὐωδίας πολλὰς καὶ ἔθεντο αὐτάς ἐν τῇ γῇ. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔλαβον τὰ δύο σώματα καὶ ἔθωσαν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν τόπον εἰς ὃν ὥρυξαν καὶ φκοδόμησαν αὐτοί. 41:1 ἐκάλεσεν δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀδὰμ· Ἀδὰμ. ἀπεκρίθη τὸ σῶμα ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ εἶπεν· ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ, κύριε. 41:2 Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ὅτι εἰπόν σοι ὅτι γῆ εἰ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσει.		[48](40):6 <i>և լինա Նանդերձելոյն հրամայաց Աստուած անուղ զերկուսեանն և բերել ի կողմն դրախտին ի տեղին ուր զհող ատալ էր և ստեղծեալ գերամ: նստ փորել</i> [48](40):7 <i>ի տեղոյն յայնիկ. և առաքաց Աստուած բերել զխոնկա անուղ և խոնկա [[հերիկա]]. և նստ խաղ դին ի վերայ հողոյն և ծածկել զխոնկան. ապա լինա այնտրիկ աղին զմարմինն երկուցունց և եղին ի տեղոյն յորում ստեղծն. փոխեցին և արարին շիրիմն ի վերայ նորա:</i> [48](41):1 <i>Կոչեաց Աստուած զմարմինն Ադամայ ի հողոյ անտի, և ասէ. Ադամ, Ադամ: Ասէ մարմինն Ադամայ զհողն. Պատասխանի տուր և ասա թէ ահաասիկ Տէր:</i> [48](41):2 <i>և ասէ ցնա Տէր. Ահա, որպէս ասացի քեզ թէ Ադամ հող ես և ի հող դառնաս,</i>	[48](40):6 უბრძანა ღმერთმან აღედაი ორთავე სამოთხით კერძო აღმო- სავალით, აღვიღსა მას, რომელსაცა აღიღო მიწაი ღმერთმან და შექმნა აღამი. და უბრძანა ღმერთმან აღმოთხრად მიქაელს. [48](40):7 და მიაველინა ღმერთმან სამოთხედ შვიდნი ანეგლოზნი და მოიღეს ძრავალი სუღნელები სამოთხით და დაუყყეს მათ. და მოიხუწეს გუამნი ირთანოვე მათ. და შთასხნეს საფლავსა და დაფარეს. [48](41):1 და მიუქცა ღმერთი და უწოლა ადამს. მიუგო გუამმან აღამისმან მიწით ვამო და თქუა: "აჰა ასეა უფალო". [48](41):2 და პრეტა მას უფალობა: "აჰა ესეადა გრქუა შენ, ვითარმედ მიწა ხარ და მიწად მიხვიდე შენ,	47.1 И призыва госп одь Адама и рече : Адаме, Адаме, где еси; 47.2 тѣло же отвѣща : се, азъ господи .

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
40:6 And God commanded that after they had prepared the body of Abel for burial that they bear Abel up also to the area of the Garden, to the spot where God had taken the earth and fashioned Adam. And God made them dig the spot for two. 40:7 And God sent seven angels to the Garden and they brought many fragrant spices and placed them in the earth, and afterward they took the two bodies and placed them in the spot which they had dug and built (a sepulcher). 41:1 And God called and said, "Adam, Adam. "And the body answered from the earth and said: "Here am I, Lord." 41:2 And God said to him: "I told you (that) earth you are and to earth shall you return.		[48](40):6 After the dressing, God commanded that both of them be taken [to the region of the Garden] and be brought to the place from which the dust had been taken and Adam created. God caused them to dig [48](40):7 in that place and sent them to bring sweet incenses and iris incense and he caused them to put oils upon the dust and to cover the spices. Then after this, they took the bodies of both of them and put them in the place in which he had fashioned them. They [dug] and made a sepulchre over them. [48](41):1 God called to Adam's body through the dust and said, "Adam, Adam." Adam's body said to the dust, "Answer and say, 'Here (I am), Lord.'" [48](41):2 The Lord said to him, "Behold, just as I said to you, 'Adam, you are dust and you return to dust;'	48(40):6 God ordered that both of them should be taken up to the Garden, on the eastern part, in the place from which God had taken some soil and created Adam. And God ordered Michael to dig. 48(40):7 And God sent seven angels to the Garden: they gathered many kinds of incense from the Garden and they brought it to them. Then they took both bodies, put them into the grave and covered them (with earth). [48](41):1 Then God turned and called Adam. Adam's body answered him from the soil and said, "Here I am, [[Lord]]. [48](41):2 And the Lord told him, "Behold, as I told you, you are soil and you have returned to the soil,	47.1 And the Lord called Adam to himself and said, "Adam, Adam, where are you?" 47.2 And his body answered, "I am here, O Lord."

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
41:3 Πάλιν τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπαγγέλλομαί σοι· ἀναστήσῃ σε ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει μετὰ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματός σου. 42:1 Μετὰ δὲ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς σφραγίδα τρίγωνον καὶ ἐσφράγισεν τὸ μνημεῖον ἵνα μηδεὶς τι ποιήσῃ αὐτῷ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἕως οὗ ἀποστραφῇ ἡ πλευρὰ αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν. 42:2 Τότε ὁ κύριος καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῶν.		[48](41):3 բայց յարութիւն զոր [յառտաջա] յարութից զքեզ ի նմին: [48](42):1 եւ յետ խաւերոյն դալս Աստուծոյ, առ կնիք երեքկնի եւ կնքնաց զգերեզմանն Ադամայ, եւ ասէ. Մի որ ինչ մերձեսցի յաւորս յայմիկ մինչեւ դարձին մարմինք որդա ի դմա: [48](42):2 եւ ասպս յանձամ վերացաւ Տէր իրկինս հանդերձ հրեշտակայք իւրովք սերորէիք եւ լուսնդէն կառայք յիրարանչիւր կայանս.	[48](41):3 ხოლო აღდგომაო, რომელ აღგითქუ, აღგადგინო უამსა აღდგომისასა. [48](42):1 ხოლო შემდგომად ამისა მოიღო ღმერთმან ბეჭედი იგი სამკელელი და დაბეჭდა სამარე იგი ადამისი და ჰრქუა. ნუშცა ვინ შეეხების ეკუსთა ამათ ღლეთა, ვიდრემდე მოიქცეს გულრდი შენი შენლავე. [48](42):2 მაშინ-ღა ღმერთი აღხდა ზეცად და ანგელოზნი თვითოვ-ულად წესთა თვისთა ზედა.	47.3a господь рече · тако рѣхъ тебѣ · земля еси и въ тѣждѣ землю паки поидеши . 47.3b и паки на въскръсєніє въскръсєніши и съ въсѣмъ родомъ чловѣчьскымъ . 47.4 и прѣкръсти господь гробъ на .д. страны и въложи єго въ гробъ, и прѣблиа и рече · твоя отъ твоихъ тебѣ приносить се .

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
41:3 Again I promise to you the Resurrection; I will raise you up in the Resurrection with every man, who is of your seed." 42:1 After these words, God made a three-fold seal and sealed the tomb, that no one might do anything to him for six days till his rib should return to him. 42:2 Then the Lord and his angels went to their place.		[48](41):3 but I will raise you in the resurrection which [I] promised you." [48](42):1 After God had said this, he took a three-fold seal and sealed Adam's tomb and said, "Let none approach in these days, until their bodies return to it." [48](42):2 Then, at that time, the Lord ascended to the heavens with his angels, Seraphim and chariot of light, each to his station.	[48](41):3 but I will raise you up in the resurrection which I have promised you, at the time of resurrection. [48](42):1 Then, after that, God took the triangular seal and sealed the tomb of Adam and he said, "Let no person touch it during these six days, until your rib returns to you." [48](42):2 Then God ascended to the upper heaven and each of the angels to his office.	47.3a The Lord said, "So I told you, 'You are earth and to the same earth you will return again.' 47.3b And at the resurrection, you will rise with all of mankind." 47.4 And the Lord made on four sides the sign of the cross over his grave, and one laid him in the grave, and he anointed it and said, "What is yours, taken from you, is again returned to you."

33 LATIN 49:1 Post sex dies vero quod mortuus est Adam, cognoscens Eva mortem suam, congregavit omnes filios suos et filias suas, qui fuerunt Seth cum XXX fratribus et XXX sororibus, et dixit ad omnes Eva: 49:2 Audite me, filii mei, ut referam vobis, quod ego et pater vester transgressi sumus praeceptum dei et dixit nobis Michahel archangelus:

49:3 propter praevaricationes vestras generi vestro superinducet dominus noster iram iudicii sui primum per aquam secundum per ignem: his duobus iudicabit dominus omne humanum genus.

50:1 Sed audite me, filii mei! facite ergo tabulas lapideas et alias tabulas lutae et scribite in his omnem vitam meam et patris vestri quae a nobis audistis et vidistis.

50:2 Si per aquam iudicabit genus nostrum, tabulae de terra solventur et tabulae lapideae perma nebunt. si autem per ignem iudicabit genus nostrum, tabulae lapideae solventur et de terra luteae decoquentur.

50:3 haec omnia cum dixisset Eva filiis suis expandit manus in caelum orans et inclinans genua in terram et adorans dominum et gratias agens tradidit spiritum.

ATIN 49:1 Six days after Adam's death, Eve knew her own death [was near], so she gathered together all sons and daughters, who were Seth along with his thirty brothers and thirty sisters. Eve said to them all: "Hear me, my children, that I might recount for you how I and your father transgressed the precept of God. And the archangel said to us: 'On account of your conspiracies, our Lord will bring upon your race the wrath of his judgment, first by water, and second by fire. By these two will the Lord judge all the human race.' But hear me, my children! Make, therefore, tablets of stone, and other tablets of earth, and write on them your whole life, and that of your father, which you have heard from us and seen. If he judges our race by water, the tablets of earth will dissolve, but the tablets of stone will endure. If, however, he judges our race by fire, the tablets of stone will be destroyed, but the tablets of earth will be fired." When she had said all these things to her children, she stretched out her hand toward heaven, knelt upon the earth, worshipped God, and giving thanks, gave up her spirit.

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42:3 Εὐὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ, πληρωθέντων τῶν ἕξ ἡμερῶν, ἐκοιμήθη. Ἔτι δὲ ζώσας αὐτῆς, ἔκλαυσεν περὶ τῆς κοιμήσεως τοῦ Ἀδὰμ· οὐ γὰρ ἐγίνωσκεν ποῦ ἐτέθη. Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔλθειν τὸν κύριον ἐπὶ τὸν παράδει-σον πρὸς τὸ κηδεύσαι τὸν Ἀδὰμ, ἐκοιμήθησαν ἅπαντες, ἕως οὗ ἐτέλεσεν τοῦ κηδεύσαι τὸν Ἀδὰμ, πλὴν τοῦ Σὴθ μόνου· καὶ οὐδείς ἐγίνωσκεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, πλὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Σὴθ.		[48](42):3 <i>Եւան եւ կատարեցան ժամանակք ծալի եւ մեռանէր: Սկսալ եւ խնդրէր ճանաչել գտնողին ուր թաղեցան Ադամ, քանզի անտեղեկ էր. զի ի ժամանակին իբրեւ եկն Աստուած ի մահն Ադամայ շարժեցան ամենայն տոնկք դրախտին. եւ ի սուրբ հոգւոյն քուն էառ զամենայն որ էին ի վերայ երկրի մինչեւ հանդերձեցին զԱդամ, եւ ոչ որ գիտաց ի վերայ երկրի բայց միայն Սէթ:</i>	[48](42):3 სოლო ევა დასულეებულ იყო ესე რაი ყოველი იხილა. ტიროდა ევა და უნდა ხილვას, სადა დაღვეს ადამი, რამეთუ არა უწყებდა. ოღეს გარ- ღამობდა უფალი ქუეყანად, აღემატა არა ყოველთა ხეთა სამთხისათა სულენუებაი მისი, რამეთუ სულენუებისა მისკან ყოველნი დასულეებეს. ვიდრე შემოსადმდე და ღამარხვად აღამისა არავინ აგრძნა სეითისა სოლო;	48.1a Евѡа же прѣбнѣсть по адѡмъ .s. днѣи, молещи се глаголаше плачущи се .
42:4 Καὶ προσήξατο Εὐὰ κλαίουσα ἵνα ταπῇ εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἦν Ἀδὰμ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ τελέσαι αὐτὴν τὴν εὐχὴν λέγει·		[48](42):4 <i>Դարձեալ աղաղակել սկսաւ ծա աղաչել զԱստուած զի տարցին զնա ի տեղին ուր թաղեցան Ադամ: Իբրեւ կատարեաց զաղաւթնս ասէ.</i>	[48](42):4 და ილოცვიდა ევა, ტიროდა, რაითამცა მიიყვანეს და უჩუე- ნეს, სადა დაღვეს ადამ. და ოღეს აღასრულა ლოცვაი იგი, თქუა:	
42:5 Κύριε δέσποτα, θεὲ πάσης ἀρετῆς, μὴ ἀπαλλοτριώσῃς με τοῦ σώματος Ἀδὰμ ἕξ οὗ ἦρες με ἐκ τῶν μελῶν αὐτοῦ,		[48](42):5 <i>Աստուած իմ Աստուած արունասոյց. մի աստարացուցաներ զիս ի տեղողէն Ադամայ,</i>	[48](42):5 <i>უფალო, ნუ უცხო მყოფ მე აღგილისა მისკან აღამისისა,</i>	

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42:3 And Eve also, when the six days were fulfilled, fell asleep. But while she was living, she wept bitterly about Adam's falling asleep, for she knew not where he was laid. For when the Lord came to the Garden to bury Adam all were asleep until he finished the burial of Adam except Seth alone. And no one knew (this) on the earth, except her son Seth.

42:4 And Eve prayed while weeping that she might be buried in the place where her husband Adam was. And after she had finished her prayer, she said:

42:5 "Lord, Master, God of all virtue, do not alienate me from the body of Adam, from whose members you made me.

[48](42):3 The times of Eve were filled and completed and she was dying. She began to weep and sought to know the place where Adam was buried, because she was ignorant (of it). For, at the time when God came for the death of Adam, all the plants of the Garden were moved and, through the Holy Spirit, sleep overcame all those who were upon the earth, until they had dressed Adam, and none upon the earth knew, except Seth alone.

[48](42):4 Again Eve began to cry out, to beseech God that they should bring her to the place where Adam was buried. When she had completed that prayer, she said,

[48](42):5 "My God, God of miracles, do not alienate me from Adam's place,

[48](42):3 But Eve grew numb [[when]] she saw all [[that]]. Eve wept and wished to see where they had put Adam, for she did not know. When the Lord had descended upon the earth, the sweet odor of all the trees of the Garden did not {...} because of his sweet odor all had grown numb. Until the wrapping and the burial of Adam, nobody understood anything except Seth.

[48](42):4 Then Eve begged (and) wept so that (God) might lead her off, show her the place where they had put Adam. And when she had completed her prayer, she said,

[48](42):5 "Lord, do not alienate me from Adam's place,

48.1a Eve lived six days beyond Adam; she prayed and said crying,

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42:6 ἀλλ' ἄξιωσον καμὲ τὴν ἀναξίαν καὶ ἁμαρτωλὴν εἰσελεῖν μετὰ τοῦ σκηνώματος αὐτοῦ. Ὡσπερ ἦμην μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἁμφοτέροι μὴ χωρισθέντες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, 42:7 ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ παραβάσει πλανηθέντες παρέβημεν τὴν ἐντολὴν σου μὴ χωρισθέντες, οὕτως καὶ νῦν, κύριε, μὴ χωρίσῃς ἡμᾶς. 42:8 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ εὐξασθαι αὐτὴν ἀναβλέψασα εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεστέναξε τύπτουσα τὸ στήθος αὐτῆς καὶ λέγουσα· Θεὲ τῶν ἀπάντων, δέξαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου. Καὶ ἀπέδωκεν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῆς.		[48](42):6 <i>սլլ հրամայեա ղեկի զիս ի գերեզման[ի] նորա.</i> [48](42):7 <i>որպէս էաք ի միասին ի որախտին եւ չէաք մեկուսի ի միմեանց. որպէս ի կենդանութեանն նորկպէս ի մահու մերո[ւ]մ. յորում տեղոր թաղեցաւ Ադամ. թաղեցալց եւ եւ ընդ նմա:</i> [48](42):8 <i>Զայս իբրեւ ասաց աղաչելով, և հոգին ի նմանէ.</i>	[48](42):6 ანამედ ბრძანე ჩემოცა მის თანა, [48](42):7 ვითარცა ორნოვე ვიყვენით სამოთხესა შინა განუშორებდ-ლაღ ურთოვნთას, [48](42):8 სიუღლილსა მას ჩუენსა ნუ განმეშორებ, არამედ სადაცა ოგო დასდევ, მუხცა მე . და შემდგომად ლოცვისა მისისა აღმოუტევა სულო.	48.1b господи боже, якоже ме еси сътворилъ отъ рѣбра Адамова, тако и съ ними да бѣждѹ . 48.2 и причне на грѣдехъ своихъ глаголющи . господи, боже, приими дѹхъ мои . 48.3 и тѹ прѣдасть дѹхъ свои къ богу.

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42:6 But deem me worthy, even me who is unworthy and a sinner, to enter into his tabernacle. Just as I was with him in the Garden, both of us not being separated from the other; 42:7 just as in our transgression, we were (both) led astray and transgressed your command, but were not separated, even so now, o Lord, do not separate us." 42.8. But after she had prayed, she gazed heavenwards and groaned aloud and smote her breast and said: "God of All, receive my spirit," and she delivered up her spirit.		[48](42):6 but command to place me in his tomb. [48](42):7 Just as we were together in the Garden, and were not separate from one another, just as in life, so in ou[r] death. In the place in which Adam was buried let me, too, be buried with him." [48](42):8 When, beseeching, she had said this, her soul left her.	[48](42):6 but command me, me also, (to be) with him, [48](42):7 as we both were in the Garden, inseparable from one another. [48](42):8 Do not separate us in our death, but place me where you have placed him." And after this prayer she gave up her soul.	48.1b "Lord God, as you created me from the rib of Adam, so I want to be with him." 48.2 And she lowered her head onto her breast, saying, "Lord God, receive my spirit." 48.3 And so she gave her spirit to God.

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43:1 Καὶ ἦλθε Μιχαὴλ καὶ ἐδίδαξεν τὸν Σὴθ πῶς κηδεύσῃ τὴν Εὐαν. Καὶ ἦλθαν τρεῖς ἄγγελοι· καὶ ἦσαν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸ ὅπου ἦν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀδάμ καὶ τοῦ Ἀβελ.	51:1 Postea cum magno fletu sepe- lierunt eam omnes filii eius. cum es- sent lugentes quat- tuor dies, tunc ap- paruit eis Michahel archangelus dicens ad Seth:	[51](43):1 <i>և եկն Միքայել հրեշտակապետն խաահեցաւ առ Սէթ և ուսուց նմա թէ որպէս հանդերձեացէ զհա- նկին երեք հրեշտակք և առին զամենայն ծաղի, և տարան երկն ուր կայր մարմին Արամայ և Արեփի:</i>	[51](43):1 და მოვიდა მიქაელ ანგელოზი და ასწავა სეთს, ვითარ შევძო- სოს ევას. მოვიდეს სამნი ანგელოზნი და აღიღეს ჯუამი ადამისო.	49-50.1 И прииде архаггелъ Михаилъ къ Сирру и наущи Сиду, како да схранить матерь свою . 49-50.2 и приидоше .г. аггели, възвѣвше тѣло Ѣвъжино и погребомше ю, гдѣ и тѣло Адамово и Авелово, сына юу .
43:2 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐλάλησεν ὁ Μιχαὴλ τῷ Σὴθ λέγων· Οὐδῶς κηδεύσον πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἀποθνήσκοντα ἕως ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναστάσεως.	<i>see 48.3</i>	[51](43):2 <i>Թեա այսորիկ խաահեցաւ Միքայել առ Սէթայ և ասէ. Այսպէս հանդերձեալք զամենայն մարդ որ մեռանի մինչեւ կայր կատարածի յարութենէն:</i>	[51](43):2 და შემდგომად ამისა ეტყოდა მიქაელ ანგელოზი: "შემოსეთ ყოველი მკუდარი, რომელი მოკუტდეს, ესრეთ, ვიდრე აღსასრულადმდ ეყო" ველთა კაცთასა .	49-50.3 и рече архаггелъ къ Сирру . тако да съхранишь всакого чловека умирающаго до днѣ въскрсенія .
43:3 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δοῦναι αὐτὸν νόμον εἶπεν· Παρ' ἔξ ἡμερῶν μὴ πενθῆσθε· τῇ δὲ ἐβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατάπαυσον καὶ εὐφρανθήθι ἐν αὐτῇ ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ θεὸς καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἡμεῖς εὐφρανόμεθα μετὰ τῆς δικαίας ψυχῆς τῆς μεταστάσης ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.	51:2 homo dei, ne amplius lugeas mortuos tuos quam sex dies quia septimo die signum resur- rectionis est futuri seculi requies, et in die septimo re- quievit dominus ab omnibus operibus suis. [III]+omni opere suo. Octavus vero dies futurae et aeternae beatitudi- nis est, in qua omnes sancti cum ipso creatore et salvatore simul cum anima et cor- pore nunquam de cetero morituri regnabunt per in- finita secula secu- lorum. Amen.] III. 51:3 tunc Seth fecit tabulas.	[51](43):3 <i>Զայս իրրիւ ասաց հրեշտակն առ Սէթայ, վերացաւ յերկինս փառատորիով զհայր և զորդի և զսուրբ հոգին այժմ և միշտ:</i>	[51](43):3 ოდეს ასწავა სეთს, ესე ყოველი, ამადღლა ზეყად სეთისაგან და ჰრქუა მას: "უფროის ხეთისა ღღისა არა იგლოვდეთ მკუდართა ზედა, ხოლო ღღესა მას მეშვიდესა განმზიარულდეთ , რამეთუ ამას ღღესა განი- სუენა ღმერთმან ყოველთაგან მისთა, რომელ ქმნა უფალმან",	49-50.4 паки рече юмоу . творю память и въ .г. днь, и въ .а. и въ .к. и въ .м., и въсе по чину, якоже аггели веселимъ се съ праведьнами дошми.

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43:1 And Michael came and taught Seth how to prepare Eve for burial. And there came three angels and they bore her body and buried it where Adam and Abel's bodies were.	51:1 Afterwards, all her children buried her with great weeping. After they had mourned her for four days, Michael appeared to them and said to Seth:	[51](43):1 Michael, the archangel, came and spoke to Seth and taught him how to dress her. Three angels came and took Eve's body and brought it and placed it where Adam's and Abel's bodies were.	[51](43):1 And the angel Michael came and taught Seth how to dress Eve. Three angels came and took Eve's body and placed it where they had placed Adam's body.	49-50.1 And the archangel Michael came to Seth and instructed him as to how he should bury his mother. 49-50.2 And three angels came, took Eve's corpse and buried it, where also the corpse of Adam and their son Abel were buried.
43:2 And afterwards Michael spoke to Seth saying; "Lay out in this manner every man that dies until the day of the Resurrection."	<i>see 48.3</i>	[51](43):2 After this, Michael spoke to Seth and said, "Thus shall you dress every human being who dies, until the day of the end, through the resurrection."	[51](43):2 And after that, the angel Michael told him, "Thus dress every dead person who dies, until the death of all human beings."	49-50.3 And the archangel said to Seth, "So shall you bury every person who dies until the resurrection."
43:3 And after giving him this rule he said: "Mourn not beyond six days, but on the seventh day, rest and rejoice on it, because on that very day, God and we the angels rejoice with the righteous soul, who has passed away from the earth."	51.2 "Man of God, mourn no longer than 6 days, for the 7th day is the sign of the resurrection, the repose of the coming age, and on the 7th day the Lord rested from all his works. [III+ all his work. Indeed, the 8th day is (the sign) of the future and eternal blessedness, in which all the holy will reign throughout endless ages with the Creator and Savior himself, in both soul and body, never again to die Amen.] III 51:3 Then Seth made tablets.	[51](43):3 When the angel had said this to Seth, he ascended to heaven, praising the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and forever.	[51](43):3 When he had taught Seth all that, he ascended to the uppermost heaven, far from Seth, and he told him, "Do not mourn for the dead more than five days and on the seventh day rejoice, for on that day God rested from all his (works) which the Lord had made."	49-50.4 Again he said to him, "Arrange a memorial ceremony on the third day and on the ninth and on the twentieth and on the fortieth, and arrange everything in proper order, so that we angels might take joy in it along with the souls of the righteous."

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43:4 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ ἄγγελος ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν δοξάζων καὶ λέγων· 'Ἀλληλούϊα. "Ἄγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, κύριος. Εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς. Ἀμήν.			[51](43):4 წმლისაი არს ღიღუბაი და პატივი და თაყუანის-ცემაი თანა მამით და სულით წმიდით აწ და მარადის და უკუნითი უკუნისამდე, ამინ.	49-50.5 Тогда архаггелъ Иоиль прослави бога, глаголюще свѣтъ, свѣтъ, алилѹиа, 49-50.6 свѣтъ госп одѣ, испльнь небо и земля славы его.

GREEK	LATIN	ARMENIAN	GEORGIAN	SLAVONIC
43:4 After the angel said these things he ascended into heaven, glorifying (God) and saying: "Allelujah, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord, to the glory of God the Father, Amen."			[51](43):4 To him is glory and honor and adoration, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and for ever and ever. Amen.	49-50.5 Then the archangel Joel glorified God with words, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Allelulia. 49-50.6 Holy is the Lord, heaven and earth are full of His glory."

36 (following Mozley) [52] Tunc Seth fecit (duas?) tabulas lapideas et (duas?) luteas, (et composuit apices literarum?) et scripsit in eis vitam patris sui Adae et matris sue Evae quam ab eis audivit et oculis suis vidit et posuit tabulas in medio domus patris sui in oratorio ubi orabat dominum. et post diluvium a multis videbantur hominibus tabulae illae scriptae (lapides illi scripti?) et a nemine legebantur.

Salomon autem sapiens vidit scripturam et deprecatus est dominum et apparuit ei angelus domini dicens: ego sum qui tenui manum Seth, ut scriberet cum digito suo (ferreo digito?, ferro stilo?) lapides istos, et eris sciens scripturam, ut cognoscas et intelligas (ubi sint) quid contineant lapides isti omnes et ubi fuerit oratorium, ubi Adam et Eva adorabant dominum deum. et oportet te ibi aedificare templum domini id est domum orationis. Tunc Salomon supplevit templum domini dei et vocavit literas illas achiliacas hoc est sine verborum doctrina scriptas (achilicas quod est latine lapideas id est sine labiis doctrina scripta?, achiliacas quod est latine sillabicas hoc est sine librorum doctrina scriptas ?) digito Seth, tenens manum eius angelus domini.

[53] et in ipsis lapidibus inventum est, quod prophetavit septimus ab Adam Enoch dicens ante diluvium de adventu Christi: ecce veniet dominus in sanctis suis (in sanctis milibus suis?, in milibus suis?, in sanctis nubibus suis?) facere iudicium de omnibus et arguere impios de omnibus operibus suis quibus locuti sunt de eo peccatores et impii murmuratores et irreligiosi qui secundum concupiscentias suas ingrediuntur et os eorum locutum est superbiam. [IV+et os illorum locuntur superbiam ibunt in orcum, iusti vero plaudentes in regnum caelorum. [54] (Adam vero post quadraginta dies introivit in paradisum et Eva post octoginta et fuit Adam in paradisum annos septem et sub die moverunt omnem bestiarum)]IV.

37[55] Sciendum est quod de octo partibus plasmatum fuit corpus Ade. Una pars erat de limo terre unde facta est caro eius et inde piger erit. Alia pars erat de mari unde factus est sanguis eius et inde erat uagus et profugus. Tertia pars erat de lapidibus terre unde sunt ossa eius et inde erat durus et avarus. Quarta pars erat de nubibus, inde facte sunt cogitationes eius et inde factus est luxuriosus. Quinta pars erat de uento unde factus est anelitus et inde factus est levis. Sexta pars erat de sole unde facti sunt oculi eius et inde erat bellus et preclarus. Septima pars est de luce mundi unde factus est gratus et inde habet scienciam. Octava pars est de spiritu sancto unde facta est anima et inde sunt episcopi et sacerdotes et omnes sancti et electi dei.

38 [56] Et sciendum quod deus fecit et plasmavit Adam in eo loco in quo natus est Iesus scilicet in ciuitate Bedleem que est in medio mundi, et ibi de quatuor angulis terre corpus Ade factum est, deferentibus angelis de limo terre de partibus illis, uidelicet Micaele Gabriele Raphaele et Uriele. Et erat illa terra candida et munda sicut sol, et conspersa est illa terra de quatuor fluminibus id est Geon Phison Tigris et Euphrates, et factus est homo ad imaginem dei, et insufflauit in faciem eius spiraculum uite scilicet animam. Sicut enim a quatuor fluminibus conspersus sic a quatuor uentis accepit flatum.

39 [57] Cum factus fuisset Adam et non erat ei nomen impositum adhuc, dixit dominus ad quatuor angelos ut quererent ei nomen, et exiuit Micael ad orientem et uidit stellam orientalem Ancolim nomine et sumpsit primam literam ab illa, et exiuit Gabriel ad meridiem et uidit stellam meridianam nomine disis et tulit primam literam ab illa; exiuit Raphael ad aquilonem et uidit stellam aquilonarem Arthos nomine et tulit primam literam ab ipsa; exiuit Uriel ad occidentem et uidit stellam occidentalem Mencembrion nomine et attulit primam literam ab eadem; quibus literis adductis dixit dominus ad Urielam, Lege literas istas, et legit et dixit, Adam, et dixit dominus, Sic uocetur nomen eius. Explicit uita protoplasti nostri Ade et Eue uxoris eius.

36 (following Mozley) [52] Then Seth made (two?) tablets of stone and (two?) of earth, (and he devised the caps of letters?) and wrote on them the life of this father, Adam, and his mother, Eve, which he had heard from them and seen with his own eyes. He placed the tablets in the middle of his father's house in the oratory where he prayed to the Lord. After the flood, these written tablets were seen by many men (these written stones?) but were legible to no one.

Solomon, however, being wise, saw the writing and prayed to the Lord. There appeared to him an angel of the Lord, saying: "I am he who held the hand of Seth, that he might write these stones with his finger (with an iron finger/ with an iron stylus?). You will be knowledgeable of these writings, so that you might know and understand (whence they are) what all these stone contain, and where the oratory was where Adam and Eve worshipped the Lord God. You must build there the temple of the Lord, which is the house of prayer.

Then Solomon completed the temple of the Lord God, and called these letters 'achiliacae,' that is, written without the teaching of words' ('achiliacae' stones, which is in Latin, teaching written without lips' / achilia-cae' which is in Latin, parchments 'written without the teaching of books' ?) by the finger of Seth, while the angel of the Lord held his hand.

[53] On these stones was found what Enoch, the seventh from Adam, prophesied before the flood about the coming of Christ: "Behold the Lord will come in his sanctuary (in his holy soldiers, in his soldiers, in his holy clouds ?) to render judgment on all and to accuse the impious of all their works by which they have spoken concerning him — sinners, impious murmurers, and the irreligious who have lived according to their feelings of desire, and whose mouths have spoken proudly. [IV+Those whose mouths have spoken proudly will go to Hades, but the just will surely go rejoicing into the kingdom of heaven.

[54] (Adam entered the Garden after forty days, and Eve after eighty. Adam was in the Garden for seven years and in one day they moved every beast)[IV].

37 [55]. It must be known that the body of Adam was formed of eight parts. The first part was of the dust of the earth, from which was made his flesh, and thereby he was sluggish. The next part was of the sea, from which was made his blood, and thereby he was aimless and fleeing. The third part was of the stones of the earth, from which his bones were made, and thereby he was hard and covetous. The fourth part was of the clouds, from which were made his thoughts, and thereby he was immoderate. The fifth part was of the wind, from which was made his breath, and thereby he was fickle. The sixth part was of the sun, from which were made his eyes, and thereby he was handsome and beautiful. The seventh part was of the light of the world, from which he was made pleasing, and thereby he had knowledge. The eighth part was of the Holy Spirit, from which was made his soul, and thereby are the bishops, priests, and all the saints and elect of God.

38 [56]. It must also be known that God made and formed Adam in that place where Jesus was born, that is, in the city of Bethlehem, which is in the center of the earth. There Adam was made from the four corners of the earth, when angels brought some of the dust of the earth from its parts, viz. Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel. This earth was white and pure like the sun and it was gathered together from the four rivers, that is, the Geon, Phison, Tigris, and Euphrates. Man was made in the image of God, and he blew into his face the breath of life, which is the soul. For just as he was gathered from the four rivers, thus from the four winds he received his breath.

39 [57] When Adam was made, and there was no name assigned to him yet, the Lord said to the four angels to seek a name for him. Michael went out to the east and saw the eastern star, named Ancolim, and took its first letter from it. Gabriel went out to the south, and saw the southern star, named Disis, and took its first letter from it. Raphael went out to the north, and saw the northern star, named Arthos, and took its first letter from it. Uriel went out to the west, and saw the western star, named Mencembrion, and took its first letter from it. When the letters were brought together, the Lord said to Uriel: "read these letters." He read them and said, "Adam." The Lord said: "Thus shall his name be called. "Here ends the life of our protoplast, Adam, and his wife, Eve.

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GLENN PEERS

SUBTLE

Representing Angels in Byzantium

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Subtle Bodies

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GLENN PEERS

Subtle Bodies

Representing Angels in Byzantium

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , 71 vols., Paris, 1863–1940.
<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>ArtB</i>	<i>Art Bulletin</i>
<i>B</i>	<i>Byzantion</i>
<i>BF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
Blondel	<i>Macarii Magnetis quae supersunt ex inedito codice</i> , ed. C. Blondel, Paris, 1876.
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
Bonnet	M. Bonnet, <i>Narratio de miraculo a Michaelae Archangelo Chonis patrato</i> , Paris, 1890.
<i>BS</i>	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> .
<i>CA</i>	<i>Cahiers Archéologiques</i> .
Cameron, “The Language of Images”	Averil Cameron, “The Language of Images: The Rise of Icons and Christian Representation,” in <i>The Church and the Arts</i> , Studies in Church History, vol. 25, ed. D. Wood, London, 1992, 1–42.

<i>DACL</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, Paris, 1924–.
<i>DChAE</i>	Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Ἀρχαιολογικής Ἑταιρείας.
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> .
<i>DTC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i> , ed. A. Vacant and E. Magenot, Paris, 1899–1950.
<i>EEBS</i>	Ἑταιρεία Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν Ἑπετηρίς.
Fisher, <i>Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae</i>	Michael Psellus, <i>Oratio in Archangelum Michaellem</i> , in <i>Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae</i> , ed. E. A. Fisher, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1994, 230–56.
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.
Holl	“Die Schriften des Epiphanius gegen die Bilderverehrung,” ed. K. Holl, <i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> 35.2(1916):828–68 [= K. Holl, <i>Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte</i> , Tübingen, 1928; rp. Darmstadt, 1964, II:351–87].
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i> .
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i> .
<i>JöB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i> .
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i> .
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> .
Leanza	S. Leanza, “Una versione greca inedita dell’ <i>Apparitio S. Michaelis</i> in monte Gargano,” <i>VetChr</i> 22(1985):291–316.
Mansi	G. D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , 53 vols. in 58 pts., Paris and Leipzig, 1901–1927.

<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX</i> , Hannover, 1878.
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i> .
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia cursus completus, Series graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 pts., Paris, 1857–1866.
Pitra	J. B. Pitra, <i>Spicilegio Solesmense complectens sanctorum patrum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum anecdota hactenus opera</i> , 4 vols., Paris, 1852–1858.
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia cursus completus, Series latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. in 222 pts., Paris, 1844–1880.
<i>PO</i>	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> .
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien.
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , Stuttgart, 1950–.
<i>RBK</i>	<i>Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst</i> , Stuttgart, 1963–.
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i> .
<i>RivAC</i>	<i>Rivista d'archeologia cristiana</i> .
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kunstgeschichte</i> .
<i>RSBN</i>	<i>Rivista de studi bizantini e neollenico</i> .
SC	Sources Chrétiennes.
Settimane	Settimane di studi del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo.
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i> .
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen.
<i>VetChr</i>	<i>Vetera Christianorum</i> .

INTRODUCTION

On the Tension between Theology and Cult

Angel, literally “messenger,” can designate all manner of negotiation between heaven and earth and refer to any member of God’s spiritual host. Scripture is unequivocal in stating the existence of an angelic host and is full of diverse examples of the appearance of these transcendental creatures. But the difficulties of perceiving and identifying angels are signaled in scripture simply by the number of guises they assume and impressions they make. Angels appear in scriptural accounts as multiform, awful beings before whom such witnesses as Zacharias are overwhelmed and left speechless (Luke 1:20–22). They appear as clouds and fire (Ex. 13:21–22, 23:20–23), formless voices (Gen. 21:17) and, in the visions of Ezekiel (Ez. 10) and Isaiah (Is. 6), as complex and ultimately unfathomable creatures. The identity of these manifestations in scripture is often obscure; and Christian exegesis with its typological interpretation only compounded the difficulty when it discerned identities not overt in Hebrew scripture.

The scriptural definition of angelic nature as fire and wind (Ps. 104:4) established the belief in the immaterial and enigmatic qualities of angelic beings. Incorporated into the Epistle to Hebrews—“And of the angels he saith, Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire” (1:7)—this definition became the

exegetical cornerstone of Christian angelology. But although the general definition was settled by scripture, the precise nature of the proportion and blend of elemental forces was never fully explained; angelic nature was held to be beyond humanity's ken.¹

Angelology—as historians have named patristic scrutiny of angels²—is replete with uncertainties, and these uncertainties were the source of the special problems of access and familiarity in devotion.³ For Christians, many questions persisted about angels' nature, organization, duties and comprehension.⁴ Agreement among theologians about the specifics of angelic nature was not possible given the transcendence of the objects of speculation, but angels figure so large in scripture and devotion that the subject could not be avoided.

The fire and spirit composition posited a relative value for angelic nature that placed the angels somewhere between the radically different natures of humanity and God. Such theologians as Theodotus in the second century called the angels “intellectual fire, intellectual spirit,”⁵ distinct in property from material fire and light.⁶ Theodotus thought that angels did have bodies—at least they were seen as such—although these bodies, compared to ours, were without form and without corporeality.⁷ Methodius (d. ca. 311) said that the angelic

1. See the texts gathered by J. Turmel, “Histoire de l'angélologie des temps apostoliques à la fin du Ve siècle,” *Révue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse* 3(1898):411ff.

2. See, for instance, Turmel, “Histoire de l'angélologie,” 289–308, 407–34, 533–52, and also his “L'angélologie depuis le faux Denys l'Aréopagite,” *Révue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse* 4(1899):289–309, 414–34, 536–62.

3. Angelology is the subject of many studies: see, for instance, *DACL* I.2:2080ff., *DTC* I:1189ff., *RAC* V:53ff., *RBK* III:13ff., and M. Bussagli, “Angeli,” *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale* (Rome, 1991–) I:629–38, idem, *Storia degli angeli. Racconto di immagini e di idee* (Milan, 1991), and *Le ali di Dio. Messagerie e guerrieri alati tra oriente e occidente*, ed. M. Bussagli and M. D'Onofrio, Milan, 2000.

4. See R. Roques, “Introduction,” in Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, SC vol. 58, ed. G. Heil and M. de Gandillac (Paris, 1958) lxxi.

5. Preserved in the writings of Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150–d. before 215). See *Excerpta ex scriptis Theodoto*, in *Stromata Buch VII und VIII. Excerpta ex Theodoto. Eclogae propheticae. Quis dives saluetur. Fragmente*, GCS vol. 17, 2d ed., ed. O. Stählin, L. Früchtel and U. Treu (Berlin, 1970) 110.

6. See, for instance, Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, VII.15.15, GCS vol. 43, ed. K. Mras (Berlin, 1956) 393–94. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*, V, PG 28:601C, said that the angels are as different from material creation as the sun from the stars.

7. *Excerpta ex scriptis Theodoto*, in *Stromata Buch VII und VIII*, 110–11.

nature is equally composed of air and fire, like souls.⁸ A writer later identified as Macarius the Great (ca. 300–ca. 390) said that the angels have subtle (λεπτὰ) bodies.⁹ Others stated that the angels are beings without body and without matter, but not *completely* so.¹⁰ Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 330–ca. 394) appears to put the angels out of all contact with matter.¹¹ And Gregory of Nazianzus (329/30–ca. 390) said that the angels can only be perceived by reason because they are composed of pure spirituality or something approaching it—he could not say for certain.¹² Complete agreement concerning the degree of participation of the angels in matter was never possible. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite¹³ and John of Damascus (ca. 675–ca. 750)¹⁴ came down on the side of the essential spirituality of the angels.

Maintaining a distance between the angels and God on the one hand, and angels and humanity on the other, was an important consideration for theologians. In his text praising the Archangel Michael, for example, Chrysippus (ca. 405–479) was careful to establish the similarities and differences of the natures of Michael and God.¹⁵ He deduced the nature of God from Deuteronomy 4:24

8. Photius, *Bibliothèque, Tome V* ('Codices' 230–241), ed. R. Henry (Paris, 1967) 100.10–13.

9. *Homilia*, IV.ix, in *Die fünfzig geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*, PTS vol. 4, ed. H. Dörries, E. Klosterman and M. Kroeger (Berlin, 1964) 33–34.

10. Turmel, "Histoire de l'angélologie," 422ff.

11. *Oratio catechetica magna*, VI, PG 45:28AB.

12. *Orationes xlv*, XLV.5, PG 36:629B.

13. See R. Roques, *L'univers dionysien. Structure hiérarchique du monde selon le Pseudo-Denys* (Paris, 1954; rp. Paris, 1983) 154ff. On the nature of the angels Pseudo-Dionysius himself is almost completely silent. Pseudo-Dionysius took it as an assumption that the angels were essentially spiritual in nature. In the summary of Pseudo-Dionysius's work by George Pachymeres (1242–ca. 1310), angels are described as bodiless and immaterial; they are immaterial, immortal and deiform (*De divinis nominibus*, VI.2, PG 3:856C); and in *De div. nom.*, IV.1, PG 3:693C he states: "It is as bodiless and immaterial that they are perceived by the intelligence; and inasmuch as they are intelligences, they perceive themselves in a manner not of this world..." A defining characteristic is that the celestial hierarchy is more immaterial and more spiritual than the human (e.g., *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, I.4, PG 3:376B). Roques writes (*ibid.*, 155 n9), "C'est surtout par opposition aux caractères de notre hiérarchie humaine que ceux de la hiérarchie céleste prennent tout leur relief."

14. *Expositio fidei*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. II Expositio fidei*, PTS vol. 12, ed. P.B. Kotter (Berlin, 1973) 45–48.

15. A. Sigalas, "Χρυσίππου πρεσβυτέρου Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαήλ," *EEBS* 3(1926):85–93.

(“For the Lord thy God is a consuming fire”) and Deuteronomy 9:3, as well as John 4:24 (“God is a spirit”).¹⁶ But even though Psalm 104:4 and Hebrews 1:7 indicate that the angels are also fire and spirit, Chrysippus said that one must not make the mistake of assuming that the angels are the same as God. They are decidedly not equal in nature or honor, since the creator cannot be equal to his creations. God alone is uncircumscribable, unviewable, and of purer flame.

Chrysippus was mindful to base discussion of angels on scriptural reference;¹⁷ scripture, not cult, was the proper guide.¹⁸ The same ostensible dependence on divine revelation in scripture generally characterized theologians’ descriptions of angels, as well as descriptions in miracle tales of angels’ work. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (fl. ca. 500?), in his elaborate taxonomy of heaven in the *Celestial Hierarchy*, attempted to set his structure on a scriptural foundation, and yet he found that he had to rely on other sources to answer some questions. In a sense, he derived all his orders for his *Celestial Hierarchy* from the Bible,¹⁹ and his hierarchy differed from those of his predecessors in the systematic laws applied to the orders, their positions, actions and interactions.²⁰

Pseudo-Dionysius rigorously examined scripture for disclosures of the heavenly hierarchy so that a precise structure of angelic beings might be advanced. He divided the hierarchy into triads, the first consisting of seraphim, cherubim and thrones, the second of virtues,

16. Sigalas, “Χρυσίππου πρεσβυτέρου,” 89.

17. Sigalas, “Χρυσίππου πρεσβυτέρου,” 86.

18. A. Sigalas, *Des Chrysippos von Jerusalem Enkomion auf den hl. Johannes den Täufer*, Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie, vol. 20 (Athens, 1937) III.

19. Roques, “Introduction,” lxxxii.

20. See Roques, “Introduction,” lvii ff. Pre-Dionysian attempts include the Life of Peter the Iberian, regarding a vision of John the Eunuch (see E. Honigmann, “Pierre l’Ibérien et les écrits du Pseudo-Denys l’Aréopagite,” in *Mémoires de l’Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques* 47/3 (1952):18–19); Cyril of Jerusalem (ca. 315–386), *Catechesis mystagogica*, V.6, in *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, SC vol. 126, ed. A. Piédagnel (Paris, 1966) 154; John Chrysostom, *Homiliae 1–67 in Genesim*, IV, PG 53:44; and the *Constitutiones Apostolicae* (second half of the fourth century), VIII.12.8, in *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum*, ed. F.X. Funk (Paderborn, 1905; rp. Turin, 1962) 498. And see A. Louth, *Denys the Areopagite* (Wilton, Conn., 1989) 35ff.

dominations and principalities, and the last of powers, archangels and angels. His is the best known and most complete attempt at describing the hierarchy, and his symbolic theology influenced at a fundamental level perception of and approaches to angelology from the sixth century on.

Pseudo-Dionysius necessarily depended to some extent on sources other than scripture for the completeness and symmetry of his hierarchy, notably the tradition of the church, Pseudo-Dionysius's own master, Hierotheus, and even his own opinion at particularly difficult junctures.²¹ At one point, for example, Pseudo-Dionysius had to resort to a divergent reading of scripture. In Pseudo-Dionysius's system, only the archangels and angels are in direct contact with humanity. The appearance of the seraphim to Isaiah is, therefore, a direct contradiction of the hierarchical scheme, and Pseudo-Dionysius had to propose a symbolic reading of Isaiah 6:6 wherein the seraphim is actually an angel appearing under symbolic form.²² Clearly, achieving knowledge of God by this method was conditional and subject to personal interpretation.

Pseudo-Dionysius insisted on the inability of human intelligence to understand divine things fully; for him, knowledge only comes through the "truly mysterious darkness of unknowing."²³ Writing about the exegetical possibilities of Isaiah 6:6, he described the necessary process of gaining knowledge of the unknowable as a personal endeavor that is necessarily incomplete.²⁴ Human knowledge of the divine derives in this process largely from personal contemplation of

21. Roques, "Introduction," lxxx ff.

22. Roques, "Introduction," lxxviii–lxxix.

23. *De mystica theologia*, I.3, PG 3:1001A; Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *The Complete Works*, trans. C. Luibheid and P. Rorem (New York, 1987) 137.

24. *De coelesti hierarchia*, XIII.4, in *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, SC vol. 58, ed. G. Heil and M. de Gandillac (Paris, 1958) 161. Roques, "Introduction," lxxvi, commented on this passage in this way, "Il y aura donc, en matière théologique, une part d'hypothèse et d'estimation humaine. Mais, soulignons-le, la pointe de relativité s'applique ici aux divers types d'explication qui ont essayé de montrer comment le séraphim d'Isaïe pouvait être un ange, mais non point sur le fait même qu'il l'était: aux yeux de Denys et en vertu de la structure et des lois générales de la hiérarchie, c'est là une vérité absolue qui relève de l'enseignement le plus manifest et le plus sûr de l'illumination théarchique."

symbols or sensible phenomena, but contemplation does not provide final answers, only provisional knowledge.²⁵ For Pseudo-Dionysius, “signs and symbols pointed the seeker of truth on his way, not logical argument.”²⁶

In contrast to the circumspect attempts of theologians to come to terms with angelic nature and activity, popular cult attached great, if not overweening, importance to the near-omnipotence of angelic beings. To be sure, the cult of the Archangel Michael—the most popular of the “personalized” angels in the Byzantine world—did not depend upon these theological speculations for its working premise, although it did share in the fundamental difficulties of comprehension and description inherent in angelology.²⁷ The Christian cult of Michael, and of the angels, was founded on Jewish and pagan beliefs, and it burgeoned naturally out of this wide “power base.” But it also thrived because of its animistic roots. Evidence of Jewish belief in angels who have control over certain natural phenomena is found in the Book of Jubilees (ca. 140–100 B.C.E.), which describes angels, for instance, of fire, wind and darkness;²⁸ in the Book of Enoch (third century B.C.E.), angels have control over frost, snow and other phenomena.²⁹ In short, each natural phenomenon had an angel. Texts that cite Michael in this role as “nature angel” specify his special con-

25. See Roques, *L'univers dionysien*, 158ff.

26. Cameron, “The Language of Images,” 28.

27. L. Heiser, *Die Engel im Glauben der Orthodoxie* (Trier, 1976) 222, states that the liturgy is no more specific about the angels’ nature than the theologians are. In the liturgy the angels are given the general attributes of “insubstantial,” “bodiless,” “immaterial.” However, as he notes, “Nicht in theoretischen Erörterungen wird die Natur der Engel erkannt, sondern aus der heilgeschichtlichen Erfahrung ihres tätigen, hilfreichen Dienens für Gott und die Menschen” (ibid., 226). Appearances in history are the only really dependable factor in cult practice.

28. *The Book of Jubilees or The Little Genesis*, trans. R.H. Charles (London, 1902) 40ff. (c.II).

29. *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch. A New English Edition*, ed. M. Black (Leiden, 1985) 57 (60:17–22), 58 (61:10).

And see J. Daniélou, *Histoire des doctrines chrétiennes avant Nicée. Vol. 1. Théologie du judéo-christianisme* (Tournai, 1958) 140–41; W.v. Rintelen, *Kultgeographische Studien in der Italia Byzantina. Untersuchungen über die Kulte des Erzengels Michael und der Madonna di Costantinopoli in Südtalien* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1968) 29; W.v. Rintelen, “Kult- und Legendenwanderung von Ost nach West im frühen Mittelalter,” *Saeculum* 22(1971):84–85; A.L. Williams, “The Cult of the Angels at Colossae,” *JTS* 10(1909):415–16. The angels are

cerns as water and snow.³⁰ In Egypt, Michael “took over” the role of the Nile God so that he was held responsible for the dew and the rain, and he alone was said to go through the veil to provide life.³¹ Similarly, Michael is described in terms of immanent protection unrestrained by anyone but God.

The sun riseth upon all the world through the supplication of Michael. . . . The earth beareth its fruits through the supplication of Michael. The whole world was reconciled again to God [by Michael], and he it is who delivereth everyone from the snares of the Devil. We find the intercession of Michael in the strenuous work of our hands. . . . We find the intercession of Michael in the body of the vine and of the gladness which is in the wine. . . . For the Archangel standeth by every one who crieth up to God with all his heart and helpeth him.³²

Belief in the elemental character of Michael is not restricted to the Coptic church, although Michael was especially venerated in Egypt.³³ Writing in the late ninth/early tenth century, Pantaleon also remarks on this same elemental character of the Archangel.³⁴ And in his work praising the Archangel Michael, Michael Psellus (1018–1081?) noted the benign immanence of Michael near his shrine: “Such things as the zephyr is able to do for us and breezes

placed over every phenomenon and if named they can offer protection: for example, E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1881; rp. Athens, 1974) II:xviii ff.

30. See W. Lueken, *Michael. Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael* (Göttingen, 1898) 52ff., and 131ff.

31. Lueken, *Michael*, 131–32.

32. E.A.W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1915) 757.

33. See, on Coptic veneration, E. Amélineau, “Le christianisme chez les anciens Coptes,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 15(1887):54ff. He cites a large number of legends in Christian tradition in Egypt concerning the angels and the majority of these are about Michael; Michael’s also are the most varied, “Cet archange était sans cesse en mouvement, tantôt en guerrier, tantôt en batelier, descendant sur la barque aérienne jusqu’au fond des enfers, trempant son aile dans les lacs de feu et en retirant les damnés” (ibid., 56). See further, Lueken, *Michael*, 70ff., and C.D.G. Müller, *Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der christlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1959) 8ff.

34. *Encomium in maximum et gloriosissimum Michaellem coelestis militiae principem*, PG 98:1265B–8A.

from the north refresh our bodies, these things the Archangel is able to do.”³⁵ Michael is the invisible and propitious force that alleviates heat in this region and lifts the oppression of all kinds of illnesses and sufferings. An important component of the angels’ nature is fire and likewise Michael makes himself manifest in this form, as miracle stories testify.³⁶ In Christian belief, angels command and guard their constituent parts, water, air and fire.

The early Church inherited a flourishing, and in some ways troublesome, cult of angels.³⁷ The warning in the Pauline Epistle to the Colossians about the dangers of untoward worship of the angels is an indication of such a problem.³⁸ The Christian cult of angels seems to have been heavily influenced by certain heterodox Jewish practices, as well as pagan beliefs in divine messengers.³⁹ The famous cult of Michael at Colossae, later Chonae, in western Asia Minor, grew out of this active, syncretistic belief in the angels that was common to Jews and pagans both.⁴⁰

35. Fisher 256.639–43. And see also E.A. Fisher, “Nicomedia or Galatia? Where Was Psellos’ Church of the Archangel Michael?” in *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerlink at 75*, ed. J. Duffy and J. Peradotto (Buffalo, 1988) 179.

36. See chapter 5.

37. The cult of angels, and specifically of the Archangel Michael, was threatening even to the position of Christ in the church. Lueken, *Michael*, 133ff., exhaustively described this problem; but see also J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos. Die Anschauung von Christos als Bote und Engel in der gelehrten und volkstümlichen Literatur des christlichen Altertums*, Theophaneia, vol. 3 (Bonn, 1941) 230ff., Daniélou, *Histoire des doctrines chrétiennes*, 167ff., J.P. Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael. Arzt und Feldherr. Zwei Aspekte des vor- und frühbyzantinischen Michaelkults* (Leiden, 1977) 67ff.

38. Col. 2:18, “Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into these things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshy mind.” This rather obscure prescription has been the subject of debate since the exact nature of this worship at Colossae is not known. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres. Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1904) 79ff., thought this warning was directed at a cult of animistic forces.

39. For the pagan cult of angels, see A.R.R. Shepherd, “Pagan Cults of Angels in Roman Asia Minor,” *Talanta* 12/13(1980/81):77–101; F. Sokolowski, “Sur le culte d’angelos dans le paganisme grec et romain,” *HTR* 53(1960):225–29; and F. Cumont, “Les anges du paganisme,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 72(1915):159–82.

40. See Williams, “The Cult of the Angels at Colossae,” 435ff. R.L. Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1986) 380, 742 n18, suspected “a pagan cult of angels” at Chonae, and he notes indications of worship of angels in pagan contexts nearby. The verb ἐμβατεύειν (“to enter into, to approach something in order to investigate it”) is used at Col. 2:18, and although this verb is also found in the context of the cult of Apollo at

Local causes for the cult at Chonae would seem equally important, however. The geography of the region was long noted as particularly fertile for gods—or angels—with awesome power over natural phenomena.⁴¹ Local causes and larger questions of improper worship combined at Colossae to create awkwardness over cult activity directed to the angels. The Epistle to the Colossians seems to have been addressed specifically to the sizable Jewish community at Colossae and in the region of Phrygia, where pagans were also in-

Claros, one need not connect its forms of worship with Colossae for that reason alone. F.R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization c. 370–529*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1995) I:153ff., understands a pagan cult of angels behind the worship of Michael at Chonae.

The transition of cult, pagan to Christian, is often difficult to discern and should not be taken at face value, as I have attempted to demonstrate in my “The Sosthenion near Constantinople: John Malalas and Ancient Art,” *B 68*(1998):110–20.

The likeliest course for Michael at Chonae is through hellenised Jews in the area. As Marcel Simon writes, “la substitution a toutes chances d’être pré-chrétienne, et d’avoir été opérée par ces juifs syncrétisants dont on entrevoit l’influence à travers les développements polémiques de l’épître aux Colossiens.” See *Verus Israel. Étude sur le relation entre chrétiens et juifs dans l’empire romain (135–425)* (Paris, 1948) 430–31. F.O. Francis claimed that some form of mystery cult took place at Colossae, but the evidence is slim; see “Humility and Angelic Worship in Col. 2:18,” *Studia Theologica* 16(1963):109–34 [= *Conflict at Colossae. A Problem in the Interpretation of Early Christianity Illustrated by Selected Modern Studies*, ed. F.O. Francis and W.A. Meeks (Missoula, Mont., 1973) 163–95].

41. For example, Williams, “The Cult of the Angels at Colossae,” 435, “The remarkable natural phenomena at and near Colossae must from remote ages have appealed to the human mind, and provided material to which both primitive and later religions could cling.” See, too, O. Rojdestvensky, *Le culte de saint Michel et le moyen âge latin* (Paris, 1922) xvi; Rintelen, *Kultgeographische Studien*, 25; Rintelen, “Kult- und Legendenwanderung,” 85; and O.F.A. Meinardus, “St. Michael’s Miracle of Khonae and Its Geographical Setting,” *Εκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία* 1(1980):459–69.

R. Chandler noted in his *Travels in Asia Minor: Or, an account of a tour made at the expense of the Society of Dilettanti* (Dublin, 1775) 230–31, “It is an old observation, that the country about the Maeander, the soil being light and friable, and full of salts generating inflammable matter, was undermined by fire and water. Hence it abounded in hot springs, which, after passing underground from the reservoirs, appeared on the mountain, or were found bubbling up in the plain or in the mud of the river: and hence it was subject to frequent earthquakes; the nitrous vapour, compressed in the cavities, and sublimed by heat or fermentation, bursting its prison with loud explosions, agitating the atmosphere, and shaking the earth and waters with a violence as extensive as destructive; and hence, moreover, the pestilential grottoes, which had subterraneous communications with each other, derived their noisome effluvia; and serving as smaller vents to these furnaces or hollows, were regarded as apertures of hell, as passages for deadly fumes rising up from the realms of Pluto. One or more of these mountains perhaps has burned; and it may be suspected, that the surface of the country has in some places been formed from its own bowels.”

volved in angelolatry.⁴² The local cult of angels was not so easily dislodged, however, and at the Council held in 380 in nearby Laodicea it was singled out for attack:

It is not right for Christians to abandon the church of God and go away and invoke angels and hold conventicles; for these things are forbidden. If, therefore, anyone is found devoting himself to this secret idolatry, let him be anathema, because he abandoned our Lord Jesus Christ and went after idolatry.⁴³

And somewhat later Theodoret of Cyrrhus (ca. 393–ca. 466) again criticized these excesses of angelolatry:

This disease long remained in Phrygia and Pisidia. For this reason also a synod in Laodicea of Phrygia forbade by a decree the offering of prayer to angels; and even to the present time oratories of the holy Michael may be seen among them and their neighbors.⁴⁴

Wilhelm Lueken noted a scholion to this passage that makes it clear that Theodoret was referring to Michael's shrines in and around Colossae.⁴⁵ Evidently, Chonae was the long-standing center of a heterodox devotion to Michael in particular and to angels in general.

42. Williams, "The Cult of the Angels at Colossae," 436ff.; C. Mango, "Germia: A Postscript," *JÖB* 41(1991):297; on the number of Jews in Phrygia, Lueken, *Michael*, 80–81, and K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, vol. 7 (Vienna, 1990) 223, for citations.

It can be inferred that the so-called Epistle to the Colossians was directed at angelolatry in Asia Minor in general, even if the Epistle may not have been directed at the eponymous community. H. Koester, *History and Literature of Early Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1982) 264, denied the possibility of Paul's authorship but still thought that the Epistle was directed to the church at Colossae.

43. See P.-P. Joannou, *Discipline generale antique (IVe-IXe siècles). Tome I.2. Les canons des synodes particuliers* (Grottaferrata, 1962) 144–45. The translation of Canon 35 of the Council of Laodicea is from J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* (London, 1879) 68. See Williams, "The Cult of the Angels at Colossae," 435; Simon, *Verus Israel*, 429–30; L. Robert, *Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques, vol. XI–XII* (Paris, 1960) 432ff. And on the anti-Jewish tendencies of the Council of Laodicea, see Rintelen, *Kultgeographische Studien*, 27, and Lueken, *Michael*, 81.

44. *De providentia orationes* x, II, PG 82:613B; trans. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles*, 68.

45. Lueken, *Michael*, 75.

This composite portrait of devotion to angels in the Early Christian and Byzantine world, as outlined above, reveals conflicting elements. On the one hand, popular, sometimes heterodox devotion to elemental, guardian creatures clearly existed, as the troublesome and flourishing history of the devotion to Michael at Chonae demonstrates; and, on the other, there was an abundance of theological speculation that carefully avoided crossing paths with this popular devotion and instead focused on issues of nature and organization—in other words, on decorous angelology. This study, however, explores how these apparently contradictory approaches to God's invisible multitude could intersect. The possibility of idolatry, a fear of the early church that still acted on the consciences of eighth- and ninth-century Byzantines, was never distant from discussion of angels and their representations. It informed the debates over the appropriateness of representing angels, a debate that began in the early church but was not resolved until the ninth century. The course of this debate as it incriminated material images is the subject of the first three chapters of this book. The worship of angels and of their images is the subject of fourth chapter; this chapter examines theology and miracle stories, and discusses the ways in which both of these genres dealt with the danger of worship of angels and presented seemly examples of approach instead. The fifth chapter looks at miracle stories of the Archangel Michael at Chonae to examine their verbal representation, that is, how these texts both make Michael more apprehensible to their audience and manage the difficulties of description with which artists also—in their own way—contended.

While this study deals primarily with textual evidence of attitudes towards angels and their images, it is the work of an art historian. It draws on intellectual history, which includes theology, miracle stories, poetry and sermons, and incorporates them into a history of representation. At the center of the study are the cultural conditions of seeing and understanding: an epistemology for which angels are simply the most trying and dangerous case. Transparent images of formless beings made for especially treacherous rapids, which the Byzantines attempted to stop up; this study looks at the shifting waters and dams that having images of angels necessitated.

One

ISSUES IN REPRESENTING ANGELS

Given the difficult nature of angels and their incorrigible cult, the question arose early in Christianity: How does one make an image of an incorporeal being, and what meaning does that image have for devotion to and comprehension of that being? This question, however, formed part of a larger search for ways of attaining knowledge of God and of things divine. As Averil Cameron's insightful synthesis of different aspects of Byzantine culture demonstrates, it was this search and the distinct approaches to gaining knowledge that led directly to the crisis of Iconoclasm in the eighth and ninth centuries.¹

Iconoclasm arose in the 720s, signaled *perhaps* by the dramatic destruction of the image of Christ on the Chalke Gate of the imperial palace in Constantinople.² Its direct cause was likely political concerns and the personal inclination of the emperor Leo III

1. Cameron, "The Language of Images"; and also her "Byzantium and the Past in the Seventh Century: The Search for Redefinition," in *The Seventh Century. Change and Continuity. Proceedings of a joint French and British Colloquium held at the Warburg Institute 8–9 July 1988*, ed. J. Fontaine and J. N. Hillgarth (London, 1992) 250–76.

2. See M.-F. Auzépy, "Le destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalce par Léon III: Propagande ou réalité," *B* 60(1990):445–92, and G. Peers, "Breathless, Speechless Images: On the Chalke Gate Epigram," *Hommages Margaret Head Thomson, Cahiers des études anciennes*, vol. 34, ed. L. Finnete and A. P. Booth (Trois Rivières, Québec, 1998) 109–12.

(r. 716–740), but its intellectual roots are deep in the early church, in divergent approaches to created matter—primarily images—in Christian life and worship.³ Iconoclasm as imperial policy was continued and reinforced by Leo’s son, Constantine V (r. 740–775) but halted under the regency of Irene who ruled for her son Constantine VI and solely from 797 to 802. Irene convened the last ecumenical council in 787, the second held at Nicaea, which reintroduced image worship in the empire. From 815 to 843, Iconoclasm was again enforced until Michael III (r. 842–867) declared for image worship under the influence of his mother, Theodora. The effect of this prolonged period of Iconoclasm was intense debate over images and worship. This study mines that debate for the information it provides about attitudes towards representing angels.

Cameron’s study provides a framework for a more specific analysis of one aspect of the quest for knowledge of the holy, namely depictions of angels. She delineates the process by which early Byzantine society attempted to define and systematize methods of acquiring knowledge and recognizing truth. In Cameron’s view, Iconoclasm “was a manifestation of an uncertainty which people felt about their own thought world.”⁴ And indeed, the period leading up to Iconoclasm reveals two divergent approaches to gaining knowledge in Byzantine culture: symbolism and literalism in art and worship were the two poles of the debate. These conflicting views on art and worship characterize attitudes toward, and perceptions of, angels and their representations. The debate over symbolism and literalism also involved questions about the place of created things in Christian worship; intellectual devotion and material assistance were mutually exclusive for some of the theologians discussed here. Figurative art

3. On the origins of Iconoclasm under Leo III, see S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources* (Louvain, 1973) and D. Stein, *Der Beginn des byzantinischen Bilderstreits und seine Entwicklung bis in der 40er Jahre des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1980). On the roots of Iconoclasm, see P. C. Finney, *The Invisible God. Early Christians on Art* (Oxford, 1994), E. Kitzinger, “The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm,” *DOP* 8(1954):83–150, and Sister Charles Murray, *Rebirth and Afterlife. A Study of the Transmutation of Some Pagan Imagery in Early Christian Funerary Art* (Oxford, 1981).

4. Cameron, “The Language of Images,” 4.

was one alienating feature within a larger complex of material aids introduced into worship in the period being examined.

The possibility of idolatry that arose from the introduction of material aids into Christian worship was the underlying and central apprehension that united anti-image theologians. The rejection of images of angels was directly related to that fear of idolatry, but it also involved other issues of primary concern in the early church, namely the worship of angels as gods and pagan attempts to equate Christian angels with their own gods. In the late fourth and fifth centuries, canon 35 of the Council of Laodicea and the repeated warning of Theodoret of Cyrillus aimed at increasing awareness of the problem and at extirpating the embarrassing problem from the Christian community.⁵ Macarius Magnes in the fourth century combatted the pagan attempt at a rapprochement by denying any resemblance between Christian worship of angels and pagan devotion to their gods.⁶ John of Thessalonike continued to fend off just such advances from pagan quarters into the seventh century.⁷ Evidently, the issue maintained a shame-inspiring purchase within the church. Christian practice, likely in the region of Chonae and perhaps far beyond, evidently encouraged the expression of such pagan views, and pagans could draw parallels between the two apparently irreconcilable beliefs. The shrine at Chonae was a prime site for overweening angel worship, and the stories describing the miracles of Michael were directed at cleansing a situation mortifying for church authorities; the emphasis on the blameless character at the center of the story of the miracle at Chonae was intended to counter behavior that was perhaps not normal but at least perceived to be possible within the cult of angels.⁸ A literal approach to worship, therefore, implicated other issues in the early church that are not simply theological abstractions

5. See the Introduction.

6. See chapter 2.

7. See the Conclusion, and also G. Peers, "Imagination and Angelic Epiphany," *BMGS* 21(1997):113–31, and D. Krausmüller, "God or Angels as Impersonators of Saints. A Belief and its Contexts in the 'Refutation' of Eustratius of Constantinople and in the Writings of Anastasius of Sinai," *Gouden Hoorn* 6 / 2(1998 / 9):5–16.

8. See chapter 4.

but that involved problems of Christian worship within the material, created world and before insubstantial messengers and guardians of that world.

Before such elusive creatures as angels, Christian artists encountered a representational dilemma. Yet they did not consider this problem of depicting spiritual creatures to be insurmountable, as they represented angels from the earliest period. They based their depictions on scriptural description, and, like theologians such as Chrysippus and Pseudo-Dionysius, they prudently stayed on the path scripture had established for angelic appearances. In many ways, artists avoided problems of representations and described angels straightforwardly as men, thereby ignoring the metaphysical qualities of angels altogether. Yet Christian artists did not always show angels as if they were illustrating the Bible literally. Christian artists developed an iconography of angels that commemorated angelic appearances on earth, most often using wings to indicate the symbolic quality of these appearances. In one important sense, the common iconography of the winged man is reductive: it does not describe the bodiless, immaterial nature of angels; rather, it represents God's messengers generically.

The iconography of angels is unique in Christian art in that it described the difficult flashes of epiphany of the formless angels allusively; the iconography of Christ and the saints presented their human forms, derived from corporeal lives on earth, as the iconography of the angels could not. While it is true that angels appropriated human form for some of their appearances on earth, this form was only one among many forms possible for angels. Christ and the saints had secure and comprehensible forms that persisted with a degree of stability throughout their lives on earth; in contrast, angels were unstable and, in the end, unknowable.

Christian images depended on the life that the subject led on earth for their significance in cult since they stated historical likeness and actual presence in the stead of the person represented. As Hans Belting has demonstrated, images of saints grew directly out of the Late Antique practice of honoring the dead through portraits; images be-

came venerated like relics and were treated like vestiges that had contact with the person represented.⁹ Christ and the Virgin were, of course, difficult cases as both rose bodily into heaven; miraculous images, wondrously imprinted with Christ's face or taken from eyewitness observation such as by the Evangelist Luke, fulfilled this desire for verification of earthly being and for contact with the divine.¹⁰

Representing God—that is, the ability to represent absolute transcendence—was the central issue in the period leading to, and including, Iconoclasm, and it determined the selection and introduction of material concerning angels who are also transcendent, though not, like God, absolutely. The central defense for images of God was the incarnation; supreme divinity assumed human form, and lived, suffered and died in that form. Angels also become comprehensible, though not to this same degree, and for this reason were often a corollary for this primary question of Christian representation. But the issue of angels' images diverges immediately from any direct comparison with images of Christ. The angels were never incarnate, only give the illusion of being so—as, for instance, Raphael deluded Tobias into believing him human. Although angels are comprehensible in some fashion, they present a set of problems different from Christ's representability. Their formless nature and illusory apparitions, so well documented in scripture, apocrypha and miracle stories, define the angels' images as allusive to a spiritual reality not altogether apprehensible. Without the anchor of incarnate being that Christ's images refer to, angels' images are symbolic in a distinct way, necessarily referring to the paradox of bodilessness and immateriality made momentarily and partially known.

Angels, it appears, could not participate in the same process of representation as Christ and the saints: they did not manufacture miraculous images, they did not relinquish relics. Altogether their timeless, near-eternal selves denied historical ratification to their like-

9. H. Belting, *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich, 1990) 42ff., 92ff.

10. On these issues, see the papers in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, Villa Spelman Colloquia, vol. 6, ed. H. L. Kessler and G. Wolf (Bologna, 1998).

Figure 1. Icon of the Archangel Michael (?), Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, sixth century.
Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale.



nesses. Painters of icons of angels relied on tried and true modes of representation for depicting these beings. A sixth-century Coptic panel painting of the archangel Michael (?), now in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (fig. 1), reveals a clear dependence on idealizing funerary portraiture of the Late Antique period: large, staring eyes give a sense of timeless abstraction; the figure faces the viewer frontally, only betraying the impression of immovability by his right hand raised in benediction; the circular nimbus is depicted in front of the rectangular frame in the upper right hand corner, lending a contrapposto effect to the hand below.¹¹ While these elements pro-

11. See Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 110, fig. 47, and J. Durand in *Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises* (Paris, 1992) 144, no. 98.

vide animation, perhaps a notion of activity benevolently directed at the worshipper, the figure itself is anonymous, undistinguished by feature or by inscription; it is so reliant on pagan idealizing portraiture in iconography and style that only the heroic quality of the figure—and not its individuality—is clear. The stumps of wings alone betray a hint of angelic identity and nature; the icon is not, then, unambiguous in its representation of qualities unique to angels.

If Christian artists sidestepped certain problems of angelic nature in frequently representing angels as men, these images of angels raised difficulties of perception and comprehension on the part of the viewer. Angels are formless, bodiless and immaterial, so a true likeness of such beings in material images is impossible. The relation between the image and model is, therefore, problematic, and definition of any relation relied on viewers' ability to discern symbolic rather than literal "likeness." Byzantine viewers did approach images of angels discriminately: the tension between material representation and immaterial nature is the compelling and attractive quality of their images. Indeed, this tension is the defining characteristic of angels' images and distinguishes their images from other Christian representations.

On a literal level, the iconography of the angels presents a faithful rendering of certain appearances that God's messengers had made on earth. In Christian art, angels are depicted as youths, most often winged; they are generalized in appearance to the point of anonymity, and only the Archangels are consistently named by inscription in representations. Cherubim and seraphim are often recognizable, though not always distinguishable from each other, by the many wings and eyes that scripture prescribed. Yet cherubim, seraphim and other angelic beings—that is, the thrones, principalities, powers, virtues and dominations mentioned in scripture—could also be represented by the generalized iconography of the winged youth. Clearly, the form of a man with wings not only commemorated the human aspect occasionally made manifest to humanity but also referred, more broadly, to all angelic beings.

Although a degree of anthropomorphism became a consistent iconographic element for angels, anthropomorphism itself was not

predetermined. For instance, scripture advances different agencies behind the cloud of smoke and pillar of fire that led the Israelites out of the desert in Exodus. At one point (13:21–22), “the Lord went before them”; but at other points in the journey, the text specifies that the Lord’s angel guided the people (14:19, 23:20–23, 32:34, 33:2). Although Exodus is ambiguous about these manifestations’ identity, the cloud of smoke and pillar of fire were generally considered to be emanations of God, that is angels.¹² The angels in illustrations of these events in Exodus presented representational possibilities for painters. They could be depicted either in the form made manifest to the Israelites in the desert, or as men, a form revealed elsewhere in scripture.

In the case of the smoke and fire of Exodus, literal adherence to scripture characterizes the depictions of these epiphanies, and painters did not use the iconography of the winged youth to indicate the nature and ultimate identity of the agencies behind the cloud and fire. Frescoes in cubicula C and O in the fourth-century via Latina Catacomb in Rome both represent a column with a blaze on top beside Moses receiving the law; these two columns are placed on a level above a crowd standing before a building.¹³ The *Christian Topography*, written in the sixth century, shows a different context for representing this manifestation of God’s providence. Illuminations accompany passages from Exodus and other biblical books, collated by the author in an attempt at a Christian history prefigured by events in Hebrew Scripture. The context is primarily narrative, although Christian typology is the final concern. This particular manifestation of divinity, the column and cloud, is depicted with faithful attention to scripture and interpreted as a sign of God’s providence fulfilled with the coming of Christ.

12. See M. Barker, *The Great Angel. A Study of Israel’s Second Angel* (London, 1992) 32, 86. Eventually, the Archangel Michael became identified with these manifestations on account of his guardianship of Israel stated at Daniel 12:1. See, for instance, Pantaleon, *Narratio*, IX, PG 140:579C.

13. See W. Tronzo, *The Via Latina Catacomb. Imitation and Discontinuity in Fourth-Century Roman Painting* (University Park and London, 1986) 1, 59, figs. 4, 5.

Rather than depicting an angelic being or God, the illuminators chose a literal depiction of a cloud and a column with a flame atop it (fig. 2).¹⁴ Yet the depictions, like scripture, ultimately refer to enigmatic revelations of God's emanations, that is angels, as the column and cloud in the manuscripts and the frescoes allude to changeable beings, unclear identities and obscure meanings. Both examples, despite their different contexts and literal attention to text, demand an understanding on the part of the viewer that the column and cloud are symbolic of aspects of divine, multiform beings. By avoiding any attempts at visually referring to the nature of the epiphanies, the painter shifts the burden to the viewer who must supply an interpretation based on his or her knowledge of scripture. While this burden is not exclusive to viewing angels, it has a special role since their mutable nature demands special processes of interpretation.

Angels' metaphysical qualities notwithstanding, during the early centuries of Christian art, painters, mosaicists and sculptors depicted angels as men. They first devised an anthropomorphic iconography because angels are sometimes described in scriptural accounts as having made themselves manifest as men. The earliest extant representation of an anthropomorphic angel appeared in the third century in an Annunciation in the Catacomb of Priscilla in

14. See K. Weitzmann and G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts. Volume One: From the Ninth to the Eleventh Century* (Princeton, 1990) 63–64, figs. 141, 142, pls. IXa, Xa; and Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographie chrétienne*, SC vols. 141, 159, 197, ed. W. Wolska-Conus (Paris, 1968–1973) I:47ff.

The column with fire and the cloud are represented in illustrations in the two eleventh-century manuscripts of this sixth-century work at Sinai (cod. 1186, fols. 73r, 73v, 74r) and Florence (Laur. Plut. IX, 28, fols. 103r, 103v, 104r). The illustrations were not invented for these two manuscripts and the eleventh-century recensions rely ultimately on the sixth-century prototype of the *Christian Topography* for their model. The Sinai and Florence versions more faithfully reproduce the illumination tradition of the *Christian Topography* than the other member of this manuscript family, the ninth-century Vaticanus graecus 699, and so these illustrations of Exodus can be safely related to a pre-Iconoclastic model.

One should properly follow the identification of the author of the *Christian Topography* with Constantine of Antioch rather than Cosmas Indicopleustes, as Wanda Wolska-Conus has persuasively argued. See her "Stéphanos d'Athènes et Stéphanos d'Alexandrie. Essai d'identification et de biographie," *REB* 47(1989):28ff.

Rome. The scriptural narrative (Luke 1:28–38) describes the messenger of God merely as an “angel,” and the painter chose to represent this messenger as a man wearing a tunic and standing firmly on the earth.¹⁵ This solution to the potential difficulties in representing formless beings was used frequently in the first centuries of Christian art and never disappeared from the Byzantine iconographic tradition. Indeed, it shows that describing the special qualities of angels was felt sometimes not to be possible or not to be of paramount concern. In Early Christian art, angels were most often depicted in this earthly guise, as a man either bearded or unbearded,¹⁶ and in this way artists described one comprehensible aspect out of the many that scripture ascribes to angels. However, in the fresco in the Catacomb of Priscilla, the angel is not explicitly identified by inscription or iconographic peculiarity, and the attribution of the scene as the Annunciation is ambivalent. Clearly, the image of a man did not itself indicate the distinct identity of an angel nor could it describe directly any transcendental element in the event.

For some mosaicists, painters and sculptors, the literal depiction of angels as men was restrictive since anthropomorphism could not express qualities peculiar to angels.¹⁷ But in Late Antique art iconographic means that could indicate the distinct identity and metaphysical nature of angels were available to Christian mosaicists, painters and sculptors: by the end of the fourth century, wings were standard—though not exclusive—attributes of angels. They provided the means for referring to supernatural qualities particular to angels that could not be expressed easily in visual terms: transcendence, velocity, ethereality and uncontained activity. For instance, John Chrysostom (ca. 347–407) wrote:

15. See M. Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli. Racconto di immagini e di idee* (Milan, 1991) 48; and P. Testini, *Archeologia cristiana. Nozioni generali dalle origini alla fine del sec. VI* (Rome, 1958) 258.

16. The bearded angel is found as late as the fifth century, for example, on an ivory representing the Baptism of Christ in the British Museum; see W.F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 3d ed. (Mainz am Rhein, 1976) pl. 60 (#115).

17. G. Berefelt, *A Study on the Winged Angel. The Origin of a Motif* (Stockholm, 1968) 15.

What do the powers reveal to us by these wings? The exaltedness and ethereality and lightness and speed of their nature. For which reason, Gabriel descends fleet; not that the wings are part of the bodiless power, but that he descends from realms on high and returns to his abode whence he was sent.¹⁸

In Byzantine art, wings became an established and comprehensive distinguishing sign of the offices and nature of angelic beings—and, rarely, of other beings as well, Christ, for instance, or John the Baptist in his angelic guise.¹⁹ In the case of the angels, however, the oc-

18. In *Isaiah dominum* (Is. 6:1), *homiliae* 1–6, II, PG 56:137. And, also, *Ad eos qui scandalizati*, III, PG 52:484, “Therefore when you see the seraphim flying around that exalted and well-fitted throne, their sight walled round by the projection of their wings, hiding their feet, backs and faces, and sending forth fearfully strong cries, do not think wings and feet, and that they are winged. For these are invisible powers. But [it is] on account of the unapproachability of their images, and the incomprehensibility of sitting near an actual throne. For indeed he is incomprehensible and unapproachable to them also, and yet he too condescended.”

19. Christ represented as an angel is a rare iconography based on Isaiah 9:6, “For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given ... and his name shall be called the Angel of the Great Counsel (Μεγάλης Βουλῆς Ἀγγέλως), Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace.” Christ in this guise is depicted winged, and unbearded, but with cross-nimbus or in a mandorla, thereby differentiating him from the heavenly host proper. On this iconography, see S. Der Nersessian, “Note sur quelques images se rattachant au thème du Christ-ange,” *CA* 13(1962):209–16; J. Meyendorff, “Iconographie de la Sagesse divine dans la tradition byzantine,” *CA* 10(1959):269, and also his “Wisdom–Sophia: Contrasting Approaches to a Complex Theme,” *DOP* 41(1987):391–401; and D.I. Pallas, “Ο Χριστός ὡς ἡ θεία Σοφία. Ἡ Εἰκονογραφικὴ Περιπέτεια μιᾶς θεολογικῆς Ἐννοιᾶς,” *DChAE* 15(1989–1990):127ff., 137ff.

The first extant representation of the winged John the Baptist is found at the church of Sv. Ahilije in Arlije from ca. 1296 (G. Millet, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédonie et Monténégro)*, 4 vols. [Paris, 1954–1969] II: pl. 87.1; and *RBK* III:623ff.). The iconography may very well predate this representation, as Lossky points out instances of seventh-/eighth-century commentary on the angelic nature of John the Baptist. See L. Ouspensky and W. Lossky, *The Meaning of the Icons* (Boston, 1952) 108. The iconography has been examined by J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, “Une icône d’Angélos au Musée de Malines et l’iconographie du St Jean-Baptiste ailé,” *Bulletin de Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire* 48(1976):121–44, and M. Bussagli, “Il Precursore. Giovanni l’angelo, martire della luce,” *Abstracta* 27(1988):23–29.

Rarely, the Virgin Mary may be depicted winged also, but this is generally late and developed perhaps under the influence of the iconography of the winged Christ; see *RBK* III:108. Furthermore, the Angeloi family in the Palaiologan period depicted themselves with wings on coins as a kind of heraldic emblem, and also perhaps to invoke angelic protection; see T. Bertelè, *L’imperatore alato nella numismatica bizantina* (Rome, 1951) 45ff.



Figure 3. Sarigüzel sarcophagus, Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (#5408), late fourth century. Photo: Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

casional need to distinguish these beings iconographically from humanity, including Christ incarnate, was important for the creation of angels' iconography. Angelic beings are distinct from, and servile to, Christ, and they do not participate in human nature. Consequently, the winged, anthropomorphic form became a unique sign for the innumerable, invisible entities that mediate between heaven and earth at God's behest.

The iconographic formulae used to depict angelic beings were derived from pagan models. An important example of this derivation is the late fourth-century Sarigüzel sarcophagus in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (fig. 3). It shows both the dependence of Christian angels on pagan figures, in particular winged victories, and also the distinctions between the Christian and pagan beings.²⁰ On the Sarigüzel sarcophagus, two flying male angels, clad in tunic and *paludium*, bear a wreath containing Christ's monogram ("XP"). The pagan iconography of two horizontal winged beings holding a wreath, medallion or inscribed plaque clearly motivated the disposition of the angels on the Sarigüzel sarcophagus. For instance, on a third-century sarcophagus from the via Aurelia Antica now in the Palazzo

20. See N. Firatli, *La sculpture byzantine figurée au Musée Archéologique d'Istanbul* (Paris, 1990) no. 81.

dei Conservatori, Rome, two winged female figures hover horizontally and hold a medallion between them in a manner common in pagan funerary art.²¹

Nevertheless, individual elements used in depictions of Christian angels belie any generalizations about unmediated transmission of iconography from pagan to Christian art.²² Pagan figures, such as nikes and personifications, are invariably female; Christian angels, male. In Greek, “ho angelos” (ὁ ἄγγελος) is masculine in gender, a distinction always followed in iconography; hence the distinction in dress. The angels on the Sarigüzel sarcophagus wear tunic and *pallium*, while nikes wear the female *peplos*, and, in other cases, the chiton, occasionally with one breast exposed.²³

Gender and dress, therefore, constitute the essential identifying features for nike and angel, and the distinctions of nature and function are nowhere more evident than on monuments with both figures. The ivory leaf from the late fifth-/early sixth-century Barberini diptych (Louvre, Paris) shows a female, chiton-clad victory accompanying the emperor; in the register above, two male winged figures wearing tunic and *pallium* bear aloft a medallion containing the unbearded Christ (fig. 4).²⁴

The pagan iconography provided some of the meaning of the Christian iconography of victory proclaiming angels. The pagan nikes signal worldly acclaim and, in such contexts as the sarcophagus from the via Aurelia Antica, laud the achievements of the

21. See Berefelt, *A Study on the Winged Angel*, fig. 15.

22. For instance, O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst* (Munich, 1914) 136; A. C. M. Beck, *Genien und Niken als Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst* (Giessen, 1936), and E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture. Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, ed. H. W. Janson (London, 1964) 43–44: “Victories could become angels without changing in appearance.”

23. G. Stuhlfauth, *Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst* (Freiburg, 1897) 242ff.; K. Felis, “Die Niken und die Engel in altchristlicher Kunst,” *RQ* 26(1912):3–25; and see Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli*, 63ff. and 142ff.

24. See R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*, 2 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929) I:188ff., II: pl. 48, and F. de’ Maffei, “Tradizione ed innovazione nei dittici eburnei: Giuliano, Pulcheria, Giustiniano,” *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 40(1986):129ff. Pallados, writing ca. 400, implies a self-conscious, artistic coexistence for angels and nikes when he describes some painted, Christian nikes. See *The Greek Anthology*, ed. W. R. Paton, 5 vols. (London, 1927), V:282.



Figure 4. Barberini Diptych, Louvre, Paris, sixth century. Photo: Musée du Louvre.

deceased. In distinction, the Christian iconography attempted to demonstrate the universal claims of that faith. Winged angels demonstrate the metaphysical dimension of Christianity and, on the Sarigüzöl sarcophagus, its victory over death. The angels are the otherworldly heralds of the triumph of Christ throughout the universe and are the celestial counterparts to the saints on the end panels of that sarcophagus.

Other pagan personifications besides nikes played a role in the development of the iconography of Christian angels. A common iconographic feature to mark creatures that occupied the intermediate zone between the heavens and earth, wings were attributes of numerous personifications, such as winds, psychopompic figures, souls and astronomical symbols. Christian art assimilated this widespread motif to denote angels' immaterial and superhuman nature.²⁵ For example, set within a swirling carpet of fruits, plants and birds, four angels hold aloft a medallion containing the Lamb of God in the mosaic of the chancel vault of San Vitale (consecrated 548).²⁶ Although distinguished by gender and dress, the angels owe their disposition and activity to representations of seasons in late Roman art. For example, winged, female personifications of seasons are depicted in the Late Antique period in mosaics from Daphne, near Antioch, (fig. 5) and Halicarnassus.²⁷ These personifications of seasons, with

25. On this question of pagan winged beings generally, see the studies of Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli*, and "Gli angeli e i venti: considerazioni sul simbolismo aereo delle ali angeliche," *Arte medievale* 5(1991):107ff. Even birds may have influenced the iconography of the angels; and, in fact, bird-footed angels on a Palaiologan icon (#157) in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, show that an iconographic assimilation of birds and angels was at least possible. See M. G. Soteriou, "Ἀμιπρόσωπος εἰκὼν τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Ἀθηνῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰππεῖου," *DChAE* 4(1959):137, fig. 54.

26. See H. Maguire, *Earth and Ocean. The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (University Park and London, 1987) 76ff.

27. W. R. Lethaby, "The Painted Book of Genesis in the British Museum," *Archaeological Journal* 69(1912):94, cites a mosaic of the four seasons from Halicarnassus in the British Museum that shows winged female figures wearing tunics; see R. P. Hinks, *Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum* (London, 1933) 127ff. (#51 c-d). And for the fourth-century mosaic from Daphne, now in the Louvre, see A. Grabar, *Early Christian Art. From the Rise of Christianity to the Death of Theodosius*, trans. S. Gilbert and J. Emmons (New York, 1968) fig. 163. Seasons were also depicted as males in pagan art; on an early third-century sarcophagus (Landgrafmuseum, Cassel), and on a sarcophagus dating ca. 300–320 (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.), the seasons are winged nude males. See, respectively, J. Godwin, *Mystery Religions in the Ancient World*, San Francisco, 1981, fig. 100, and G. M. A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1951). Seasons became a significant element in Roman imperial art in the second century, when they were depicted as young males below the female Victories in the spandrels of the triumphal arch of Trajan at Benevento (114–18); see D. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven and London, 1992) figs. 188, 189, and Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus*, 1:171ff. Wings are found subsequently on personifications of seasons in the second century for the first time; Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus*, 1:136. And since seasons are also found on sarcophagi from the second century on, an assimilation of



Figure 5. Mosaic of the Seasons, detail of Personification of Spring, from Daphne near Antioch, Louvre, Paris, early fourth century. Photo: Musée du Louvre.

arms raised to hold a medallion, clearly influenced the handling of the angels in the chancel vault at San Vitale. Based on this existing iconography, the angels within this area of the church form part of

the nude male figures with the winged and clothed female victories, such as is found on Trajan's arch, may well have resulted in the Late Antique examples of personifications of time found at Aphrodisias, Halicarnassus and ultimately in the Cotton Genesis.

the mosaic program in the sanctuary, the rule of Christ over the entire earth.

The dependence of the iconography of Christian angels on pagan models is complex, and certain pagan models maintained their identities in Christian art and did not influence the angels' iconography in any simple or direct manner. For example, the late fifth-century Cotton Genesis includes representations of both personifications and angels. Dress and gender distinguish the personifications of the days in the creation pages from the angels in such narrative scenes as Abraham entertaining the three angels.²⁸ The former are female and wear garlands in their hair and high girdled chitons that leave their arms bare; the angels in the Philoxenia, on the other hand, are male and wear purple and gold chlamys with a silver tablion over a white tunic.

Yet the identity of these winged figures in the creation pages is still debated by scholars. The figures are often called angels by scholars, despite the clear iconographic distinctions the illuminator made between the figures in the creation pages and in the narrative scenes; for this reason, it is useful to examine the literature on these figures to see the reasoning behind their designation as angels. In 1959, Marie-Thérèse D'Alverny published an article in which she examined the exegetical history of angels in creation, and discerned an affinity between the commentary of Augustine (354–430) on Genesis and the representations of the winged figures in the creation pages of the Cotton Genesis.²⁹ Augustine stated that the creation of light was also the moment of creation for the angels, and so the angels are intellectual creatures, days of creation in his view, who witness and glorify the creations of God. From this exegesis, D'Alverny hypothesized that the winged figures in the Cotton Genesis illuminations,

28. See K. Weitzmann and H. L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis. British Museum Codex Cotton Otho B. VI* (Princeton, 1986) 40, 48 (creation pages), 79–80 (Abraham).

Angels are depicted as men in the scene of Jacob's Dream in the third-century fresco in the synagogue at Dura Europos; as in the Cotton Genesis, the psyches are kept distinct from the angels iconographically as they are depicted as small winged females. See K. Weitzmann and H. L. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Europos Synagogue and Christian Art* (Washington, D.C., 1990) 17ff., fig. 10, and 135ff., fig. 178, respectively.

29. M.-Th. D'Alverny, "Les anges et les jours," *CA* 9(1957):271–300.

who increase in number according to the day of creation, find a direct parallel in this unique exegesis of Genesis by Augustine.³⁰ For this reason, she called them angels.

D'Alverny made an exhaustive survey of the textual tradition of creation and angels, but neglected to specify the iconographic precedents for the winged beings in the creation pages. Furthermore, she accepted the traditional provenance of the Cotton Genesis at Alexandria, and so ran aground on the relation of Augustinian exegesis to a Greek manuscript manufactured in Egypt. Maria Marini Clarelli has offered an hypothesis that attempts to reconcile this provenance with an exegetical tradition.³¹ She proposed that the winged females are angels assimilated to the iconography of pagan psyches; psyches in this view were a fundamental influence on the development of angels' iconography. The winged figures in these illustrations of the Cotton Genesis are, for this reason, depicted wearing chitons, unlike the standard angelic dress of dalmatian and *pal-lium*, in order to state iconographically the connection between soul and angel.³² However, psyches have butterfly wings in pagan iconography, and the winged figures in the Cotton Genesis creation pages have small sickle-shaped wings; the iconographic parallel is not, therefore, convincing.³³

30. References in D'Alverny, "Les anges et les jours," 273ff.

31. See M.V. Marini Clarelli, "I giorni della creazione nel 'Genesi Cotton,'" *OCP* 50(1984):65–93; and Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli*, 72ff.

32. Marini Clarelli, "I giorni della creazione nel 'Genesi Cotton,'" 83ff. She attributed this assimilation to exegesis current at Alexandria in the early Christian period, particularly that of Philo (ca. 20 B.C.E.–ca. 50 C.E.) and Clement (ca. 150–ca. 215). According to the exegesis of Clement of Alexandria, the souls of the just participate in a journey of progressive refinement that leads ultimately to an essential assimilation with the seven first-created angels.

33. An apparent strength of Marini Clarelli's hypothesis is a better contextualization of the manuscript in Alexandria, but Martin Büchsel has recently examined further the Augustinian exegesis on creation with regard to the Cotton Genesis. See M. Büchsel, "Die Schöpfungsmosaiken von San Marco. Die Ikonographie der Erschaffung des Menschen in der frühchristlichen Kunst," *Städte-Jahrbuch* n.s. 13(1991):29–80. Büchsel discerned elements in the creation cycle in the thirteenth-century mosaic program of San Marco, Venice, which is derived from the Cotton Genesis, that are found only in the work of Augustine; this extensive examination advances further the hypothesis of a connection between the Cotton Genesis and Augustine. He also proposed a provenance for the manuscript at Rome, thus taking away an important underpinning of Marini Clarelli's argument and adding strength to the original connection made between Augustine and the Cotton Genesis by D'Alverny. How-

While the manuscript was likely produced in Egypt, either at Alexandria or at Antinoë, the exegetical sources Marini Clarelli adduces have no discernible impact on the invention of the creation day pages.³⁴ Moreover, the iconographic parallels between pagan personifications of days and the winged figures in the creation pages are the most compelling. For example, a panel from a first-century (?) frieze in the north portico of the imperial Sebasteion at Aphrodisias in Asia Minor depicts a personification of Day (Ἡμέρα). The panel shows a woman clad in a high girdled chiton in a manner similar to the winged figures in the creation day pages of the Cotton Genesis.³⁵ The dress, wings and gender of these personifications show the best precedents for the winged figures in the creation day pages of the Cotton Genesis.³⁶ As the Cotton Genesis has other instances of classical borrowings, the most likely solution to the puzzle of the so-called “angels” is the simplest; pagan personifications of time were included to indicate the increase in days of creation as outlined in Genesis.³⁷

ever, the problem of a Greek manuscript produced at Rome but with palaeographic relations to Alexandria (as Büchsel admits) is not dissipated by Büchsel’s hypothesis that the manuscript was a gift from Leo the Great (d. 461) to a Byzantine emperor. The argument for Alexandrian origin, on palaeographic and iconographic grounds, is still the most compelling for this manuscript. See H. L. Kessler, *Studies in Pictorial Narrative* (London, 1994) 552.

34. See Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, 30–31, who contend that palaeographic, stylistic and iconographic evidence points to either of these major Egyptian centers.

35. See K. T. Erim, *Aphrodisias. Ein Führer durch die antike Stadt und das Museum*, trans. E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum (Istanbul, 1990) fig. 90; and also his *Aphrodisias. City of Venus-Aphrodite* (New York and London, 1986) fig. p. 122; and R. R. R. Smith, “Myth and Allegory in the Sebasteion,” *Aphrodisias Papers. Recent Work on Architecture and Sculpture*, ed. C. Rouché and K. T. Erim (Ann Arbor, 1990) 89–92. On the iconography of Day, see *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich and Munich, 1981–) III, 1:774 (#276, #282), 781 (#299).

36. See K. Weitzmann, “Observations on the Cotton Genesis Fragments,” in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann et al. (Princeton, 1955) 127, in which he played down the possibility of the personification of day affecting the manuscript; in “The Genesis Mosaics of San Marco and the Cotton Genesis Miniatures,” in O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco. Part 2: The Thirteenth Century. Volume One: Text* (Chicago and London, 1984) 109, Weitzmann entertained Ἡμέρα as the more likely influence.

37. On other classical borrowings in the Cotton Genesis, see Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, 38ff.

The figures in the creation pages of the Cotton Genesis are plainly different from the angels in the other illustrations of the manuscript, and the differences in identities signal to the viewer that a visual gloss is being made on the creation passages. The winged figures in the creation pages allow an indication of time, thereby revealing an ability on the part of the illuminator to express certain Christian concerns through a pagan iconography. Pagan personifications of time were not direct models for the iconography of angels since figures are differentiated in function and appearance in the Cotton Genesis. The distinctions used reveal that while the iconography of angels owed some debts to pagan models as at San Vitale, Christian painters also perceived differences in these figures and maintained these differences for specific narrative ends.³⁸

Despite the clear iconographic parallels between winged pagan beings and Christian angels, some scholars have sought the origins of the winged angel in a purely Christian context independent of pagan inspiration. In support of this opinion, Georg Stuhlfauth adduced as an early example a fifth-century ivory (Castello Sforzesco, Milan), which depicts a winged man and bull, symbols of the evangelists, hovering above an unwinged angel at the tomb of Christ (fig. 6).³⁹ He also cited the apse mosaic at Sta. Pudenziana, Rome, (401–417) in which evangelist symbols hover in the sky above Christ seated amongst his disciples. These two monuments were his primary pieces of evidence for the contention that the Christian iconography of winged angels was dependent on the evangelist symbol of the winged man.⁴⁰ However, chronology makes it difficult to support an

38. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus*, I:195ff., believed that little evidence existed for a true iconographic lineage from seasons to angels: “At most, we might allow that the tendency to conceive natural forces as angels and *daimones*, coupled with the use of pagan types of personifications for the visual rendering of these concepts, led to an art in which some of the long-winged Seasons have a generic resemblance to the Christian angels.”

39. Grabar, *The Golden Age of Justinian*, fig. 331, and Vollbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, pl. 60 (#111).

40. Stuhlfauth, *Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst*, 244. The tetramorph cherubim of Ezekiel and Revelation initiated typological interpretation of the Gospels and Evangelists among Christian theologians. This symbolic affiliation of tetramorph and Gospels began as early as the second century; for instance, Irenaeus (ca. 130–ca. 200) wrote: “For the cherubim have four faces, and their faces are the images of the dispensation of the Son of

Figure 6. The Tomb of Christ, upper register—Soldiers Asleep at the Tomb; lower register—Marys and Angel at Tomb. Ivory, Castello Sforzesco, Milan, fifth century. Photo: Foto Marburg/ Art Resource, N.Y.



independent development of this iconography since these earliest monuments are later than the fourth-century appearance of winged angels.⁴¹

Given the fragmentary quality of the archaeological record for this period, the hypothesis of a Christian invention of the iconography of the winged angel cannot be dismissed out of hand. Furthermore, scripture does provide the material for an association of man and wings, for instance in Ezekiel (1:5–6) and Revelation (4:7–8), and early exegetical identification of tetramorph and evangelists suggests—though by no means proves—an equally early appearance in art. Scripture mentions wings and flight at Exodus 25:20, Daniel 9:21, Revelation 14:6, for instance, and descriptions elsewhere make it clear that wings were means for mobility for the cherubim and seraphim. Wings were also symbols of God's unapproachability. For instance, Isaiah's seraphim use two of their wings for flying, and the other two pairs to cover their face and feet (Is. 6:1–3). And third- and fourth-century exegesis by theologians such as Tertullian (ca. 160–ca. 240)⁴² and Chrysostom makes it clear that Christians viewed and discussed wings as symbols of the

God. The one like the lion indicates the efficacious, royal and authoritative nature. The one like the calf presents the sacerdotal and priestly nature. The manlike form depicts the incarnation, and the one like the eagle represents the visitation of the Holy Spirit." Trans. R. S. Nelson, *The Iconography of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels* (New York, 1980) 6. See also O. Wulff, *Cherubim, Throne und Seraphim. Ikonographie der ersten Engelshierarchie in der christlichen Kunst* (Altenburg, 1894) 8ff., 37ff.; M. de Grooth and P. van Moorsel, "The Lion, the Calf, the Man and the Eagle in Early Christian and Coptic Art," *Bulletin Antieckie Beschaving* 52/3(1977/8):233–45; M. Werner, "On the Origin of Zoanthropomorphic Evangelist Symbols: The Early Christian Background," *Studies in Iconography* 10(1984–1986): 1–35, and also "On the Origin of Zoanthropomorphic Evangelist Symbols: The Early Medieval and Later Coptic, Nubian, Ethiopian and Latin Evidence," *ibid.* 13(1989–1990): 1–47; and D. Kinney, "The Apocalypse in Early Christian Monumental Decoration," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. K. Emerson and B. McGinn (Ithaca and London, 1992) 200–16.

41. See Kinney, "The Apocalypse in Early Christian Monumental Decoration," 208ff.

42. *Apologeticum adversus gentes pro Christianis*, XXII, 8, in *Tertulliani Opera. Pars I. Opera Catholica, Adversus Marcionem*. Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, vol. 1, ed. E. Dekkers (Turnhout, 1954) 129: "Every spirit is winged, both angels and demons. In this way, in a moment they are everywhere: all the world is for them one place; what is taking place everywhere is as easy for them to know as to tell. It is thought that their velocity is divine, because their substance is not known."

angels' transcendental nature.⁴³ These texts reveal that Christians were able to provide their own meanings to angels' wings, and they must have encouraged the manipulation of the iconography of pagan winged beings and made such an iconography acceptable in Christian contexts. In the final analysis, the evidence for a Christian invention of the winged angels is simply too scanty and the influence of pagan iconography too manifest for pagan art to be discounted as the primary model for angels.

Although the debt that Christian iconography owed pagan models is clear, Christian painters and mosaicists were able to judge the appropriateness of depictions of winged figures and did not simply absorb an existing iconography. The addition or omission of wings in depictions of angels in Christian art likewise reveals a symbolic quality of wings and the ability of these appendages to signal terrestrial or celestial modes or sites of activity. Anthropomorphic figures, winged or unwinged, could help express orthodox dogma, as well as Christian interpretations of scripture not overt in Hebrew scripture itself.

Christian painters and mosaicists sometimes contended with the problems of apprehension and description of angels in art, and in this way paralleled the attempts of theologians who were concerned with deciphering the meanings behind the obscure appearances of angels in scripture, particularly in the Hebrew Testament. The appearance of the angels of the Lord as "men" to Abraham (Gen. 18) has an important iconographic history from this point of view. Ambiguities present in the account are difficult to reconcile; within the same chapter, the angels are described as "men," "he" and the "Lord." The Greek fathers offered various interpretations of the puzzling appearance of the angels to Abraham at Mamre: simply as three angels, Christ and two angels, or as the Trinity itself.⁴⁴

43. See also Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli*, 57ff.; Stuhlfauth, *Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst*, 51ff.; *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (Paris, 1924–) I, 2:2080ff.; and the *Martyrium Bartholomaei* in *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, ed. C. Tischendorf (Leipzig, 1861) 257.

44. See, for instance, Justin Martyr (ca. 100–ca. 165), *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*, 59, J. Archimbault, ed., *Justin. Dialogue avec Tryphon*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1909) 276, J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten* (Göttingen, 1915; rp. New York, 1950) 164; Athanasius (ca. 296–373), *Orationes contra Arianos*, PG 26:352AB; and Procopius of Gaza (ca. 475–ca. 538), *Commen-*

Painters and mosaicists also offered various visual interpretations of the true meaning behind this Old Testament epiphany. The first extant example of a representation of the epiphany to Abraham, a fresco in the fourth-century via Latina Catacomb in Rome, simply depicts three young men approaching the seated Abraham.⁴⁵ The painter did not overtly signal the identity of the three men by iconography or inscription. The angels are unwinged, in keeping with the earthly nature of their manifestation to Abraham. The viewer can interpret the fresco literally as describing in a direct fashion the three men who appeared to Abraham; on the other hand, the viewer can infer the spiritual nature of the visitors in the fresco through knowledge of scripture.

In contrast to this literal representation of the three men of the scriptural passage, the mosaicist at Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome, (ca. 435) offered a more complicated visual exegesis. The middle angel appears in a transparent aureole of light that overlaps and excludes the two flanking angels. By singling out one figure as more powerful and divine than his companions, the mosaicist has signified a Christological interpretation of this epiphany.⁴⁶ The appearance of the “men” to Abraham and Sarah at Mamre is also a typology of the Annunciation to the Virgin. Traditionally, the scene in the upper left-hand portion of the arch mosaic has been interpreted as an Annunciation to the Virgin; in this scene, an angel descends from the sky to announce the news to an enthroned Mary. The angels flanking the Virgin and the angel descending are all shown winged, in distinction to the angels in the Philoxenia scene who are depicted without wings. In providing wings to the angels with the Virgin, the

tarii in Genesim, XVIII, PG 87/1:364AB. These various interpretations have been examined more broadly by L. Thunberg, “Early Christian Interpretations of the Three Angels in Gen. 18,” *Studia Patristica* 8(1966):560–70.

45. See A. Ferrua, *La pittura della nuova Catacomba di via Latina*, Vatican City, 1960, fig. 24.

46. See C. Cecchelli, *I mosaici della Basilica S. Maria Maggiore* (Turin, 1956) pl. XV, O. Perler, “Les théophanies dans les mosaïques de Sainte-Marie-Majeure à Rome,” *RivAC* 50(1974):281ff., B. Brenk, *Die frühchristliche Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Wiesbaden, 1975) 108ff., and also W. Loerke, “Observations on the Representation of *Doxa* in the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, and St. Catherine’s, Sinai,” *Gesta* 20(1981):18ff.

mosaicist signifies the overtly spiritual nature of this Annunciation and the eternal setting of the Virgin's court. In contrast, the wingless angels before Abraham and Sarah literally signal the terrestrial quality of that epiphany; the singling out of the central angel reveals that the latent meaning of this appearance is believed to lie in its prophecy of the coming of Christ.⁴⁷

Unlike the mosaicist of the Philoxenia at Sta. Maria Maggiore, the illustrator of the Cotton Genesis chose to depict the angels in the same scene with wings.⁴⁸ The wings, not mentioned in the account, signal to the viewer the identity of Abraham's visitors; believing his visitors to be simply three strangers, Abraham has not yet apprehended that they are angels. Again unlike the case at Sta. Maria Maggiore, the illuminator did not distinguish the angels one from another, and may have wished to express the Trinitarian symbolism often given the event by Christians. Indeed, this same typological interpretation determined other aspects of the manuscript's iconographic program, such as the portrayal of Christ as Logos in the creation pages; in orthodox belief, Christ is co-eternal and consubstantial with God and the Holy Spirit, and by showing Christ at creation, the illuminator stressed this crucial aspect of Trinitarian dogma.⁴⁹

These monuments do not trace a development of an iconography that becomes increasingly settled over the first centuries of Christian art. For example, the sixth-century mosaic of the Philoxenia at San Vitale, Ravenna, also depicts the angels as young, wingless men (fig. 7). The angels are represented seated at table and they indicate the repast Abraham has gathered. Coupled in the same lunette with a depiction of the sacrifice of Isaac, and placed opposite a mosaic of the sacrifices of Abel and Melchizedek, the depiction of the three

47. See S. Spain, "The Promised Blessing: The Iconography of the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore," *ArtB* 61(1979):518–40, especially 537ff.

48. Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, 79–80.

49. See Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, 37, and on the Trinitarian issues of the fourth and fifth centuries and art, see C. von Schönborn, *L'icône du Christ. Fondements théologiques élaborées entre le Ier et le IIer Concile de Nicée (325–787)* (Fribourg, 1976) 22ff.



Figure 7. Philoxenia of Abraham, Mosaic, S. Vitale, Ravenna, ca. 540. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.

men from heaven forms part of a program of eucharistic typology in the sanctuary of the church.⁵⁰

As these examples show, Christian painters and mosaicists determined the appropriateness of wings to represent the epiphany made to Abraham according to the context: they often manipulated iconographic elements in order to express specific interpretations of scriptural passages.⁵¹ In the context of the apse program at San Vitale, God's universal dominion is stated; and the attendance of spiritual servants, their spirituality and distinction from human nature signaled by their wings, is a sign of the all-embracing nature of that dominion. And above the apse, the winged angels on the arch further demonstrate the cosmic acclamation of Christ's rule. While these angels derive their wings and horizontal disposition from pagan triumphal imagery, the winged angels in the chancel vault form part of the program's symbolism of the extent of Christ's mastery over the earth; their wings and unworldly appearance symbolize the ubiquity of Christ's dominion. However, the angels in the Philoxenia scene are distinct from the eternal and metaphysical nature of these angels in the chancel vault, apse and on the principal arch. In contrast, they were depicted without wings, and this distinction provides the viewer with a clue as to the temporal nature of that epiphany. Possi-

50. RBK I:18, and O. von Simson, *Sacred Fortress. Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna*, 2d ed. (Chicago, 1976) 25. On the question of this scene's relation to the anti-Arian beliefs of the Byzantine conquerors, see R. Sörries, *Die Bilder der Orthodoxen im Kampf gegen den Arianismus. Eine Apologie der orthodoxen Christologie und Trinitätslehre gegenüber der arianischen Häresie dargestellt an den ravenattischen Mosaiken und Bildern des 6. Jahrhunderts* (Bern, 1983) 161ff. And on the iconography of the Trinity, see J. Engemann, "Zu den Dreifaltigkeit darstellungen der frühchristlichen Kunst: Gab es in 4. Jahrhundert anthropomorphe Trinitätsbilder?" *JAC* 19(1976):157–72.

51. Similarly, in the sixth-century Vienna Genesis, as well, the illustration of the calling of Abraham depicts a winged angel descending from the sky (fol. 11r), while Jacob wrestles with a wingless angel on another folio (24r). K. Clausberg, *Die Wiener Genesis. Eine Kunstwissenschaftliche Bilderbuchgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 1984) 13, figs. 44 and 8, respectively.

It ought to be noted that the iconography of wingless angels is found as late as the Palaiologan period, for instance, in an icon of the Virgin and Child in the Museo di San Giorgio degli Greci in Venice, in which a group of wingless angels clusters in the upper left corner. See N. V. Drandakes, "Παλαιολόγειος εικὼν Βρεφοκρατοῦσης τοῦ εἰς Βενετίου Ἑλληνικοῦ ναοῦ, *Θεολογία* 28(1957):244, figs. 1, 2 and 5.

bly as foreshadowings of the Trinity and the eucharistic sacrifice, the Philoxenia is depicted literally. The scene's latent meanings are not indicated by the iconographic attributes of the other angels' transcendental guise. The program at San Vitale demonstrates that different modes of presentation of angels can describe their changeable nature and areas of activity.

The iconography of the winged youth, used in these cases just discussed to symbolize otherworldly nature and activity, was used for other angelic beings as well. Scripture mentions other angelic creatures besides archangels and angels, and these led to the depiction of other ranks of an angelic hierarchy.⁵² Yet, because of the lack of full descriptions in scripture of the members of this hierarchy, the iconography of the winged youth was employed to represent any angelic being. The use of this symbolic iconography must have originated at an early point in the creation of a Christian iconography of angels. Methodius of Olympus (d. ca. 311) provided a precedent for extant representations in his description of an image figured with "likenesses fashioned from gold of his angels, who are the Principalities and the Powers, [which] we make in honour and faith in him."⁵³ Paralleling Methodius' description, examples of images survive in which the winged youth serves as a sign for different angelic orders. A seventh-century Constantinopolitan cameo (#119) from the collection of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., bears the inscription "ΕΞΟΥΧΙΕ" ("Powers"), and depicts two winged men (fig. 8).⁵⁴

52. See Colossians 1:16 and Ephesians 1:21. Scripture mentions nine orders in total: seraphim (Is. 6), cherubim (Gen. 3:24, Ex. 25:22), thrones (Col. 1:16), virtues (Eph. 1:21), dominations, principalities, powers (Eph. 1:21, Col. 1:16), archangels (1 Thess. 4:16, Jude 9), angels (Gen. 16:7, for example).

53. Preserved in the writings of John of Damascus, *Orationes de imaginibus tres*, III. 138, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres*, PTS vol. 17, ed. P.B. Kotter (Berlin, 1975) 200.

54. M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Volume One. Metalwork, Ceramics, Glass, Glyptics, Painting* (Washington, D.C., 1962) 98–99, fig. 57. This iconography continues to be used throughout the Byzantine period. For example, among the fifteenth-century frescoes of the church of the Metropolitan at Mistra, the angelic orders are collectively described by winged men, that is, the angel type; see G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris, 1910) pl. 64.1.

Figure 8. Two winged men
inscribed “ΕΞΟΥCΙΕ”
 (“Powers”), Constantinopolitan cameo,
Dumbarton Oaks,
Washington, D.C., seventh
century. Photo: Dumbarton
Oaks, Washington, D.C.



Faced with a lack of scriptural description—as only the existence of this rank is mentioned—the engraver fell back on this iconography of the winged man; skirting any iconographic complexity or difficulty, the winged man stands in as a generic type.

The mosaics in the bema arch of the destroyed church of the Dormition at Nicaea (Iznik) were an example of this generic iconography of the winged youth within a full-scale program. These original mosaics of the angels have been dated to the late sixth and seventh centuries.⁵⁵ Although the inscriptions state that the figures represented different orders of the angelic hierarchy, the Principalities, Virtues, Dominations and Powers, mentioned together at

55. Fernanda de' Maffei hypothesized that the angelic powers belonged to a different mosaic phase than the Virgin and Child and that they date stylistically to the late sixth century. For this dating, she sought support in the stylistic analysis of G. de Francovich, “I mosaici del bema della chiesa della Dormizione di Nicea,” in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Lionello Venturi*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1956) I: 3–27. She conjectured that the mosaics had been covered during Iconoclasm, not erased as is generally thought, and the repair evident is not connected to the restoration of images in 843. See F. de' Maffei, “L'Unigenito consostanziale al Padre nel programma trinitario dei perduti mosaici del bema della Dormizione di Nicea e il Cristo trasfigurato del Sinai I,” *Storia dell'arte* 45(1982):91ff., and also her *Icona, pittore e arte al Concilio Niceno II* (Rome, 1974) 99ff. However, the restorations apparent in the areas around the angels and the replacing of the cross in the apse likely belong to the same phase,

Colossians 1:16, the angelic beings were depicted as identical winged youths wearing the *loros* and carrying orbs and standards (figs. 9, 10). Scripture is the primary source for revelation of these divine beings but only the existence of the angels, the Principalities, Virtues, Dominations and Powers, are attested in scripture, not any of their individual qualities. Lacking specific scriptural description, the mosaicists repeated the iconographic type, the winged youth. The angels are nominally different from one another but they share the same nature generally, and they are visually indistinguishable from one another.

Other angelic powers are also represented by an anthropomorphic figure with wings, even the cherubim and seraphim for which extensive scriptural descriptions could be drawn upon. Passages describing the Ark of the Covenant and the Solomonic Temple provide information on representations of cherubim (for example, Ex. 37:7–9, I Kings 6:23–28, Ez. 41:18–20); and the prophets' visions supplied long, if obscure, descriptions of angels. Yet anthropomorphism was used in early Byzantine art to represent these angelic beings in contradiction of scriptural accounts of these angels' appearances. For example, in the sixth-century Vienna Genesis (fol. 2v), a winged man represents the cherubim guarding the gates of paradise with a flaming sword (Gen. 3:24); this winged man diverges from Ezekiel's full description of the cherubim as a six-winged tetramorph (1:4–28,

probably post 843, paid for by the otherwise unknown Naukratios, as stated in an inscription between the two angels on the south bema arch.

The precise date of the original foundation by Hyacinthos is not settled. Most scholars prefer the late seventh/early eighth century for the construction of the church and, following this, the mosaics in the apse area. See F.I. Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia, das Bauwerk und die Mosaiken* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), U. Peschlow, "Neue Beobachtungen zur Architektur und Ausstattung der Koimesiskirche in Iznik," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 22(1972):145–87, and C. Barber, "The Koimesis Church, Nicaea: The Limits of Representation on the Eve of Iconoclasm," *JöB* 41(1991):43–60. However, arguments have been made, through comparisons of sculptural decoration in the church, that the foundation dates to the second half of the sixth century. See C. Barsanti, "Una nota sulle sculture del Tempio di Giacinto nella Chiesa della Dormizione (Koimesis) di Iznik-Nicea," *Storia dell'arte* 46(1982):210–18, and C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (London, 1986) 90. Mango has added his voice more recently to the number of scholars who call for a date around 700. See his "Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie: Constantinople, Nicée," *TM* 12(1994):350ff.



Figure 9. Angelic Powers, south side, Bema Mosaic (destroyed), Church of the Dormition, Iznik (formerly Nicaea), ninth century. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

10:12).⁵⁶ And, despite Isaiah's revelation (6:1–3), the seraphim were also depicted as winged men in early representations, for example,

56. This anthropomorphic iconography never entirely disappears; see the thirteenth-century sculpted façade of the Church of Hagia Sophia, Trebizond, where an anthropomorphic cherubim guards paradise. See D. Talbot Rice et al., *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond* (Edinburgh, 1968) 48, pl. 17d.



Figure 10. Angelic Powers, north side, Bema Mosaic (destroyed), Church of the Dormition, Iznik (formerly Nicaea), ninth century. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

on the entrance gate at the fifth-century complex at Alahan in Seleucia in southeast Asia Minor.⁵⁷

57. See Mary Gough, ed., *Alahan. An Early Christian Monastery in Southeastern Turkey* (Toronto, 1985) 87ff., pl. 20.

Ninth-century examples include the illustration of the appearance of the seraphim as a winged youth to Isaiah in the Vatican “Cosmas Indicopleustes” (Vat. gr. 699, fol. 72v). See

The most exalted members of the hierarchy, the cherubim and seraphim, were most often depicted in Early Christian and Byzantine art in liturgical contexts. Occasionally represented in symbolic form as winged men, despite clear and distinct descriptions in scripture for each creature, cherubim and seraphim also diverge iconographically from scriptural accounts. Christian artists and theologians often used the visions of cherubim and seraphim to express eschatological and cosmological themes. The earliest depiction of the seraphim and the tetramorph cherubim, the fifth-/sixth-century apse mosaic in the church of Hosios David, Thessalonike, conflates the visions of Ezekiel's cherubim (1:4–28, 10:12), Isaiah's seraphim (6:1–3) and the six-winged creatures of Revelation (4:2–10).⁵⁸ Christ appears in a mandorla, supported by the four creatures of Ezekiel and Revelation. The four beasts each have wings with many eyes; yet no fiery wheels are depicted, while the inscription in the scroll held by Christ quotes Isaiah 25:9.⁵⁹ Christa Ihm has called this iconography at Hosios David the liturgical *maiestas*.⁶⁰

Topographie chrétienne, SC vols. 141, 159, 197, ed. W. Wolska-Conus (Paris, 1968–1973) II:249. See, too, the Reliquary of the True Cross, from Limburg an-der-Lahn, dating in its last reworking to 963, on which the iconography of the four-winged cherubim and the six-winged seraphim applies respectively to the principalities and powers. See J. Rauch, “Die Limburger Staurothek,” *Das Münster* 8(1955):201ff., especially figs. 5, 16–18, and J.M. Wilm, *ibid.*, 234ff., and H. Wilsdorf, “Zur Staurothek vom Limburg,” *BF* 18(1992): 197–208. de’ Maffei, “L’Unigenito consustanziale,” 100 n52, cites Gregory of Nyssa on the identification of thrones and powers with seraphim and cherubim (*Refutatio confessionis Eunomii*, PG 45:556C).

58. See C. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1960) 42ff. On the establishment of the Book of Revelation in the eastern Church, see G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels* (Vienna, 1979) 48, especially n49. On Hosios David, see Ihm, *Die Programme*, 182–84, pl. XIII, 1, and T.F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods. A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*, rev. ed. (Princeton, 1999) 115ff.

59. The fifth-/seventh-century fresco in the apse niche of Chapel XXVI, Bawīt, also reveals elements of each of these three visions; although the depiction conforms generally to Ezekiel's vision, the cherubim have six wings, one face, and many eyes as in Isaiah and Revelation, rather than Ezekiel's four-winged, four-faced creatures with hands and feet. See Ihm, *Die Programme*, 202–203, pl. XIII, 2. And in the Monastery of Dodo, David-Garedja, Georgia, dating to the seventh/ninth century, two archangels, Michael and Gabriel, flank the enthroned Christ, while two tetramorphs hover underneath. The tetramorphs have four faces and four wings, and they are standing on fiery wheels, referring to Ezekiel, while a Trisagion inscription recalls Isaiah and the liturgy. See Ihm, *Die Programme*, pl. XIV, 2, and

The Trisagion, the “Holy, holy, holy” chanted by the seraphim in Isaiah (6:3) and Revelation (4:8), influenced the representations of cherubim and seraphim in artistic milieux strongly influenced by liturgical practice.⁶¹ The liturgy also encouraged a certain amount of

A. Alpag0-Novello et al., *Art and Architecture in Medieval Georgia*, trans. N. Holloway (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980) 88, figs. 94, 95. And in the crucifixion in the apse of Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome (705–707), the cherubim and seraphim are identical in that they both have six wings and stand on flaming wheels; see P. Romanelli and P.J. Nordhagen, *S. Maria Antiqua* (Rome, 1964) pls. 22, 23.

In the period following Iconoclasm, the liturgical *maiestas* remained popular, particularly in the monastic setting of the churches of Cappadocia. The fresco in the prothesis apse of the New Church at Tokali Kilise, dating from the middle of the tenth century, is typical of this Cappadocian iconography. See A. Wharton Epstein, *Tokali Kilise. Tenth-century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 68–69, figs. 102, 103. Christ sits enthroned in the middle of the apse, and he is flanked by two pairs of fiery wheels, a seraphim, a cherubim, and two Archangels, Michael and Gabriel. On either side of Christ is an inscription based on the liturgy, “Holy, holy, holy Lord / of Hosts, Heaven and earth are filled with your glory.” The depictions of the seraphim and cherubim generally follow scripture. The seraphim, to Christ’s right, has six eyeless wings, the face of a man in the center of the wings, and hands and feet protruding from the wings; the cherubim has the heads of an ox and a lion to either side, and a man’s head in the middle of four many-eyed wings. Inscriptions above the seraphim and cherubim provide apocalyptic titles for the beasts, also used in the liturgy, “bellowing” (ΒΩΝΤΑ) and “calling” (ΚΕΛΕΤΟΝΤΑ), which are associated with the ox and man figures, respectively.

On the liturgy and the references to the apocalyptic beasts, see F.E. Brightman, “The *Historia Mystagoga* and Other Greek Commentaries on the Byzantine Liturgy,” *JTS* 9(1908):248–67, 387–97; G. de Jerphanion, “Les noms des quatre animaux et le commentaire liturgique de Pseudo-Germain,” in his *Les voix des monuments. Notes et études d’archéologie chrétienne* (Paris, 1930) 250–59; A. Wharton Epstein, “The Problem of Provincialism: Byzantine Monasteries in Cappadocia and Monks in South Italy,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42(1979):39–40; and Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels*, 86ff.

60. Mathews has raised objections about the imperial connotations of the term *maiestas*, but the liturgical function is stressed here, not the pagan antecedents of the iconography. See Mathews, *The Clash of Gods*, 117.

61. André Grabar noted examples, on the other hand, where Christ is enthroned, with the Trisagion printed on the pages of the book he holds; the cherubim and seraphim are not present in these examples. Grabar stresses the importance of theophanic vision, rather than of liturgical texts, in the formation of the iconography of the *maiestas*. See *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l’art chrétien antique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1943–1946; rp. London, 1972) II:306ff. Yet the number of examples cited above indicate that liturgy also played a fundamental part in the formation of this iconography.

The Trisagion appears to be a very early element in piety and liturgy. See V. Saxer, “Jalons pour servir à l’histoire du culte de l’archange Saint Michel en orient jusqu’à l’iconoclasm,” in *Noscere sancta. Miscellanea in memoria di Agostino Amore* (Rome, 1985) 362–63; and, more comprehensively, B.D. Sparks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (Cambridge, 1991).

confusion of these two angelic ranks. For example, Christ is addressed in the liturgy:

... for before thee stand thy two living creatures honourable exceedingly, the sixwinged and manyeyed, seraphim and cherubim, with two wings covering their faces by reason of thy godhead which none can gaze on nor comprehend, and with twain covering their feet, with twain also flying. . . .⁶²

The liturgy of John Chrysostom, which mentions “the cherubim, the seraphim, six-winged and many-eyed” (τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ Σεραφίμ, ἑξαπτέρυγα, πολυόμματα), may also have contributed to the iconographic confusion of seraphim and cherubim, and artists often represented the cherubim and seraphim in identical fashion, with six, many-eyed wings.⁶³

Liturgy, therefore, influenced the development of the Christian iconography of these angelic beings, and furthermore encouraged

62. Translation from F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western, Vol. 1* (Oxford, 1896), 175. And see also the *Historia ecclesiastica*, a liturgical commentary written by the Patriarch Germanus (ca. 634–ca. 733): “You who sit upon the cherubim, manifest yourself to us” (Brightman, “The *Historia Mystagoga*,” 387).

63. J. Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale graecorum* (Venice, 1730; rp. Graz, 1960) 61; Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 385; Wulff, *Cherubim, Throne und Seraphim*, 19ff.; *RBK* III:84.

For example, one must look ahead to the early tenth-century chapel (#3) at Güllü Dere, which contains a composite representation in the apse of visions of the seraphim, cherubim and tetramorphs, deriving from Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and Revelation. The program includes two tetramorphs (ΠΟΛΥΩΜΜΑΤΟΝ [*sic*]), with eye-filled wings, flanking Christ who is enthroned in a mandorla held by the four beasts of Ezekiel and Revelation; two seraphim (ΕΞΑΠΤΕΡΥΤΟΝ) meanwhile give Isaiah and Ezekiel a coal and a book, respectively, to eat. Both of these seraphim have six many-eyed wings. See J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, “Théophanie-visions auxquelles participent les prophètes dans l’art byzantin après la restauration des images,” in *Synthronon. Art et archéologie de la fin de l’Antiquité et du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1968) 138ff.; D.I. Pallas, “Eine Differenzierung unter den himmlischen Ordnungen (Ikonographische Analyse),” *BZ* 44(1971):55–60; and N. Thierry, *Haut moyen-âge en Cappadoce. Les églises de la région de Çavuşin* (Paris, 1983) 126ff., and pls. 52, 53.

A six-winged tetramorph guards paradise in the ninth-century Paris Gregory; L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium. Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge, 1999) fig. 10, and also 282–83. This iconography of a tetramorph with an extra pair of wings is not uncommon; see Wulff, *Cherubim, Throne und Seraphim*, 32ff.

the iconography's dissemination. Neither Pseudo-Dionysius's speculations on the angelic hierarchy nor the increasing interest in the cherubim found in the *contra Judaeos* literature reveal any direct influence on the iconography of these beings.⁶⁴ Extant representations of cherubim and seraphim betray direct inspiration from liturgical descriptions. Because of this influence, mixing of the iconography of cherubim and seraphim is the rule by the Middle Byzantine period, and differentiation of the angelic beings is often possible only through inscriptions.⁶⁵ The iconography was, in fact, never settled, and this ambiguity indicates that the patrons and artists did not always see the need to distinguish the beings.

In pre-Iconoclastic art, style was a notable expression of iconographic meaning.⁶⁶ The manipulation of style by Christian painters, mosaicists and sculptors has particular interest in this context as style came to be an important means to communicate the difficult nature of angels. If pagan art provided antecedents for the creation of a Christian iconography of angels, it also furnished diverse stylistic modes.⁶⁷ In particular, stylistic analyses show that in the period before Iconoclasm painters and mosaicists used a more naturalistic "classical" style to indicate the distinct qualities of angels.

An examination of the icon of the Virgin and Child flanked by Saints Theodore and George in the Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai (sixth/seventh century) reveals stylistic distinctions in the de-

64. The influence of the theological work of Pseudo-Dionysius is clearly perceptible in texts that discuss images in the period before Iconoclasm and is equally prevalent throughout the writings of iconophiles. The cherubim, as cited in the *contra Judaeos* literature, assumed an equally important place in iconophile theory. Both of these topics are treated in chapter 3.

65. For instance, it is unclear in the fourteenth-century mosaics whether the pendentives of the central dome of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul represented seraphim or cherubim. Although these creatures had six wings, neither the number of wings nor even the presence and absence of wings can be relied upon for general identification. On these mosaics, see C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1962) 83ff.; and on this issue of confusion, see Wulff, *Cherubim, Throne und Seraphim*, 26ff., and *RBK* III:85.

66. See, for instance, Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, 32ff., and also E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making* (London, 1977).

67. See O. J. Brendel, *Prolegomena to the Study of Roman Art* (New Haven and London, 1979) 125ff., on the use of disparate styles within the same monument in Roman art.

piction of angels and humans that communicate the dissimilar natures of these different categories of beings (fig. 11).⁶⁸ Ernst Kitzinger has considered the stylistic treatment of the angels on the icon who stand behind the Virgin's throne and look over their shoulders at the descent of the Holy Spirit. His interpretation stresses the use of "hellenistic" survivals in the handling of the angels, and the rift between angelic and human natures that this hellenistic style expresses.

At times it appears as though a bold, sketchy manner were, so to speak, in the nature of an "iconographic attribute" of angels. An obvious explanation is that it was a means of expressing the fact that they belong to a different order of beings, that they are incorporeal, ἀσώματοι. Hellenistic pictorial technique in these cases serves as a means not of actualizing physical, but of accentuating spiritual existence.⁶⁹

68. K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons. Volume One: From the Sixth to the Tenth Century* (Princeton, 1976) 18ff., and pls. IV, V, VI, XLIII, XLIV, XLV, XLVI.

69. Kitzinger, "Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm," in *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinischen-Kongress, München, 1958* (Munich, 1958) 47. See also his "On Some Icons of the Seventh Century," in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann et al. (Princeton, 1955) 134, on the seventh-century fragment of the head of an angel from Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome. See also H. Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies. Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1996) 70–71.

Andrei Cornea offers a complementary interpretation of the meaning of style in this image. See A. Cornea, "On 'Fiction' and 'Authenticity' in Byzantine Pre-Iconoclastic Painting," *Revue roumaine d'histoire de l'art* 17(1980):6. Cornea questions the assumption that communicating a sense of life and motion is the aim of the "hellenistic pictorial technique" in the depiction of angels. Cornea proposes two different modes of depiction that he calls "a symbol-image based on fiction" and "a history-image based on truth." The Virgin and Child and the saints are depicted in a frontal, hierarchic manner to indicate their essential historicity; this abstract manner is in direct opposition to the fictional, illusionistic depiction of the angels, which signifies their incomprehensibility. For Cornea, artists used this "hellenistic" manner because, "the naturalistic style could automatically awake in the spectators' minds the stereotypic link, indicating that the image was a fiction lacking a real bodily model, as the statues of gods were, according to the Christians, mere fictions having no anthropomorphic referent they could imitate" (ibid., 7). In other words, the fictional quality of naturalistic depiction of the angels is not an "iconographic attribute" for Cornea, but rather a "classification-index" that warns that any relation to reality is purely coincidental. See also the remarks of Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 148ff.

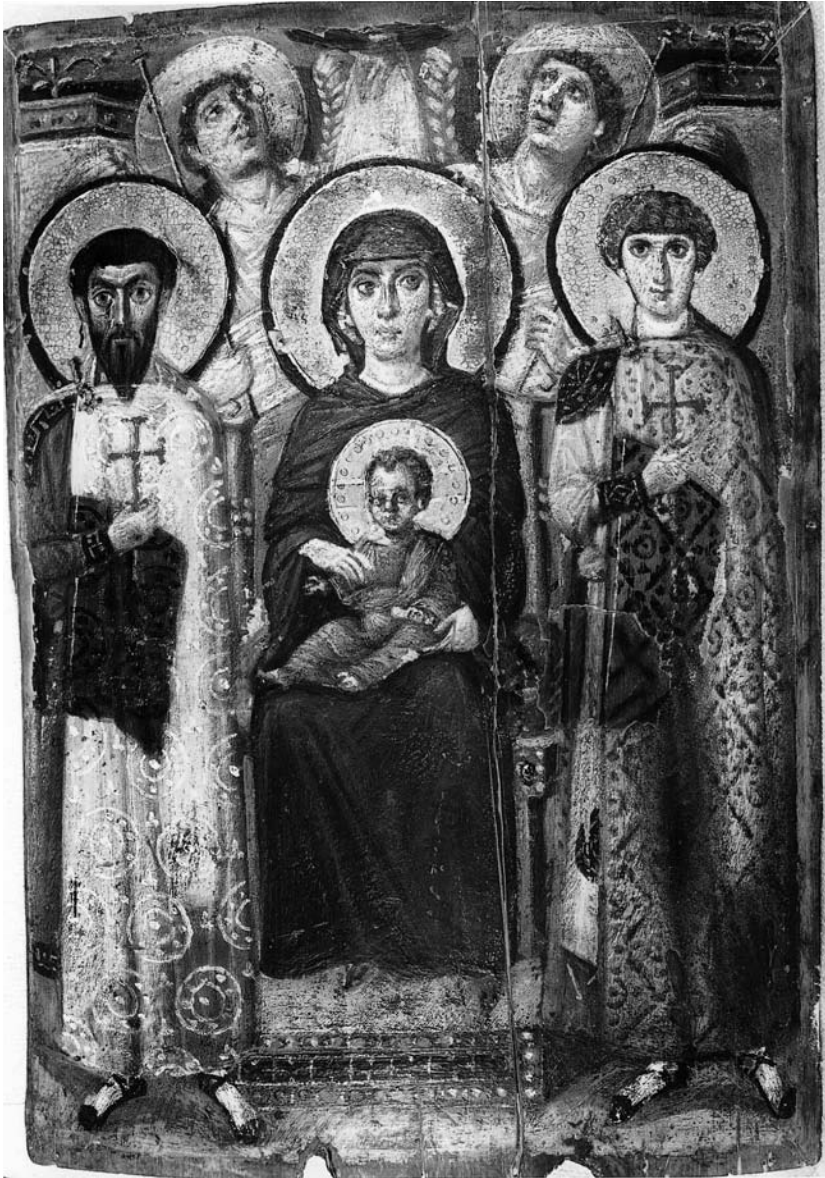


Figure 11. Icon of the Virgin and Child, flanked by Saints Theodore and George, Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai, sixth/seventh century. Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan–Princeton–Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

According to this interpretation, the viewer must make a judgment on the distinct handling of the angels compared to the other figures on this icon, and discern differences in nature from differences in style. The delicate handling of the angels' features and their believable turning, even in the small space allowed, distinguishes the angels from the hieratic figures of the saints; as opposed to these static saints, the central figures of the Virgin and Child in the foreground appear more animated, less frontal, and thus more dynamically alert than the mortal saints to the descending Holy Spirit. Ultimately, analysis reveals that, in this case, the relatively naturalistic depiction of the angels has a paradoxical ability to indicate to the viewer a nature different from that of humanity.

In the hands of painters and mosaicists, style continued throughout the Early and Middle Byzantine periods to be a means of establishing a distinction between human and angelic nature. Two examples of middle Byzantine images reveal that a different style was, in fact, used to represent angels for different ends. For instance, Henry Maguire has contrasted the ninth-century mosaic of the Archangel Gabriel, found in the bema arch of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, with the Virgin and Child in the apse (figs. 12, 13): "the bodies of the archangels in heaven tended to be rendered as flat and without modeling, because of their lack of materiality."⁷⁰ In the mosaic, the Archangel is set within a gold field that dematerializes his form, and his robes are unmodeled sheets, unrevealing of any substantial form beneath. In contrast, the faces of the Virgin and Child in the apse are naturalistically formed, and they are fashioned three-dimensionally, settled coherently on a substantial throne.

The angels are depicted in an abstract manner to denote the impalpable quality of the heavenly realm; conversely, a more naturalistic style in representations is the complement of angelic activity on earth. An example contemporary with the bema mosaic of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople is a depiction of the epiphany of the

70. "Style and Ideology in Byzantine Imperial Art," *Gesta* 28(1989):223. The dating of the apse mosaics at Hagia Sophia to the ninth century is not uncontested; for an alternate view, see N. Oikonomidès, "Some Remarks on the Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia," *DOP* 39(1985):111–15.

seraphim to Isaiah in the Vatican “Cosmas” (fig. 14).⁷¹ In contrast to the stationary, flat seraphim flanking Christ, the human, winged seraphim is clearly occupying a different sphere; the single seraphim strides toward Isaiah in a lively manner, and his torso bends at the waist as his outstretched hand inserts the coal into Isaiah’s mouth. The stylistic distinction between the celestial activities of the seraphim and their rare manifestations on earth is convincingly conveyed by the illusionistic handling of the appearance of the angel before Isaiah, distinct from the seraphim hieratically flanking Christ.

Painters and mosaicists continued to be able to indicate through style the qualities of angels’ nature, as well as their mode of activity. The illustration of Isaiah’s epiphany in the Vatican “Cosmas” is particularly telling because iconography and style work in unison to suggest the earthly and unearthly activities of formless beings. On earth, the seraphim can take on a guise different from their heavenly “form,” and the difference between the seraphim’s anthropomorphism and their many-winged form reveals their fluid formlessness. Iconography can, therefore, distinguish modes of activity in the same illustration, while abstract and naturalistic styles further demonstrate the angels’ different capacities, both attendance in heaven and service on earth.

A more classical modeling can be employed after the ninth century, just the same, to show the earthly movement and work of the angels. Kurt Weitzmann has described the twelfth-century icon of the miracle of the Archangel Michael at Chonae from the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai (fig. 15), as an example of classical modeling indicating corporeality and immediacy:

[Michael is] rendered as a youth of Apollonian beauty, gracious in the movement of the body which is shown in full plasticity under a garment which, in classical fashion, clings to the body and whose folds combine a rhythmic flow with modeling power.⁷²

71. See *Topographie chrétienne*, ed. Wolska-Conus, II: 249.

72. See K. Weitzmann, “The Classical in Byzantine Art as a Mode of Individual Expression,” in *Byzantine Art. An European Art. Lectures* (Athens, 1966) 166–67 [= K. Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. L. Kessler (Chicago, 1971) 166–67].



Figure 12. Archangel Gabriel, Mosaic, Bema arch, Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, ninth century. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

In contrast, cordoned by the ropery water descending, the bantam hermit opposite Michael is insubstantial and hidden within the monastic carapace. The fuller angelic corporeality, perhaps an oxy-moron, lends a sense of presence and actuality, while the self-denial practiced so arduously by the hermit effaces his physical being. The two fields denoted by the joining streams in the middle therefore



Figure 13. Virgin and Child, Apse Mosaic, Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, ninth century. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

create two areas of existence, the angelic one occupied by a full-bodied angel and the mortal one almost evacuated by the dematerializing body of the hermit.

This brief examination of representation of angels in the early Christian and Byzantine periods has revealed only an occasional engagement on the part of mosaicists, painters and sculptors with is-



Figure 14. Vision of Isaiah, *The Christian Topography* of “Cosmas Indicopleustes,” Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 699, fol. 72v, ninth century. Photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

sues of nature and identity in art. The issues were never resolved as the subjects, that is the angels, were not open to autopsy by artists, since knowledge of angels was derived primarily through descriptions of their enigmatic epiphanies in scripture. Because of the distance of these subjects, painters, mosaicists and sculptors were forced to sidestep problems of making apprehensible something only partially seen and known in the past. Their circumvention of real description is most clearly evident in the straightforward use of an anthropomorphic form for angels. Evidently, the artist was abdicating responsibility for describing nature or identity and was placing the burden of recognizing the being depicted on the shoulders of the



Figure 15. Icon of the Miracle at Chonae, Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai, twelfth century. Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan–Princeton–Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

viewer. The iconography of the angels is only, then, occasionally complex in its exegesis of spiritual nature and appearances as in the important series of scenes describing the Philoxenia. This series shows that painters and mosaicists—or programmers—recognized the enigmatic quality of the event and attempted to indicate this quality through the description of the “men” as winged or unwinged.

Wings were used throughout as the primary means to communicate the symbolic nature of the iconography of angels. Color and cloud were also used to indicate the fire and wind composition of angels that scripture prescribed but these solutions were not common.⁷³ Preeminently, the winged youth is an expansive iconography that is allusive to all angels, corresponding to the semantic range of the word “angelos” (ἄγγελος), and not descriptive in any essential way of their nature or appearance. Theological writings furthermore show that Christians generally interpreted angelic epiphany as dissimulation, unrelated to the true nature and form of angels.⁷⁴ In the

73. For instance, a sixth-century mosaic in the Church of St. Demetrius in Thessalonike shows an angel seamlessly emerging from a cloud; the mosaic does not correspond to any episode in the surviving hagiographic narratives, although it may depict the martyrdom of the saint. See R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold. Byzantine Society and Its Icons* (London, 1985) 79–80, fig. 22; Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli*, 97ff. Christian painters, mosaicists and sculptors also attempted to indicate the fiery quality of angels iconographically. For example, an early sixth-century mosaic in the church of San Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, represents Christ as the shepherd and judge of Matthew 25. Two standing angels flank the seated Christ, one of whom is red, denoting fire and light, while the other is cobalt blue, denoting the tenebrous nature of a fallen angel. See E. Kirschbaum, “L’angelo rosso e l’angelo turchino,” *RivAC* 17(1940):209–48, and G. Bovini, *Mosaici di S. Apollinare di Ravenna: Il ciclo cristologico* (Florence, 1958) 37ff., fig. 4, pl. X. And at Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome, the hands, feet and faces of the angels are depicted “meravigliosamente rosso” in the fifth-century mosaics; see Kirschbaum, “L’angelo rosso e l’angelo turchino,” 215, C. Cecchelli, *I mosaici della Basilica S. Maria Maggiore* (Turin, 1956) pls. XLIX, LIII, and Grabar, *The Golden Age of Justinian*, figs. 157, 161, 162. And, more generally, see A. Petzold, “‘His Face Like Lightning’: Colour as Signifier in Representations of the Holy Women at the Tomb,” *Arte medievale* 6/2(1992): 149–55.

74. For instance, Basil of Caesarea wrote, “For just as the brand is known through the fire, the one the underlying matter, the other the fire; so with the heavenly powers, they are in essence aerial spirit, if you would, or immaterial fire according to scripture, ‘Who maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a flaming fire’ (Ps. 104:4). Wherefore they are in a place, and become visible, they appear in an image of their own bodies, in this way, to the worthy. But the source of their holiness being outside of their nature is brought to fulfillment by contact with the Spirit” (*De Spiritu Sancto*, XVI.38, in *Traité du Saint-Esprit*, SC vol. 17 bis, ed. B. Pruche [Paris, 1968] 380–82).

same way, visual representations are allusions to this angelic dissimulation, and the apparently straightforward representation of winged anthropomorphic figures paradoxically signifies the angels' multi-form constitution.

The assimilation of pagan iconography of winged personifications described in this chapter did not go unnoticed or unopposed by certain figures within the church. Theodoret of Cyrrhus noted that the use of imperial models for Christian art was in keeping with the dignity owed to God.⁷⁵ Although subsequent chapters examine this dialogue in greater depth, the assertion made by the pagan in the pagan-Christian "dialogue," the *Apocriticus*, is also relevant here. The pagan stated that the gods and the angels were alike in everything, their proximity to God, their spirituality and service; only their names were different.⁷⁶ His opponent, Macarius Magnes, rejected any such connection between the dignity and nature of false gods and true servants; furthermore, he denied the ability of art to depict beings so pure and transcendent.⁷⁷ To Christians who held views similar to Macarius Magnes on angels and art, such connections between pagan and Christian iconography must have appeared as debasing to the spiritual beings and a dangerous invitation to pagan idolatry.

75. *Orationes de imaginibus tres*, III.80, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. III, 176: "And just as the Romans in painting imperial images surrounded [the emperor] with spear-bearers and depicted subject peoples, so Christians depict by similar means. Since the emperor through his appearance assumes the form of God, as borne upon a throne, they reveal the images to all people on earth, and in his form they confer on him what is fitting, the ruler according to the teachings of God." See de' Maffei, *Icona, pittore e arte al Concilio Niceno II*, 74.

76. Blondel 200.1–12: "If therefore you say that the angels who are stationed near God are passionless and immortal and by nature incorruptible, which we ourselves call gods, on account of their nearness to God on high, what is there that should be disputed about the name or is it only a distinction brought out in the naming? For as far as the name goes the Romans call Minerva what the Greeks call Athena, and the Egyptians and the Syrians and the Thracians call her something else again. Is it not true that they conform despite the difference in names or removed from the name of the god? Some therefore call these angels, or either some call them gods, but there is not very much difference, since their divine nature is testified for, when Matthew wrote thus, 'But Jesus answered and said unto them, Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God. For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as angels in heaven' (22:29–30)."

77. Blondel 214–15.

The assimilation of pagan iconography into Christian art was not, therefore, universally approved, and in the first half of the sixth century Severus of Antioch delivered a sermon against the depiction of angels as “princes or kings, in a purple and royal robe, holding marks of universal power.” Despite the differences between pagan and Christian iconography, he evidently believed that the distinctions were not clear enough. Moreover, according to Severus, worshippers were led to think that these intangible servants were God’s co-rulers.⁷⁸ Depicting angels as terrestrial, temporal creatures appeared to opponents of images of angels to be a humiliation of spiritual qualities, and for some the pagan parallels for winged beings were potentially misleading.

The sixth-century epigrams, examined in chapters 2 and 3, display a degree of defensiveness that would certainly support this conclusion. The occasional attempts by mosaicists, painters and sculptors to come to terms with the nature and identity of angels were apparently not effective in the eyes of all Christians. Although these artists added wings to an anthropomorphic form in order to indicate certain symbolic alterations of form that angels accomplished, they could not describe angels in any definitive sense. Representation of angels potentially involved a number of unpalatable issues, idolatry, angelolatry and, at the very least, disrespect for profoundly spiritual beings. The anti-image accusations and iconophile answers to these accusations and the ways in which writers about angels, particularly in miracle stories, approached these issues are the subjects of the following chapters.

78. See chapter 2.

Two

ARGUMENTS AGAINST IMAGES OF ANGELS

Adherents to a literal interpretation of scripture and to intellectual worship simply could not reconcile angelic nature—which is essentially incomprehensible—with material, allusive representations in art. The best-known opponent of artistic representation in the period leading up to Iconoclasm in the eighth century was Epiphanius of Salamis (ca. 315–403). Epiphanius's theology developed from his anti-allegorical stance; and his opposition to religious imagery later made him a natural champion for the iconoclastic party.¹

Elaborate written defenses of images of angels evidently did not arise in the period between Epiphanius and Iconoclasm. However, epigrams are extant from the sixth century that reveal a development

1. On Epiphanius and Iconoclasm, see P. Maraval, "Épiphanes, 'Docteur des Iconoclastes,'" *Nicée II, 787–1987. Douze siècles d'images religieuses. Actes du colloque international Nicée II tenu au Collège de France, Paris les 2, 3, 4 Octobre 1986*, ed. F. Boespflug and N. Lossky (Paris, 1987) 51–62; on the anti-Origenist theology of Epiphanius, see E.A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy. The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, 1992) 86ff.

G. Ostrogorsky, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites* (Breslau, 1929) 69ff., doubted the authenticity of some of the texts, while Holl showed that they are all Epiphanius's own writings. This study takes the position that the texts of Epiphanius as collected by iconoclasts and refuted by iconophiles reflects a real concern on the part of the fourth-century theologian concerning material representation.

in a direction quite different from Epiphanius's interpretation of angels' images. These show affinities with a symbolic, materialist theology that finds its most detailed and articulate defense in the eighth and ninth centuries. For instance, Agathias (ca. 532–ca. 580) wrote on an image of the Archangel Michael on the island of Plate in the Sea of Marmara, south of Constantinople:

The wax, greatly daring, has represented the invisible, the incorporeal chief of the angels in the semblance of his form. Yet it was no thankless [task] since the mortal who beholds the image directs his mind to a higher contemplation. His veneration is no longer distracted: engraving within himself the [archangel's] traits, he trembles as if he were in the latter's presence. The eyes encourage deep thoughts, and art is able by means of colours to ferry over [to its object] the prayer of the mind.²

Agathias's description of an approach to images of angels is antithetical to Epiphanius's literal position and reveals an ability to interpret material images as the symbolic means to knowledge of an incomprehensible creature. In this description of the image of the archangel, the difficulty of comprehension derives from the incorporeal nature which would seem to be incompatible with material representation; but in Agathias's conception the image also provides the viewer with the means to approach knowledge of the distant and immaterial archangel by way of contemplation of the colors and outlines on the surface of the image. The material image is therefore the bridge between mundane reality and spiritual truths otherwise unattainable. No less intellectual than Epiphanius's, this approach nonetheless admits and encourages material, symbolic aids for worship and contemplation. These two opposing methods of gaining knowledge of God characterize the two sides of a long-standing debate in Byzantine society leading to the convulsive conflict of the Iconoclastic period.

2. *The Greek Anthology*, ed. W.R. Paton, 5 vols. (London, 1927) I:34; trans. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire. 312–1453. Sources and Documents* (Toronto, 1986) 115.

Debate over the proper means to a comprehension of divine things, in this case angels, characterizes the period leading up to Iconoclasm in the eighth century.³ Art was part of this debate because it generated discussion over seemingly worship and appropriate avenues to gaining knowledge. The angels' iconography is essentially symbolic in that it relates a human form sometimes assumed by angels but not descriptive of their real nature. The addition of wings is a significant marker in this iconography since wings signal transcendence and ethereality and inhuman speed, all characteristics of the angelic host. This symbolic iconography was evidently not suitable to all Christians, and texts from the fourth century on reveal that such images of angels had excited opposition. Moreover, the dangers of idolatry that attached to material images and to angels themselves were important considerations. This chapter seeks to isolate these strands of theological discussion concerning images of angels and, furthermore, argues that these strands influenced one aspect of iconoclastic opposition to symbolic images of angels. The extant opposition to images of angels falls into two general categories: fourth-century anti-imagist theology and the Monophysitism of fifth-/sixth-century Syria. This chapter examines the particular historical context for these sources and concludes with an examination of the common concerns that allowed their authors to be harnessed to the iconoclastic cause.

Earlier evidence for opposition to images is known mainly through the marshaling of patristic precedents to support the iconoclasts' position on images. A sifting of iconophile texts provides firm documentation of the nature of pre-Iconoclastic opposition to symbolic images, particularly those of angels. Long-standing theological divisions manifest themselves in part by the choice of patristic precedent in the arguments of the opposing sides of the controversy.⁴ Iconoclasts argued that image worship was a recent re-introduction of the idolatry that Christians had overcome but to which they had again

3. See Cameron, "The Language of Images."

4. See the recent survey by A. Giakalis, *Images of the Divine. The Theology of Icons at the Seventh Ecumenical Council* (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1994) 22ff.

succumbed. Iconophiles, on the other hand, claimed their own patristic support in favor of their position of a long-standing and proper worship of icons, initiated and sanctioned by scripture.⁵ The traditions of the Church were thus understood in completely divergent ways by each camp. Both parties, therefore, claimed a distinct line of tradition within the church, written and unwritten, and this chapter examines the development of an anti-image, intellectual theology that motivated certain iconoclastic beliefs concerning representations of angels.

Evidence for the effects of this theology on material objects is scanty; one assumes that before Iconoclasm some images may have been removed because of philosophical differences but that on the whole images were produced and opponents simply avoided such material aids. However, at the end of this chapter, mosaics of the angelic powers in the bema arch of the church of the Dormition at Nicaea (Iznik) will furnish examples of how iconoclasts viewed—and corrected—angels' images.

Both sides of the Iconoclastic controversy claimed the great father of the early Church and renowned opponent of heretics, Epiphanius of Salamis. Iconoclasts declared him a paragon because of his writings against the manufacture and worship of images.⁶ Epiphanius was a particularly difficult case for iconophiles since he was a theologian of unassailable orthodoxy, having written two influential works, the *Panarion*, a famous anti-heretical treatise, and the doctrinal study *An-*

5. A certain disregard for scruples of historical research is evident, and indeed charges of falsification of texts were traded by both sides. P.J. Alexander described the collection and confirmation of patristic sources by the iconoclast faction in the preparation for the iconoclastic Council of Hagia Sophia in 815 as more painstaking and scrupulous than the first iconoclastic Council of Hieria, held in 754. For this reason, the patristic citations of the later council were expanded and more accurately cited than the sources adduced at Hieria. See P.J. Alexander, "Church Councils and Patristic Authority. The Iconoclastic Council of Hieria (754) and St. Sophia (815)," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 63(1958):493–505.

6. These survive only in the fragments found in the rebuttal of Nicephorus, in the *Adversus Epiphaniidem*, part of his *Antirrhetics*, written in the period 818–20; see Pitra IV:292–380. See Maraval, "Épiphanes, 'Docteur des Iconoclastes,'" 61, and H.G. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit vor dem Bilderstreit*, TU vol. 139 (Berlin, 1992) 65ff.

coratus, the “Anchor of Faith.” Rather than making a frontal attack, iconophiles leveled the charge, often repeated in this period, of willful falsification.

Epiphanius’s position is the clearest and earliest statement of an opposition to images based on a literal reading of art and a spiritual mode of worship. His active iconoclasm with regard to Christian images is still in doubt,⁷ but his attitude to art is clear from the extant fragments. In short, Epiphanius rejected the ability of art to convey any truth about divine nature: “If someone endeavours to perceive the divine character of the holy Logos in the flesh, out of material colours.... [let him be anathema].”⁸ A corollary for Epiphanius is that angels who are spiritual, bodiless and immaterial—though not to the same extent as God—cannot be depicted materially. As he wrote, images, dead and lifeless matter, debase and diminish the angels.⁹ Epiphanius could not countenance the representation of Christ as man since this representation merely reduced Christ to one aspect of his duophysite nature; nor would he allow angels to be depicted as men with mortal traits of “bone and sinew,” because angels are essentially spiritual beings whose nature is like a “devouring fire.” Representations of angels in dead and lifeless matter degrade the prototypes and diminish their nature.

Furthermore, Epiphanius was a fervent opponent of artists’ “deceptions.” Artists’ handiwork is not purely spiritual and, therefore, misleading in his view. It follows that all worship based on material images is essentially idolatrous. According to Epiphanius, artists created empty inventions according to their own fancies, in a medium

7. The well-known incident of the destruction of a curtain covering a door in a church has been interpreted traditionally as a sign of Epiphanius’s active opposition to Christian art. See, for instance, E. Kitzinger, “The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm,” *DOP* 8(1954):92ff. However, Sister Charles Murray, *Rebirth and Afterlife. A Study of the Transmutation of Some Pagan Imagery in Early Christian Funerary Art* (Oxford, 1981) 31ff., convincingly analyzed this passage as proof of Epiphanius’s vigorous antagonism simply towards pagan art. The curtain, in her view, depicted a pagan figure, perhaps a god, that Epiphanius felt to be inconsistent with the decoration of a place of worship. Indeed, the event is related within the context of Epiphanius’s apology for not having sent a replacement sooner.

8. Holl 363 (#34) = *Adv. Epi.*, V.14, Pitra IV:303.18–20.

9. Holl 357 (#4) = *Adv. Epi.*, VI.16, Pitra IV:306.35–307.1.

clearly inadequate to the subject. On the representations of Christ and the saints, all Epiphanius saw was irrelevant whimsy that cannot be substantiated by witness.¹⁰ Epiphanius based his position on images of the saints on a pragmatic distinction: the saints lived on earth, had mortal form and so have a single likeness; nonetheless, artists cannot and do not retrieve this likeness because they did not see the subjects with their own eyes. With regard to angels and Christ, the difficulty is of a different order since they are essentially spiritual and comprehensible only in spiritual terms.¹¹ Furthermore, the images of angels falsely attempt to communicate another level of the unknowable which is misrepresented by anthropomorphic forms on material images. Distinct even from representing Christ as man, artists who attempt to contain angelic nature in “bone and sinew” are guilty of deceit since they are not capable of knowing or seeing angels properly; likeness in any meaningful sense is simply out of reach.

Epiphanius’s position on images was based on an anti-allegorical, anti-Origenist stance that could not conceive of an image relating symbolically to its prototype.¹² For Epiphanius, the image and the

10. Holl 361 (#24) = *Adv. Epi.*, XVIII.79, Pitra IV:352.12–22: “At the same time they misled by their strange notions, representing the appearance of the saints in this or that manner, sometimes as old men and sometimes as youths, such things as they had never seen, they make their own. For they paint the Savior with long hair by some fancy (ὑπονοίας), on account of his being called the Nazarene, as Nazarenes have long hair. And they fail who attempt to bind these types to him. For the Savior drank wine, whereas the Nazarenes did not drink.” And Epiphanius leveled the same accusation at painters of images of the apostles: “And again believing according to their own notions what they make, they deceive. For these deceivers portray Peter the holy apostle as an old man with hair and beard cut close. And also some describe Saint Paul as balding and some bald pated and with a beard, while the other apostles as cropped” (Holl 362 [#26] = *Adv. Epi.*, XIX.86, Pitra IV:357.25–32).

11. Christ’s divine nature made likeness impossible: Epiphanius rejected the ability of art to represent “the unknowable, the inexpressible, the incomprehensible, the unspeakable, whom only Moses was able to face” (Holl 359 [#12]).

12. George Florovsky, in “Origen, Eusebius, and the Iconoclastic Controversy,” *Church History* 19(1950):77–96, and C. von Schönborn, *L’icône du Christ. Fondements théologiques élaborées entre le Ier et le IIer Concile de Nicée (325–787)* (Fribourg, 1976) 55ff., 164ff., have described the parallels between iconoclast theology and Origenism. The human nature of Christ was, in Origenist terms, overcome and superseded by the transcendental reality of Christ risen, and so his nature is beyond description in any material depiction or description. Certainly, this position has analogies with that of the iconoclasts, as well as that of

prototype were fundamentally distinct and any defense that linked the two would inevitably demean the prototype. The only real worship is founded on intellectual approaches to spiritual truths and not on material aids consisting of images. Images of angels pose particular problems of the relation between material image and immaterial prototype, and seemed to Epiphanius to be more of an obstacle than a clarification and facilitation of worship.

A text relating a dialogue between the fourth-century theologian Macarius Magnes and a pagan opponent shows similar mistrust of material representations, once again in the case of angels.¹³ The exchange over angels formed part of a work known as the *Apocriticus*, likely an invented dialogue between Macarius and a pagan. The texts of Macarius Magnes and the pagan with whom he is engaged in discussion find their earliest testimony in the work of Nicephorus (ca. 750–828), patriarch of Constantinople at the second outbreak of Iconoclasm in 815.¹⁴ Despite Macarius Magnes's allegiances to the allegorical methods of Origen (ca. 185–254) which iconoclasts es-

Epiphanius; Epiphanius's position, which the iconoclasts found so attractive, was that Christ's divinity is essentially unknowable and can only be demeaned and made separate by merely depicting the human Christ. It must also be said, however, that Epiphanius's anti-Origenism lies primarily in his opposition to Origen's heterodox views on the Trinity; more importantly for this study, Epiphanius's rejection of Origen's method of allegorical interpretation was also an important part of his dissent. On this question, see Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, 86ff. Moreover, it is just this openness to symbolic interpretations that characterizes the iconophile approach to images, especially those of angels; see chapter 3.

13. A. Harnack, *Kritik des Neues Testaments von einem griechischen Philosophen des 3. Jahrhunderts. Die in Apocriticus des Macarius Magnes enthaltene Streitschrift*, TU vol. 37/3 (Leipzig, 1911) and G. Bardy, in *DTC IX*:1456ff., put Macarius Magnes in the late fourth-century. Harnack identified the opponent as the pagan neo-Platonist Porphyry (ca. 232–ca. 303), the writer of a famous anti-Christian treatise in fifteen volumes, the *Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*.

The full text is found in Blondel who reconstructed the original text from a manuscript found in Athens; we can now be certain of the author's original intent. See also L. Duchesne, *Macario Magne et scriptis eius* (Paris, 1877) and P.J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople. Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1958) 165ff.

14. *De Magne*, Pitra I:302–35. Nicephorus apparently knew little of the author and gleaned whatever information he had from internal evidence; he found firm evidence of Origenism in the texts, but he also charged Macarius Magnes with Nestorian and Manichaean sympathies. See T.W. Crafer, "Macarius Magnes, A Neglected Apologist," *JTS* 8(1907):402.

chewed, iconoclasts had invoked Macarius Magnes for his kindred approach to intellectual and non-material worship.

Two texts in the dialogue, one by the pagan and one by Macarius Magnes himself, have special bearing on this discussion of angels. In this portion of the dialogue, Macarius Magnes defended Christian worship from parallels with paganism that his opponent attempted to draw, particularly with regard to idols and representations of angels. The “angelic way of life,” a common epithet of the followers of the monastic vocation, was introduced by Macarius Magnes as an answer to the pagan opponent who is made to equate the angels and the gods of the Greeks.¹⁵ Macarius Magnes proceeded to counter the pagan’s arguments with a denial of any similarity between Christian angels and pagan gods. Pagan gods simply do not exist and furthermore, he stated, the idols of the pagans have no resemblance to the Christian images because God is incomprehensible, and Christians know better than to think that deity can reside in such matter. Macarius brought up images of angels as a means of providing a concrete example of the distinctions between pagan idolatry and purer Christian veneration. Macarius Magnes wrote:

So that if someone who is right thinking should hear of a spiritual existence in heaven, he rejoices in the word of immortality, [and] he himself emulates [the excellence of angels] in his deeds, and zealously affects their merit, by avoiding marriage and fleeing the symbols of corruption, and coming to the passage of death, he is lifted up in the end into the court of the blessed, that is to say, of the angels. But certainly [the good Christian] does not depict the form [of angels], as you yourself say, and [he] does not speak to the shadow or is delighted with the phantoms, conversing with soulless matter as if it had a soul, delighting in dead visions of forms, directing prayer to voiceless matter, imagining that the divine law giver inhabits stone or wood, or pretending to subjugate the insubjugable being in bronze or iron, thinking to capture the uncapturable, he unthinkingly sketches a vague image in a dead vision.¹⁶

15. Blondel 200.1–12.

16. Blondel 214.10–20.

Later, confronted with this text, clearly antagonistic to material images, Nicephorus argued that it misrepresented Macarius Magnes since iconoclasts had indubitably falsified the text and had confused Macarius Magnes's argument against paganism and idolatry with a denial of Christian images. However, Macarius Magnes clearly stated his opinion in this dialogue that a holy person makes a true and godly image by modeling himself after paragons of holiness in the past. For Macarius, the real image is ethical and not a material representation. Furthermore, false and misleading images made after illusory visions must be shunned.

Both Macarius Magnes and Epiphanius belong to a general debate that took place in the fourth century over images, intellectual and material, in worship. Moreover, both form part of an early tradition of spiritual, anti-image worship that was resurrected in the eighth and ninth centuries during renewed debates over worship. Epiphanius stated that divinity is unrepresentable, and can be worshipped only "in spirit and truth," quoting John 4:24.¹⁷ Both theologians were suspicious of the knowledge derived through sight, especially through the viewing of deceptive images.¹⁸ Epiphanius's strong iconoclastic stance, based on the incomprehensibility of God and the essential deceptiveness of images, has parallels with the anti-image theology of Evagrius Ponticus (ca. 345–399), and Macarius's advocacy of intellectual worship is akin to Evagrius's practice of "pure prayer."¹⁹ Evagrius taught that prayer must be rid of emotions and images that are derived from the sensual world; he called this process "apatheia" (ἀπάθεια), involving a resistance to mental image-making and a worship of God only "in spirit and in truth."²⁰ Evagrius advised dis-

17. See P.J. Alexander, "The Iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia (815) and Its Definition (*Horos*)," *DOP* 7(1953):43, on Epiphanius's "Treatise against Those who are engaged in making, after the fashion of idols, images in the likeness of Christ, the Mother of God, Martyrs, Angels and Prophets" (frag. 30b; for text, see 63–64).

18. See, for instance, Holl 363 (#33).

19. See Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, 102ff., on Epiphanius, and Schönborn, *L'icône du Christ*, 168, on the affinities of the anti-image theology of Evagrius and iconoclasts.

20. See Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, 60ff.; A. Guillaumont, *Les "Képhalaia Gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'Origénisme chez les Grecs et chez les Syriens*, *Patristica Sorbonensis*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1962) 37ff., 59ff.; Evagrius Ponticus, *Traité Pratique ou Le Moine*, 2 vols., SC vols. 170, 171, ed. A. Guillaumont and C. Guillaumont (Paris, 1971) I:98ff. Accord-

engagement from all distractions: “Do not represent the divine in itself when you pray and do not permit your intellect to receive the impression of any form; but go from immaterial to immaterial, and you will comprehend.”²¹ In this sense, Epiphanius, Evagrius and Macarius share comparable positions with regard to approaches to knowledge of things divine: only intellectual and non-material routes were seemly and fruitful in their view.²²

Elizabeth Clark has described the “constellation” of practice and theory in the late fourth century that connects Epiphanius’s own iconoclasm, Evagrius’s anti-imagistic theology, and the destruction of idols in Egypt led by Theophilus (d. 412), patriarch of Alexandria from 385.²³ Epiphanius’s tearing down of a curtain depicting “some form of a man” and produced perhaps by a pagan workshop, and Macarius’s opposition to parallels made between the images of Christian angels and pagan gods must be seen in this context of the general struggle against the profane art of the pagan religion, as each theologian combated the possibility of idolatry inherent in images. Epiphanius recalled precisely the idolatrous practices censured by the Council of Laodicea in his dismissal of making images; and, indeed, that the writer of the *Apocriticus* has the pagan equate pagan idols with images of angels reveals the special fear that angels aroused in some theologians. Angels were divine creatures, certainly, but they attracted worship that was too easily equated with pagan practice. In the fourth and fifth centuries, angels and their images posed clear threats to proper approach and seemly worship as the *Apocriticus*, the Council of Laodicea and Theodoret of Cyrrhus demonstrate.

ing to Evagrius, only Moses had seen God in “his proper form and without enigma” and spoke with him “mouth to mouth”; see R. Dragnet, “L’Histoire Lausiaque: Une oeuvre écrite dans l’esprit d’Evagre,” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 41(1946):330ff.

21. *De oratione*, LXVI, PG 79:1181A.

22. The general affinities are noted by J. Gouillard, “Fragments inédits d’un antirrétique de Jean le Grammairien,” *REB* 24(1966):174–75, with regard to some fragments attributed to John the Grammarian, the iconoclastic patriarch of Constantinople from 837–43.

23. *The Origenist Controversy*, 43ff.; the thesis of the interaction of theology, politics and social practice of the fourth/fifth centuries is key to her description of these texts and events.

Some scholars cite Monophysitism as an important element in iconoclastic theology, and the accusations of iconoclastic beliefs leveled against Philoxenus of Mabbug and Severus of Antioch at the Second Council of Nicaea (787) would seem to suggest at least a theological affinity between iconoclasts and these Monophysite theologians.²⁴ Like Epiphanius and Macarius Magnes, Philoxenus of Mabbug (ca. 440–523), a bishop of Hierapolis-Mabbug in Syria, strongly opposed symbolic images in Christian worship. The opposition to allusive representations was consistent with Philoxenus's theology that emphasized the absolute transcendence and incomprehensibility of Christ's divinity; iconophiles often accused iconoclasts of just such an emphasis that led them into Monophysite error.²⁵ As an extension of this belief, Philoxenus appears to have objected to anthropomorphic images of Christ and the angels, as well as to representations of the Holy Spirit as a dove.²⁶ In a passage taken from the lost *Ecclesiastical History* of Theodore Lector or Anagnostes (d. after 527), Theophanes the Confessor (ca. 760–817/8) described the malignant Monophysite roots of Philoxenus of Mabbug's position on images:

Xenaias, the servant of Satan, taught that images of the Lord and of the angels should not be accepted. He was a Persian by extraction

24. See Mansi XIII:317–18. And secondary sources include Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 52, and S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources* (Louvain, 1973) 127. Sebastian Brock argued for a complete dissociation of Monophysitism and iconoclastic theology in "Iconoclasm and Monophysitism," in *Iconoclasm. Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977) 53–57.

25. On Philoxenus of Mabbug's theology, see A. de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog. Sa vie, ses écrits, sa théologie* (Louvain, 1963); C. N. Tsirpanlis, "Some Reflections on Philoxenos' Christology," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 25(1980):152–62; R. C. Chesnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies: Severus of Antioch, Philoxenus of Mabbug, and Jacob of Sarug* (Oxford, 1976) 57ff.; and G. Lardreau, *Discours philosophique et discours spirituel. Autour de la philosophie spirituelle de Philoxène de Mabboug* (Paris, 1985).

26. See Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 44–45, "[Philoxenus of Mabbug's] position on images then was a logical corollary to his theological views: the angels and the Holy Spirit were clearly incorporeal and in Philoxenus' monophysite theology, Jesus Christ was first and foremost God." See also Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm," 131, and S. Der Nersessian, "Une apologie des images du septième siècle," *B 17*(1944/5):70.

and, by station, a slave. Having fled from his master and being unbaptised, although he called himself a cleric, he was at the time of Calandion perverting from the [true] faith the villages around Antioch. He was expelled by Calandion, but Peter the Fuller consecrated him bishop of Hierapolis and renamed him Philoxenus.²⁷

Despite unsympathetic descriptions, no evidence exists in the extant texts ascribed to Philoxenus of an unambiguous iconoclastic position.²⁸ However, other texts of Philoxenus can provide testimony concerning his position regarding images and worship. These at least substantiate the charge of fundamental suspicion of images and perhaps also active iconoclasm described in the text read at Nicaea.

Judging by extant texts, Philoxenus of Mabbug held strong views on the images of Christ, the angels and the Holy Spirit in particular, on account of their essential incomprehensibility. Because of the transcendence of these beings, only worship that is intellectual and

27. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883–1885) I:134; trans. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 43. I have changed Mango's "saints" to "angels." This alteration is in accordance with an extract found in J.A. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae regiae parisiensis*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1839–1841; rp. Hildesheim, 1967) II:109.1–2, and is in agreement with de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog*, 88 n86, and Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 44–45. See also the reading given by E. Miller, "Fragments inédits de Théodore Le Lecteur et de Jean d'Égée," *Revue archéologique* 26(1873):402, "Ξεναίᾱς ὁ Φιλόξενος οὔτε Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ οὔτε ἀγγέλου εἰκόνας ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ συνεχώρει ἀνατίθεσθαι."

At the Second Council of Nicaea, an excerpt was read from John Diakrinomenus's *Ecclesiastical History* of ca. 500 which more fully describes the reasoning behind Philoxenus of Mabbug's opposition to images of incorporeal beings and the affinities he had with Epiphanius and Macarius Magnes before him: "For Philoxenus said that it is not proper to give the angels, who are bodiless, bodies and thus in human-like shapes to depict them in a type of embodiment, and not to believe that one offers honour and faith to Christ through making an inscribed image; only that which is worship in spirit and in truth is acceptable to him. And a few lines below: he says to note this too, that [Philoxenus says] it is a childish mind that fashions the holy and venerable spirit in an image, despite the fact that the Gospels in no place teach that the Holy Spirit became a dove, but that at some point it appeared in the shape of a dove. Because it is by God's dispensation that it appeared one time in this way and not essentially, it is by no means fitting to make images of a body for the faithful. Philoxenus taught these things and followed this teaching in practice, too. In many places, he cast down the images of angels and hid the painted images of Christ in secret places." See Mansi XIII:180E–1B.

28. On this question, see de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog*, 88ff.

unhindered by material images is possible. By faith alone, Philoxenus wrote, is humanity able to accept and understand the contradictory and difficult nature of angels:

And thus also it is in respect of the spiritual natures and orders of celestial beings, and it is faith which maketh it possible to receive every word which is spoken concerning them; for otherwise there must necessarily be unbelief, since the Book calleth them “absolute spiritual beings” [in one place], and in another it speaketh of them as “compacted bodies” to which it attributeth forms which are different from each other.²⁹

Philoxenus held that angelic appearances were not “real” but of a spiritual nature. These epiphanies consist of an appearance (φαντάσις) or form (σχῆμα) intellectually accessible in some incomplete way. This formulation—in fact, not so very different from iconophile description of angelic appearances—led to a complete disregard for any images of the immaterial angels. Because angels appear in spiritual alterations, images of the angels in symbolic guise can only be defamations and distortions of transcendent, spiritual beings.³⁰

29. From Philoxenus’s sermon “On Faith,” trans. E.A.W. Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenus Bishop of Mabbôgh, A.D. 485–519. Vol. II. Introduction, Translation, etc.* (London, 1894) 29–31, which continues, “... but [the angels] possess all the service of the members, although they have no compacted members. And how the operation of the members is established without the members themselves we have no power in our own knowledge to understand; but by this [power] which is given to us by God, I mean faith, we understand these things, and although they do not at all fall under the investigation of human thoughts they are accepted by us without any doubt.”

30. With regard to the particular case of images of Christ, the basis of Philoxenus’s resistance is ethical in that a true Christian ought to make him or herself a true image rather than worship material objects. Brock, “Iconoclasm and Monophysitism,” 54, saw the causes of Philoxenus’s hostility to images rooted in his “puritan asceticism.” Concerning the last charge made by John Diakrinomenos, Philoxenus does state in a commentary on Luke that the Holy Spirit was an intellectual vision, perceived by the intelligence of John the Baptist (Luke 3:22), and was in no way to be interpreted as an essential transformation of the Spirit itself; the Holy Spirit cannot, then, be depicted after John the Baptist’s vision since the vision was spiritual and not material. Brock hypothesized that Philoxenus’s resistance to images of doves was based on an antipathy to the local worship of Atargatis whose cult image was a dove. However, the resistance is theologically consistent with Philoxenus’s position on

Philoxenus's theological positions on intellectual worship and ethical guides are fully consistent with charges of antagonism to images, thereby substantiating his opponents' assessments of his position on art. It is noteworthy that the charges center on Philoxenus's rejection of a relation between image and model, and so any honor due the image; the charges also indicate opposition to a symbolic rendering of spiritual creatures which would make this relation of image and model untenable in Philoxenus's eyes. Moreover, writings by Philoxenus on imagination reveal affinities with the anti-image theology of Epiphanius, Macarius Magnes and Evagrius. Philoxenus believed that imagination naturally forms mental images but that these images lead one away from contemplation of true things; imagination must, therefore, be resisted and, by emptying the mind of thought and images, the spiritual path to true things can be opened.³¹ These views of Philoxenus clearly presage iconoclastic tenets. By tarring iconoclasts with the same brush as the Monophysite Philoxenus, iconophiles reinforced the frequently repeated accusation that iconoclasts were new Monophysites who rejected the incarnation in favor of Christ's divinity.³²

More ambiguous is the passage from the Second Council at Nicaea which impugned the Monophysite bishop Severus of Antioch (ca. 465–538) for his disapproval of the iconography of angels. An unsympathetic portrait of Severus's purposes in his homily on the Archangels Michael and Gabriel is given in a fragment taken from a lost *Vita* of Severus, written by John, bishop of Gabala, and read at Nicaea II. Iconophiles accused Severus of inappropriate attention to the appearance of angels in art, not iconoclasm strictly speaking:

[Severus of Antioch] used to stand in the bema and deliver long addresses, and he often attempted to persuade the multitude in the very church of the most-holy Michael that white vestments, not

the incomprehensibility of wholly spiritual entities, like the Holy Spirit and Christ, and, to a lesser degree, angels.

31. See Lardreau, *Discours philosophique et discours spirituel*, 125ff., and R. Kearney, *The Wake of Imagination. Ideas of Creativity in Western Culture* (London, 1988) 144ff.

32. See, for example, K. Parry, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Leiden, 1996) 137, 144.

purple ones, were appropriate to angels. He was not ignorant of the fact that the holy [angelic] host had no concern with vestments, but tried by this device to cause division and to urge against one another people who had this or that opinion.³³

Fortunately, the homily to which John of Gabala refers is extant and the nature of Severus's antagonism can be ascertained. Rather than urging outright iconoclasm, the homily was largely concerned with the cult of angels and the unseemly excesses to which this devotion had been prone. Severus is not unusual for having this concern; as the Epistle to the Colossians (2:18), the Council of Laodicea and Theodoret of Cyrrhus bear witness, excessive worship of the angels had created anxiety within the Church since the first centuries of the Christian era. Severus began his sermon by recalling the pagan errors of angelolatry that had been forbidden under both the Old and the New Covenants.

But, forgetting their condition as soldiers and servants, let us not dishonour them for that reason, through a pagan error, by honours which are beyond their due. For all that which is taken from that glory, which alone is God's, is a dishonour to them. That is why the angel who spoke to Manoah said, "... if thou wilt offer a burnt offering, thou must offer it unto the Lord" (Judges 13:16). And this is why also Barnabas and Paul, those servants as faithful as the angels, prevented the Lycaonian worshippers of demons from offering them a sacrifice as to gods (Acts 14).³⁴

33. Mansi XIII:184C; trans. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 44. The response to the reading by the patriarch Tarasius (ca. 730?–806) at Nicaea is interesting because it ends in agreement with the heretic Severus of Antioch; Tarasius states that white vestments must be advocated, despite John of Gabala's assertion that iconographic detail is not a concern of the angels: "Tarasius, the holy patriarch, said, We shall consider, because he has been brought to this very thing by [the question of] relics, as he has said, that it is not befitting for angels to wear purple vestments, but they ought to wear white vestments instead" (Mansi XIII:184C). The iconographic particulars are, nonetheless, irrelevant to Tarasius's intention since in his statement he made it clear that the church takes an interest in artistic practice, to the point of managing and determining it. On this issue of ecclesiastical control of artistic production after Iconoclasm, see H. Maguire, "Magic and the Christian Image," in *Byzantine Magic*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1995) 51–71.

34. Severus of Antioch, *Les homiliae cathedrales*, PO vol. 8/2, ed. M. Brière (Paris, 1919; rp. Turnhout, 1971) 82. Severus's work survives only in a Syriac translation by James of

Severus of Antioch then lashed out at the effrontery of the painters who lead Christian worshippers to pagan idolatry by their unsuitable depictions of the angels. It is worth noting that the improper worship is the really contentious issue for Severus of Antioch.

But the hand of the painters, which is insolent and which is a law unto itself, favouring the pagan inventions or the imagination and things connected to idolatry and arranging everything to that end, clothe Michael and Gabriel, as princes or kings, with a purple and royal robe, adorning them with a crown and placing in their right hand the mark of authority and universal power. It is for these reasons and others like them that those who honour the angels in such excesses abandon the Church and transgress its laws and are anathematised by those who are ordained and establish the holy canons.³⁵

Although the passage from John of Gabala says that Severus defended white robes over purple for angels, the sermon clearly does not offer an alternative iconography; Severus denigrated the current iconography of purple-clad angels as strictly untoward and overweening for servants. Justinian's garb in the mosaic at San Vitale (consecrated 548), for example, is the same as that worn by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel in mosaics of the bema arch in the contemporary church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe.³⁶ The late fifth-century Cotton Genesis, moreover, shows the angels before Lot dressed in rich vermillion, one with gold highlights.³⁷ The program for which Severus provided his ekphrasis is, of course, lost, but unquestionably Severus was opposing just this kind of incorporation

Edessa. On this sermon, see the remarks of C. Mango, "St. Michael and Attis," *DChAE* 12(1984):39ff.

35. *Les homiliae cathedrales*, 83–84.

36. See A. Grabar, *The Golden Age of Justinian. From the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam*, trans. S. Gilbert and J. Emmons (New York, 1967) figs. 171 and 11, respectively, and O. von Simson, *Sacred Fortress. Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna*, 2d ed. (Chicago, 1976) 60ff.

37. K. Weitzmann and H. L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis. British Museum Codex Cotton Otho B. VI* (Princeton, 1986) 81–82. For other examples, see *RBK* III:29–32.

of purple-clad, worldly rulers into the iconography of angels.³⁸ Severus then raised another issue surrounding the dangerous worship of angels, as an inoculation of the cult was also being carried out. The reason for their gathering, Severus went on to state, was the decorous consecration of the new church of the Archangel Michael by means of the introduction of the relics of human saints into the church.³⁹

Severus of Antioch proceeded to the charges of insolence he made against painters of angels. He made it clear that he was only speaking figuratively since the images of the angels are not in any sense representative of the real angelic nature, but only symbols.

No one, in effect, can judge that which has rapport [with the angels] by the aspects under which they appear sometimes to saintly men; for these [aspects] are various and they are known differently according to the time, according to the appropriateness of the circumstance and in some appearances such as the eyes of sensible beings are able to perceive.⁴⁰

As the nature of the angels is so difficult to perceive, their images are in a fundamental sense misleading as well as debasing. Artistic independence, and the presumptions this leads to, is also an important theme of the homily. Severus railed against “the hand of the painters who are insolent and are a law unto themselves,” and the affinities to paganism that this kind of practice encouraged in artists.

38. On the imperial garments worn by archangels, see G. Peers, “Patriarchal Politics in the Paris Gregory (B.N. gr. 510),” *JbB* 47(1997):53–57, and, covering some similar ground, C. Jolivet-Lévy, “Note sur la représentation des archanges en costume impérial dans l’iconographie byzantine,” *CA* 46(1998):121–28.

39. Relics of saints were apparently introduced into shrines in order to make more palatable this angelic cult with a dubious history. See P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d’Orient. Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1985) 56. And P. Canivet has proposed that a crypt at the fifth-century church of the Archangel Michael at Huarte in Syria had been added to provide relics and stability to a potentially excessive cult. The connection proposed by Canivet, in “Le *Michaelion* de Huarte (Ve s.) et le culte syrien des anges,” *B* 50(1980):110ff., must remain tentative.

40. *Les homiliae cathedrales*, 76–78.

In summation, Severus of Antioch was attacking the worldliness of the angels' iconography, and he concluded that this iconography led worshippers to overlook the angels' bodiless and spiritual qualities. According to Severus, angels alter their forms according to the demands of the occasion in their appearances to just men. They are never seen according to their real nature, in fact, which has nothing of the coarseness of our bodies, but in an alteration of their real form. This alteration is necessary because of the unviewability of the angelic beings. Therefore, Severus is essentially unsympathetic to material images rendered by the artistic means derived from the deceitful pagans.

Severus was not an active iconoclast but, like Philoxenus of Mabbug, interpreted angelic appearances as symbolic transformations; and the natural conclusion holds for Severus, as for Philoxenus, that images cannot express the difficulties of comprehension and nature of angels.⁴¹ Sebastian Brock is right to point out that Severus was not aggressively iconoclastic and that, in fact, his conversion may have been influenced by a fresco of Paradise. However, the principal point of the sermon is not, as Brock maintains, the depiction of angels in purple. Severus had larger issues in mind in this homily, namely the inability of art to represent angels in any essential or descriptive way and art's misleading qualities, therefore, in the context of worship.

The theological perspective represented by these four theologians, Epiphanius, Macarius, Philoxenus and Severus, is based on an ultimate spirituality of angels that cannot be communicated by any material image. Painters cannot provide appropriate means for contemplating divine things since they are misled by pagan practice into producing figured matter wholly inadequate to describe transcendent beings. In this anti-imagistic theology, an emphasis on the ethical mode of worship is characteristic; John's dictum on worship "in spirit and in truth" (4:24) is a *leitmotiv* in the works of these theologians, as it was for iconoclasts themselves who gathered the writings of these earlier theologians for their own purposes. These theologians, there-

41. Brock, "Monophysitism and Iconoclasm," 53–54.

fore, represent a distinct position with regard to approaches to knowledge of God's bodiless creations; their common approach eschewed tangible, manufactured aids in favor of more intellectual methods that avoided the production of mental or material images.

In the fragmentary texts of Epiphanius and Philoxenus, angels appear to have been adduced as corollaries to the undepictability of Christ. For Epiphanius, just the same, the angels are differentiated from Christ by their special nature, "a devouring fire," at once less exalted than the divine nature of Christ and less tangible than the human saints. Epiphanius also stated the difficulties of rendering the humanity of Christ since artists describe Christ as man out of caprice rather than out of any attempt at true likeness. The fact that Epiphanius is able to make a double calumny against Christ's images, which are equally unable to manifest any truth about either of Christ's natures, indicates the essential distinction between Christ's and angels' images: to "bone and sinew" they cannot claim any likeness at all, as Christ as human could conceivably, since angels' assumptions of human form have only been momentary and illusory.

In the fuller texts of Macarius and Severus, the special distinctions of angels' images are clearer. These theologians saw angels as unique problems since they were concerned exclusively with the issue of angelic appearances and the manufacture of images deriving from these occasions. Both of these theologians viewed material commemorations of angelic epiphany as diminishing such difficult intellectual experiences to base, misleading caricature. The angels—unlike Christ, it ought to be stressed once again—appear in a semblance of their ethereal nature, and depicting the angels in human form, only one of many forms they have assumed, can in no way communicate their immaterial nature and activity.

The danger of idolatry represented by angels' images is also a common feature of these theologians' concerns. The nature and activities of angels allowed parallels to be drawn by pagans to their own deities. Moreover, Christians themselves were evidently not immune to the attraction that angels held for their direct worship separate from God. Severus certainly feared just this possibility and the deceitful allure that angels depicted as princes possessed.

The approach represented by these four theologians influenced the position taken by iconoclasts in the eighth and ninth centuries and reveals a continuity in this anti-imagistic, intellectual theology from the fourth century on. Therefore, an understanding of the iconoclastic position with respect to angels is properly derived from these theologians; it must, in fact, depend upon their limited testimony, since a particular iconoclastic theology of angels from the eighth and ninth centuries is not extant. As only iconophile rebuttals of certain texts survive, one must assume that iconophile dialogues, for instance Nicephorus against Epiphanius and Macarius Magnes, attack positions taken by iconoclasts, who collected and defended this patristic documentation in the first place.

The theological position that expressed considerable anxiety over both idolatry and angelolatry was the formative background for the eighth-/ ninth-century iconoclastic opposition to depicting angels. It explains the concern the later anti-image theologians had for the inherent difficulties in representing angels, of course, but also for the dangers of worship of created things in general and angels in particular. As created beings, angels were not worthy of worship in and of themselves, but representing angels, as Severus pointed out, increased the likelihood of Christians mistakenly directing veneration at angels. Images in that view were the necessary nexus of idolatry and angelolatry. This association of idolatry with angelolatry reveals the primitive origins of iconoclasm, since an iconoclastic position on angels appears to be firmly rooted not only in an intellectual approach to worship but also in pastoral care for Christians who were easily led to immoderate worship of God's creature servants.⁴²

After 752, Constantine V (r. 740–775) seems to have begun a concerted assault against the iconophile position on both theological and political fronts. The strength of this attack, some twenty years after his father had initiated iconoclasm as government policy, indicates a delay in formulation of any truly radical reform. Constantine V, however, produced in the 750s an articulate expression of icono-

42. That the problem of dangerous devotion to angels still existed during Iconoclasm is likely revealed by the reworking of the Chonae miracle story in this period; see chapter 4.

clastic theology much beyond the apparent literalism and bluster of his father's theological convictions. Nicephorus discussed selections from the iconoclastic Πεύσεις, or "Inquiries," and specifically attributed them to Constantine's pen, and in this way he was able to impute personal initiative to the emperor in formulating an iconoclastic theology.⁴³

The iconoclastic theology revealed through the "Inquiries" and "Definition" of the council convened by iconoclasts in 754 is the culmination of one particular strand of theological interpretation of proper Christian worship and comprehension. Clearly, the common ground of these iconoclastic texts and of the patristic sources iconoclasts adduced is an agreement that the images of angels—like those of Christ—are impossible because of the subjects' immaterial, divine nature. Like Christ's image, an image of the angels' earthly appearance would merely separate one manifestation of their nature from their real formless nature.⁴⁴ Epiphanius made an important distinction since the angels—unlike Christ—cannot be depicted simply as "bones and sinew"; the angels have never taken human form, only assumed it symbolically. Therefore, the image of an angel cannot even have a stable visual relation to its prototype, let alone an essential relation. It is strictly a misleading invention by deceitful artists. Iconoclasts, augured by theologians like Epiphanius and Severus, possessed a fundamental distrust of artistic practice; since the angels are so distant from our comprehension, and indeed so rarely seen at all, artists cannot be expected to represent these spiritual beings in an accurate or meaningful way.⁴⁵

Here the shape of the theological debate may unlock the history of an important set of images, representations of angels significantly

43. *Contra Eusebium*, III, Pitra I:375–77. On the *Peuseis*, see S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Constantine V with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources* (Louvain, 1977) 37ff.

44. See Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Constantine V*, 39ff., on iconoclastic Christology.

45. See Mansi XIII:336E; Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Constantine V*, 89, and, also, 91 (#16); M.V. Anastos, "The Argument for Iconoclasm as Presented by the Iconoclastic Council of 754," in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann et al. (Princeton, 1955) 185.

altered during Iconoclasm. Admittedly, the evidence for the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea, now Iznik, is not secure: first, destroyed in 1922, the church is lost and so unexaminable, and second, the sequence of creation of mosaics in the seventh century, emendation in the eighth/ninth century and finally restoration in the ninth depends on scholarly argument founded on probabilities. Nonetheless, the position assumed here conforms to general scholarly opinion that the Church of the Dormition reflected the changes in attitudes to images from the seventh to the ninth century. Located on the arch that separates the sanctuary or bema from the nave, these mosaics of angels in the Church of the Dormition have been variously dated in their initial phase to the sixth or seventh century.⁴⁶ Although the inscriptions stated that the figures represented different orders of the angelic hierarchy, the Principalities, Virtues, Dominations and Powers, mentioned together at Colossians 1:16, the angelic beings were depicted as identical winged youths wearing the *loros* and carrying orbs and standards (figs. 9, 10). A pair occupied both the north and south portion of the arch. The subject of the pre-Iconoclastic mosaic in the apse is still an open question, and an enthroned Christ, an *orans* Virgin and a seated Virgin and Child have been suggested (fig. 16).⁴⁷

46. Fernanda de' Maffei conjectured that the mosaics had been covered during Iconoclasm, not erased as is generally thought, and the repair evident is not connected to the restoration of images in 843. See F. de' Maffei, "L'Unigenito consostanziale al Padre nel programma trinitario dei perduti mosaici del bema della Dormizione di Nicea e il Cristo trasfigurato del Sinai I," *Storia dell'arte* 45(1982):91ff., and also her *Icona, pittore e arte al Concilio Niceno II* (Rome, 1974) 99ff. However, the restorations apparent in the areas around the angels and the replacing of the cross in the apse likely belong to the same phase, probably post-843, paid for by the otherwise unknown Naucratis, as stated in an inscription between the two angels on the south bema arch. For discussion and bibliography, see Peers, "Patriarchal Politics in the Paris Gregory," 54–56, and chapter 1.

47. de' Maffei hypothesized an enthroned Christ in the apse of the church at Iznik flanked by angelic powers. See "L'Unigenito consostanziale," 91ff. By tracing the exegetical history of the psalms (110:3, 93:5, 97:7) and Col. 1:16, de' Maffei attempted to reconstruct a christological program in the apse, which centered on an enthroned Christ. While ultimately untenable, her argument is compelling, especially as it is the only one, to my knowledge, to take into consideration the angelic powers and their relation to Christ, but she finds difficulty in overcoming the art-historical evidence. The only parallel she is able to cite is in the ninth-century Chludov Psalter in which the enthroned Christ is approached by



Figure 16. Virgin and Child, Apse Mosaic (destroyed), Church of the Dormition, Iznik (formerly Nicaea), ninth century. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

David (Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. 129, fol. 114v, ps. 110). See K.A. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992) 44–45, fig. 54.

The illustration in the Chludov Psalter asserts the divinity of Christ, as the inscription accompanying the marginal illustration reads, “David prophesies concerning the son of God.” The assertion of Christ’s divine nature in this typological context derives from *contra Judaeos* literature of the sixth and seventh centuries, for example the *Trophies of Damascus*,

Such figured representations as found in the bema arch at Nicaea did not conform to the iconoclastic notion of the proper image of angels, and the figured portions of the bema arch were eliminated during Iconoclasm. Iconoclasts, of course, found representations of angels distasteful, as they found all figural religious imagery to be contrary to their beliefs concerning appropriate worship.⁴⁸ The distinguishing features of the iconoclastic alterations made on the bema arch at Nicaea were that the inscriptions and standards were left untouched. Evidently, iconoclasts did not object to every aspect of the program and felt that with editing the mosaics at Nicaea could provide proper “images” of angels that were non-figurative and relied on inscribed words.

That conversion provides vital information on attitudes toward, and meanings of, material representations of angels from the iconoclastic point of view. The sutures around the restored angelic powers reveal that the figures were erased and the mosaic field was left blank

in which the same psalm (110) is adduced to defend the divine nature of Christ. See *Les Trophées de Damas*, PO vol. 15/2, ed. G. Bardy (Paris, 1920; rp. Turnhout, 1973) 32.12–33.6. Bardy points out that this psalm is a topos of Jewish-Christian debates from an early date. The currency that this psalm had for the defense of Christ's divine nature in the period before Iconoclasm, both in exegesis and apologetic literature, lends support to de' Maffei's reconstruction of the apse program of Christ as Lord surrounded by his heavenly servants.

The general assumption, however—which moreover has the greater attraction of plausibility—is that the Virgin and child placed in the apse after the end of Iconoclasm was a replacement for a pre-Iconoclastic composition with the same subject. This premise informs C. Barber's analysis, for example, in “The Koimesis Church, Nicaea: The Limits of Representation on the Eve of Iconoclasm,” *JöB* 41(1991):43–60.

48. In a review of T. Schmitz's *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia, das Bauwerk und die Mosaiken* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), E. Wiegand claimed that making symbolic images of angels did not warrant opprobrium from the iconoclastic point of view and the bema mosaics could have been produced during Iconoclasm; see *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 53(1927):2607. E. Kitzinger, “Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm,” in *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinischen-Kongress, München, 1958* (Munich, 1958) 13, dismissed Wiegand's hypothesis and suggested himself that the angelic powers belonged originally to a pre-iconoclastic phase. P.A. Underwood, “The Evidence of Restorations in the Sanctuary Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea,” *DOP* 13(1959):235ff., followed up this suggestion and demonstrated conclusively—to my mind—that the church underwent three phases of mosaic decoration: pre-iconoclastic (before the 720s), iconoclastic (that is, without figured images of angels but with inscriptions and standards left intact, likely effected between the 720s and 787 but possibly also between 815 and 843), and post-iconoclastic, that is to say after the “Triumph of Orthodoxy” in 843.

during Iconoclasm. However, the inscriptions designating each of the powers, the standards that bore the inscribed Trisagion and the passage taken from Psalm 97:7 (“To him all the angels of God offer worship”) were apparently left intact and on view during this entire period.⁴⁹ Furthermore, a mosaic cross replaced either the figure of Christ or of the Virgin and Child in the apse.

This iconoclastic program demonstrates the practical limits of the depiction of angels during Iconoclasm and provides concrete form to the iconoclastic theology of angels. Given the preceding discussion of the views of iconoclasts and their predecessors, the elimination of the figural depictions of the angelic powers must be viewed as a natural extension of anti-image theory. The void outlined by the sutures, that is the absence of images, demonstrates iconoclastic belief in the inability of figural description to render angels. The preservation of the inscriptions of the angelic powers, then, marks the limit of representation according to this theory. The presence of the inscriptions, of course, was a happy coincidence for the iconoclasts since it served their purposes so well. The inscription shows that the route to contemplation of these beings must be attempted through meditation on the scriptural designations for angelic powers (Col. 1:16), the nominating inscriptions that signify the beings directly and without figural confusion.

Iconoclasts and their forbears believed that verbal worship was most appropriate.⁵⁰ Words signify purely, with none of the dissimulation or distraction of material images. Iconoclasts held that words were proper signifiers since they were capable of describing intellectually without the contamination and distraction of matter. At the iconoclastic council of 754, iconoclasts stated that “Christ” is a name that refers simultaneously to God and man; therefore, the name “Christ” is an “image” that contains reference to Christ as God and man with none of the futility and deception of the painters’ craft.⁵¹

49. See Underwood, “The Evidence for Restorations,” 240.

50. On this issue, see J.-M. Sansterre, “La parole, le texte et l’image selon les auteurs byzantins des époques iconoclastes et posticonoclastes,” in *Testo e immagine nell’alto medioevo*, Settimane vol. 41, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1994) I:197–243.

51. Mansi XIII:252A. See de’ Maffei, *Icona, pittore e arte*, 26ff.

The names of angels are also images in this view in that they refer as pure signifiers to transcendence and incomprehensibility.

The angels' standards with the Trisagion illustrate—paradoxically—other important tenets of iconoclastic theology. The Trisagion is derived from the seraphim of Isaiah (6:3) and Revelation (4:8), and very early entered Christian piety and liturgy. In the context of Nicaea, it denotes the iconoclastic definition of the seemingly verbal and ethical character of worship that iconoclasts held to be the essential elements in devotion.⁵² Iconoclasts had stated that meditation on scripture and divine words contained therein, at Nicaea Psalm 97:7, was the most appropriate and purest approach to knowledge of divine things. The priests were the fitting custodians of such truths, and iconoclasts cited approvingly Malachi 2:7: "For the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth: for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts."⁵³ The pastoral care of priests is emphasized here at Nicaea precisely in the public setting once decorated with figural images so denigrated by Severus. The communal aspect ought to be stressed here: the iconoclastic revisionists reveal themselves to be guardians of the "truth," that is, in this church they demonstrate their guidance, not just an intellectual ministering but an active, collective attendance. The danger of idolatry diminished considerably, and, their care therefore demonstrated, the iconoclastic clergy—presumably—at Nicaea also indicated the locus of their power and the source of their authority, the words of the gospels left untouched in the mosaic surface.

Finally, the program centered on a cross placed over earlier figural depiction. The cross has been interpreted as the iconoclastic sign *par excellence*, although it was not exclusive to the iconoclastic cause.⁵⁴

52. See M. V. Anastos, "The Ethical Theory of Images Formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815," *DOP* 8(1954):151–60.

53. See Mansi XIII:229E. On the issue of role of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in disseminating knowledge, see Sansterre, "La parole, le texte et l'image."

54. Bibliography and discussion found in L. Brubaker, "To Legitimize an Emperor: Constantine and Visual Authority in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," in *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries, Papers from the Twenty-sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St. Andrews, March 1992*, ed. P. Magdalino (Aldershot, 1994) 139–58.

The cross was a venerable sign of victory established by the unassailable precedent of Constantine the Great.⁵⁵ An epigram later quoted by the iconophile leader Theodore of Stoudios (759–826)⁵⁶ demonstrates both the political and devotional meanings of the cross for iconoclasts.⁵⁷ The epigram stated that the image (εἶδος) of Christ, voiceless, breathless and material has been taken down and replaced with the sign (τύπον) of the cross, thrice-blessed and glory of the faithful.

In this discussion of Nicaea, the opposition of image and sign on the bema arch and in the apse is of particular relevance. The illusionistic image of Christ, in an iconoclast's view, deceives through its attempts at describing a living, breathing being out of matter, and misleads the worshipper into adoring the image itself. The cross is an abstract sign, a true image, with no danger of devotional attachment that would lead to iconophile idolatry. The program in the church of the Dormition was altered in this way so that no risk existed of attachment to figured symbols—a paradoxical affinity that iconoclasts appear to have with the seminal theology of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (fl. ca. 500?). And, since no such abstract sign exists for angels, the inscriptions referring to angelic beings provided intellectual modes of comprehension and worship of bodiless beings.

At Nicaea, it is possible to see practice paralleling theory; the illusions of artists abhorred by iconoclasts were displaced in favor of purer signs, inscribed words. According to the iconoclastic definition of the real image, the image must be consubstantial with its prototype and this is clearly not possible for images of angels, given interpretations of their nature; only the eucharist can be a real image in

55. See A. Grabar, *L'iconoclisme byzantin. Dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957) 134ff. and J. Moorhead, "Iconoclasm, the Cross, and the Imperial Image," *B 55*(1985):65–79.

56. *Refutatio et subversio impiorum poematum*, PG 99:437C.

57. See Grabar, *L'iconoclisme byzantin*, 130, and Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III*, 113ff.: "The ruler does not tolerate that Christ be depicted [as] a voiceless shape and bereft of breath, with earthly matter, [which is] condemned by the Scriptures; Leo, with his son Constantine, marks the thrice-blessed image of the cross, the glory of the believers, upon the gates of the royal palaces" (trans. *ibid.*, 114–15). The first portion of the epigram is examined briefly in G. Peers, "Breathless, Speechless Images: On the Chalke Gate Epigram," in *Hommages Margaret Head Thomson*, *Cahiers des études anciennes*, vol. 32, ed. L. Finnette and A. P. Booth (Trois Rivières, Québec, 1998) 109–12.

this view.⁵⁸ Approach and worship must be intellectual, spiritual and verbal. Symbolic interpretation of images of formless beings has no place in this theology, only direct contemplation and ethical worth. A coherent theology of angels' representations can, therefore, be derived from the fragments of iconoclasts and their forerunners, and the traces of iconoclastic "images" of angelic beings at Nicaea. This theology is literal in its attitude to symbolic manifestation: as Macarius Magnes described it, angelic epiphanies are intellectual and dissembling, and it behooves the good Christian to behave as Abraham and worship these revelations through scripture, inwardly in the soul, and not bow down before any image or creature.

58. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Constantine V*, 45ff.

Three

REPRESENTING ANGELS

Images and Theory

The practice of image worship excited opposition in certain quarters, and the theologians examined in the previous chapter were reacting to existing images that they could not reconcile with their beliefs about worship and contemplation. The preceding chapter described a process of gaining knowledge of God and things divine that had great importance for the formation of the intellectual and theological climate in the period leading up to and including Iconoclasm. This process, recounted here in terms of its relation to one kind of image, namely of angels, depended primarily on intellectual, non-material avenues to spiritual truths; it is essentially non-figural.¹ The influential theologian Evagrius Ponticus (ca. 345–399) was convinced that the mind’s impulse to representation was a hindrance to proper devotion. In the opinion of Evagrius—and iconoclasts who belonged to the same theological tradition—material images were insurmountable hurdles to contemplation of divinity.²

1. Contrary to Cameron’s contention in “The Language of Images,” 28, not all Christian discourse was figural. The preceding chapter sought to demonstrate the slippery character of angels’ appearances and nature, and the resistance this excited among certain theologians with regard to figuring angels intellectually and materially.

2. See E. A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy. The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, 1992) 80ff.

Yet many Christians clearly accepted figured, material signs for contemplation and worship. This acceptance represents a mode of approach completely separate from the literalist, intellectual conception described in chapter 2. Moreover, it finds no defender of the magnitude of Epiphanius and, indeed, texts defending images of angels date only to the sixth century, after the death of Severus of Antioch. The development of attitudes to images of angels, then, would appear to conform to a pattern of practice first, followed by opposition and defense.³ However, Methodius of Olympus (d. ca. 311) described images of angels as positive testimony of honor and faith in God.⁴ The pattern of practice, opposition and defense is perhaps too generalized, then, to be allowed to characterize the period of the rise of icons. Nonetheless, this chapter seeks to outline the defense in examining texts concerning images of angels, beginning in the sixth century and concluding with a longer examination of the articulate and extensive justification of images of eighth- and ninth-century iconophiles.

APPROACHES TO SYMBOLIC IMAGES

The most influential theologian for the defense of symbolic images is Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (fl. ca. 500?). Despite the fact that these writings deal with verbal images and the comprehension of divine things through these images, all subsequent discussion of symbolic images, both verbal and visual, relied on his seminal theology.⁵ Pseudo-Dionysius explored the diverse scriptural passages that mentioned angelic epiphanies for pattern, unity and meaning, and, in his *Celestial Hierarchy*, he offered a comprehensive examination of God's spiritual creations within a highly structured and essentially allegorical framework. His work helped articulate approaches to material

3. The classic formulation of this point of view is E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm," *DOP* 8(1954):83–150.

4. See chapter 1.

5. See the Introduction, and Cameron, "The Language of Images," 24ff., and also her, "Byzantium and the Past in the Seventh Century: The Search for Redefinition," in *The Seventh Century. Change and Continuity. Proceedings of a joint French and British Colloquium held at the Warburg Institute 8–9 July 1988*, ed. J. Fontaine and J.N. Hillgarth (London, 1992) 268.

images found in the epigrams examined in this chapter, and it provided a framework within which iconophile theologians could rationalize non-representational, symbolic images of angels.

Pseudo-Dionysius stated that the angels are represented in scripture as a “concession to the nature of our own mind.”⁶ He was not speaking of images, but supporters of images understood a clear link between verbal and visual symbolism.⁷ Discussion of both verbal and visual symbolism concerns the negotiation of the means by which a Christian can come to a comprehension of God. Pseudo-Dionysius discussed one such means at great length, that is the symbolic significance of the angels and their appearances. In describing the meaning of Ezekiel’s angel which appeared in the form of four animals, for instance, Pseudo-Dionysius wrote an excursus on the meaning of their appearances as these varied beasts.⁸ The celestial intelligences took these forms, he says, because they intended to communicate obliquely some knowledge of their nature and duty. The angel took the form of a lion, for instance, to express domination, strength and unconquerability; the angel is represented as an ox because it had the “ability to plough deeply the furrows of knowledge”; the form of an eagle was assumed because of the angel’s “contemplation which is freely, directly, and unswervingly turned” to the divine light; and the form of the horse was taken on because of its “obedience and docility” which corresponds to the character of the angels.⁹ By this means, the angels imitate, as much as they are able, the secret of the ineffable divinity, and envelop themselves mysteriously so as to yield divine illumination.

6. *De coelesti hierarchia*, II.1, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, SC vol. 58, ed. G. Heil and M. de Gandillac (Paris, 1958) 74; Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *The Complete Works*, trans. C. Luibheid and P. Rorem (New York, 1987) 148. This contemplation of condescending symbols is also discussed in a question and answer guide from the second half of the sixth century; see J.-C. Guy, “Un *Entretien* monastique sur la contemplation,” *Recherches des sciences religieuses* 50 (1962):234–35, 238–39.

7. See, for example, Kitzinger, “The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm,” 137ff., and U. Jeck, “Ps. Dionysios Areopagites und der Bilderstreit in Byzanz: Überlegungen zur Dionysiosrezeption des Johannes von Damaskos,” *Hermeneia. Zeitschrift für ostkirchliche Kunst* 8 / 2 (1992):71–80.

8. *De coel. hier.*, XV.8, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 184–88.

9. *De coel. hier.*, XV.8, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 185–87.

According to Pseudo-Dionysius, symbols offer the primary access to God, as they are condescendences that render God accessible to incarnate intelligences. The angels then take on forms, figures and schemata that can fall to our senses and be more readily grasped and interpreted.¹⁰

That one has reason to attribute figures to that which is without figure, and forms to that which has no form ... is not sufficient. ... They require some appropriate elevations and that which has some affinity with our nature, so that consequently we are capable of gaining ourselves the figurations, which are accessible for us. ... But it must be said also that the thing which is hidden under unrevealing and sacred enigmas is suited most perfectly to the mysterious words, and to rendering inaccessible to most people, the holy and secret truth of the otherworldly spirits. For all persons are not saints, and, as scripture informs us, not all have knowledge (I Cor. 8:7).¹¹

The symbols provided by the celestial intelligences have, therefore, an educative role for those seeking greater knowledge of God. This process of contemplation is a simultaneous act of resistance to a complacency attached to matter, and it also involves a full engagement with the symbol itself, rather than a literal interpretation of the symbol.¹² By resistance to complacency, Pseudo-Dionysius meant that one must disengage the sensible images from all signification that is base or vulgar or simply natural which could alter or obscure the divine revelation borne by the images.¹³ The correct play of the

10. See R. Roques, "Introduction," in *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, xxi ff.

11. *De coel. hier.*, II.2, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 76–77.

12. Roques, "Introduction," xxi; A. Louth, *Denys the Areopagite* (Wilton, Conn., 1989) 46.

13. And see J. Derrida, "How to Avoid Speaking: Denials," in *Languages of the Unsayable. The Play of Negativity in Literature and Literary Theory*, ed. S. Budick and W. Iser, trans. K. Friedan (New York, 1989) 44: "A predicate can always conceal another predicate, or rather the nakedness of an absence of predicate—as the (sometimes indispensable) veil of a garment can at once dissimulate and reveal the very fact that it dissimulates and renders attractive at the same time. Hence the voice of an utterance can conceal another, which it then appears to quote without quoting it, presenting itself as another form, namely as a quotation of the other."

symbolism demands that the intelligence adhere openly and exclusively to the intelligible richness of the sensible images. This operation requires an effort of lucidity that discerns the true intelligible value of the image.¹⁴

The exigencies of catharsis and anagogy make humanity prefer the dissembling symbols to symbols that resemble.¹⁵ For the latter places humanity in danger of becoming attached to these things and therefore misled. With dissembling symbols, the effort of anagogy is almost inevitable and so there is no seduction or bonding. With these dissembling symbols of the angelic beings the means of interpretation is a prudent but difficult, and necessarily provisional, act of anagogy.

Every being, every element and every sensible quality can serve as a point of departure to intelligible contemplation and reveal some character of the celestial essences. The anthropomorphism of the angels is, properly speaking, a symbolic dissimulation. The angels take human form for symbolic reasons, that is, on account of humanity's powers of intellect.

But [the angels] are described in human form on account of [human] intelligence, and they have powers of sight directed upwards, and because [humans] have the upright . . . form, and the ability to lead and command according to nature, [because humans live] the least according to sensation as opposed to the other powers that lead illogical lives, and [human nature] masters all of it by the strength of its spirit, and by the dominance of the logical knowledge, and according to the free and unfettered nature of [the human] soul.¹⁶

Each symbol, then, is accessible by an act of exegesis and imparts an amount of intelligible information according to the worth and effort of the person contemplating.¹⁷ The value and the level of the symbol

14. Roques, "Introduction," xxii.

15. *De coel. hier.*, II, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 73–87.

16. *De coel. hier.*, XV.3, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 171–73.

17. *De coel. hier.*, XV, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 163–91.

are bound to the value and the level of the intelligence that uses it. Symbols are, therefore, essentially “cursive” and “mobile,” varying according to the order and receptivity of the intelligence.¹⁸ Pseudo-Dionysius’s position is based on an openness to symbolic interpretation; indeed, his theology demands it.

The ultimate goal of this process of symbolic interpretation is the empty and obscure site of incomprehension, “the brilliant darkness of a hidden silence,” “the truly mysterious darkness of unknowing.”¹⁹ The goal of Pseudo-Dionysius’s negative theology has striking parallels with Evagrius’s desired state of “apatheia” (ἀπάθεια).²⁰ Evagrius stated that the proper preparation for true contemplation of God and things divine was a humble emptying of the mind of all emotion and thought, especially of the figural kind.²¹ Pure prayer and contemplation can thus be accomplished in theory but only after all contaminating sensual “images” have been vanquished. For Pseudo-Dionysius, prayer too is necessary, as “a passage, a transfer, a translation.”²² Silent contemplation of scriptural signs, “secret manifestations” of God, is the route to knowledge of transcendent reality.

The two processes of Evagrius and Pseudo-Dionysius share similar goals in silent, empty contemplation of God, but Evagrius’s absolute

18. Roques, “Introduction,” xc.

19. Respectively, *De divinis nominibus*, XIII.1, PG 3:977B, *The Complete Works*, trans. C. Luibheid and P. Rorem, 135; and *De mystica theologia*, I.3, PG 3:1001A, *The Complete Works*, trans. C. Luibheid and P. Rorem, 137. And see, in general, on the negative theology of Pseudo-Dionysius, R. Mortley, *From Word to Silence. Vol. II. The Way of Negation, Christian and Greek*, Theophaneia, vol. 31 (Bonn, 1986) 229ff.

20. It might be said that Maximus Confessor (ca. 580–662) was a natural heir to both of these Church Fathers, indicating that the two systems of thought were reconcilable. Maximus was largely responsible for the dissemination of Areopagite theology in the east; see J. Pelikan, “Introduction,” in Maximus Confessor, *Selected Writings* (New York, 1985) 6. And in his description of the spiritual life and of pure prayer, Maximus clearly owed a debt to Evagrius; see M. Viller, “Aux sources de la spiritualité de S. Maxime: les oeuvres d’Evagre le Pontique,” *Revue d’ascétique et de mystique* 11(1930):156–84, 239–68, 331–36.

21. See Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, 83ff.

22. See, for example, *De div. nom.*, III.1, PG 3:680D. Quote in text from Derrida, “How to Avoid Speaking,” 41, and further: “Here prayer is not a preamble, an accessory mode of access. It constitutes an essential moment, it adjusts discursive asceticism, the passage through the desert of discourse, the apparent referential vacuity which will only avoid empty deliria and prattling by addressing itself from the start to the other, to you. But to you as ‘hyperessential and more than divine Trinity.’”

eschewing of signs and images as the steps to this goal is the point of departure from Pseudo-Dionysius's process of meditation on unknowable things. Pseudo-Dionysius marks a distinct path, therefore, in his simultaneous process of engagement with a symbol and denial of its literal worth. The path he described was widely influential in the sixth century and beyond. Indeed, the operations he describes influenced much of the theology developed in subsequent centuries, and later iconophile theories of devotion before material images clearly relied on Pseudo-Dionysius's description of approaches to divine things. Moreover, the influence of Pseudo-Dionysius was not restricted to abstract theological speculation; traces of his theology can also be discerned in actual practice as gleaned from a set of sixth-century epigrams.

Written about images of the Archangel Michael, these epigrams illustrate in a concrete way perceptions of images in the period immediately following Pseudo-Dionysius. They reveal a thematic thread linking Pseudo-Dionysius's theology concerning symbolic approaches to images of angels and perceptions of tangible material images. The theology and more popular understanding represented by these epigrams occupy the same conceptual ground: that an image makes material in a dissembling way an immaterial being for contemplative rather than descriptive purposes. This group of epigrams, therefore, parallels positions described in abstruse terms by iconophile theologians, and taken as a whole these different texts show a mode of gaining knowledge through images common to both theory and practice.

This small group of epigrams was composed as part of a larger anthology, gathered during the reign of Justin II, perhaps around 568, by Agathias (ca. 532–ca. 580).²³ Based on the antique model of the

23. See Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford, 1993) 16. However, R. C. McCail thought that this group of epigrams on images of angels originated outside of the cycle proper; see his "The *Cycle* of Agathias: New Identifications Scrutinised," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 89(1969):92ff. Furthermore, McCail dates the epigrams from a period ranging from 555 to 570, against Cameron who sees them as a coherent and contemporary group. See R. C. McCail, "On the Early Career of Agathias Scholasticus," *REB* 28(1970):142.

Garland written by Meleager (fl. ca. 60 B.C.E.), the epigrams were apparently written by a group of educated men on set topics and in similar styles. The collection is extant only because of a compilation made in about 900 by Constantine Cephalas. Its survival is of great importance as this cycle of epigrams provides remarkable evidence of attitudes to images of angels from the period preceding Iconoclasm.

In the first place, an image of the Archangel may be intended as a thank-offering for past benefit and as a request for future aid. Agathias wrote this epigram for an image of the Archangel at the Sosthenium near Constantinople:

Aemilianus of Caria and John with him, Rufinus of Alexandria and Agathias of Asia having completed the fourth year of their legal studies, O Archangel, dedicated to thee, O Blessed One, thy painted image, praying that their future may be happy. Make thyself manifest in the direction of their hopes.²⁴

The question of materiality is raised in this epigram to the extent that the Archangel's benign presence is beseeched through the lawyers' gift of depiction. The aim of materiality, the devotional goal of this epigram, is expressed more forcefully and more paradoxically in another epigram in the group. An epigram by Agathias on another image of the Archangel also expresses gratitude for the Archangel's intervention and protection but raises important issues of perception and depiction not brought up in the Sosthenium epigram:

24. *The Greek Anthology*, ed. W.R. Paton, 5 vols. (London, 1927) I:35. And see Averil Cameron, *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970) 5. Robin Cormack has discussed this epigram in connection with a newly discovered fresco from the theatre at Aphrodisias that he dates to the sixth century; see his "The Wall Painting of St. Michael in the Theatre," in *Aphrodisias Papers 2. The Theatre, a Sculptor's Workshop, Philosophers, and Coin Types*, ed. R. R. R. Smith and K. T. Erim (Ann Arbor, 1991) 115. And T. F. Mathews used this epigram to describe the creation of an "interior imprint" of a spiritual reality in the Byzantine viewer; however, he neglects the symbolic quality of likenesses of angels in favor of visual engagement and involvement. See his "Psychological Dimensions in the Art of Eastern Christendom," in *Art and Religion: Faith, Form and Reform, 1984 Paine Lectures in Religion*, ed. O. Overby (Columbia, Mo., 1986) 12ff.

“On a picture of Theodorus the Illustrious and twice Proconsul, in which he is shown receiving the insignia of office from the Archangel in Ephesus”: Forgive us, O Archangel, for picturing thee, for thy face is invisible; this is but an offering of men. For by thy grace Theodorus hath his girdle of a Magister, and twice won for his prize the Proconsular chair. The picture testifies to his gratitude, for in return he expressed the image of thy beauty.²⁵

The difficulty inherent in depicting the Archangel, and the referential quality that necessarily results in such depictions, is significant. Although the Archangel is by nature invisible, and in this way unperceivable, the image is made according to the means available to humanity. For this reason, the image is conditional and incomplete, but the image’s provisional quality, which the epigram states, is the crucial issue. The donor apologizes for the presumption of manufacturing an undepictable subject, since the image is only an approximation, but the image was made because the Archangel has made himself manifest, in some fashion, on the donor’s behalf. Commemorating the Archangel’s invisible guidance and protection, the image was clearly an emblem of angelic aid. The iconography of the Archangel—which one may safely assume was of the winged youth as celestial minister—is a sign for this watchful and benevolent presence.

The epigrams’ significant operation is the spiritual or intellectual contemplation that the material image initiates.²⁶ Agathias’s epigram

25. *The Greek Anthology*, I:36. See also P. Speck, “Ein Bild des Erzengels Michael in Ephesos (*Anthologia Palatina* I,36),” *Varia II, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑ*, vol. 6 (Bonn, 1987) 355–62; and also Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology*, 72ff. and 152ff.

26. R.C. McCail, “The Erotic and Ascetic Poetry of Agathias Scholasticus,” *B* 41(1971):246, rightly questions Kitzinger’s view of the process of comprehension that Agathias describes. For Kitzinger, the viewer looks at the image “as if” the figure represented were there. See “The Cult of Images Before Iconoclasm,” 147 n268. Clearly, however, Agathias’s intellectual approach uses the image as a bridge over which one travels for knowledge and communication, not as an embodiment of the model. McCail also points out that Agathias’s formulation of the passage of honor from image to prototype relies on sound patristic foundations, like the statement of Basil of Caesarea (ca. 329–379), “ἡ τῆς εἰκόνας τιμὴ ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτότυπον διαβαίνει” (*De Spiritu Sancto*, XVIII, *Traité du Saint-Esprit*, SC vol. 17 bis, ed. B. Pruche [Paris, 1968] 406).

is significant in this regard since the image is explicitly said to incite the mind to a “higher contemplation” by means of the image’s colors.²⁷ Agathias’s description of approach is paralleled by a contemporary epigram of Nilus Scholasticus. Nilus is equally aware of the difficulties involved in the capturing of a likeness and notes the “daring” quality of representation: “‘On an image of the Archangel’: How daring it is to picture the incorporeal! But yet the image leads us up to spiritual recollection of celestial beings.”²⁸ The process by which the mind is ferried to higher contemplation is stated succinctly in this epigram. The image, Nilus and Agathias both assert, is not a representation of the form of the Archangel in any essential way, but only an approximation of the formless Archangel. But by this representation of an unviewable being the image allows the viewer to reflect on the being itself. In fact, the image maintains a tentative, intellectual proximity of the ineffable being, otherwise unknowable and unapproachable. The image gives Agathias’s “confused veneration” a focus and an object. The material image provides, therefore, a paradoxical ability to conduct through the eyes a lucid contemplation of the unviewable, incomprehensible Archangel.

These epigrams ought to be seen, moreover, in the context of the increasing number of formulations of art’s role in worship in the course of the sixth century. The anagogical function of images of angels as described in these epigrams parallels the function of images in Christian worship that Hypatius of Ephesus (d. ca. 541) describes in a letter written to Julian, bishop of Atramyntium.²⁹ In Hypatius’s view, images should be admitted, albeit grudgingly, into Christian worship because they are a means by which the weaker and less spiri-

27. *The Greek Anthology*, I:34. On this epigram, see chapter 2.

28. *The Greek Anthology*, I:33.

29. See P.J. Alexander, “Hypatius of Ephesus: A Note on Worship in the Sixth Century,” *HTR* 45(1952):177–84, and S. Gero, “Hypatius of Ephesus on the Cult of Images,” in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults. Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, 4 vols. (Leiden, 1975) II:208–16; and G. Lange, *Bild und Wort. Die katechetischen Funktionen des Bildes in der griechischen Theologie des sechsten bis neunten Jahrhunderts*, Würzburg, 1969, 44ff. The text is found in F. Diekamp, *Analecta patristica. Texte und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Patristik*, *Orientalia christiana analecta*, vol. 117 (Rome, 1938) 127ff., and in H. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit vor dem Bilderstreit*, TU vol. 139 (Berlin, 1992) 320–21.

tually advanced in the community might come to some introductory knowledge of divine things. For this reason, Hypatius told his correspondent, he shuns material aids, but admits images into worship,

... because we permit each order of the faithful to be guided and led up to the divine being in a manner appropriate to it [the order] because we think that some people are guided even by these [gold, silver, etc.] towards the intelligible beauty and from the abundant light in the sanctuaries to the intelligible and immaterial light.³⁰

Hypatius also stated that the cherubim on the Ark of the Covenant were one example of God's providence condescending for the sake of the weaker members of his chosen people; in this way, God gave material guidance to know him better.³¹ The anagogical function of images as described in this letter bears striking similarities to the epigrams discussed above, and also in a general way to the neo-Platonism of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.³² These texts describe the spiritual elevation to divinity that signs, material and verbal, can provide for Christians. Yet Hypatius clearly saw a dichotomy between more advanced spirituality and the less perfect that depends upon these material signs, which Pseudo-Dionysius does not distinguish.

Evidently, sixth-century ecclesiastics and laymen alike, taking Hypatius and Agathias as examples, were grappling with the function and meaning of images in Christian worship. Hypatius was clearly

30. Diekamp, *Analecta patristica*, 128.26–30; trans. Alexander, "Hypatius of Ephesus," 180.

31. Alexander, "Hypatius of Ephesus," 179–80. The example of the cherubim presages the iconophile emphasis on God's prescription for the construction of the Ark and the cherubim; see below.

32. Kitzing thought the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius an important factor in the formulation of image theory such as Hypatius expounded in this letter to Julian. See "The Cult of Images Before Iconoclasm," 137–38. Jean Gouillard, "Hypatios d'Éphèse ou du Pseudo-Denys à Théodore Studite," *REB* 19(1961):72ff., was also struck by the coincidence in thought regarding symbolism and ascent to higher mysteries in both Hypatius and Pseudo-Dionysius. However, Gero sees only a general knowledge of platonic concepts in Hypatius, and concluded that Hypatius was drawing from the same well without direct dependence on Pseudo-Dionysius. See "Hypatius of Ephesus on the Cult of Images," 211–12.

ambivalent on the ultimate value of images but open-minded and willing to admit the usefulness of images in Christian pedagogy. Slightly later, Agathias is quite certain of the purpose of images in the elevation of the Christian mind toward divine things. The use of images as a means by which the worshipper remembers and venerates the person depicted is also a theme of the anti-Jewish literature of the seventh century, and it becomes a standard response to accusations of idolatry from non-Christians and iconoclasts alike. Pseudo-Athanasius, for instance, wrote that Christians do not honor the icons themselves, “But we only show forth our soul’s condition (σχέσιν) and love toward the form seen on the icon.”³³ And in his *Disputatio adversus Judaeos*, Anastasius Sinaïtes (d. ca. 700) said that Christians honor and imitate Christ and the saints through a material image as the Jews honor the power of the word through a material book.³⁴

The epigrams of Agathias and Nilus take a similar position with regard to honor passing to the prototype. They also show in their emphasis on “higher contemplation” of incomprehensible angels certain affinities with philosophical ideas associated with pagan neo-Platonism. For example, the language used by Porphyry (ca. 232–ca. 303) to rationalize the worship of pagan statues in his treatise

33. *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, XXXIX, PG 28:621B–D. See also Leontius of Neapolis, preserved in the writings of John of Damascus, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres*, PTS vol. 17, ed. P.B. Kotter (Berlin, 1975) 156–58; V. Déroche, “L’Apologie contre les Juifs de Léontios de Néapolis,” *TM* 12(1994):79ff.; *On the Divine Images. Three Apologies Against Those Who Attack the Divine Images*, trans. D. Anderson (Crestwood, N.Y., 1980) 41–42; *Trophies of Damascus (Les Trophées de Damas)*, PO vol. 15/2, ed. G. Bardy [Paris, 1920; rp. Louvain, 1973] 78.11ff.); the Armenian John Mayragometsi (S. Der Nersessian, “Une apologie des images du septième siècle,” *B* 17[1944/5]:60; and the Dialogue between the Jews, Papiscus and Philo, and a Monk (*Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew entitled ANTIBOLH ΠΑΠΙΣΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΩΝΟΥ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ ΗΠΟΣ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΝ ΤΙΝΑ*, ed. A.C. McGiffert [Marburg, 1889] 51–52).

See Lange, *Bild und Wort*, 188ff., K.A. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992) 40ff., and V. Déroche, “L’authenticité de l’Apologie contre les Juifs de Léontios de Néapolis,” *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 110(1986):661ff.

34. PG 89:1233C–6A. John Mayragometsi compares the ink used to write scripture and the pigments used to depict the saints. See Der Nersessian, “Une apologie des images du septième siècle,” 66–67.

“Concerning Idols” is closer to the epigrams’ conception of images of angels than the down-to-earth polemic of texts against Jews. Porphyry stated that pagan statues are simply wood and stone, but also images suited for human perception through which the learned are able to comprehend the deity.³⁵ This formulation of the use of images for gaining knowledge of transcendent beings is a clear forerunner of the philosophical defense of images of the sixth-century epigrams.³⁶ As he may well have been Macarius Magnes’s “opponent” in the *Apocriticus*, Porphyry’s views on symbolic images are directly relevant here. One can clearly discern in this pagan-Christian dialogue of the fourth century the beginnings of the later disagreement between neo-Platonic ideas of symbolic images and intellectual, non-material worship.³⁷ In fact, the differences between Porphyry and Macarius Magnes seen in that dialogue can be taken as emblematic

35. See J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre. Le philosophe néoplatonicien* (Gand and Leipzig, 1913; rpt. Hildesheim and New York, 1980) 143ff., text 1*–23*, F. Börtzler, *Porphyrius’ Schrift von den Götterbildern* (Erlangen, 1908) and C. Clerc, *Les théories relatives au culte des images chez les auteurs grecs du II^e siècle après J.-C.* (Paris, 1915) 253ff. The text on pagan statues is preserved in the third book of Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Praeparatio Evangelica*, GCS vol. 43, 2d ed., ed. K. Mras (Berlin, 1975). The connection between pagan defense of statues and Christian defense of image worship was noted by A. Grabar, *L’iconoclasm byzantin. Dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957) 138ff., and P.J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople. Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1958) 27ff.

36. See Lange, *Bild und Wort*, 182ff. Leslie Brubaker, “Icons Before Iconoclasm?” in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo*, *Settimane* vol. 45, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1998) II:1226–27, 1231, argues for the increased importance of the transparent image in the mid-sixth century, but a case can surely be made for continuity of this idea in Late Antiquity.

37. A. Harnack, *Kritik des Neues Testaments von einem griechischen Philosophen des 3. Jahrhunderts. Die in Apocriticus des Macarius Magnes enthaltene Streitschrift*, TU vol. 37/3 (Leipzig, 1911); G. Bardy, in *DTC* IX:1459. Macarius’s opponent defended pagan statues in this way: “Since it is then acknowledged that the angels share in the divine nature, those that make proper reverence to the respected gods do not think that it is the god, the image that is fashioned out of wood or stone or bronze, nor if some portion of the image should be cut off, do they believe that a portion of God’s power is subtracted. It should be called to mind that the images and temples were constructed by the ancients, that on account of coming hither the believers were brought to remembrance of God, when they go there, and being purified generally and offering devotion and supplication, and for what things they desired they asked from the gods. For even if someone makes an image of a friend, certainly one does not think that his friend is in it nor does one think that a part of the body is enclosed in the sections of the representation, but honour for the friend is shown through the image” (Blondel 200.12–22).

as the conceptual differences generally separating the defenders and opponents of images of angels under discussion in this study. The writers of the epigrams were clearly influenced by neo-Platonic ideas on images in their emphasis on the ascent of the mind to a higher reality through matter; in particular, Pseudo-Dionysius provided these writers with a suitably Christian framework for these neo-Platonic concepts. While these writers of the sixth-century epigrams, as well as Hypatius of Ephesus, have real affinities with the anti-Jewish theologians of the seventh century, they used more rarefied and subtle descriptions of intellectual processes involved in viewing images derived from direct contact with neo-Platonist ideas.³⁸

Agathias's epigrams are also marked by an element of defensiveness that leads one to think that the place of images in worship and devotion was not resolved in every Christian's mind. Images had been perceived more and more as incontrovertible proofs and venerable recollections by some Christians,³⁹ but the opposition discussed in the previous chapter reveals that certain church officials resisted with equal force the use of images in worship.⁴⁰ In this context, Agathias was not alone in seeing the representation of angels as "daring." And in the sixth century, John of Gaza also wrote of the undaunted artists who strove to depict such bodiless beings. In his description of paintings in a bath house at Gaza, John describes the artists as "boiling with boldness" and "made drunk in mind" in delineating the

38. The relation between pagan apologetics, such as Porphyry's defense of images, and Byzantine image theory was described with great economy by N. H. Baynes, "Idolatry and the Early Church," in his *Byzantine and Other Studies* (London, 1955) 116–43.

39. For example, A. D. Kartsonis, in *Anastasis. The Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986) 58–59, discusses Anastasius Sinaïtes's view that images are theological proofs that cannot be falsified. Also, Canon 82 of the Council of Trullo (692) stated a belief in the ability of art to express truths about the divinity and incarnation of Christ: "in order that the perfect should be set down before everybody's eyes even in painting, we decree that [the figure of] the Lamb, Christ our God, who removes the sins of the world, should henceforward be set up in human form on images also, in the place of the ancient lamb, inasmuch as we comprehend thereby the sublimity of the humiliation of God's Word, and are guided to the recollection of His life in flesh, His Passion and His salutary Death and the redemption which has thence accrued to the world." See Mansi XI:977BC; trans. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453. Sources and Documents* (Toronto, 1986) 139–40.

40. See Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm," 139, and McCail, "The Erotic and Ascetic Poetry of Agathias Scholasticus," 241ff.

heavenly powers, that is “to lend body to bodiless nature.”⁴¹ Clearly, in the minds of some Christians, representing angels existed as an issue that was propelled by material images on view and in devotion. The embodying of angelic powers, begun in Christian art as early as the second century, remained an issue into the sixth century and grew in importance as images became increasingly prominent in cult practice. The issue of how one came to knowledge of angelic beings persisted as an element in the debates over worship and images of the period preceding Iconoclasm, and drew particular attention when the debates reached a head in the mid-eighth century as iconophile theologians turned their attention to the theory and practice of devotion to images.

THE ICONOPHILE THEORY OF SYMBOLIC IMAGES OF ANGELS

Commentary on images of angels did not appear again until the eighth-/ninth-century iconophile defense arose in reaction to the iconoclastic attack on religious images. The elaborate defense of images arose as circumstances demanded, but the striking parallels between iconophile theology and the epigrams discussed above must be seen as a sign of continuity in basic approach to images of angels. In the debates over worship and symbolism that were central to the development of Byzantine theology in the sixth and seventh centuries, a consistent feature was an acceptance of images of angels as means, albeit partial, to a comprehension of God’s spiritual servants. Dependent on earlier writings, iconophile theology is the most comprehen-

41. See P. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius. Kunstbeschreibungen justinianischer Zeit* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912; rp. Hildesheim and New York, 1969) 135.12–136.25. Abstract theological concepts, like the Trinity, are also depicted in this program. According to John of Gaza, a cross within three concentric circles referred to the Trinity. See Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius*, 137.41–138.44; and H. Maguire, *Earth and Ocean. The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (University Park and London, 1987) 12–13, 20–21. This symbolic mode of depicting the Trinity parallels Philoxenus’s scruples concerning depiction of the Holy Spirit, as discussed in the previous chapter; see McCail, “The Erotic and Ascetic Poetry of Agathias Scholasticus,” 245, who speculated that the misgivings of Philoxenus of Mabbug, Severus of Antioch and John of Gaza concerning images of angels may have derived from the influence of the Christian university at Gaza.

sive treatment of the significance of such images in worship, and because of its articulation and extensiveness this image theory needs detailed examination. Moreover, theory helps shed light on the meaning of the ninth-century restoration of the mosaics of the angelic powers in the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea (Iznik), and this chapter ends by examining these mosaics with regard to the exchange between word and image.

That images could lead viewers from the visible to knowledge of the invisible, however incomplete, was a primary defense of images for iconophiles.⁴² The faculty of sight was a necessary element in iconophile justifications of images in worship, and, although the ultimate goal was to transcend the material assistance that images afforded, vision was defined as a fundamental means of facilitating

42. For instance, in the eighth-century *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, the process is set out in one passage in the form of a fictional dialogue between an iconophile and an iconoclast. In the dialogue, the iconophile rhetorically asks the iconoclast how he himself would teach a stranger all the mysteries of their faith. The iconophile protests that one cannot be led to the higher mysteries of the invisible things without some kind of material prop or demonstration, "For if you said to him, 'It is invisible,' what has he seen that he should put trust in your conscience and faith?" The first thing one must do is build on sensible things so that in this way, little by little, one is led to invisible things. The didactic function of the material image is clearly emphasized in this passage, since the education and conversion of the stranger is accomplished by means of the images themselves. See *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, X, PG 95:325C–8B, and also P. Speck, *Ich bin's nicht, Kaiser Konstantin ist es gewesen. Die Legenden vom Einfluß des Teufels, des Juden und des Moslem auf den Ikonoklasmus*, *ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑ*, vol. 10 (Bonn, 1990) 402. The text begins this way: "You take him into the church. You reveal to him the world which surrounds him. You open up for him the forms of the figures of the holy icons. This unbeliever sees and he says, 'Who is this crucified? Who is this rising and who is trampling upon the head of this old man?' Do you not teach him from the icons, saying, 'This crucified man, he is the son of God, who was crucified for the sins of the world? This risen man, it is he who raises the forefather of the world, Adam, who fell because of disobedience, and he went into Hades, where he was held these many years kept in chains and by unbreakable bars in these nether regions?' And in this way do you lead this man in to the knowledge of God. Again, you lead him to the font of the baptism. And he sees only water in the font, you the faithful one behold the water, and see light and spirit. When he has partaken of baptism, then he takes the truth from the senses, and applies them to the invisible ungenerated. If you offer the mystery of the body and blood of the Saviour, he sees bread and wine only. And you see the body and blood of Christ which flows from the undefiled source. And if he becomes worthy, he partakes with you." On this text, see also M.-F. Auzépy, "L'*Adversus Constantinum Caballinum* et Jean de Jérusalem," *BS* 56(1995):323–38.

knowledge. John of Damascus (ca. 675–ca. 750), for instance, was strongly in favor of the comprehension that comes through the faculty of sight: “Sensation is the strength of the soul returned from matter, and therefore discernment. Sensory moreover are the organs.... The first sense is sight.”⁴³ Hearing and the other faculties follow in descending order of importance. John of Damascus was the first great opponent of iconoclastic doctrine and for that was anathematized at the iconoclastic council of Hiereia in 754. John of Damascus’s image theory was perhaps not as sophisticated as that of such later opponents of iconoclasm as Nicephorus (ca. 750–828), Theodore of Stoudios (759–826) and Photius (ca. 810–d. after 893), but almost all the arguments regarding angels found in these ninth-century theologians can be seen in some form in John of Damascus’s work. Through John of Damascus, the general reliance on the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius is evident in iconophile theory. As John and other iconophiles stated, images may serve as sensible symbols, as Pseudo-Dionysius put it, that lead the worshipper to comprehension of the divine, because of the particular qualities of the sense of the sight.

43. *Expositio fidei*, II.18, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. II Expositio fidei*, PTS vol. 12, ed. P.B. Kotter (Berlin, 1973) 83–84. John of Damascus is typical, in this way, of iconophile stress on the importance of the sense of sight. For instance, the author of the *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, again, is explicit about the importance of sight and images for convincing the viewer of the truth and magnitude of doctrine; the means is again an engagement with an “iconic imprint,” but with real emotional compulsion. See VIII, *PG* 95:324C–5A. The Second Council of Nicaea in 787 was equally explicit about the role of the images and sight in spiritual development. The Fathers of the Council stated that the outlines and the representations of the apostles, martyrs, saints and holy persons are there “so we are led to remember, attend, and participate in their holiness.” See Mansi XIII:132E. Elsewhere it is stated that hearing of the appearance of the angel to the Virgin we call the event to mind, and yet “seeing the icon in this way we consider the consequences of the thing more manifestly.” See Mansi XIII:269C. And, finally, Nicephorus defended visual perception but in a more “scholastic” way, according to his method of discourse, “For we all know that sight is the most honoured and necessary of the senses and it may allow apprehension of what falls under perception more distinctly and sharply; for ‘it is the nature of that which is heard to travel less quickly than that which is seen,’ and seeing will attract faster than the other senses since it also has the attractive power to a larger degree.” See *Refutatio et eversio*, 119, *Nicephori patriarchae constantinopolitani Refutatio et eversio definitionis synodalis anni 815*, Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, vol. 33, ed. J. Featherstone (Louvain, 1997) 211.56–62, trans. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 211.

If iconophiles considered the anagogical and didactic function of images to be securely established, they needed to address other equally pressing iconoclastic accusations. In particular, Christological issues, which iconoclasts had already raised, became central for iconophiles;⁴⁴ and images of angels were used primarily as supports for the iconophile position on representing Christ. If this central Christological issue was the reason for the introduction of angels into these arguments, defense of images of angels soon diverged from the Christological path into new territory. It will become clear in the course of this chapter that this divergence occurred because of Christ's earthly life which the angels could not share.

In John of Damascus's theology, which typifies iconophile writing, Christ's life incarnate is the primary justification for representation. In turn, the incarnation had renewed a bond between God and humanity and initiated a new dispensation that images of Christ assert. The angels were brought into these arguments because they too appeared on earth and were apprehended in time and place. Description of the means by which their formless and immaterial nature was apprehended is the point at which justification of their images parts from the defense of Christ's images.

Important for the defense of Christ's representability was the definition of circumscription. The opponents of images had equated circumscription and painting so that the two were inseparable. This equation effectively ruled out the possibility of making images of Christ since the making of an image would presume that an essential aspect of the subject had been captured. And for God who is ineffable, capturing any part of his essence on an image is clearly impossible: God is simply uncircumscribable. From the beginning, then, the iconophile counterattack was centered on the definition of circumscription as distinct from painting, and circumscription, therefore, became a primary support in iconophile theory for the ability to represent spiritual beings.

44. Christology was central for western image theory, too, although anagogy was not a prescribed method of viewing. See H. L. Kessler, "Real Absence: Early Medieval Art and the Metamorphosis of Vision," in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo*, Settimane vol. 45, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1998) II:1157–1213.

John of Damascus first discussed circumscription as a chief defense for the representations of Christ.⁴⁵ Angels were invoked and discussed in this connection in order to support the Christological argument for images. Angels substantiated the depiction of Christ because they are intellectual and bodiless, but apprehended in time and space, and thus circumscribable. Despite their nature, therefore, they can be depicted. John of Damascus wrote:

They are circumscribable. For when they are in heaven they are not on earth; and when they are sent to earth by God, they do not remain in heaven. They are not bound by walls or doors or keys or seals. For they are unbounded. I say that they are invisible; for not as they are do they appear to the worthy to whom God desires that they appear, but they see [the angels] altered, just as they are able to perceive. For only [God] is truly unbounded, only he is uncreated. For all creation is made finite by being created by God.⁴⁶

However, angels have particular problems attendant upon their nature since they have no visible form and change according to the situation:

God created them in his own image, of nature bodiless, wind, as it were, or immaterial fire, as the divine David said, “[God] who

45. *Orationes de imaginibus tres*, II.5, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. III, 71–72; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 52–53: “If we attempted to make an image of the invisible God, this would be sinful indeed. It is impossible to portray one who is without body: invisible, uncircumscribed, and without form. Again if we made images of humans and believed them to be gods, and adored them as if they were so, we would be truly impious. We do neither of these things. But we are not mistaken if we make the image of God incarnate, who was seen on earth in the flesh, associated with humanity, and in his unspeakable goodness assumed the nature, feeling, form, and colour of our flesh. For we yearn to see how he looked, as the apostle says, ‘Now we see through a glass darkly’ (I Cor. 13:12). Now the icon is also a dark glass, fashioned according to the limitations of our physical nature.”

46. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. II, 45. And also, “Physical things which have shape, bodies which are circumscribed, and have colour, are suitable subjects for image-making. Nevertheless, even if nothing physical or fleshly may be attributed to an angel, or a soul, or a demon, it is still possible to depict and circumscribe them according to their nature. For they are intellectual beings, and are believed to be present invisibly and to operate spiritually” (*De imag. or.*, III.24, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. III, 130–31; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 78).

maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a flaming fire” (Ps. 104:4).
[And he made them] ethereal, and ardent, and fervent, and incisive,
and penetrating, according to the divine will, calling them servants,
and ascendent, and free from all knowledge of material things.⁴⁷

According to John of Damascus, the angels are intellects, ceaselessly moving, who are in places which are intelligible. But their nature is such that they cannot be circumscribed corporeally, he said, as they are not formed corporeally by nature, nor are they three dimensional. Rather, they appear and perform intellectually where they are commanded to be by God, and nowhere else.⁴⁸ Unlike Christ they have no stable, earthly form, and yet, since they are still within the boundaries of John of Damascus’s definition of circumscription, they may be depicted. John of Damascus’s definition depends largely on the ability of the angels to occupy place, that is, to be corporeal enough to have limit and circumference:

And the angel while he is contained in a place somatically, has form and outline. It is said that he is in a place, because he is present intellectually and operates according to his nature, and is not elsewhere, but is circumscribed in that way intellectually, there in that place where he operates. For it is not possible according to this for him to operate in different places. Only God can operate everywhere at once. And the angel, quick by nature, and traveling speedily and readily, operates in different places. God being ubiquitous and over everything, by this operates differently by a single, simple operation.⁴⁹

It is characteristic of angelology, and iconophiles were no exception, that the distinction between God and his messengers must be maintained, as well as the discrimination of the nature of humanity and of the angels.

47. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. II, 45.

48. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. II, 47.

49. *Exp. fid.*, I.13, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. II, 38.

Therefore the angel is an intellectual being in perpetual motion, of free will, bodiless, serving God, having received an immortal nature according to grace, of which nature the form and definition is known only to the Creator. It is said that an angel is bodiless and immaterial but only in relation to us. For everything measured against God, who alone is incomparable, is found base and material. God alone is naturally immaterial and bodiless.⁵⁰

Because they share some spiritual characteristics with the divine nature, however, angels were useful parallels for the entry of Christ into the world. This parallel supported the iconophile contention that divinity can be represented because it had appeared on earth. Angels occupy the middle area—as a kind of third body—in nature somewhere between God and humanity, but with a nature not fully determinable. If beings as immaterial and unparticipating as the angels can be circumscribed and depicted, then Christ incarnate should surely be circumscribed as human, and depicted as such.

The notion of circumscribability of the angels was derived from a context not properly concerned with iconophile theology nor properly speaking with Christology, but rather with the problematic nature and role of the angels.⁵¹ John of Damascus's innovation was to

50. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. II, 45.

51. For instance, Gennadius of Marseilles, who died between 492 and 505, wrote that all creatures are to some extent corporeal, even the intellectual creatures of God. The proof of this is that all these creatures can be circumscribed in place, just as the soul which is enclosed in flesh and the demons who are in nature similar to the angels. Only God however is truly incorporeal and invisible by nature. God is rightly thought to be incorporeal because he is everywhere and infuses all creation with his presence (*De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, XI, PL 58:984A).

And in the fifth century, Faustus Rhegiensis wrote in a similar vein, "I would not even doubt that the angels are in places, who are certainly now compassed by the heavens, now borne by the empty space of the ether, now descending to earth; who the divine sermon describes in the vision of the patriarch ascending and descending, at any rate as if they were not in one place; but they are not able to be present everywhere and by ascent and descent depart. The most blessed Gabriel himself, who is known to stand before God himself, when he announced to Mary that the Lord was to be mingled with flesh, and when he assisted the mother under divine vigilance, without a doubt he was not in heaven, he was not flying somewhere over Mary, and he was not filling that great diffuse emptiness of the endless ether, but he was occupying that place, in which he was. Since it is like that, anything that occupies space is a body, how could someone not be confined to a place who is sent from

recognize the angels and their circumscription as a positive support for Christ's circumscription. The link with these qualities of circumscription and the making of images had not yet been developed to the same degree as it would be by ninth-century theologians, but the essential link had been made by John of Damascus a century or so previously.

The iconophiles arrived at a conclusion concerning the relation of angels' images to their bodiless models by examining art authorized and produced under the Old Covenant. They established an iconophile argument of the divinely ordained worship of images, and the relation of image and prototype that God himself stated, by referring to God's commands to Moses in Exodus. Iconoclasts had cited God's injunction not to make graven images (Ex. 20:4) as an argument against Christian images at the first stage of Iconoclasm in the second quarter of the eighth century. This charge, and the iconophile response, is not particular to the Iconoclast controversy but was an extension of the pagan-Jewish "debates," as argued in such seventh-century anti-Jewish texts of Stephen of Bostra and Leontius of Neapolis.⁵² Indeed, John of Damascus cited both these theologians in his treatise directed against the attackers of images.⁵³

place to place, and as if the body is transported by movement and ascent, descends with effort, moves with mobility, goes, returns, is remote, and descends again" (*Epistolae*, III, in *Fausti Reiensis Praeter sermones pseudo-eusebianos opera*, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vol. 21, ed. A. Engelbrecht [Prague, Vienna and Leipzig, 1891] 178).

The issue of circumscription continued to be discussed throughout the Byzantine period in examinations of angels' nature and their role in the cosmic hierarchy. For instance, see Nicetas Stethatos (1005?–ca. 1090), in *Opusculi et litterae*, SC vol. 81, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1961) 252, and Symeon of Thessalonike (d. 1429), *Responsa ad Gabrielem Pentapolitanum*, III, PG 155:841A.

52. See Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 33ff.

53. Stephen of Bostra in *De imag. or.*, III.71–73, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, III, 174. See also G. Mercati, *Opere minori*, Studi e testi, vol. 76 (Vatican City, 1937) 202–206, and A. Alexakis, "Stephen of Bostra: *Fragmenta Contra Iudaeos* (CPG 7790). A New Edition," *JöB* 43(1993):45–60, text at 51ff.

Leontius of Neapolis in *De imag. or.*, III.84–89, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, III, 178–81, Déroche, "L'Apologie contre les Juifs," 79ff. Leontius was also cited at Nicaea II; see Mansi XIII:44B ff., and Déroche, "L'Apologie contre les Juifs," 66ff.

See also the seventh-century Armenian defense of John Mayragometsi, in Der Nersessian, "Une apologie des images du septième siècle," 59.

The cherubim, as paradigms of angelic beings, occupy a central place in iconophile rationalizations of images, and angels generally become implicated in these rationalizations because of the cherubim's prominent role in the iconophile version of the Christian history of art. The responses of both the Christian combatants in these anti-Jewish texts and the iconophile theologians directly implicate images of angels and so brought the example of the cherubim to the fore in iconophile responses. The iconophile rebuttal, as in the anti-Jewish texts, was to cite scripture in return, principally God's command to Moses to construct the Ark of the Covenant (Ex. 25:22): "And there will I meet with thee, and I will commune with thee from above the mercy seat from between the two cherubims which are upon the Ark of the testimony, of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel." God's specific command for the Ark, with lengthy, explicit instructions on its manufacture, was presented as a typology of Christian art. John of Damascus cited the tabernacle as an injunction for the creation of material images for Christians, and he introduced Bezaleel as the archetypical artist inspired by the spirit of God. John of Damascus referred to Exodus (31:1–5) for support:

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, See, I have called by name Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah: and I have filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver and in brass, and in cutting of stones for setting, and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship.

And John of Damascus continued by citing the gathering of the material for Moses's construction of the Ark (Ex. 35:4–10), and then rhetorically asked if this manufacture of images was not done according to God's will: "Behold the handiwork of humanity becoming the likeness of the cherubim! How can you make the law a reason for refusing to do what the law itself commands?" He concluded that be-

cause Christ had become human the ancient commandment against idols had been annulled.⁵⁴

The cherubim were directly mentioned by God in his specifications for the Ark (Ex. 25:18–20), and the cherubim were the most important example for iconophiles generally of an explicit command by God to produce figured images.⁵⁵ Nicephorus used the artistic typology of the Ark as a sign of the divine origins of image making. The cherubim that were placed upon the Ark, in this way, became for Nicephorus a primary focus in the argument for images deriving from scriptural precedent. Moreover, Nicephorus in his discussion of the cherubim used them as the paradigms of the nature of angelic beings. The cherubim were placed high in his heavenly hierarchy by the necessity of his argument, in a position which is closest to God in station and image. At certain points in his discussion of cherubim, Nicephorus skated dangerously close to heretical angelology since Christ was seriously underestimated as the principal agent of mediation between God and humanity.⁵⁶

Yet the consequent immateriality of the cherubim's nature was another way for Nicephorus to bridge the gap between the difficulty of

54. *De imag. or.*, I.16, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III*, 92; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 25. And see also, in the same vein, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III*, 96–101. And on the question of the Tabernacle and the iconophile defense of images, see S. Dufrenne, “Une illustration ‘historique,’ inconnue, du Psautier du Mont-Athos, Pantocrator No. 61,” *CA* 15(1965):83–95, H. L. Kessler, “Through the Temple Veil: The Holy Image in Judaism and Christianity,” *Kairos* 32/33(1990/1):60ff., and Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 33ff.

55. For a use of the cherubim to underpin iconophile arguments, beyond those discussed *infra*, see *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilus and Related Texts*, ed. J. A. Munitiz, J. Chrysostomides, E. Harvalia-Crook and Ch. Dendrinos (Camberley, 1997) 33.5–16 (7.e).

The cherubim were also a concern of western programmers and theologians. See L. Nees, “Image and Text: Excerpts from Jerome’s ‘De Trinitate’ and the *Maiestas Domini* Miniature of the Gundohinus Gospels,” *Viator* 18(1987):11–17, A. Grabar, “Les mosaïques de Germigny-des-Prés,” in his *L’art de la fin de l’Antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1968) II:995–1006, and A. Freeman, “Theodulf of Orleans and the Libri Carolini,” *Speculum* 32(1957):663–705.

56. See V. N. Giannopoulos, “Ἡ περὶ ἁγγέλων διδασκαλία τοῦ Πατριάρχου καὶ Ὁμολογητοῦ Νικηφόρου Α’ (+829),” *Θεολογία* 44(1973):328. On Nicephorus’s angelology, see also J. Travis, *In Defense of the Faith. The Theology of Patriarch Nikephoros of Constantinople* (Brookline, Mass., 1984) 30–43.

apprehension, which might seem to be incompatible with circumscription, and the fact of representation as commanded by God himself. The quality of the cherubim, and the rest of the angelic hierarchy, is such that humanity is incapable of perceiving them directly; their true nature is unviewable.⁵⁷ And yet God has allowed them, by means of a divine condescension, to be depicted in a “terrestrial impression.”⁵⁸ These “impressions” are clearly distinct from Christ’s own appearance on earth in which he was really made flesh and suffered as a human being.⁵⁹ In this view, images of angels are transcriptions of angelic appearances in a dissimulating way; they denote only the symbolic condescension and alteration of form for inferior human perception.

Aware of the distinctions between images of angels and Christ, John of Damascus and Nicephorus and other iconophile theologians were compelled to rationalize the obvious disjuncture between angels’ formlessness and their form on images. John of Damascus described the mutability of the angels in this way, “Therefore [the angelic nature] is a logical nature, both intellectual and autonomous, changeable at will or inclination.”⁶⁰ And also, “They are transformed for such things as the Lord God wills, and in this way they appear to humanity and reveal holy mysteries to it.”⁶¹ Despite the fact that the angels are changeable, unpredictable and ultimately un-

57. *Apologeticus pro sacris imaginibus*, 70, PG 100:769A, “For you might say somehow like this, as we know well, that the godly cherubim since they are invisible by nature, are scarcely perceptible by humanity.”

58. Humanity is incapable of seeing intelligible beings like the angels directly, and out of his beneficence God has commanded, “that the most blessed aspects of the heavenly powers are made manifest in symbolic impressions” (*Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:777C). Furthermore the command given to Moses in Ex. 25:40 is an example of God’s providence. The cherubim mediate “the beneficent progressions of divine providence to others positioned below them and take on likenesses because of the function they perform, and in these, which are likenesses made on earth, are allowed due to divine condescension” (*Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:776A).

59. On the opacity of images of Christ for Theodore of Stoudios, see G. Peers, “Breathless, Speechless Images: On the Chalke Gate Epigram,” in *Hommages Margaret Head Thomson*, Cahiers des études anciennes, vol. 32, ed. L. Finneté and A.P. Booth (Trois Rivières, Québec, 1998) 111–12.

60. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, II, 45.

61. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, II, 47.

knowable, John of Damascus justified their images as allusive and symbolic signs.

God wills that we should not be totally ignorant of bodiless creatures, and so he clothed them with forms and shapes, and used images comprehensible to our nature, material forms which could be seen by the spiritual nature of the mind. From these we make images and representations, for how else could the cherubim be shown as having form?⁶²

According to John of Damascus, images of angels are made with wings because these images are comprehensible to inferior human perception. Human perception is able to approach the image at a spiritual and not a literal level, in order to unlock the meaning behind its enigmatic demonstration of angelic nature. In this passage, John of Damascus gave a definition of relation of image and prototype wherein images have no ability to describe their model visually, only to provide intellectual means for the viewer to apprehend spiritually an otherwise unknowable creature.

Defining the precise quality of the relation between images and their prototypes, and consequently what this quality meant for understanding images, was an especially knotty problem in defending the representations of angels. John of Damascus's definition of relation determined, to a certain extent, the course of the theological discussion. For iconoclasts, of course, any relation of prototype to image was considered impossible because iconoclasts defined a true image as consubstantial with the prototype. John of Damascus, in contrast, denied that the image was able to have any essential relation with its prototype.

An image is of like character with its prototype, but with a certain difference. It is not like the archetype in every way. The Son is the living, essential, and precisely similar image of the invisible God,

62. *De imag. or.*, III.24, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 132; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 79.

bearing the entire father within himself, equal to him in all things, except that he is begotten by him, the begetter.⁶³

The first kind of image for John of Damascus is the natural image.⁶⁴ The other images, and John of Damascus enumerated six more, are non-essential, artificial images.⁶⁵ The fourth kind includes the angels who do not relate to their images essentially, but rather symbolically and intangibly:

These [images] give us a faint apprehension of God and the angels where otherwise we would have none, because it is impossible for us to think immaterial things unless we can envision analogous shapes, as the great and holy Dionysius the Areopagite has said.⁶⁶

John of Damascus stated that the image and prototype are related in the case of the angels and God only in an indistinct and referential way, that affords human intellect some glimpse of incomprehensible matters. Images are therefore an important means by which knowledge of God, and of his manifestations and creations, is initiated and increased. According to John of Damascus, images are an incomplete but necessary reference and aid to better knowledge of the unknowable things of God:

Again, visible things are corporeal models which provide a vague understanding of intangible things. Holy scripture describes God and the angels as having descriptive form, and the same blessed Dionysius teaches us why. Anyone would say that our inability im-

63. *De imag. or.*, I.11, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. III, 83–84; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 19.

64. *De imag. or.*, III.15ff., *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. III, 126ff.; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 74ff.

65. On these types, see the remarks of M. Barasch, *Icon. Studies in the History of an Idea* (New York and London, 1992) 220–36. One should add that his discussion of angels, *ibid.*, 236–43, along with J. Pelikan, *Imago Dei. The Byzantine Apologia for Icons* (Princeton, 1990) 153–82, has much usefulness.

66. *De imag. or.*, III.21, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. III, 128; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 76.

mediately to direct our thoughts to contemplation of higher things makes it necessary that familiar everyday media be utilized to give suitable form to what is formless, and make visible what cannot be depicted, so that we are able to construct understandable analogies.⁶⁷

Like Pseudo-Dionysius, John of Damascus argued for material signs as a necessary step to intellectual contemplation of immaterial reality. Paradoxically, “descriptive form” which does not have an essential relation to angels or God is provided for humanity’s weak understanding so that analogies proper to human intellect can be made.

Nicephorus asserted a highly intellectualized association of image and angelic prototype that was stricter and more articulated than that offered by John of Damascus.⁶⁸ He defined the angelic nature as “simple and incomposite”;⁶⁹ furthermore, the angels are “unseeable by corporeal eyes,” and bodiless and invisible and without form.⁷⁰ The angels are invisible exactly because they are “beyond and unparticipating in their shapes and forms.”⁷¹ However, the angels’ special quality of unviewability compelled Nicephorus to reconcile the many instances of appearances in scripture and angelic nature.⁷² Nicephorus thus claimed that the angels did not reveal their real nature, but rather effected a symbolic transformation that was analogous to the particular need of the moment.⁷³ God himself has ordained and created the angels because he knows well humanity’s

67. *De imag. or.*, I.11, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III*, 84–85; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 20.

68. See C. von Schönborn, *Licône du Christ. Fondements théologiques élaborées entre le Ier et le IIer Concile de Nicée (325–787)* (Fribourg, 1976) 206ff.

69. *Antirrheticus II adversus Constantinum Copronymum*, ix, PG 100:349B. See M.-J. Mondzain[-Baudinet], *Nicéphore le Patriarche: Discours contre les iconoclastes* (Paris, 1990) and *Image, icône, économie. Les sources byzantines de l’imaginaire contemporain* (Paris, 1996) 281–92, for translations of this text.

70. *Ant. II adv. Const. Cop.*, xi, PG 100:353A; and see Giannopoulos, “Ἡ περὶ ἀγγέλων διδασκαλία,” 314ff.

71. See *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:769C.

72. Giannopoulos, “Ἡ περὶ ἀγγέλων διδασκαλία,” 329ff.

73. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:781AB, “Yet the holy cherubim, being simple and immaterial, imageless and formless, and therefore bodiless, and circumscribed in a sense perceptible place. . . . For if someone should hear somewhere that at some time the holy angels are

weakness; ruling and guiding our affairs he knows fully our capacities for knowledge.⁷⁴ The forms of angels are disguised and vary according to circumstance and occasion. Likewise, the images are equally obscure, since they are unable to correspond visually and essentially.

For it must not be thought that in the forms of wild beasts or oxen or winged birds the nature of the other worldly powers is characterised. Nevertheless, it is by divine commands, because God wished it, that all these things are seen easily and readily, and the angels are depicted and painted.⁷⁵

The forms of angels are symbolic manifestations apprehended intellectually; and in a similar way the images of angels must be perceived symbolically, by intellectual and not only visual processes. Nicephorus described the representations of the angels as an approach to knowledge of God through a contemplation of their invisible formlessness. Furthermore, this approach, he stated, is imperative, in that “the forms of the formless ones and the figures of those without figures are to be laid before us justly.”⁷⁶ Images are non-descriptive but necessary aids to worship and comprehension of God’s formless ministers.

[B]ecause for us the comparison is impossible directly, with respect to an intellectual perception to be offered, . . . [the images of the angels] offer to us attainable forms of the formless and supernatural sights. For this is the work of divine goodness and of fatherly care

seen embodied, one should not understand anything but that they manifest themselves symbolically, having transformed themselves, in such forms according to the matter in hand in which they perform their charges on earth; therefore their nature is unknown to us.”

74. *Antir. II adv. Const. Cop.*, ix, PG 100:349C, “Many angelophanies have occurred in the services of God. The angels have not appeared according to their nature, but in the degree of sanctity and purity is it measured for him who is granted so great a vision, or for the matter in hand, necessity, and time required. In this way, the shapes and the forms of the shapeless and formless ones are formed and they make themselves manifest differently to those worthy of the vision with pure eyes of intellect.”

75. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:781B.

76. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:777B.

on our behalf, that the most blessed things are made manifest in the figured symbols of heavenly powers, and made comprehensible for us, matter worked by hand which leads us to an accessible imitation and contemplation of their proper nature.⁷⁷

The “figured symbols” are the means by which comprehension of the angelic powers are then conceded to weaker, mortal intellects by God. The symbols are entirely referential since they cannot capture any truth about the real nature or appearance of the angels. Following Pseudo-Dionysius and John of Damascus, Nicephorus concluded that the representations are an approachable and essential means to a spiritual contemplation of an invisible reality.

Nicephorus went on to state that no essential relationship exists between the prototype and the image, that “pictorial representation is an external factor and has nothing in common with the definition of essence.”⁷⁸ However, a direct relationship between image and prototype can be posited. The image and prototype possess resemblance

77. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:777BC. See, too, John of Damascus in a similar vein: “We know that it is impossible to look upon God, or a spirit, or a demon, as they are by nature. We would be able to see them, however, if they appeared in forms alien to their nature. Therefore God in His providence has clothed in forms and shapes things which are bodiless and without form, in order to lead us to more particular knowledge, lest we should be totally ignorant of God and of bodiless creatures. Only God by nature is utterly without a body, but an angel, or a soul, or a demon, when compared to God (who alone cannot be compared to anything) does have a body, but when these are compared to material bodies, they are bodiless” (*De imag. or.*, III.26, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III*, 130–31; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 79).

78. *Antir. I adv. Const. Cop.*, 29–30, PG 100:277C–80C; trans. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 200–201, “Therefore necessarily it belongs to, and is called, a relative [notion].... If somehow the pattern should disappear, the relation does not end together with it: the law of mutual cancellation does not pertain to all such [notions], for sometimes the relations remain and survive although deprived of their object ... for by the similarity and remembrance and form, it [the image] shows even the deceased as if he were present and it preserves the relation as time goes along. Now likeness is an intermediate relation and mediates between the extremes, I mean, the person represented and the representation. It unites and connects [them] through the form even though they differ in nature.... In addition likeness bestows also equivocality, for the appellation is the same for both ... it does not have identity of essence, nor can we in all respects predicate what is predicated of the pattern as pattern also of the image derived from it.”

not through essential relation, materially or visually, but through equivocation. “Although the matter from which an image is made is soulless and senseless and motionless, the image is addressed by the same name as the prototype and so worthy of glory and grace.”⁷⁹ The images, therefore, have an unlikeness to the archetype but have, nonetheless, relational qualities and are not then irrelevant.⁸⁰ It follows from this reasoning that the name determines resemblance for images of angels, and any question of similarity in nature and appearance is beside the point.

It is seen that nothing there is enigma, nothing obscure, nothing presented obliquely or wrapped in allegory, that these things which are soulless, unfeeling, entirely motionless, made out of soulless and illogical matter, merely carved and brilliant in appearance, and in the purest of material, are wisely different from those most holy cherubim, who are living, energised, eternally moving powers, named as the God of all deemed proper. For the images of the cherubim are neither similitudes nor are they direct impressions but God used the name in equivocity by his own command when he called them cherubim by voice purely and directly.⁸¹

As Nicephorus stated, the images of the cherubim are not of the same nature nor do they have any real resemblance, but the images are clearly they, because they are called so by God himself, as Exodus testifies. The images partake of the name of cherubim and also of the glory which is the share of the archetype.⁸² Therefore, “these things made of gold are images of images, quite obscure, quite dissimilar, and very much distinct from the paradigmatic cause.” The images do

79. *Antir. II adv. Const. Cop.*, 8, PG 100:348C.

80. Giannopoulos, “Η περί ἀγγέλων διδασκαλία,” 334ff.

81. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:776CD. And also: “But may it be conceded that the cherubim on the Ark were given their name by God, whence the possession of glory presaged by them?’ Indeed this was the first command of God, which God announced and made venerable. For nothing is in vain or empty that proceeded from him” (*Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:777C).

82. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 71, PG 100:780AB.

not participate substantially with their prototypes, yet God himself formed the relation.⁸³

The ninth-century mosaics of the angelic powers in the bema arch of the destroyed church of the Dormition at Nicaea (Iznik) demonstrate the relationship of image and inscription discussed in iconophile theory. The mosaics were restored—in all probability—to their original state, a direct consequence of the restoration of images in 843, and this reinstatement attests to active iconophile involvement on both practical and theoretical levels in the mosaic program.⁸⁴ The four angelic powers, identical in appearance, were clearly differentiated by the (imperfect) inscriptions which refer to distinct angelic ranks based on Colossians 1:16: on the south side, the Principality (ΑΡΧΗ) and Power (ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ) (fig. 9), and on the north side, the Domination (ΚΥΡΙΑΤΗΤΑΣ) and Virtue (ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ) (fig. 10). As this chapter contends, iconophile theory holds that images of angels cannot claim likeness, only a relation made through equivocation; in fact, the lack of likeness, the symbolic nature of the depiction, is the characteristic that exhorts the viewer to spiritual engagement. The mosaics at Nicaea were demonstrations of this characteristic, developed before Iconoclasm and fully articulated by iconophiles. The redundant and generalized nature of the depictions of these beings might lead the viewer to believe that only one category of angel is represented; yet, the inscriptions deny this interpretation by stating instead that the beings are distinct in office, aspect and character. In other words, with beings who possess no likeness, the inscription does not determine likeness. On the contrary, in representations of different angelic beings with identical forms, the possibility of individual resemblance is constantly thwarted.

83. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:773C.

84. The inscription in the bema stated that Naukratius restored the figural portions of the mosaics. Naukratius has been identified as a disciple of Theodore of Stoudios who died in 848. See E. Wiegand, "Zur Monogramminschrift der Theotokos-(Koimesis)Kirche von Nicaea," *B* 6(1931):411–20, E. E. Lipsić, "Naukratij i Nikeiskie Mozaikij," *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta* 8 / 2(1964):241–46, and R. Cormack, "Painting After Iconoclasm," in *Iconoclasm. Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977) 147.

The meaning of the restoration of the figural portions of this mosaic has been undervalued as an important statement on the significance of the visual in ninth-century Byzantium. Iconophile theory has partly contributed to this misunderstanding; it laid stress on the ability of inscription not only to establish the identity of images but also to maintain an essential distinction between prototype and image. This stress on the policing nature of words has led to a miscomprehension of the value and role of the visual; moreover, it has led to a neglect of the visual quality of the word in actual Byzantine images.

Not only did the mosaics of the angelic powers at Nicaea preserve the marks of restoration, the sutures revealing earlier editing, they also showed material words: on the one hand, the earlier inscriptions (psalms and nominations) and, on the other, a new cluster of letters between the powers on the south side (fig. 9). The latter reveal that a certain Naucratus (d. 848), probably a follower of Theodore of Stoudios, has returned a proper balance of figuration and inscription to the mosaics. This balance is the other important issue the mosaics raise: that the symbiosis of figuration and inscription worked as a negation, mutually denying these visual components any resemblance to the prototype. Unlike the literal—one might even say natural—quality of the images of the Virgin and Child in the apse (fig. 16), the powers were absolutely conventional signs since all aspects of description on the bema arch denied resemblance to their models; instead, they were prospective, transparent to a transcendental reality.

The Byzantine images of angels, such as those at Nicaea, relate to the angels themselves as negations and contradictions: the angels were represented in the mosaics only in a symbolic, allusive sense, and they did not correspond essentially or visually with that mosaic. The nominating inscriptions on these mosaics stated that the image “is” in a relative way an angelic being. At the same time, the inscriptions stated that the image “is not,” indeed cannot be, a likeness of this being. The inscriptions then pronounced a provisional state of correspondence, a series of possible relations between material images and the angels’ immaterial formlessness.

This quality of relation might be construed as an uneven association of text and image since the representation has no independent

ability to state a visual resemblance.⁸⁵ Interpreting the iconophile definition of equivocation as logocentric would be mistaken, however, as the iconophile texts adduced at the beginning of this section demonstrate the fundamental importance of vision, of viewing images, for proper teaching and contemplation of God by Christians. Indeed, images of Christ depend primarily on the power of vision, that is, the ability of Christians to see God in his human form; viewing Christ's form literally is essential for understanding its meaning, as Theodore of Stoudios stated.

In contrast, both the epigrams and iconophile theory concerning angels showed that the compelling power of vision leads the viewer of images of angels into higher meditation because of the very lack of any possibility of resemblance in these images. In these cases, the inscriptions were also "images" since iconophiles did not hold to the exclusive notion of images that iconoclasts defended. Inscriptions *and* representations were brought equally to the fore in this mosaic of the angelic powers since the flat gold ground simulated no depth or, at least, equal depth, on the surface. No division was constructed for real or represented space, for word and image, that might prioritize one or the other.⁸⁶ Both nominating inscription and figures of powers are inclusive, complementary "images."

85. Gilbert Dagron has claimed that the image becomes redundant in iconophile image theory since the word, the name applied to the image, determines the likeness of the image. See G. Dagron, "Mots, images, icônes," *Nouvelle revue de psychanalyse* 44(1991):160ff. However, Dagron equated this iconophile notion of equivocalness with the earlier handbooks describing "εἰκονισμός." "Εἰκονισμός" involved a process of verbal delineation of visual appearance which relied upon direct equivalences of word and image; in this way, Dagron says one could convert a proper name into a visualizable formula. Yet this parallel only explains one aspect of the iconophile theologians' position since these theologians also viewed images with more complexity and allegorical insight and did not admit a simple equivalency of name and image in every case. The angels, of course, belie any simple equivalence of name and image by which Dagron might characterize the iconophile position and the methods of "εἰκονισμός": verbal delineation of angels, as well as the visual description, is allusive and imprecise.

In short, the image resembles only itself through the inscribed name on the image, "L'image de culte est un *nomen sacrum*. Elle possède une sacralité intrinsèque." See *ibid.*, 162. Yet this formulation leaves the image as a merely reflexive sign, wholly determined by the inscription's verbal affirmation of likeness.

86. See L. Marin, "The Order of Words and the Order of Things in Painting," *Visible Language* 23(1989):197ff.



Figure 17. René Magritte, *The Treachery of Images* (*Ceci n'est pas une pipe*), c. 1928–29. Photo: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, purchased with funds provided by the Mr. and Mrs. William Preston Harrison Collection.

Looking at similar issues in different periods is sometimes helpful for casting new light on problems, and I propose here to use certain elements of Michel Foucault's analysis of René Magritte's *The Treachery of Images* from 1929 (fig. 17).⁸⁷ Foucault scrutinized a relationship of word and image that has striking parallels with Byzantine theory and practice of representing angels. In Magritte's painting, the likeness of a pipe is convincing in its realistic depiction of a pipe set against a stark background, but the inscription, "Ceci n'est pas une pipe," obstructs the mimetic quality that the depiction can claim. Foucault maintained that the relation of text and image becomes a

87. M. Foucault, *This Is Not a Pipe*, trans. J. Harkness (Berkeley, 1982). M.-J. Baudinet, "L'incarnation, l'image, la voix," *Esprit* (Feb. 1982):194–95, also discerned an affinity between Magritte's painting and the iconophile theory of equivocation.

“subtle and instable dependency” since the image is detached from the possibility of mimesis by the inscription.⁸⁸

On the inscription and representation in Magritte’s painting, Foucault wrote that they “annul the intrinsic resemblance they seem to bear within themselves, and gradually sketch an open network of similitudes.”⁸⁹ The inscribed image of the angelic powers also worked on the level of symbiosis of text and representation, whose mutual denial of real resemblance constituted a meaningful, material referent, at once opposed and complementary to the prototype. Moreover, each element of the inscription and the representation “denies along with resemblance the assertion of reality resemblance conveys,” to use Foucault’s terms,⁹⁰ and so the image provided a material sign which the viewer cannot interpret literally. The representation and inscription do not affirm one another.

Negation in the case of these mosaics was not only a function of language, here inscribed words; figuration was also negative. Distinct from these powers’ representations, resemblance is unavoidable in Magritte’s banal pipe. As Carlo Ginzburg has recently asserted, “In order to say, ‘Ceci n’est pas une pipe,’ we need words. Images are what they are.”⁹¹ Not so for images of angels: both figures and inscriptions are equal, non-resembling referents. All iconophile theory rested on the belief that angels as winged men were simply symbols that relied on their prospective nature to excite the viewer’s desire to explore the enigmatic transparency of the images.⁹²

88. Foucault, *This Is Not a Pipe*, 29: “No longer can anything pass between them save the decree of divorce, the statement at once contesting the name of the drawing and the reference of the text. Nowhere is there a pipe.”

89. Foucault, *This Is Not a Pipe*, 47. On this passage, see G. Shapiro, “Pipe Dreams: Eternal Recurrence and Simulacrum in Foucault’s Ekphrasis of Magritte,” *Word & Image* 13(1997):74, and D. Chateau, “De la ressemblance: un dialogue Foucault-Magritte,” in *L’image Deleuze, Foucault, Lyotard*, ed. T. Lenain (Paris, 1998), 95–108.

90. Foucault, *This Is Not a Pipe*, 47.

91. C. Ginzburg, “Idols and Likenesses: Origen, *Homilies on Exodus VIII.3*, and Its Reception,” in *Sight and Insight. Essays in Honour of E. H. Gombrich at 85*, ed. J. Onians (London, 1994) 67.

92. See, for instance, L. Marin, *To Destroy Painting*, trans. M. Hjort (Chicago and London, 1995) 7: “I am thinking of the desire to know the enigma that opens up the space of desire only to withhold all gratification; the desire to decipher the secret, to identify the let-

This definition of a simultaneous act of denying resemblance and engaging symbols is a primary mode of comprehension according to Pseudo-Dionysius, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter.⁹³ For Pseudo-Dionysius, proper symbols are not distracting in their resemblances or material quality, but allow the intelligence to interpret them as it is able. And, moreover, this play of the intelligence on a material image is described in practice outside abstract theological discourse in the epigrams of Agathias and Nilus Scholasticus. In these texts, the dissimilarity of image and model provided the image with a tension by which a “higher contemplation” is encouraged in the viewer. Furthermore, this striving to create a breach between image and model while still maintaining a meaningful relationship between the two has been shown to be of fundamental importance to iconophile theology. Proper worship—in this symbolic theology—is predicated upon the viewer not being seduced into believing that there is a real resemblance between image and model; equivocation provides in this sense a prudent, intellectual relation.

And yet the viewer has to be engaged by the image and believe it has meaning; as the epigrams state, colors and form of the incorporeal being compel the viewer through his or her eyes to direct the “mind to a higher contemplation.” The representation and inscription, rather than affirming one another,⁹⁴ perform just the opposite operation. A viewer of an image of an angel must engage the material object by means of its color and form, and through this engagement realize, in every sense, that “this is not an angel.”

ters (or letter) that constitute(s) the formula providing access to the painting; the desire finally to make explicit the discourse whose origin this formula conceals, the longing to transform the pleasure of painting or its *jouissance* into a pleasure or *jouissance* of language.”

93. And the text in praise of Michael and Gabriel by Michael of Stoudios attests to the currency of the thought of Pseudo-Dionysius in the second half of the ninth century. Furthermore, he adduces Pseudo-Dionysius in support of his pro-image orthodoxy. See “Éloge des archanges Michel et Gabriel par Michel le Moine (BHG 1294a),” ed. T. Matantseva, *JbB* 46(1996):136 (V.4), 145 (XII.1), and 119–20.

94. Dagron, “Mots, images, icônes,” 161.

Four

THE VENERATION OF ANGELS AND THEIR IMAGES

THEOLOGICAL VIEWS

Proper Christian worship was a central issue in the centuries preceding Iconoclasm, and iconophiles and iconoclasts continued this debate during the eighth and ninth centuries. Images dominated discussion during Iconoclasm but the debate naturally implicated long-standing questions of Christian ethics and appropriate devotion. As this chapter will demonstrate, angels figured large in this discussion of images, their worship and function. Iconophiles defended the symbolic representations of angels as a special case, with important historical precedents, both written, as in Hebrew scripture, and unwritten, as ancient Christian practice showed. In keeping with one strand of Christian theology, iconoclasts defended “images” that Christians made by modeling themselves after paragons from the past. The topos of the “angelic life” in monastic practice, as the following section will show, had special meaning in this regard, since an angelic “image” in this context meant a suitably pious life. Iconoclasts abjured worship offered to angels or to their material images, as undesired by these beings and inappropriate for a devout Christian. Miracle stories and theology intersect very intimately,

then, in this chapter; both reveal self-conscious concern with the dangers of angelolatry and idolatry that had always been inherent in the cult of angels.

Because iconophile argumentation is extensive, it is possible to follow iconophile reaction to iconoclastic accusations of idolatry as these accusations implicated angels and their images. Iconophiles' understanding of the relation between image and model was a safeguard, in their view, against any risk of idolatry; and iconophiles established this notion on the firm ground of Christian history and custom.

Particular attention to iconophile sources that aim to combat iconoclastic arguments about the proper place of images in devotion, particularly images of angels, illuminates the history of the veneration of angels in Byzantium. The concept of the equivocal relation of image and model was central to iconoclastic objections to iconophile worship and ethics. Because angels, and particularly the cherubim, figured so prominently in iconophile defense, they emerged in a debate over worship and ethics as cornerstones to iconophile image theory. For this reason, discussion of the notional difficulties of this equivocal relation of spiritual angelic beings to their material representations was central to an iconophile defense of image worship. Moreover, further examination of iconophile texts on worship reveals attitudes of iconoclasts and their predecessors concerning images and angels themselves; these attitudes must be reconstructed from fragments and inference but a clear picture of iconoclastic ideas does indeed emerge from these limited sources.

Image worship invited misinterpretation, and iconoclastic charges forced iconophiles to react to accusations of idolatry. In their contentions over what constituted seemly and worthwhile worship, iconophiles used traditional defenses that derived largely from the anti-Jewish texts of the seventh century.¹ These texts comprise a body of polemical material from the sixth and seventh centuries aimed at combating perceived threats to Christian faith; they are often in the

1. See K.A. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992) 33ff.

form of a dialogue, probably invented in most cases, but corresponding to points of faith which Christian theologians considered misconstrued or misunderstood by outsiders. A principal charge made in this genre was that Christians worship material objects; the authors denied that Christians worship matter, and they answered with the symbolic defense, that honor passed through the object to God.²

Iconoclasts had consistently advanced charges of idolatry against iconophiles and cited Epiphanius of Salamis (ca. 315–403) as their champion in order to malign iconophiles' base and pointless worship of matter. In the course of his counterattack, the *Adversus Epiphaniidem*, one of the *Antirrhetics* written between 818 and 820, Nicephorus, the patriarch of Constantinople at the beginning of Iconoclasm in 815, quoted a number of passages written by Epiphanius that showed the thrust of the iconoclastic argument. The "thoughtless one"—called Epiphaniides, a fourth-century Docetist, by Nicephorus, but in reality Epiphanius—posed this question: "How do you worship the angels, who are spirits and living without end, described in dead matter, since the prophet says, '[God] who maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a flaming fire' (Ps. 104:4)?"³ Against this attack Nicephorus first answered with the standard retort: "From these things who would not realise or discover that these are not the words of the holy Epiphanius, unless he were an exceeding disputatious and contentious person?"⁴

2. See Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*, XXXIX, PG 28:621B-D; Leontius of Neapolis, in *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres*, PTS vol. 17, ed. P.B. Kotter (Berlin, 1975) 156–58, V. Déroche, "L'Apologie contre les Juifs de Léontios de Néapolis," *TM* 12(1994):79ff.; the *Trophies of Damascus*, *Les Trophées de Damas*, PO vol. 15/2, ed. G. Bardy (Paris, 1920; rp. Louvain, 1973) 78.11ff.; the Dialogue between the Jews, Papiscus and Philo, and a Monk, *Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew entitled ANTIBOLH ΠΑΠΙΣΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΩΝΟΥ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΝ ΤΙΝΑ*, ed. A.C. McGiffert (Marburg, 1889) 51–52; Hieronymus of Jerusalem, *De effectu baptismi et notis Christiani*, PG 40:865AB; Anastasius Sinaïtes, *Disputatio adversus Judaeos*, II, PG 89:1233C–6A; and, finally, the Armenian John Mayragometsi, in S. Der Nersessian, "Une apologie des images du septième siècle," *B* 17(1944/5):60. The Διδασκαλία Ἰακώβου stated that the wood of the cross was not venerated but that it was a sign, a type for Christ and that honor passes to him through the object; see *La Didascalie de Jacob*, PO vol. 8/5, ed. F. Nau (Paris, 1912; rp. Turnhout, 1971) 61.12–62.3.

3. In *Adversus Epiphaniidem*, IX.35, Pitra IV:318.2–7; Holl 358, #7.

4. *Adv. Epi.*, IX.35, Pitra IV:318.8–10.

Iconophiles saw God's command for the manufacture of the Ark of the Covenant as a circumvention of any charge of idolatry. Moving from charges of falsification, Nicephorus cited the authority of Exodus 25:22 and the necessary obedience to its strictures:

For Epiphanius did not ignore the things commanded by God to Moses concerning the cherubim, nor did he thrust away and reject the so-called holy of holies; although fashioned out of soulless matter, it was yet honorable. But indeed he believed and always adhered to these things with diligence and honor, especially what derived from the Jewish people, and he esteemed them as commands of God, passing them on as Christian teachings; unless indeed one supposes that the things written about his life were done mendaciously. This noble man appears to reveal the prophet in his words concerning the angels. Yet he speaks against God, and he speaks against Moses, who makes law in vain, since [Epiphanius] does not consider this legislating to constitute law, and [Moses] complies with it, and so [Moses] in vain toils against the making of the cherubim and of other things, such as God has commanded. Certainly [Epiphanius] would have been worthy if he had adhered at least to the letter and the laws of old. But this one is more disobedient than the Jews and more ignorant, not desiring to know that he who made his angels spirits and his ministers a burning fire, commanded by law that the cherubim be made from the purest gold. What then? Has he discarded it and esteemed it little? Yet he does introduce Paul who called these things the holy of holies and the cherubim of glory, truly extolling these things.⁵

For Nicephorus, the fact that Epiphanius could cite the injunction against the making of "graven images" (Ex. 20:4), while ignoring God's more specific charge to make images of angels, showed willful disregard for distinctions God himself had made. The citation of the Second Commandment was, therefore, a false position which was partially blind and wholly irreverent. Dismissing the express desire of God was heretical, and Nicephorus claimed furthermore that it led

5. *Adv. Epi.*, IX.35, Pitra IV:318.13–319.12.

to an alignment with the pagans or the heretical Manichaeans.⁶ Iconoclasts questioned the validity of this injunction to construct the Ark for the New Covenant, as well as its applicability for the figurative arts. Iconoclasts—here represented by Epiphanius—regarded art literally and saw that the material outline of an image of the cherubim could in no way conform to, or in any meaningful way convey, the real nature of the angelic host. Conversely, iconophiles read the injunction at Exodus 25:22 literally but were able to view the worked image as a symbol whose value was activated in an intellectual, spiritual approach to worship.

Iconophiles interpreted the Second Commandment as an injunction against untoward adoration, but at the same time they interpreted it as a law conditional on the initiation of the New Covenant.⁷ In this sense, they again adapted arguments put forward in the anti-Jewish literature of the seventh century. In these texts, the Second Commandment had only been dictated by God because the Jews themselves had been disposed to idolatry, and this Commandment was subsequently made obsolete by the incarnation of Christ.⁸ Iconophiles saw the Second Commandment as a directive from God with a specific historical context. As Ignatius the Deacon (ca. 770/80–d. after 845) wrote in his biography of the patriarch Nicephorus, the patriarch believed that the Second Commandment was addressed to the particular inclinations of the pagan Egyptians by whom the Israelites had been influenced while in captivity.⁹

6. *Antirrheticus II, Adversus Constantinum Copronymum*, 8, PG 100:348C.

7. On this question, see H.L. Kessler, "Pictures Fertile with Truth: How Christians Managed to Make Images of God without Violating the Second Commandment," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 49 / 50 (1991 / 2):53–65.

8. See the *Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew*, 73–77; *Disputation of Sergius the Stylite against a Jew*, ed. A. P. Hayman, 2 vols. (Louvain, 1973) II:48, 51–52, 54; and Anastasius Sinaïtes, *Dis. adv. Jud.*, II, PG 89:1236A.

9. *Vita Nicephori*, VII, PG 100:93A–C: "Since therefore that law giver led the people entrusted to him by God out of Egypt, wishing to purify from their souls and erase the defilements acquired there, in order that human images not conceive of the divine in humanlike images or in other forms of living things. He exhorted them in this way giving this law: Do not according to the custom of the Egyptians, o humanity, nor learning from them absurdly let an image of god be made by us, nor of these things flying through the air, or moving on earth, or swimming the seas. For these things are not God even if the Egyptians say they are, and he must not be depicted by an image, he who cannot be contemplated. For

Nicephorus then adduced the examples of the temple of Solomon and the Ark that God commanded, also mentioned in the Epistle to Hebrews (9:2ff.). God's commandment, therefore, did not apply to Christian images, which were sanctified by God's own injunction for their manufacture, but only applied to false idols.

The iconoclastic charge that iconophiles worshipped lifeless matter made it essential for iconophiles to render a counter-argument on a meaningful, though clearly demarcated, relation between image and prototype. Again, Exodus and its description of the cherubim provided the defense. As Nicephorus reasoned, Christians did not worship even the holy representations made out of the purest and brightest material, fabricated by human hands at the command of God himself. And yet the angels, intellectual and invisible beings, were "fashioned out of gold and sitting above the Ark, and these are neither intellects nor intellectual nor do they possess visible appearance. . . ." These material images on the Ark were altogether

destitute of life and power and energy, as their bodies are put in matter, even if the plate happens to be the purest and most splendid material. And having been made images and having bodies out of matter, they are alterations and schematisations, and they are not free from corruption and change.¹⁰

Material objects neither distract nor demean Christian worship since the images of angels were simply matter and fundamentally distinct. Nicephorus maintained that good Christians have the ability to discriminate between idols and true images through pious devotion and faith.¹¹ True images were representations of actual beings, ordained

God is unviewable and without form and invisible and is not at all among things seen by human eyes. But he is only perceptible to the mind, if someone somewhere should be capable of this. . . . Therefore, the law giver forbade that images of God alone be made."

10. Both quotations from *Apologeticus pro sacris imaginibus*, 70, PG 100:769D–72A.

11. *Antirr. I, Adv. Const. Copr.*, 29, PG 100:277B, "An idol is a fictive thing and the representation of a non-existent being, such things as the Hellenes by want of good sense and godlessness make representations of, such as the tritons and the centaurs and other phantasms which do not exist. And in this respect icons and idols are to be distinguished from one another; those not accepting the distinction of these would rightly be called idolaters. And as

by God, and securely related by the epigraphy contained on the images. The inscription on the images stabilized the relationship between image and prototype, and safeguarded against any misapprehension concerning the similarities between the two that might lead to inappropriate worship of the image itself. Therefore, in Nicephorus's view, good Christians had the ability to distinguish between worship directed at matter and veneration that ascends to the prototype through the image.

Iconophiles evoked a long-standing Christian tradition of images in worship as further proof of mature and correct discrimination by Christians. Moreover, Nicephorus claimed that this Christian legacy of images in worship was untainted by falsification of texts or misrepresentation of the past. The materialist worship that iconophiles defended was not an invention, as iconoclasts claimed, but an unbroken tradition of seemingly devotion that began in the apostolic era.

Iconophiles fell back on the unwritten tradition that the worship of icons had been practiced and condoned from the church's inception. Against Epiphanius, Nicephorus stated that it was not merely a question of one or two or three or four people who disagreed with Epiphanius's position, but the entire catholic church.¹² Finally, he pointed out that images of angels were found in many churches, and always had been. "Everywhere on earth in the holy churches the stories are full of the powers of the bodiless ones in holy representations, and of the catholic church, through whose strength the tradition was anciently settled."¹³ On the most literal level of defense, Nicephorus offered the indisputable fact of practice: images of the angels exist and have done for the entire history of the Church, "For if someone were not to represent the angels, by reason of their incorporeality, it would have been stated many times previously."¹⁴ Iconoclasts could muster theologians to substantiate their position against

for icons, there are icons of good and trifling sorts, and it is important to distinguish. One should honor the good, reject the worthless, and equally shun idolatry."

12. *Adv. Epi.*, IX.35, Pitra IV:318.8–23.

13. *Antir. II, Adv. Const. Copr.*, 7, PG 100:348A.

14. *Adv. Epi.*, VI.17, Pitra IV:307.1–4.

angels' images, notably Epiphanius, but iconophiles considered their own record unblemished by heresy and falsification: both written and unwritten tradition corroborated their interpretation of images as indispensable to proper worship and understanding of God.

Iconophile and iconoclastic conceptions of proper worship were, therefore, fundamentally distinct: one side was able to posit a relation between image and prototype which was ineluctably binding but not essential, while the other saw any image not of the same substance as fraudulent and unnecessary. The divergence in approach was nowhere clearer than in a dialogue between Stephen the Younger (ca. 713–764?) and the emperor Constantine V (r. 740–775), in the *Vita* of Stephen the Younger written by Stephen the Deacon, perhaps in 806. Although clearly a set piece, as it was preserved in an iconophile saint's vita, this dialogue also gives an indication of the quality and depth of iconoclastic argumentation. The antagonist, Constantine V, offered real intellectual challenges to Stephen; he was not simply a "straw man." In the course of their encounter, Constantine V questioned Stephen about the significance and value of images of unknowable beings:

How is it possible to represent sensually the things announced by humanity to be beyond experience and difficult to see, and not lacking in intellectual quality, and to worship them through matter, when nothing is to be gained by these things in understanding of the being, except the infinity, as Gregory the Theologian said.¹⁵

This question was an example of an iconoclastic equation of prototype and image,¹⁶ and indeed Constantine V had pointed to the really problematic aspect of the iconophile argument, especially as it applied to angels: if material images of immaterial and invisible angels could only indicate their indescribable nature, then what practical use were these images in worship? Searching for the answer to

15. *La vie d'Étienne le Jeune*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, vol. 3, ed. M.-F. Auzépy (Aldershot, 1997) 156 (ch.55).

16. See A. Kazhdan and H. Maguire, "Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art," *DOP* 45(1991):9.

Constantine V's intellectually challenging question in the reply of Stephen the Younger is not entirely satisfying:

Indeed who would say, being in control of their own mind, that worshipping the things in the church, whether they be stone or gold or silver, is a worshipping of material things? Wherefore they are altered by name to holy things. You cannot distinguish between holy and profane, nor are you afraid to state in demented folly that the icon of Christ is an idol, as if it were an image of Apollo, or that an image of the Virgin is the same thing as an image of Artemis, and to trample upon these things and to burn them.

This reply was an interesting, if not entirely persuasive, evasion. Stephen the Younger fastened onto one phrase in Constantine V's question, on the worship of divine things through matter, and made the common claim that proper worship exploited material images to pious ends. And he then proceeded to accuse the emperor of confusing pagan and Christian images.¹⁷ This response was not entirely typical of the quality of iconophile debating skills, and yet it highlighted the difficulties involved in answering all of the implications of iconoclastic attacks. Iconophiles commonly accused iconoclasts of not being able to discern which images were worthy of worship, and in this way they sidestepped some of the conceptual difficulties involved in comprehending Christian images of imperceptible beings.

The argument of equivocation posited an intimate relation between image and prototype that was difficult to sustain fully, and the near identity implied in the proposed relation provoked profound puzzlement among iconoclasts. In the *vita* of Stephen the Younger, after

17. This reply was a standard refutation of the iconoclastic comparison of idols and images. See, for instance, the ninth-century *Vita* of the Patriarch Tarasius (d. 806) by Ignatius the Deacon: "For, if you compare Zeus to our Saviour in that they are both reverently represented and you affirm that without making any distinction, consider whether you attach to Christ's holy form the insult you bestow upon the false-named Zeus." See *The Life of the Patriarch Tarasius by Ignatius the Deacon* (BHG 1698), Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, vol. 4, ed. S. Efthymiadis (Aldershot, 1998) 144.9–12, 197. And see Nicephorus, *Antirr. I, Adv. Const. Copr.*, 28, PG 100:277B, who accused idols of representing what does not exist.

Stephen's claim that trampling upon the image of Christ visits violence upon Christ himself, the emperor exclaimed, "Are you then blinded in your mind, and forget yourself, to say that in treading upon the images of Christ, we are treading upon Christ himself? It would not be so!"¹⁸ Stephen answered him by taking out a coin with a representation of the emperor and his name inscribed, and asked if disrespect directed at the coin was not also directed at the emperor himself.

If Stephen's modest but dramatic act demonstrated that images were related to their prototypes, the iconophile theory of equivocation and relation answered the iconoclastic accusation of full identity of prototype and model with a great deal more philosophical clout. In the *Adversus Epiphanidem*, after he has cited Epiphanius's charge that the angels' images were misleading and essentially irrelevant, Nicephorus returned with the charge that iconoclasts did not have the necessary capability for discrimination that would enable them to distinguish true and false images.¹⁹ He fell back on an argument similar to Stephen the Younger's, that iconoclasts were without the grace that proper faith provided and so they understood Christian images as pagans would. And for both Stephen and Nicephorus, the name applied altered the image through the forging of an intellectual link independent of the material aspects of the image.

The argument of relation of model and image through equivocation sanctioned by usage answered Constantine V's objection to images of angels as pointless and unenlightening material objects. Essential or visual similarity was not necessary for an evaluation of the worth of images in worship. Likeness was established mainly through veneration offered the prototype by means of the image. In common with other Christian images, the images of the angels did not, therefore, rely on witness and skill of the artist but on the value that society put on such images.²⁰ Despite the dissimilarity and ob-

18. *La vie d'Étienne le Jeune*, 156 (ch.55).

19. *Adv. Epi.*, VI.17, Pitra IV:306.24–35, "And he then calls the holy icons pseudonymous, attempting by this to destroy the relation (λόγον)." This passage is part of Nicephorus's answer to Epiphanius: see Holl 357, #4.

20. According to iconophiles, relation does not depend on artistic skill in its ability to render likeness. For Theodore of Stoudios, no need existed for similarity between the two,

scurity of the images of the angels in comparison to their models, Christians accepted these objects in worship as worthy of devotion and of spiritual contemplation because of convention.²¹ Tradition and Christian custom sanctioned the devotion offered to images of angels as signs of “infinity,” as Constantine phrased it. As iconophile descriptions of symbolic images asserted, the value of images of angels resided in their necessarily incomplete testimony to the incomprehensible nature of the angels.

Against this iconophile idea of Christian custom and practice, iconoclasts cited precedents for their views on idolatry and the misleading worship advocated by iconophiles. Iconoclasts advanced both Epiphanius and the fourth-century theologian Macarius Magnes because of their positions on scrupulous behavior before angels and their images. Both had defended restraint in honor given to angels; and because of the attendant difficulties in witnessing angels, Christians must abstain from the adoration of images since these could only be reductions and caricatures of the experience. For these reasons, iconoclasts recommended the two theologians and, in turn, iconophiles such as Nicephorus refuted and reinterpreted them. These precedents represent the traditional opposition to images preceding Iconoclasm, as well as the position of iconoclasts themselves, since the oppositional texts are only preserved in iconophile rebuttals.

neither regarding substance, size, dimension, nor genuine resemblance. Indeed, resemblance, in any precise visual sense, is entirely unnecessary. Only the equivocation of name need be applied for relation. See *Antirrheticus adversus iconomachos*, II.iii.5, *PG* 99:421CD.

Photius argued in the 860s that the recognition of relation was a matter of convention deriving from devotion. He stated that images ought not to be maligned because of dissimilarity in nature or in truth. For resemblance rests not only on the depiction's outline of form and colors of shapes, but also on such things as arrangements and practice and expression of understanding and placement in holy areas, inscription and choice of symbols. See *Ad Amphilochium*, CCV, *PG* 101:952AB; *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, ed. B. Laourdas and L. G. Westerink, 6 vols. in 7 pts. (Leipzig, 1983–1988) I:110. He also considered the definition of similarity in the case of the cross; he concluded that the cross to which worship is offered and from which copies are made is most similar to its prototype. See *ibid.*, *PG* 101:949BC; Laourdas/Westerink, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, I:110. For Photius, and iconophiles generally, a definition of likeness rested on consensus and not on a visual or essential similarity between image and prototype.

21. On this text, see G. Dagron, “Holy Images and Likeness,” *DOP* 45(1991):24–25.

Judging from the iconophile reaction, iconoclasts had objected that the angels, for one, did not desire worship and raised the ethics of worship of angels—and consequently their images—as important issues. They attempted in this way to undermine the iconophiles' defense of a cultural consensus of worship built around the equivocal images of the angels. Again in the *Adversus Epiphaniidem*, Nicephorus quoted Epiphanius's objection, "I say that [the angels] do not desire to be worshipped,"²² and exclaimed in response:

Therefore, do they desire to be insulted likewise? And for this reason does the impious one pour down so much scorn on them, at once ordaining these must not be worshipped, on account of his wicked and unthinking view of the glory reserved for them?²³

According to Nicephorus, Epiphanius had associated image and prototype with too little distinction. Indeed, Epiphanius's text revealed iconoclastic prejudices. As iconoclasts believed true images and models to be consubstantial, they had evidently produced Epiphanius's claim that angels did not desire worship as a corollary to their belief that images of angels were likewise not to be worshipped.²⁴ At this point, the intersection of theological discourse with models of worship found in saints' lives becomes clear: iconoclasts had confused angelolatry with idolatry; the two were inseparable in their view because of the belief in the necessary consubstantiality of the model and prototype. This confounding of angel and image into one ethical issue is an interesting strategy by iconoclasts: if angels had always been dangerously venerated, so were their images; if angels do not desire worship, neither do they want images. The answer to this ethical issue—as found in miracle stories of angels—is explored in the following section.

22. *Adv. Epi.*, IX.36, Pitra IV:319.15–16.

23. *Adv. Epi.*, IX.36, Pitra IV:319.17–21.

24. This claim is likely connected with the iconoclast belief in the necessary consubstantiality of image and prototype. Iconoclasts argued that the only true image was of the same matter as its model; therefore, the eucharist was a real image and any image that had only relation to its model was false. On this issue, see K. Parry, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Leiden, 1996) 178–90.

In Nicephorus's view, the angels did not seek veneration for themselves, nor did their images receive it. Epiphanius and his iconoclastic followers simply offered a wrong-headed definition of relation in seeing the angels and their images as equivalent. They sullied the proper non-essential relation of image and model through equivocation that iconophiles defended. Honor given to images did not stop there but proceeded to the prototypes themselves; consequently, "just as the icons are not worshipped, neither are the archetypes honoured."²⁵

A confusion of honor of prototype and image would suggest pagan worship, Nicephorus said. For pagans worship gods that did not exist, so that they were simply worshipping vain objects. In his *De Magnete*, Nicephorus had also defended Macarius Magnes from the charge pressed by his pagan opponent that Christians worshipped angels. The pagan stated that Christian angels were comparable to gods and that honor bestowed on images of angels and gods were similarly appropriate. Nicephorus supported Macarius by insisting on the fundamental distinction between empty pagan idols and authentic Christian images:

Protecting our own worship from these ignoble mysteries that deserve darkness, he does not consider them worthy of Christians, nor does he desire to make images or honour them, such as [the Hellenes] make images and worship.²⁶

Thus, in theory, honor passed through the image, without material obstacle, directly to the prototype and in a way fundamentally different from pagan misapprehension of idols that were destitute of archetypes.

Despite Nicephorus's defense, an ethical definition of the "true" Christian image guided Epiphanius's and Macarius Magnes's arguments, and this fourth-century advocacy for the ethical image must

25. *Adv. Epi.*, IX.41, Pitra IV:323.39–40; and also 324.4–7, "So that since the image of Christ is not honoured, it follows that he would wish that Christ himself not be honoured." In general, see *Adv. Epi.*, IX.36ff., Pitra IV:319.23ff.

26. *De Magnete*, I.14, Pitra I:311.19–23.

certainly have been a compelling precedent for iconoclasts. Nicephorus tried consistently to bring Macarius's arguments into line with iconophile concerns, but in fact Macarius had contended that a virtuous Christian did not make material images. In true worship, Macarius wrote, Christians modeled themselves after paragons of Christianity from the Church's teaching, thereby fashioning a true "image." Against the use of Macarius's writings by iconoclasts, Nicephorus responded with the normal accusation of falsification and stated that, in fact, Macarius Magnes was discussing the pagan position on images and not the Christian view.²⁷

Nicephorus attacked further the perverse use of the text by iconoclasts when discussing a passage by Macarius Magnes concerning the appearance of the angels to Abraham: "As the angels appeared often in the form of men, they were not that which appeared, but that which they were, that is, invisible."²⁸ Nicephorus persisted in his belief in the willful tamperings of iconoclasts when he commented on this passage, "as if compensating for the things not adduced, he introduces in the middle of the passage as an example the person of the patriarch Abraham."²⁹ For iconophiles, Abraham was one of the most venerable instances of witness to angelic epiphany.³⁰ But he did

27. *De Magnete*, I.41, Pitra I:326.35–327.13: "For one must note that after the author has said, 'Certainly [he does not make] their images formed in outline ...' [Blondel 214.15] the Christomachos again willfully takes away the phrase, 'as you yourself say,' [Blondel 214.15–16] in order that he seem credible to the readers. He thereby says that the author believes in the destruction of the holy icons, which the author does not believe. Rather he stands opposed to the faith of the Hellenes, as he said to the Hellene that he did not agree with him, providing the 'as you say' concerning the idols, statues and images of the gods. Moreover, those seeking to imitate the angelic way of life, in this fashion, which forbids and spurns, that is to say, the abominations of the idols, they make an end of the images. For opposing this, they are manifestly taking away the idols, and they have a horror of them, as loathsome and hateful."

28. Blondel 214.21–22, and *De Magnete*, I.42, Pitra I:327.16–19.

29. See *De Magnete*, I.43, Pitra I:327.20–37.

30. One might also expect, given the significance of Abraham's hospitality to the three "men" at Mamre for iconophile defense in the eighth and ninth centuries, a commensurate number of representations of the Philoxenia after Iconoclasm. Yet the Philoxenia is represented in the Chludov Psalter once (fol. 49v), in the context of its eucharistic symbolism and not as an epiphany. See Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 52ff. In the *Sacra Parallela* (Paris. gr. 923, fol. 245r), the middle of the three angels is depicted without a crossed-nimbus and relates the Christological symbolism of the event like the Chludov illustration. See K.

not create a commemorative image, and this oversight needed explaining since iconoclasts could forcefully point to the lack of mention of material testimonial in scripture. Nicephorus explained the lapse between witness in the Old Covenant and their apparent failure to commemorate the event by first citing a passage by Macarius Magnes: "And as these things occurred wisely and in truth, Abraham did not outline the appearance of these visions, nor did he carve an idol in resemblance nor did he paint a panel, thinking to see the strangers in these things."³¹ Nicephorus's subsequent explanation fell back on the belief in a historical lapse into idolatry by the Jews that necessitated the Second Commandment, but ultimately rested on the charge of falsification and misrepresentation of the original text of Macarius's dialogue.³²

Yet the real reason for the discussion of Macarius Magnes must have been iconoclastic emphasis on the ethical, "true" image. According to Milton Anastos, this emphasis dates to the Hieria of 754 and was, therefore, a central argument against material images in worship from the early stages of Iconoclasm.³³ In the iconoclastic formulation of "images," "one should put reliance, not upon pictorial representations, but upon the scriptures and the biographies of the saints."³⁴ As Anastos noted, the Fathers quoted at the Council of 754 dealt primarily with spiritual worship. The Council cited Basil the Great (ca. 330–379):

The study of the holy writings constitutes the best path to the ascertainment of what is proper, because they provide a guide for

Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela. Parisinus graecus 923* (Princeton, 1979) 40, fig. 27.

31. Blondel 215.30–32.

32. *De Magnete*, I.43, Pitra I:328.3–17: "For it is not likely that the patriarch being a friend of God would be induced into error of the superstitious persons of that time, only just having risen above the manufacture of idols. And it is necessary to note that one must supply the things there left out, that is to say, 'as you say.' The Hellene, who had been inserted above, after it has, 'Certainly [he does not make] their images formed in outline ...'" (Blondel 214.15–16).

33. See M. V. Anastos, "The Ethical Theory of Images Formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815," *DOP* 8(1954):151–60.

34. Anastos, "The Ethical Theory of Images," 153.

conduct, together with the biographies of the blessed ones, that serve as living images of a godly life and the inspiration for the emulation of god-like behaviour.³⁵

Iconophiles did not oppose this emphasis on spiritual worship, and they even interpreted such worship as a commendable mode of adoration of God. However, iconophiles saw the consequent dismissal of images by iconoclasts as obdurate and willful behavior; by dismissing images, iconoclasts were denying an equally venerable means of adoring and comprehending God. Both sides could, in fact, support the importance of the ethical image, but from entirely divergent perspectives. Moreover, these divergent perspectives on ethics and worship of images of angels parallel practice as seen in miracle stories, as the following section will demonstrate. This long-standing concern over angels and their images influenced image theory and practice both, and it led to serious divergences in opinion during Iconoclasm: suspended between humanity and God, angels demanded particular treatment, and iconophile texts clearly reveal the complexities of this peculiar case.

HAGIOGRAPHICAL VIEWS

Miracle stories of the angels produced before, during and after Iconoclasm were directly influenced by this debate over worship proper to angels and their images. By examining the traces of this debate in miracle stories, this section demonstrates that the concerns of image theory extended beyond limited theological circles into the public realm. Miracle stories of angels, in the hands of either iconoclasts or iconophiles, were intended to provide persuasive examples of correct worship of angels and images through forceful and compelling narratives of divine interventions. In this way, these didactic texts parallel the concerns of the more rarefied image theory.

In the period preceding Iconoclasm, proper worship of angels did include images; in practice, images of angels could express both doc-

35. Mansi XIII:300AB; trans. Anastos, "The Ethical Theory of Images," 154–55.

trinal concerns and exegesis of nature and identity. This incorporation of images into worship likewise appeared in miracle stories. The *Miracles of St. Artemius*, written in the 660s about Artemius's shrine in the church of John the Baptist in Oxeia at Constantinople, contained the earliest description of images of angels in a miracle story. It described, moreover, the complete integration by the seventh century of images of the saints into popular piety.³⁶ In one of the episodes, a young girl, Euphemia, saw two angels in a night vision; in the morning, she identified them by reference to icons hanging in the church.³⁷

The saints' lives of the sixth and seventh centuries testified to an increased importance of images in miracles of healing and other interventions by saints. The miracle story of Artemius is replete with miracles that occurred at his shrine, often effected through his images.³⁸ And other pre-iconoclastic miracle stories attested further the central role images were assuming in devotion; these texts showed that the faithful increasingly perceived images as signs of the presence of the saint and as a means by which Christians could encourage the saints' activity and protection.³⁹ A seventh-century text, once ascribed to Athanasius of Alexandria (ca. 296–373), for one, defended images on the grounds that the miracles performed by images irrefutably demonstrated images' divine qualities. Furthermore, the author ranked images as a match to relics in sanctity and dignity, and as equally able to perform miracles of healing and exorcism.⁴⁰ This

36. On this question, see V. Déroche, "L'authenticité de l'*Apologie contre les Juifs* de Léontios de Neapolis," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 110(1986):658ff., and also his, "L'*Apologie contre les Juifs* de Léontios de Néapolis," *TM* 12(1994):85ff.; and E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm," *DOP* 8(1954):96ff., and, in particular, 107 on Artemius.

37. V. S. Crisafulli and J. W. Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios. A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-Century Byzantium* (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1997) 176–84. And see C. Mango, "On the History of the Templon and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople," *Zograf* 10(1979):40–43.

38. For instance, Crisafulli/Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, 88.7 and 108.4.

39. For example, Cosmas and Damian, L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian. Texte und Einleitung* (Leipzig, 1907) 133.23–24, and Theodore of Sykeon, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1970) I:32.9–13, I:39.5–6.

40. *Quaest. ad Ant. Duc.*, XXXIX, PG 28:621CD.

early devotion included images of angels, as the miracle at the shrine of Artemius showed, but the lives of saints of the eighth and ninth centuries offered alternate models of access to angels, and to the saints more generally.

The miracle story of the Archangel Michael at Chonae, the *Narration of the Miracle Accomplished at Chonae by the Archangel Michael*, re-worked in the eighth century, related a pattern of worship that conformed to the ethical models stressed in the Iconoclastic debates.⁴¹ In so doing, it avoided patterns found in the *Miracles of St Artemius* which relied upon images for access to, and provisional identification of, spiritual beings. The Chonae text offered a paradigm of behavior for approaching an angel and receiving the benefits of that proper approach. The miracle story, and its message, were neither overtly iconoclastic nor iconophile. Yet it has common elements with “non-iconophile” miracle stories analyzed by Marie-France Auzépy, and these common elements provided a discrete iconoclastic context for the Chonae miracle story.⁴²

41. The first recension of the Chonae hagiography, and clearly the model for later texts, was edited with commentary by Bonnet [= *AB* 8(1889):289–307]. Bonnet placed the hagiography between the fifth and seventh century. Examining Bonnet’s evidence, William Ramsay thought the anonymous text was not earlier than the ninth century, citing the local names employed in the text as proof of this date. See W. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire Before 170 A.D.* (New York and London, 1893) 468, 478. However, the name change sometime in the course of the eighth century is the *terminus post quem* because the miracle is said to have occurred at Chonae itself, and the hagiography is most likely from an eighth-century milieu. Other versions survive: Symeon Metaphrastes (d. ca. 1000) produced a version (Bonnet, 20–28 = *AB* 8(1889):308–16), and Sissinius wrote a hagiography of Michael at Chonae in the late tenth century, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, in *AASS*, Sept. 8:41–49). And Pantaleon (late ninth/early tenth century) mentioned the miracle in his *Sermo festo S. Michaelis Archangelis* (*PG* 98:1264A). See, for complete references for the hagiographies of Michael, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, ed. F. Halkin, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1957) II:118–21, nos. #1282ff.

42. M.-F. Auzépy, “L’analyse littéraire et l’historien: l’exemple des vies de saints iconoclastes,” *BS* 53(1992):57–67. She analyzed four hagiographies: the lives of Philaretus (702–792), George of Amastris (d. 802–807), Eudocimus (807–840) and Leo of Catania (fl. second half of the eighth century). The first three were discussed by I. Ševčenko, “Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period,” in *Iconoclasm. Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977) 113–31. The last life has been edited by A. Acconcia Longo, “La vita de S. Leone di Catania e gli incantesimi del mago Eliodoro,” *RSBN* 26(1989):3–98; subsequently, she refuted Auzépy’s interpretations in “A proposito di un articolo recente sul-

The miracle story of the Archangel Michael at Chonae was an apologetic text intended to communicate models of proper and successful devotion to an audience. In the tale, a group of pagans threatened the hermit Archippus and the shrine of the Archangel Michael with a series of destructive plots; eventually, they dammed two local rivers in order to flood the area and overwhelm shrine and inhabitant. With the waters approaching, the Archangel Michael appeared, addressed the hermit and, by striking the rock before the shrine, created a source for the famous healing spring (fig. 15). The miracle story had the basic goal of glorification, edification and conversion of the worshipper to an orthodox position. It lauded the work of the leader of the heavenly host in this world and established a framework of approach for the common worshipper.

The text also worked to convince an audience of access to Michael, and, through Michael, to God. A key term in the text was “parrêsia” (παρρησία), which can be rendered as “familiarity” or “patronage” or even “boldness.”⁴³ The classical meaning was “freedom of speech,” but by the Byzantine period the word had taken on a broader meaning that in the devotional context implied mediation between divinity and humanity made successful by proper preparation. At Chonae, the miracle was accomplished “through the grace and familiarity (παρρησία)” (1.6) of Michael with God; at a later stage in the miracle story, the same familiarity was passed on to the distraught hermit, when Michael commanded Archippus, “Be bold, and come towards me so that the approaching rivers will not devour you” (15.11–12).⁴⁴ Thus, the miracle story signaled the completion of the hierarchy, ascending from the holy man to the Archangel to God. To a lesser degree, this familiarity or access was offered to the reader/listener according to his or her worthiness and ability to comprehend.

l’agiografia iconoclasta,” *RSBN* 29(1992):3–17. Auzépy and Acconcia Longo offered final defenses in *RSBN* 30(1993):3–15.

See also V. Déroche, “L’autorité des moines à Byzance du VIII^e siècle au Xe siècle,” *Revue Bénédictine* 103(1993):241–54, on related issues.

43. On *parrêsia*, see C. Mango, *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980) 159.

44. All citations in the text refer to Bonnet.

Although this “familiarity” or “boldness” (παρρησία) was not peculiar to the cult of the Archangel Michael,⁴⁵ the incomprehensible nature of the Archangel made “access” more difficult than to the mortal saints. The unique nature of the angels and the archangels, hovering between heaven and earth, was the basis for this difficulty. The incomprehensible nature of the appearances and the miracles of the Archangel must be understood in ways outside of the purely rational.⁴⁶ As Philoxenus of Mabbug (ca. 440–523) wrote concerning angels, faith was paradoxically the first step to comprehension.⁴⁷ The angels clearly were a special problem in terms of devotion and approach. The angels’ particular nature and qualities demanded individual treatment in theological texts, and miracle stories also acknowledged these distinctions.

In the miracle story, jealous rumblings began among the locals on account of the great success of the spring, and open insurrection against the shrine was not long in appearing. In the meantime, the miracle story introduced a “dishonourable and idolatrous” pagan, from the nearby city of Laodicea (3.14ff.). This pagan had a daughter who was deaf and dumb. Michael appeared in a dream and told him to go to the shrine, and “by my name, if you believe, you will not leave disappointed” (4.5). The pagan then traveled to the spring and questioned those at the spring about the healing process. He was told that one must call on the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,

45. For instance, see Kazhdan / Maguire, “Byzantine Hagiographical Texts,” 14.

46. See Metrophanes, Metropolitan of Smyrna ca. 857–880, who says that the Archangel Michael and Gabriel are great, but small are the means to describe them, “Your [Michael and Gabriel’s] image is broad and elevated in being and manifold in its bodiless and immaterial and entirely splendid shape, but the word, coming from our hearts through corporeal organs, is narrow and humble and artless.” A little below he adds that it is necessary for the archangels “to illuminate the intellectual eyes of our hearts.” The text is found in *Εκκλησιαστική Αληθεία* 7(1887):390.

47. See his sermon “On Faith,” trans. E.A.W. Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenus Bishop of Mabbugh, A.D. 485–519. Vol. II. Introduction, Translation, etc.* (London, 1894) 29–31. For Pantaleon, the process of apprehension is also indirect, “You illuminate our intellectual eyes of the heart, so that we should know, and apprehend in the mind and pronounce ... the miracles of your majesty.” See his *Nar. mir. max. Arch. Mich.*, II, PG 140: 575A. Much later, Damaskenos Stoudite (sixteenth century) wrote, “On account of this, open your spiritual and corporeal eyes, so that you can understand precisely what I am about to say.” (See his *Θησαυρός* [Venice, 1838] 185.)

and to Michael, and then raising one's hands and eyes to heaven say, "O Father, O Son, O Holy Ghost, through the ministry of Michael, help me, a sinful person" (4.11–13). He then poured water into the mouth of his child saying, rather alarmingly, "The God of the Christians, your power is truly great, Michael Archistrategos" (4.15–16).⁴⁸ The daughter of the pagan was forthwith healed, and the pagan with his entire household was baptized on the spot. Finally, he built there a small chapel in the name of Michael in order to shelter the holy source.

The statement of the subservience of Michael to God in the prayers of the pagan was part of the appeal of the miracle story in the eighth- and ninth-century "non-iconophile" context of debate over proper worship. Michael himself at a later point stated the source of his own power as he commanded the water to flow harmlessly into the chasm that he had opened in the name of the Trinity. Michael had made the water halt moments before by making the sign of the cross in the face of the rushing waters. These were statements then of a scale of access or "parrêsia" that communicated to the audience of the miracle story where Michael stood in the divine hierarchy, that is, under the command of God.

The holy man, Archippus, was at the ethical center of the miracle story in the sense that he described, in his faultless way of life and correct appeal to God, the proper model of behavior for the audience. This ethical model was fundamental to the structure of the miracle story in that the large part of the miracle story described the hermit's way of life and qualifications. Moreover, this character study provided the miracle story's "image" for Christians to try to imitate. The epiphany of the Archangel Michael in comparison was not described to the same degree as the character of the hermit, and Archippus also figured significantly in the encounter between angel and man after the epiphany. Nonetheless, nothing about Archippus would appear to be individualized. Even his name would seem to be

48. See the Introduction on the overweening position Michael was put in by certain heterodox adherents at Chonae.

borrowed from the Epistle to the Colossians (4:17).⁴⁹ Archippus came to the shrine of the Archangel, the narrator of the miracle story stated (5.6ff.), when he was only a precocious ten-year-old, having left his parents in Laodicea to take up the ascetic way of life.⁵⁰ In this way, ninety years after its foundation, the shrine got its first caretaker, Archippus.⁵¹ The description of his life after his commitment to Michael's shrine was largely undistinguished. It was apparently cobbled together from various ascetic sources and was mainly a remembrance of other familiar texts.⁵² Archippus's anonymity made him an "everyman" that all Christians could aspire to imitate.⁵³

The Chonae miracle story described a way of life familiar to miracle stories for its guileless devotion and comfortless longevity. The narrator clearly wanted to convince the audience of Archippus's worthiness. Archippus spent the next sixty years perfecting himself in his vocation, his angelic way of life ("ἄσκησις ἀγγελική," 7.11 and 8.7).⁵⁴ He never ate bread or meat, nor did he bathe; he ate boiled wild plants without salt; he sprinkled his honorable body with three

49. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire Before 170 A.D.*, 469. According to P. Bati-fol, *Studiorum patristicorum. Études d'ancienne littérature chrétienne*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1889–1890) I:33, this hermit in the hagiography is perhaps a true survival of the real Archippus mentioned at Col. 4:17.

50. A.G. Elliott, *Roads to Paradise. Reading the Lives of the Early Saints* (Hanover and London, 1987) 77ff., has described certain characteristics of the childhood of hagiographic heroes.

51. See C. Mango, "Germia: A Postscript," in *JöB* 41(1991):298–99, on προσμονᾶριος.

52. Some examples taken from the *Lausiac History* of Palladius (ca. 363–ca. 431): *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, ed. C. Butler, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1898–1904) II:15–16, 16–17, 29, 48, 60–61, and Bonnet xxii n1, for others.

53. I follow this idea in hagiography, liturgy and art in my "Holy Man, Supplicant and Donor: On Representations of the Miracle of the Archangel Michael at Chonae," *Mediaeval Studies* 59(1997):173–82.

54. Elliott, *Roads to Paradise*, 132ff., has noted the opposition of nature and culture with regard to the position of the hermit. On the topos of monks as angels, see P.S. Frank, *ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΟΣ ΒΙΟΣ. Begriffsanalytische und begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum "Engelgleichen Leben" im frühen Mönchtum* (Münster, 1964). And Peter Brown's remarks on the de-gendering of monks through the simile of angelic qualities has interesting possibilities. See "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity, 1971–1997," *J ECS* 6(1998): 371–72. The confrontation of monk and angel at Chonae, in literature and art, also has a potential for elevation of the everyman Archippus. Raised to exalted company, he joins these celestial ranks through his extra-terrestrial vocation.

measures of water one day out of three, and in this way refreshed his soul; for clothing he wore two sacks and he slept on stones with a pillow filled with thorns; never did he relax, or reveal his body, all the while guarding his stainless soul from belonging to the other one (that is, the devil). The value of such an anonymous portrait at the center of this text lay in Archippus's quality as a model for imitation. Not everyone would be capable of this demanding way of life. At an elevated level, Archippus figured as an exemplar who might be out of reach to many in his worthiness but who at least presented an ideal of approach to the Archangel and, most important, of answered prayer.⁵⁵

Archippus's reaction to the threat of the pagans is instructive. The group of several thousand, seething with hatred and envy of Archippus, the shrine, and their patron, were impressively bestial, and were thus fundamentally distinct from the holy man. They roared like lions (8.15) and gnashed their teeth in working out their wicked designs.⁵⁶ As Archippus saw the designs of the devil and the unclean things of the idolaters, he attempted to counter the base workings of the pagans by going into the church where he fell as if dead. He beseeched God and the Archangel Michael to guard the shrine from the approaching water, and spent ten days neither eating nor drinking nor raising himself from the floor. He said,

I do not depart from this church nor do I leave off from prayer but I will die by this water. For I believe that my God will save me from faintness and tempestuousness through the agency of the Archangel Michael so that it will make no mark either on this holy shrine or on this land . . . (13.10–14).⁵⁷

55. The idea of the holy man as exemplar, of course, has deep roots in Late Antique and Byzantine society, and it also informed the iconoclastic image of the ideal Christian discussed in chapter 2. On the holy man in Late Antiquity, see M. Vessey, "The Demise of the Christian Writer and the Remaking of 'Late Antiquity': From H.-I. Marrou's *Saint Augustine* (1938) to Peter Brown's *Holy Man* (1983)," *JECs* 6(1998):403–11.

56. In the *Menologium Basilianum* (late tenth/early eleventh century), *PG* 117:33C. Also, Bonnet 3.9 and 5.3.

57. Chrysippus (ca. 405–479) described Daniel and his preparations for the epiphany (Dan. 10:2–3): "In those days I Daniel was in mourning three whole weeks. I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all, till

For ten days, the pagans stored up the water behind their dams and on the tenth day they unleashed the rivers. Archippus, hearing the advancing waters crush the rocks, intensified his prayers, and wet with tears called on God once more, reciting Psalm 93, particularly lines 3–5:

The floods have lifted up, O Lord, the floods have lifted up their voice; the floods lift up their waves. The Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea. Thy testimonies are very sure: holiness becometh thine house, O Lord for ever.⁵⁸

When Archippus had finished the Psalm, there came from outside a great clap of thunder and the Archistrategos came “to that place, standing on the head of the impenetrable rock” (14.17–18). Archippus’s access to the Archangel, his recommendation to “parrêsia,” was founded on his unimpeachable way of life, and proved by the Archangel’s intervention on his behalf. Archippus “pursues the angelic life while in the flesh” and, therefore, was worthy of visions (24.7).⁵⁹

The goal in devotion to Michael was an access from which benefit derives, and this access was made possible through the paradigm of approach present in the miracle story. This conclusion was latent in the anonymous version and explicit in later versions of the miracle. “Therefore truly we shall imitate this wondrous Archippus, this worthy one himself, [who] on account of his excellence was made most familiar to the great Archangel Michael and was revealed a vision....”⁶⁰ Only the just and righteous were allowed into the presence of the angels, for protection and revelation, as Paul warned in

three whole weeks were fulfilled.” He then went on to describe what Daniel saw at Dan. 10:5, 12:5, and Michael’s identification at 10:12–13. See A. Sigalas, “Χρυσίππου πρεσβυτέρου Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαήλ,” *EEBS* 3(1926):90.17ff.

58. In the Theodore Psalter (1066), British Museum Add. 19.352, fol. 125r, the scene of the miracle at Chonae illustrates just this passage from Psalm 93. See S. Der Nersessian, *L’illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age. II. Londres, Add. 19.352* (Paris, 1970) 46, fig. 203.

59. Here Sissinius, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 9, AASS Sept. 8:44F, “βίον ἰσάγγελον ἐν σαρκὶ μετερχόμενος.”

60. Sissinius, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 18, AASS Sept. 8:47B.

1 Corinthians 11:10.⁶¹ The miracle was proof of the promise made on proper approach for all worshippers, exemplified by the generalized but scrupulous Archippus. The only miracle performed by Archippus was the successful answering of his extensive prayer, and for that one power he was worthy of emulation.⁶²

Auzépy has noted the lack of miracles performed by subjects of saints' lives of the eighth and ninth centuries.⁶³ Although Archippus was not himself active in good works in a community, the legend dated from before Iconoclasm, and must have retained some of its original elements. Its rewriting and elaboration in the eighth century must have been connected to the contemporary appeal of the legend. In the Chonae miracle story, it is significant that the central character lacks any miraculous power. Archippus's abilities were restricted to, and made laudable by, a holy life and energetic prayer.

Some modern commentators, typically historians of the nineteenth century, have criticized the miracle story of Chonae for its lack of inventiveness, focusing on the generalized portrait of Archippus, a holy man with no real personality. This generalization works to a purpose, however, presenting a behavior meant to persuade its audience of the best route to fulfilled entreaty. Commentators have accused the narrator of the anonymous version of being artless, rude in style, and incomplete in knowledge of the event and region.⁶⁴ However, repetition of details in miracle stories and saints' lives, often cited derogatorily by modern commentators, comply with audience expectations of recognizable patterns.⁶⁵ In the mind of the writ-

61. See J.A. Fitzmeyer, "A New Feature of Qumrân Angelology and the Angels of 1 Cor. XI:10," *New Testament Studies* n.s. 4(1957/8):55–56. The idea of the unblemished being allowed into the presence of the angels is one found in Jewish apocrypha and the Qumran texts, although with a visionary quality not often found in the Christian texts; see G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1962) 76.

62. Contrast the lack of Archippus's own power with examples of the might some saints do exhibit given by R. Browning, "The 'Low Level' Saint's Life in the Early Byzantine World," in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London, 1981) 122.

63. Auzépy, "L'analyse littéraire et l'historien," 60, and Ševčenko, "The Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period," 120ff.

64. For example, see Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire Before 170 A.D.*, 468, and Bonnet vi.

65. See Elliott, *Roads to Paradise*, and also *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient*, ed. S.A. Harvey and S. Brock (Berkeley, 1987) 13ff.

ers of miracle stories and saints' lives, edification—as well as “access”—was the key to these texts, and ethical truth was far more important than historical accuracy. The aim of the miracle story of Chonae was not to provide a topographical survey or an historically accurate document: rather it was to provide a model for imitation in veneration and a confirmation of the proximity of the Archangel at a given site. For this reason, the later writers of the miracle at Chonae of the ninth and tenth centuries did not alter the basic structure of the anonymous version but merely added their own flourishes to a successful text.⁶⁶ And it must also be stressed that the miracle story could have posed no threat to the church after 843; images and idolatry do not figure, but the text provided a portrait of a holy way of life and seemly angel worship which became very popular indeed after Iconoclasm.⁶⁷

A further similarity of the Chonae miracle story with “non-iconophile” saints' lives was the importance placed on references to Hebrew scripture. The prophets, patriarchs, and kings of Hebrew scripture figured in the texts Auzépy discussed, rather than models derived from the saints of Church tradition.⁶⁸ The encounter of holy man and angel at Chonae, as described in the miracle story, was very

66. See Bonnet xii, on the working methods of Metaphrastes and Sissinius.

67. Archippus's prayer is a fruitful act for angelic intervention and the active element in his piety is recognized in depictions by his gesture of imprecation, as well as the accompanying inscription. In the representation of the scene in the Church of the Asomatoi at Archanes on Crete from 1315/6, the inscription accompanying the image states that the miracle occurred “because of Archippus's prayers.” See S. Koukiales, *Τὰ θαύματα—Εμφάνσεις τῶν Ἀγγέλων καὶ Ἀρχαγγέλων στὴν Βυζαντινὴ Τέχνη τῶν Βαλκανίων* (Athens, 1989) 70, “ΘΑΥΜΑ ΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ Τ(ΑΙΣ) ΧΩΝΑΙΣ <ΝΑΟΝ ΤΟΤ> ΜΙΧΑΗΛ/ΤΟΤ ΑΡΧΙ-ΣΤΡΑΤΗ-ΓΟΥ> ΔΙ ΕΤΧΩΝ ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥΤ.”

Ironically, the sixteenth-century hagiographer, Damaskenos Stoudite, states that Archippus prayed to an icon for the intervention of the Archangel in the face of the pagan floods. See his *Θησαυρός*, 198.

A further irony is evident in the frescoes, ca. 1500, in the Church of Cosmas and Damian, Palaiochorio in the Troodos, Cyprus. In these frescoes, the donor has supplanted Archippus and is represented before the Archangel in the miracle at Chonae. See S. Gabelić, “The Iconography of the Miracle at Chonae. An Unusual Example from Cyprus,” *Zograf* 20(1989):95–103, and Peers, “Holy Man, Supplicant and Donor.”

68. Auzépy, “L'analyse littéraire et l'historien,” 58ff. See, however, the remarks of D. Krueger, “Typological Figuration in Theodoret of Cyrrhus's *Historia Religiosa* and the Art of Postbiblical Narrative,” *J ECS* 5(1997):393–417.

much within the scriptural structure of divine epiphany as found in the accounts of Moses, Joshua, Daniel and Isaiah in Hebrew scripture.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the encounter indicated the difficulties—often described in Hebrew scripture—attendant in confronting and perceiving an angelic being. Archippus weathered this confrontation and emerged as not unworthy of comparison to ancient examples of witnesses to epiphany; he did not worship the Archangel but humbly followed orders, and afterwards expressed gratitude for the safeguarding of the shrine and his own escape.

The *Vita* of Leo of Catania, dating to the first half of the ninth century, presented behavior which contrasts starkly with Archippus's propriety. In this miracle story, a magus by the name of Heliodorus introduced idolatry into the city in the form of an idol (ξόανον) of an aerial deity; the idol was also designated as a "sign" (στοιχεῖον), recalling a talisman through which a demon works and, more generally, the magic arts Heliodorus practiced.⁷⁰ Auzépy interpreted this episode as an inversion whereby the iconoclastic sympathies of the saint's life were revealed.⁷¹ The antagonist of the saint's life, Heliodorus, was a magician, that is, one who worked wonders or even miracles; significantly, he also worshipped idols. Auzépy sees idols in this context to mean any image, and so denoting all image worshippers, since Heliodorus was intended as an iconophile anti-hero in the saint's life; the aerial deity was also strikingly suggestive of all images of winged beings, notably angels. Although not delineated to the same degree as Heliodorus, Leo of Catania, the real hero of the text, derived his sanctity from his social standing as priest and his good deeds which did not include miracles or image worship. Moreover, Leo replaced the statue which Heliodorus worshipped with a cross, the favored iconoclastic sign.⁷²

69. On this structural similarity, see also chapter 5.

70. Acconcia Longo, "La vita de S. Leone di Catania," 89.21–26 (#8). And see also C. Blum, "The Meaning of στοιχεῖον and its Derivatives in the Byzantine Age. A Study in Byzantine Magic," *Eranos* 44(1946):315–25.

71. Auzépy, "L'analyse littéraire et l'historien," 62ff.

72. Acconcia Longo, "La vita de S. Leone di Catania," 97.1–7 (#18).

In this sense, too, Archippus could be considered to be a hero of the iconoclastic cause: his way of life was the focus of the miracle story rather than any miraculous deeds or interventions. The standard of behavior and the rigor of his prayer were clearly the persuasive means by which the audience was meant to be won over to a proper and efficacious worship. Moreover, like Abraham, Archippus did not make an image in commemoration.⁷³ He guarded the memory of a difficult but enlightening experience in his soul. Finally, he did not lapse into worship of the Archangel himself, and fall into pagan ways, as iconoclastic sources forewarned.

The patriarch Nicephorus (ca. 750–828) fully agreed with the position on idols and worship expressed by the fourth-century anti-image theologians Macarius Magnes and Epiphanius: one should not make idols of angels after the pagan fashion, neither should one worship them. Yet Nicephorus was unwilling to dismiss images commemorating interventions from worship on this account. On the one hand, for Nicephorus and other iconophiles, material objects were appropriate intermediaries for directing honor toward such spiritual beings as angels. Iconoclasts, on the other hand, denied the value of such distracting intermediaries, particularly in the case of such unrepresentable entities. For them, angels and their images had too many inherent dangers for Christians to negotiate. Rather, listening to the text—scripture or, as here, miracle stories—and hearkening to its message was proper and intellectual worship that allowed the reader/listener to ascend to spiritual truths without hindrance. Iconoclastic theology simply could not countenance any mediating steps, especially material ones, between worshipper and spiritual reality. Ethical instruction through persuasive texts such as miracle stories and saints' lives cre-

73. According to Sissinius, after Michael's disappearance Archippus retired to the shrine and returned to prayer. "The venerable one saw him as if a flame of fire streamed up into the heavens, [and] filled with puzzlement and fear, he went back to sing psalms in the holy shrine, 'God has sent his angel and liberated and saved me from the snares of the beasts, and he guarded his sacred shrine from the inundation of the waters.'" See *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 18, AASS Sept. 8:47AB.

ated a “true image” for the behavior and beliefs of conscientious Christians.

Although the Chonae miracle story must have been written or reworked as a consequence of the debates over worship in the eighth century, it was not dismissed after Iconoclasm. The text provided valid models of worship within the iconophile position as well. Indeed, the miracle was retold by Pantaleon in the late ninth/early tenth century and Sissinius and Symeon Metaphrastes in the tenth century; all of these redactions depended upon the anonymous text of the eighth century. Furthermore, the iconography of the miracle is first found in the tenth century, and it became popular thereafter, as the gorgeous twelfth-century icon from Sinai can attest (fig. 15).⁷⁴ The text did not dismiss images, but did describe a successful and orthodox form of worship; in this sense, Archippus was the miracle story’s “true image.” The Chonae story’s models of worship had relevance for both sides of this controversy, and, like the *Vita* of Leo of Catania, they must be seen within the context of debates over images of aerial deities and angels both. And the issue of angelolatry and idolatry are also present in this text as at Chonae since for iconoclasts the two forms of unsuitable worship were inseparable.

One final example of a miracle story including angels serves to show that in the period following Iconoclasm proper worship was again integrated with images, thereby coming full circle with the means of healing described in the seventh-century collection of miracles by Artemius. A miracle that occurred at the church of Michael at Eusebios in Constantinople, described by Pantaleon in his *Narration of the Miracles of the Mighty Archangel Michael*, illustrated this transition from the behavioral model of the Chonae miracle story to

74. The first extant representation of the miracle is found in the Church of St. John, north chapel #4, at Güllü Dere (ca. 900). See N. Thierry, *Haut moyen-âge en Cappadoce. Les églises de la région de Cavusin* (Paris, 1983) 155–56, pl. 71; C. Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce. Le programme iconographique de l’abside et ses abords* (Paris, 1991) 37ff. The earliest example of an illustration of the miracle at Chonae, in the canonical scheme, is found in the late tenth-/early eleventh-century *Menologium* of Basil II (Vat. gr. 1613, page 17). The iconography of the miracle is treated thoroughly by Gabelić, “The Iconography of the Miracle at Chonae,” 96–98.

orthodox worship that includes icons.⁷⁵ The miracle occurred immediately following the reintroduction of images in the reign of Michael III (842–867) under the regency of his mother, Theodora.

The story described Marcianus, a candle maker, and a godly servant of the shrine of Michael. Marcianus was never ill, according to the miracle story, but if he felt the slightest pain he needed only go into the church in order to recover. Once, however, Marcianus became ill and went to the shrine, but not before he was convinced by one of the doctors who congregated around the church to wear a poultice with some medicine. That night Marcianus slept in the church, as was the custom at this shrine, and, as in an ecstasy, he saw a terrifying vision. All the doors of the church were suddenly flung open and towards him came “a fearful man as out of the heaven, with a rush descending on a white and terrible steed.” This man got down from the horse and entered the church with an escort, dressed in the costume of court officials. The church also became suffused with an unworldly odor. After a moment, the man came to Marcianus’s cot and inspecting the recumbent man found the doctor’s medicine. He asked Marcianus what it was and identified himself by demanding who had dared bring such medicine into his house. Marcianus told him, and Michael sent his minions off to find the unfortunate doctor. Michael then took Marcianus to a candle hanging before an icon of the Archangel, dipped his finger in the oil, and made the sign of the cross on the patient’s forehead. Michael got back on his horse and rode off into the heavens. Straightaway all the doors of the church closed by themselves and Marcianus was left to marvel.

In the morning, Marcianus told his vision to the deacon who, seeing the cross on the man’s forehead, believed all he had been told. The deacon then sent to discover what had happened to the doctor

75. Pantaleon, *Narr. mir. max. Arch. Mich.*, XXVI–XXVIII, PG 140:586A–8A, and F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins d’Ochrida, Candie et Moscou* (Brussels, 1963) 147ff.

The text in praise of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel by Michael of Stoudios (late ninth century) also described the connection between icons and healing. See “Éloge des archanges Michel et Gabriel par Michel le Moine (BHG 1294a),” ed. T. Matantseva, *JbB* 46(1996):145 (XI.8).

and learned that the doctor had taken gravely ill during the night. Marcianus went to the doctor, saw his suffering, and ordered that the doctor be brought on his bed to the shrine of Michael to beg forgiveness and mercy. Marcianus re-enacted the method of healing with the oil and icon shown to him by Michael, and so offered the shrine's model for successful healing; forthwith, the doctor was miraculously relieved of his suffering.

Clearly, this text fully integrated images and worship, a remarkable development when compared to the image-less miracle story of Michael at Chonae, and to the unflattering portrait of iconophile worship of angels' images in the *Vita* of Leo of Catania. Behavior was not in the first place the means of gaining an epiphany in the episode described by Pantaleon, but the Archangel himself demonstrated the methods of efficacious healing; this method of approach was convincing by its results and was henceforth reproduced (we are led to believe) at the shrine of Michael at Eusebios. In fact, the shrine with its icon and oil provided the only proper method, as the unfortunate doctor learned.

The assimilation of proper behavior and images was the outcome of this long-standing debate on worship. Icons did not exclude other approaches, like Christian virtue as a "true image," but they were now an inextricable component in a complete Christian ethic. Indeed, the ancient Christian custom of accepting images in worship that iconophiles defended in the ninth century has been seen in practice through these miracle stories and saints' lives: despite inherent difficulties in gaining likeness in art, images were granted relation to their models through practice, through the consensus of worship and, most dramatically, through the miraculous example of Michael himself in the shrine at Eusebios.

Five

APPREHENDING THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL

MANUFACTURING SIGNS OF PRESENCE

This chapter examines the means by which hagiographical writings, that is, miracle stories, attempt to describe the presence and appearances of the Archangel Michael. Dealing with several miracle stories at some length demonstrates the ways in which each text persuades its audience of the Archangel's benign proximity. The tales of the miracle at Chonae contribute particularly in this examination since the "pre-history" of this cult is relatively clear and the shrine's activities during the Byzantine period were famous. Discussing other miracle stories, namely of the sanctuary at Monte Gargano in southern Italy and of the shrine in Asia Minor described by Michael Psellus (1018–1081?), allows certain structural similarities to emerge: the miracle stories reveal the Archangel Michael's elusive, elemental force active in a landscape and consequently bind him to places to strengthen expectation of worshippers' devotional return.

Several tales of the miracle at Chonae are extant, and, as accounts of the most popular miracle of Michael in the Byzantine world, they deserve special attention. All narrate the same series of events: a group of pagans attempt to destroy the shrine of Michael at Chonae

along with the guardian, Archippus, by flooding the vicinity. At the last moment, Michael appears and creates a chasm into which the water is forced to flow. The shrine and its newly fashioned spring henceforth work wonders.

The dating of the earliest miracle story cannot be decided with any finality, but more weight should be given to a late date, preferably in the eighth century, since the “lapses” in topographic detail in the miracle story point to a place of composition distant from the shrine itself and a time after the cult has been firmly established. This anonymous text, *Narration of the Miracle Accomplished at Chonae by the Archangel Michael*, was surely a reworking, however, of an early legend, since the cult of angels, and especially Michael, had an ancient history around Chonae. That the miracle story was re-worked in the eighth century attests to the popularity of the cult in the Byzantine world, but also to a contemporary relevance of its subject.¹

One can be certain, just the same, that the “inconsistencies” and “lapses” in the miracle story work to a purpose and communicate important information about the cult of the Archangel. Indeed, the stories of the miracle of the Archangel Michael at Chonae were persuasive texts, intended to communicate models of proper and successful devotion to an audience. The texts also worked to convince an audience of access to Michael, and through him God, guaranteed by the miracle and appearance of the Archangel at a holy place.

The quality of familiarity with the Archangel, however, is of a different order than that derived from “lives” of the mortal ranks of saints. As Symeon Metaphrastes (d. ca. 1000) wrote in the prologue to his version of the miracle at Chonae (20.8–12),

It is a great deal more beneficial to describe the details of the bodiless powers, to proclaim their heavenly portents and marvels. For by this how much more is familiarity and consort with God and these [powers] increased, by this how much greater the beneficence we harvest in these narratives concerning these [powers].²

1. See chapter 4.

2. All citations in the text refer to Bonnet.

The key term in this passage is “parrêsia” (παρρησία), which I have translated here as “consort” but which could also be rendered as “access” or “patronage” or even “boldness.”³ Although this “access” is not unique to the cult of the Archangel Michael, the incomprehensible nature of the Archangel made “access” more difficult than to the mortal saints. The cult of the Archangel Michael posed special problems for all aspects of devotion, based upon the unique, difficult nature of the angels and the archangels. The elemental qualities of Michael, which removed him from the more easily understood traits and operations of the once human saints, compounded this difficulty.

A topos of texts about the angels is the incomprehensibility of angelic beings and the insuperable distance that separates the angels from humanity. Despite its commonplace aspect, the topos has real meaning as a defining characteristic of the angels and archangels. Michael Psellus in his narrative in praise of the Archangel Michael stated that it is difficult to describe the deeds of humanity, but having surpassed any of these deeds the Archangel lies above in measure.⁴ Moreover, the Archangel remains beyond the praise deriving from speech, and is beyond the power of both the artful and artless.

3. On *parrêsia*, see E. Peterson, “Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte von παρρησία,” in *Reinhold Seeberg Festschrift*, ed. W. Koepf, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1929) I:283–97; G. Scarpata, *Parresia. Storia del termine e delle sue traduzioni in latino* (Brescia, 1963); P. S. Frank, *ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΟΣ ΒΙΟΣ. Begriffsanalytische und begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum “Engelgleichen Leben” im frühen Mönchtum* (Münster, 1964) 67–68; G. J. M. Bartelink, “Quelques observations sur ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ dans la littérature paléo-chrétienne,” in *Graecitas et latinitas christianorum primaeva*, suppl. 3 (Nijmegen, 1970) 5–57, 155–57; C. Mango, *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980) 159.

4. On this *encomium*, see Michael Psellus, *Oratio in Archangelum Michaellem, in Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, ed. E. A. Fisher (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1994) 230–56, as well as E. A. Fisher, “Nicomedia or Galatia? Where Was Psellus’ Church of the Archangel Michael?” in *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerlink at 75*, ed. J. Duffy and J. Peradotto (Buffalo, 1988) 175–87, and C. Mango, “La croix dite de Michel le Cérulaire et la croix de Saint-Michel de Sykéôn,” *CA* 36(1988): 41–49.

This topos of the author avowing inability to describe is also “an aesthetic choice bearing moral value.” See D. Krueger, “Hagiography as an Ascetic Practice in the Early Christian East.” *The Journal of Religion* 79(1999):216. But “authorial self-denigration” goes one step further for angels.

In other words, Michael surpasses the abilities of language to describe and honor. The difficulties of understanding are crucial since, as Psellus stated, the seeing and the hearing of a paradoxical, incomprehensible event establishes true faith.⁵ The incomprehensible nature of the appearances and the miracles of the Archangel must be understood in ways outside of the purely logical. Faith, in the face of the inexplicable event communicated by the miracle story, is the first step to comprehension. For Pantaleon, the process of apprehension is also indirect, “You illuminate our intellectual eyes of the heart, so that we should know, and apprehend in the mind and pronounce . . . the miracles of your majesty.”⁶ The difficulties inherent in the nature of the Archangel made for special problems of apprehension. For this reason, a textual and devotional footing distinct from the mortal saints determined access (παρρησία) to the Archangel.

Focusing on the generalized portrait of Archippus, a holy man with no real personality, some modern commentators have criticized the anonymous text describing the miracle at Chonae for its lack of inventiveness. Archippus came to the shrine as a boy and, as the miracle story describes it, he led an austere and, with one exception, an uneventful life. This generalization works to a purpose, however, in that it presents a behavior meant to persuade its audience of the best route to fulfilled entreaty. The narrator of the anonymous version has also been charged with being artless, rude in style, and incomplete in knowledge of the event and region.⁷ The burden of nineteenth-century rationalism doubtless blinkered these scholars to some of the positive aspects of the literary tradition of the Chonae miracle. Hopefully, some of these aspects will emerge from the discussion to follow.

5. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 231.3ff. and 240.224–26.

6. *Narratio miraculorum maximi archangeli Michaelis*, II, PG 140:575AB.

7. W. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire Before 170 a.d.* (New York and London, 1893) 468. See also Bonnet, who comments on the lack of coherence and the implausible additions: “nec arte nec ingenio excellentis nec omnino tamen utroque carentis” (vi), and “Genus dicendi tale est fere quale ab eiusmodi narratore expectes, rude et impolitum, modo tritum et volgare modo arcessitum, modo humile et abiectum modo poeticis verbis infucatum, nonnullis locis etiam soloecum aut barbarum” (vii). The hagiography is not, however, without “viribus et nervis” (vii).

The manner in which the anonymous miracle story described the topography of the area of Chonae is undeniably imprecise. For example, the apostles Philip and John appear at Chairitopa, a town otherwise without importance,⁸ and predict the Archangel's appearance in the future; the story places Chairitopa some miles to the southeast of the shrine and is too far distant to be the site where Michael appeared and the famous church was built. The anonymous redactor of the miracle story evidently assumed that Chairitopa was in the vicinity of Chonae.⁹ Yet the etymology of the toponym may be worth remarking because the place name may then refer generally to the place of the encounter, a station then proleptic to the meeting of Michael and his client. Egregious, too, is the way in which the redactor describes the rivers in the area of Chonae.¹⁰ For example, the Lykokapros is a nonsensical combination of two rivers, and the Lykos itself is said to flow in a direction which is clearly errant. Because of these errors, William Ramsay and others have been willing to accept this miracle story as a kind of naive aetiology of a half-forgotten event concerning earthquake and water supplies.¹¹

8. K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini, vol. 7 (Vienna, 1990) 221.

9. And this must have been the case, despite the inexactitude of the redactor's description. Chairitopa may have been to the south or west of Colossae. See L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure. Études de géographie antique* (Paris, 1935) 105ff., and further 105–106 n4: "Il n'y a rien à tirer de précis, pour la topographie, de cet absurde babillage; le rédacteur ne connaissait évidemment pas les lieux de façon précise. Sur la valeur topographique nulle de ce récit [cf. Bonnet and Ramsay]. Une fois que j'ai fixé le site de Keretapa, la question ne se pose plus tout à fait de la même manière; l'hypothèse qu'avait d'abord envisagée M. Bonnet ... s'adapte de façon curieuse à la localisation qu'il ne soupçonnait pas; mais je ne crois pas que ce petit problème vaille la peine d'être repris. De ce Miracle on conclura seulement que Chonae et Keretapa devaient être voisines."

10. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 470–71, and see Bonnet xxviii ff.

11. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 471–72, offers three possibilities for the writing of this legend. First, "Some are mere inventions to explain a name. In this way a tale might be made to explain the name Khonai, 'funnels,' as derived from a channel or funnel through which a neighbouring river flows." Second, "In many cases old legends, told originally of some pagan deity, were transferred to a Christian saint." Third, "Some legends were founded on historical facts, which occurred in Christian times." Ramsay favors the last and cites ancient authors on his behalf. Herodotus described Colossae as a place "wherein the

Regardless of the possible historicity of events giving rise to the cult, the anonymous account of the miracle is clearly dependent upon an amount of artifice for its persuasive power.¹² Its purpose is to provide the Archangel with a comprehensive history, an apostolic initiation, and an open ending; in this view, the text is notably successful. The tale takes place in a plausible geography—despite the apparent inconsistencies—which in the course of the story is miraculously altered to a form more or less familiar to contemporaries. At the end of the miracle story, the rivers ran their proper course, the places had the right names, the crevices spewed their healing water—in other words, the actions of the Archangel completely transformed and purified the area (in the text's terms). The text, then, is not a failed document of unlikely aetiology but rather a reinforcement of the object of Michael's cult, which was to make the angel apprehensible and grounded in a specific place from which his bodiless might emanates. Michael assumes, therefore, a "power base" for his cult.¹³

river Lycus plunges into a cleft in the earth out of sight, till it appears again about five furlongs away and issues like the other river into the Maeander" (7.30; trans. A. D. Godley, 7 vols. [London, 1922] III:345). Pliny wrote in the *Natural History*, "At Colossae is a river, and bricks when cast into it are of stone when taken out" (31.20; trans. W. H. S. Jones, 10 vols. [London, 1963] VIII:395).

And Bonnet xxvi, says that this hagiography is not only a fable (of which this is an example "luculentissimum") but also an "αἰτιολογικόν." It is not just for admiration and exhortation, "sed ab uno aliquo homine excogitari, qui, cum ad miraculum aliquod mens conversa sit et causae cognoscendae studio capta, non rem ipsam qualem oculis adspexit et animo exornavit verbis splendidis exprimit, sed quod quaerendo et ratiocinando de rei cause effecisse sibi videtur quasi memoriae proditum et certum exploratumque credulis auditoribus proponit."

12. Evelyne Patlagean warned against those who use a literal approach, seen to some extent in Ramsay's approach to the hagiography, and who see hagiographies "as a mere stringing together, with some variations in their order, of a limited number of legendary themes, among which the authors, who were both stupid and truthful, had inserted certain facts which were the only elements worthy of attention." Using this method exclusively, she adds, "substitutes for the dynamic coherence of a living work a fictive chimera in which cock-and-bull stories and reliable observations are inexplicably interwoven." See E. Patlagean, "Ancient Byzantine Hagiography and Social History," in *Saints and Their Cults. Studies in Religion, Sociology, Folklore, and History*, ed. S. Wilson, trans. J. Hodgkin (Cambridge, 1983) 101 [= "Ancien hagiographie byzantine et histoire sociale," *Annales* 23(1968):106–26, and *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance, IXe-XIe siècle* (London, 1981) item V].

13. See Mango, *Byzantium*, 157.

Localizing the immaterial Archangel was a goal of cult practice, a strategy reflected in the texts of the miracle in several ways. For instance, the miracle takes place at Colossae or Chairitopa, but miracle stories inevitably describe the change of the name of the site. In the so-called *Menologium* of Basil II (late tenth/early eleventh century), a compilation of brief saints' lives according to the liturgical calendar, the tale begins in a deceptively colorless manner. The narrator says, "in a town called Chonae, once Colossae ..." and he then proceeds to explain how this name change took place.¹⁴ Michael appears to his hermit and creates a cleft in the rock into which the water flows, more miraculously than before. The final sentence is, "Thereafter the place was called Chonae." This text is a condensed version of the transformational capabilities of the Archangel, in this case for landscape. The two topographical markers, the setting stated at the outset which signals a change and the final sentence which signals the reason for the change, are parentheses within which Michael's safeguarding of shrine and hermit take place. These markers, furthermore, give the narrative a sense of coherence and, importantly for a healing shrine, continuity.

In the texts, furthermore, the sense of place is also determined at a more fundamental level than narrative. The semantic play on "chone" (funnel) and its verbal form "choneuo" plant Michael's action firmly in the landscape from the moment of his intervention and into the future.¹⁵ The anonymous redactor has Michael commanding the water into its course at the height of the drama, "Fling

14. *Menologium Basilianum*, PG 117:33CD: "In a town called Chonae, once Colossae, there was a man by the name of Archippos, prudent and God fearing. He settled at the spring, which gushed forth on account of the guardianship of the Archistrategos, and because of the many miracles, and conversions and baptisms which occurred at the spring, Archippos provoked the jealousy of the Hellenes, who could not bear to see the wonderful miracles. Gnashing their teeth over the venerable agiasma and over Archippos they gathered a great many sympathisers, and damned two rivers, and mixing them together, unleashed them directly to overturn the church, agiasma and Archippos. As Archippos heard the roaring of the waters, he called on the Archistrategos to help. And straightaway he appeared and struck the rock with his staff which he held and he funneled the water into the opening. Thereafter the place was called Chonae."

15. See H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1968) s.v. χονεύω, iv [= χονεύω].

yourself into this funnel, and be funnelled into this chasm, and the splendour of this holy place will be throughout ..." (19.5–7). In the version of the miracle written by Symeon Metaphrastes, Michael, before striking the rock, says to the water, "Funnel yourself into the funnel" (27.24). In the Menologium text, Michael in the penultimate sentence "funnels the water," and in the last the narrator tells us that the place was henceforth called "funnels" or Chonae.

This play is common, in some form, to all versions of the miracle. The pun binds Michael's act precisely to exact properties of the site, in a region known for its uncertain geology, with fissures and hidden sources, now controlled and marked by Michael, as well as signifying an exact quality of the site as a place made salutary and benign by the extraordinary act of the Archangel.¹⁶ The nature of the act appears to create the name of the site, that is, Michael creates funnels and the place is henceforth known as "funnels." However, the miracle story's pseudo-etymology of "funnels," in linguistic terms, is "retro-motivated."¹⁷ The process of "retro-motivation" implies a paradoxical inversion since the name, here Chonae, determines the character of the event. The place, given new significance in the text, in fact limits Michael's own movements. The paradoxical operation

16. For E. Gothein, "L'arcangelo Michele, santo popolare dei Longobardi," *Rassegna Pugliese di scienze, lettere ed arte* 13(1896):108–109, the chasm created in the hagiography is the reason for the entire cult. It was the work of a demigod, and the impression "che qui si tratti di un culto naturale, è prodotta anche da tutto il resto: dalla sacra fonte e dalla figura fiammeggiante dell'angelo. È un fatto caratteristico, che solo la trasformazione ecclesiastica posteriore delle leggende, la quale va sotto il nome di Metafrasto, gli faccia sedere e respingere l'onde furiose col segno della croce. ... Appunto la potenza personale dell'angelo e la trasformazione arbitraria della natura, per la qual cosa egli, più che qualunque santo umano, avvicinavasi alla natura divina, costituiva l'attrattiva per la fantasia popolare."

Similarly, F. W. Hasluck, *Letters on Religion and Folklore* (London, 1926) 85ff., stated that Michael's connection with Chonae was with the chasm and not the spring. He saw Michael's role as primarily a "devil-dompter" at the mouth of hell; as the opponent of the devil, Michael took care of healings and madness.

17. P. Guiraud, "Étymologie et ethymologia (Motivation et rétro-motivation)," *Poétique* 11(1972):408: "Mais dans tous les exemples ici en cause le nom reprend ses droits et c'est lui qui motive le statut sémiologique du signifié: la forme crée le fond, le mot engendre la chose, par un procédé que l'on pourrait appeler 'rétro-motivation.'" And also, N. Struever, "Fables of Power," *Representations* 4(1983):112: "In retro-motivation, names create situations, narratives generate structures, words engender things ... the newly endowed word is then used as a proof of phenomenal character or event..."

both situates him and deprives him of initiative at the heart of his own act. Moreover, the predetermined quality of Michael's act is typologically reinforced by a parallel overtly made to Moses's miracle at Horeb (Ex. 17:6). This retro-motivation and typology indicate the inherent difficulties of describing an indescribable being and the processes by which he made his presence known.

Michael's imprint on the material world, here the physical realignment of his shrine and renewal of the miraculous qualities of the inexhaustible spring, is the only possible relic for a bodiless angel. The relic of an angel can only be negative, as the common epithets of the angels, bodiless (ἄσώματος) or immaterial (ἄύλος), are only negative attributes. At Chonae, the relic is not additive since nothing is left behind; Michael alters the landscape and in that way leaves traces of his immaterial presence. In the face of the natural uncertainties surrounding the Archangel, this alteration is the only positive proof possible. Moreover, the text promotes a place where regular exchange with the incomprehensible Archangel is possible and where a balance of prayer and reward is effected.¹⁸ Cult binds Michael to the site as the retro-motivated act embeds him within the very topography.

This structure of transformation and imprint is common to miracle stories concerning the Archangel Michael and is often an attribute of Michael's successful sanctuaries. For this reason, an examination of other miracle shrines and their texts situates this structure further in the cult of the Archangel Michael. The shrine of the Archangel Michael on Monte Gargano in Apulia in southern Italy has long been recognized as a descendant of the cult of Michael at Chonae.¹⁹ The miracle story of Michael at Gargano dates in its pres-

18. J. Walter, "St Demetrius: The Myroblytos of Thessalonika," *Eastern Churches Review* 5(1973):158 [= C. Walter, *Studies in Byzantine Iconography* (London, 1977) item V], notes the difficulties in dislodging Demetrius from his shrine at Thessalonike, and ventures that, paradoxically, this may have arisen from the fact that Demetrius was not there. The cult relied on proofs deriving from the *ex voto* images set up in his church. In contrast, Michael's cult relied on different kinds of material proofs commensurate with his formless nature.

19. See Gothein, "L'arcangelo Michele, santo popolare dei Longobardi," 111ff.; W.v. Rintelen, *Kultgeographische Studien in der Italia Byzantina. Untersuchungen über die Kulte des Erzengels Michael und der Madonna di Constantinopli in Süditalien* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1968) 3ff.; idem, "Kult- und Legendenwanderung von Ost nach West in frühen Mittelalter," *Saeculum* 22(1971):98; G. Otranto, "Il 'Liber de apparitione,' il santuario di San Michele sul

ent form to the eighth or ninth century,²⁰ and a Greek version was written in the late ninth or early tenth century, a time of the Byzantine re-conquest of the region.²¹

The Monte Gargano miracle story comprises three distinct, and rather disjointed, sections. At the beginning of the tale, a bull strayed from the herd of a wealthy local landowner, Garganus, on the slopes of the mountain. Garganus set out in search of the animal himself and eventually found the bull in a cave. The hot-headed squire, Garganus, became incensed at the animal and fired an arrow at it, but this arrow inexplicably returned “as if breathed upon by wind,” and struck the sender instead.²² Garganus returned to town and told his story to the locals, who were astounded by the incident. When canvassed, the bishop undertook a fast of three days and nights to discover the hidden cause. On the third night, a vision of the Archangel Michael visited the bishop, and it told the bishop that Michael had returned the arrow. At this Michael identified himself,²³ and said that the reason for his intervention was that he wished “to dwell in this place on earth and guard all.” Going to the mountainside the next day the bishop and townsfolk found that two doors were cut into the face of the mountain.

In the next episode, Michael appeared in another dream of the bishop and predicted the victory of the Sipontini, and their allies the Beneventi, over their enemies, the “heathen” Neapolitans. The next

Gargano e i Longobardi del Ducato di Benevento,” in *Santuari e politica nel mondo antico*, ed. M. Sordi (Milan, 1983) 241ff.

20. G. Otranto, “Il ‘Liber de apparitione’ e il culto di San Michele sul Gargano nella documentazione liturgica altomedievale,” *VetChr* 18(1981):440ff.

21. This text was first reported by A. Petrucci, *Una versione greco-bizantina dell'Apparitione Sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano* (Rome, 1955) and has been subsequently edited by Sandro Leanza. See also G. Otranto, “Per una metodologia della ricerca storico-agiografica: Il Santuario micalico del Gargano tra Bizantini e Longobardi,” *VetChr* 25(1988):400ff.

22. Leanza 301.38–39, *AASS* Sept. 8:61C, and *MGH* 541.28–31. Otranto, “Il ‘Liber de apparitione,’” 217ff., sees a trace of the defeat of paganism in this episode, a kind of battle between Garganus, a local god perhaps, and the new occupant, Michael. Although it is true that Garganus is not called *vir* in the texts, neither is paganism mentioned; in the text's terms, Michael's redirection of the arrow is a sign of presence and also nomination.

23. Leanza 315, on ll.48–49, where terms very close to Matt. 2:13 are used, and the Greek text simply substitutes “ἀρχάγγελος” for “ἄγγελος,” and “ἁγιοτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ” for “Ἰωσήφ.”

day strange things happened on the mountain, amongst them rumblings like thunder, lightning and darkness.²⁴ The “pagan” enemies were frightened off by these inexplicable signs and the Sipontini enjoyed an “angelic victory.”²⁵ Ascending to the site of the doors, the locals entered the cave and found traces there of the Archangel’s presence—“a small trace, as if the footstep of a man, struck there in the marble.”²⁶ By means of the signs of his tracings, this church was called the “place of the footprints.”²⁷

After the third visitation of the Archangel, the shrine was completed. The bishop, wondering about the proper way to consecrate this unparalleled chapel, had another vision, and the Archangel himself told the bishop not to consecrate the church because, “I myself have put it in order and consecrated it. You need only come and approach with your entreaties since I am attending as master in that place.”²⁸ Michael told him to come the next day and he would at that time show them how that place would guide them. The bishop visited the next day and found at the same spot a chapel ready made, carved out of the living rock “as if by the hands of the Archangel” (fig. 18). The chapel was clearly not produced by human hands, the narrator remarks, because the chapel was so irregular and rough, so full of corners and angles, that only an Archangel could have manufactured it.²⁹ They also found there a red cloak covering the altar—recollecting Elijah’s abandoned mantle (2 Kings 2:13)—and a spring erupted nearby which became a famous healing source.³⁰

The structural similarities, in the means by which the immaterial Archangel is grounded and made more really present, are striking in

24. Leanza 303.83ff. and 315–16; *AASS* Sept. 8:61D.

25. Leanza 302.81–303.2.

26. *AASS* Sept. 8:61E, *MGH* 542.23–24, and Leanza 303.98ff.

27. Leanza 303.105–304.107. In Greek, the allusion to the imprint of the feet is more obvious since Apodonia is clearly a loan word within the Latin text. See Leanza 313.

28. Leanza 305.139–42. Compare *MGH* 542.39–543.3.

29. Leanza 306.156ff.; *AASS* Sept. 8:62AB; *MGH* 543.4–14.

30. Leanza 307.182–83, which recalls Matthew 4:24 (“And his fame went throughout all Syria: and they brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those which were possessed with devils, and those which were lunatick, and those that had the palsy; and he healed them”); *AASS* Sept. 8:62BC; *MGH* 543.19ff.



Figure 18. Sanctuary of the Archangel Michael at Mt. Gargano, Apulia, Italy.
Photo: Biblioteca Comunale, Città di Monte Sant'Angelo.

the cases of Chonae and Gargano.³¹ In the Gargano miracle story, the first appearance of the Archangel brings about a renaming of the mountain, for now, “*ex eventu*,”³² the mountain is named after the wealthy Garganus. As at Chonae, Michael works at this nominative level and also transforms the holy site in a manner that specifically signals archangelic agency. The gradual construction of the chapel and his own heavenly consecration confirm Michael’s voluntary presence. The impression of Michael’s “body” is, furthermore, a dynamic relic, reductive and yet stamped at the focus of cult, the altar, a sign of immanence contained.³³ Footprints are an ancient sign of pres-

31. Rintelen, *Kultgeographische Studien*, 15.

32. AASS Sept. 8:60B. The identity of the figure of Garganus has been the source of much speculation. Most authors see Garganus as a remnant of some uncertain pagan deity Michael supplants. See, for an overview, Otranto, “Il ‘Liber de apparitione,’” 213ff., and especially 220ff., on the interesting parallels of the episode with Barlaam and the ass (Numbers 22:22ff.).

33. Footprints are common signs of presence in Greco-Roman sanctuaries throughout the Mediterranean, either of the divinity or of the worshipper (ambivalence is built into

ence, and at Gargano the assurance is essential for an incorporeal being who has chosen a place on earth for his “fleeting abode.”³⁴ Furthermore, the inscription over the door of the church at Gargano reinforces the notion of the spot hallowed by contact with Michael by recalling Exodus 3:5, where Moses is ordered to take off his shoes on account of the holy ground.³⁵

As at Chonae, a moral directive functions in the miracle story that describes the behavior proper to receiving revelation and epiphany of angels. God has sent Michael, the Greek miracle story of Gargano states, as guardian for those who were worthy.³⁶ Inevitably the text presents a moral program for devotees to follow in order to be considered deserving. When Garganus descended with his mysteriously inflicted wound, he naturally appealed to the bishop.³⁷ The bishop then fasted in order to learn the cause, since, as in the case of Archippus, the rules for this kind of appeal were well established in scripture and in other texts. After the bishop had completed the fast, the Archangel visited the bishop in a dream, and he said, “let it be known to you that it occurred because I willed it. For I am the Arch-

these signs). On this, see K.M.D. Dunbabin, “‘Ipsa deae vestigiae ...’ Footprints Divine and Human on Graeco-Roman Monuments,” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 3(1990): 85–109. Christianity absorbed this feature of pagan religions by the fourth century, at least, as the shrine on the Mount of Olives built for the footprints of Christ shows. See B. Köting, “Fußspuren als Zeichen göttlicher Anwesenheit,” *Boreas* 6(1983):200–201.

For angels the sign of footsteps has a different meaning. The footsteps describe a fleeting presence made imminent and concrete. For instance, at Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome, the marble footsteps of the angel who appeared to Gregory the Great are kept. See M.M. Guarducci, “Le impronte del ‘Quo vadis’ e monumenti affini, figurati ed epigrafici,” *Rendiconti. Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 19(1942/4):315; and B. Pesci, “Il problema cronologico della Madonna di Aracoeli alla luce delle fonti,” *RivAC* 18(1941):53ff. In the case of the angels, footprints serve to give form to formless beings; they are simple, visible signs of past manifestation and constant presence.

34. Gothein, “L’arcangelo Michele,” 142; and see C. Angelillis, *Il santuario del Gargano e il culto di S. Michele nel mondo*, 2 vols. (Foggia, 1956) I:231.

35. Angelillis, *Il santuario del Gargano*, I:47.

36. Leanza 300.9–10. At 311, he also remarks on the same effacement of ancient heresy found in the Chonae hagiographies. In the Latin text Michael is moved in favor of the Sipontini because of his compassion for human frailty, while in the Greek text it is God who has compassion for human fragility and this in turn moves Michael on the behalf of the Sipontini. Leanza plausibly suggests the modification is due to theological preoccupations with making Michael’s intervention subservient to God’s will.

37. Leanza 301.39ff.

angel Michael, he who always stands in the presence of God.”³⁸ The bishop fasted a second time, “so as to be worthy of Michael’s aid and presence,”³⁹ and had a second vision. Michael’s appearances and construction henceforth miraculously transformed the site, and the access given to the bishop was opened, in lesser degrees, to all those far and wide who were worthy.⁴⁰

Important for devotional ends, however, was the emphasis on presence. The prologue to the Greek text specifies the “digging” and manufacture of the cave-church as an incontrovertible sign of the Archangel’s visitation and presence. The miracle story remarks on the very roughness and oddity of the construction as a mark of the benevolence and heartfelt solicitation of devotion. Michael’s presence infuses every corner and crevice of the chapel because of the superhuman technique of construction, as Michael’s extraordinary act of intervention at Chonae impressed his presence on the spring and chasm. Since Gargano was the radiating point for the cult of Michael for the West, other shrines in Italy and the rest of Europe consistently imitated the idiosyncratic invention and shape of the church.⁴¹ The foundation of the monastery at Mt. Tumba in Normandy self-consciously modeled itself after the Gargano sanctuary, down to the importation of monks and a piece of the altar stone as a relic from Gargano.⁴² In western Europe roughly designed churches

38. Leanza 301.47ff.

39. Leanza 302.66ff.

40. Leanza 307.188.

41. Gothein, “L’arcangelo Michele,” 141: “questa sua miracolosa abitazione terrena lo fece apparir sempre come una specie di divinità naturale”; and in time, Gothein says, the irregularity and the roughness of the shrine became “un simbolo prediletto dall’arcangelo.” He adds that the candles which burn during the day in the grotto are allowed to snuff out at dusk because it is then that the archangel is believed to enter his sanctuary. And see G. Otranto and C. Carletti, *Il santuario di S. Michele arcangelo sul Gargano dalle origine al X secolo* (Bari, 1990) 57–71, and O. Campagna, “La grotta di S. Michele alla Serra di Grisolia,” *Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 40(1986):57–65, on the typology of Michael’s cave sanctuaries.

42. The similarities between Tumba and Gargano are striking and indeed entirely purposeful. Michael makes his will known through signs and visions and more importantly in his reshaping of the holy sanctuary. See AASS Sept. 8:75E, 77C, and *Millénaire monastique du Mont-St.-Michel*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1971).

placed on mountain tops became a symbol of the Archangel's presence.⁴³

These palpable signs are momentous within the cult of Michael since, as the narrator of the Greek miracle story states, "order is made through signs and heavenly power."⁴⁴ These signs are more apprehensible when made materially and dramatically. The first incident on Gargano was really a signal of Michael's intent; the returned arrow is noteworthy in the miracle story because of its ambiguity and fleeting quality. Further, the dreams of the bishop are transitory visions in the murky realms of the unconscious, and they are restricted to one person. The irrefutable physical impressions made by the Archangel inspired the collective imagination and other sanctuaries reproduced them. The miracle story presents these marks of voluntary presence as ways in which they bridle Michael so that material signs mediate his immaterial being and make him comprehensible.⁴⁵

Psellus's eleventh-century narrative praising the Archangel Michael provides an important contrast to the stories of the miracles at Chonae and Gargano and their cult certainties. The precise location of the shrine described by Psellus is not known, since he presented little topographical detail, but it may well have been in Galatia in Asia Minor, perhaps in the city of Sykeon.⁴⁶ In the prologue, Psellus extolled the Archangel's splendid qualities. Michael surpasses in mea-

43. See T. Baumeister, "Religionsgeschichtliche und kultgeographische Aspekte der westlichen Michaelsverehrung," in *Memoriam sanctorum venerantes: miscellanea in onore di Monsignor Victor Saxer*, Studi di antichità cristiana, vol. 48 (Vatican City, 1992) 11–19.

44. Leanza 300.5–7.

45. Michael's immanent protection was held to be magically ensured by means of images and names in some popular legends. See, for example, E. Amélineau, *Contes et romans de l'Égypte chrétienne* (Paris, 1888) 41, on the Coptic legend of Euphemia. In the legend, Satan says to Michael, "O Monseigneur l'archange, aie pitié de moi; j'ai eu l'audace de commettre la faute d'entrer dans une chambre où se trouvaient ton nom et ton image: je t'en supplie, ne me fais pas périr avant que le terme de mon existence soit arrivé.... Je vais te promettre devant Dieu de ne plus entrer dans un endroit où sera ton nom."

46. On the topography, see Fisher, "Nicomedia or Galatia?" 170ff.; Mango, "La croix dite le Cerulaire," 48; V. Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture (582–867): Its History and Structural Elements*, *Orientalia christiana analecta*, vol. 237 (Rome, 1991) 242ff., on the village of Sykeon in Galatia, but especially 249; R. Volk, *Der medizinische Inhalt der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich, 1990) 196ff.

sure and magnitude the nature and deeds of humanity. One must “announce the great things of the nature over us” and proclaim the miracles of the Archangel even more than those of the human saints.

Psellus then proceeded to narrate the events that led up to the foundation of the church of Michael. Heraclius (ca. 575–641) was in the course of returning to Constantinople after a triumphant campaign against the Persians in the Holy Land.⁴⁷ His victories were aided in no small part by a miraculous cross, which had powers against unseen hateful ones and all other battling powers. The emperor had decided to rest on this return journey in the vicinity of a church dedicated to the Theotokos, and he deposited the cross on the altar of that church for the duration of the stay. When it was time to recommence the journey, Heraclius sent some soldiers to collect the cross at the church. However, the cross refused to be moved and could not be dislodged from the altar no matter what effort was applied to it, “just as some rocky outcrop is unshaken by waves falling upon it.”⁴⁸ Almost immediately the soldiers were distracted by a second and more wondrous miracle when the cross kindled into strange flame.

The sparks of an unseen fire shone forth at first. Thereupon, the cross caught fire entirely. And the kindling increased a little, and with a little help it, having been brought altogether to a head, also spread through the whole building and around the church. And now [the fire] was thrown from the building and it seemed that the whole thing was about to be burned. . . . But the fire was consumed in the same way as the ancient bush. Whence it burned, it did not consume the church, but rather the church burning to ashes was beaming with light. And in the same way that it had been attacked invisibly, in this same way it was again extinguished with the flames quenched, and the church showed forth as before, only more pure than it had been. But at least I do not suppose that this was a somatic fire, though it had been seen and considered by many in this way, but the divine Archangel decided to appear out of immaterial-

47. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 233.50ff.

48. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 238.158ff.

ity possessing a being of fire, in the church of the Mother of God, since the intelligible lightning of burning heat was being made manifest to the onlookers as sensual burning heat.⁴⁹

When the emperor heard of this miracle, he was greatly moved and he commissioned churches for the Archangel and the Mother of God as well as providing monks for the foundation, thereby “making an angelic order on earth for the Archangel.”⁵⁰ And Psellus concluded by saying that the former flame still burns in the hearts of those practicing there and the Archangel oversees them still.

This is a remarkable miracle not least because of the inscrutability of the cause. Psellus did not declare Michael’s agency except by the nature of the miracle, which itself has congruity with Michael’s own nature. Michael’s fiery and spiritual constitution seems to have been the only possible means by which such a paradoxical miracle could have been accomplished. Psellus, moreover, could not state the reason for Michael’s intervention in a church of the Theotokos through an object which he himself said is inextricably linked to Christ. Psellus offered two possibilities: “Either he wanted to take up residence in this sacred church and to perform miracles there, or honouring the image of the Virgin, he desired to serve under the personal command of the queen there.”⁵¹ Psellus confessed he did not know for certain. He continued his miracle story with descriptions of some of the miracles that followed on this miraculous enunciation of intent by the Archangel. Michael brings about cures and miracles in a number of ways, either through the agency of the cross, or by a person’s simply being in the church or taking sacraments. By these means, Michael shows his “great power” and his “overshadowing presence.”⁵² The inscrutability of Michael’s presence is noteworthy when

49. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 238.179–239.192. The icon that is not consumed by fire also has a history. See O. Meinardus, “A Typological Analysis of the Traditions Pertaining to Miraculous Icons,” in *Wegzeichen. Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Prof. Dr. Hermangild M. Lieberman OSA*, ed. E. C. Suttner and C. Patock (Würzburg, 1971) 220–21.

50. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 239.203ff.

51. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 239.198–201.

52. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 247.404–406.

compared to the direct, unmistakable traces left at Chonae and Gargano. And yet the cross contained and channeled Michael's presence through the cross there. This object is in some sense a conduit for Michael's activity "by which and in which the great Archistrategos works miracles."⁵³ Michael's immanence has thereby found some kind of cast.

These miracle stories all display the extraordinary means necessary for the foundation of cult shrines of the bodiless Archangel. These special strategies are even more evident when contrasted to miracle stories of the mortal saints. For example, in the ninth century, Nicephorus, a priest at the church of the Virgin in Blachernai at Constantinople, wrote an encomium in honor of Theodore of Sykeon (d.613) in which he described the procession of the body of Theodore from his home province of Galatia to Constantinople. A miracle which has striking similarities to Michael's initial miracle described by Psellus occurred in the course of that procession.⁵⁴ Theodore of Sykeon's bier halted of its own accord outside the walls of the capital and could not be moved. A second miracle followed this first as one of the team of animals drawing the cart spoke in order to make the saint's will known. Reminiscent of Balaam's ass (Numbers 22:22ff.), the animal said that the saint wished to reside in this place and work wonders there.⁵⁵ The immovable object followed by a more fantastic miracle constitutes a striking similarity between the miracles of Theodore of Sykeon and Michael.⁵⁶

53. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 244.319ff.

54. K. Kirch, "Nicephori Sceuphyllacis encomium in S. Theodorum Siceotam," *AB* 20(1901):269.22–32.

55. Similar foundation legends are noted by G. Dagron, "Constantinople. Les sanctuaires et l'organisation de la ville religieuse," *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne. Lyons, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 Septembre 1986)*, 3 vols. (Vatican City, 1989) II:1072–73.

56. Fisher, "Nicomedia or Galatia?" 182. She sees several elements in common between the two hagiographies: first, a sudden and persistent immovability and, second, a greater miracle which serves to confirm the first. Moreover, Fisher posits the dependence of the hagiography of Psellus on that of Theodore of Sykeon on account of local competitiveness between the two local cults. She also sees significance, in both instances, of an offering of an explanation for the incidents, even though Psellus's interpretation is notably vague. Michael is connected to the phenomenon at the church because of its elemental force, the natural association of Michael with fire. Fisher also sees "imagery of flashing light associated with the

Important, however, are the differences which do show the particular character of Michael's cult. In the narrative of Psellus, Michael works through the cross. By contrast, Theodore of Sykeon continued to operate after his death through his corporeal relics, thus making his presence known on earth thereafter. In fact, relics are key in the cult of most mortal saints and serve to distinguish them from the cult activity of the Archangel.⁵⁷ Moreover, as the sermon of Severus of Antioch (ca. 465–538) shows, the church often introduced relics of mortal saints into shrines of angels in order to make the cult of angels palatable to authorities.⁵⁸

With or without a relic, Michael's presence at the church Psellus described is simply inexplicable and unpredictable, but undeniably there. The ambiguity of Michael's appearance is also noteworthy in comparison to the unmistakable communication of Theodore of Sykeon's will concerning his earthly remains. Michael's will, on the other hand, asserts itself through a kind of immanence and an effect on the shrine that purifies through invisible contact with the Archangel. Michael has left traces on the site in that he has perceptibly altered the church, and the subsequent thaumaturgic character of the shrine proves this alteration.

holy one," although I do not see this figuring in the Theodore text in the same way. What seems more important, then, are the factors not shared, notably relics, an unambiguous revelation of will and the incomprehensible angelic manifestation. On the textual level, moreover, one can make an equally strong case for scriptural precedents as providing clearer paradigms for the Psellus hagiography.

57. M. Rouche, "Le combat des saintes anges et des démons: La victoire de Saint Michel," *Santi e demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (secoli v–xi)*, Settimane vol. 36, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1989) 1:534.

58. See chapter 2 for the sermon, but see also the Council of Carthage (ca. 400?) which ruled that churches and shrines of the saints themselves must not be founded without relics. The Fathers of this Council decided against the custom of establishing shrines by the faithful who invoke some apparition of saints or of the martyrs in dreams or revelations. See G.A. Ralles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, 6 vols. (Athens, 1852–1859) III:508ff. On relics and angels, see P. Canivet, "Le Michaelion de Huarte (Ve s.) et le culte syrien des anges," *B 50* (1980):110ff.; P. and M. T. Canivet, *Huarte. Sanctuaire chrétien d'Apamène (IVe–VIe s.)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1987) I:279ff.; Severus of Antioch (ca. 465–538), *Les homiliae cathedrales*, PO vol. 8/2, ed. M. Brière (Paris, 1919; rp. Turnhout, 1971) 84ff.; and P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1985) 56. And see *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1970) I:36 (40.10ff.), 57 (70.1ff.), 80 (100.1ff.), 82–83 (103.1ff.), 140 (161.51ff.), on the association of St. George and Michael in Galatia.

Another telling comparison can be made to the “life” and cult of Thecla.⁵⁹ The saint, according to her miracle story, appears in dreams and in other ways beyond her shrine at Seleucia in southeastern Asia Minor. The “life” states that the shrine is located on the site of her descent into the living rock. According to the “life,” God opened the rock in order to engulf her, saying,

“Do not fear ... behold how it has opened up before you, for there shall be your eternal dwelling place, and there you shall receive shelter.” And ... Thecla beheld the rock opening up, as much as made room for a person to enter ... and she entered the rock. And the rock closed straightaway. ...⁶⁰

The legend is clearly charged with explaining the lack of actual relics or known grave site. The rock simply split at the altar and all suffering and illness were dispelled at that spot. Gilbert Dagron saw this as an alternate tradition that arose locally in Seleucia, orally perhaps, in order to compensate for the absence of relics.⁶¹ For the locals, he proposed, Thecla continued to inhabit the place, eternally resting and alive, like Enoch. Indeed, Severus of Antioch wrote in his homily on Thecla that the saint’s body was entrusted to the earth whence her miracles and healings continue.⁶²

The relics of Cyrus and John, on the other hand, are witness to the authenticity of the cult, at Menuthis near Alexandria.⁶³ The relics had been found by Cyril of Alexandria (378–444),⁶⁴ though they were previously unknown, and brought to the sanctuary at Menuthis. The author of the “life,” Sophronius (ca. 560–638), would brook no doubt on the subject of the relics’ worth and veracity. In one of the miracles, a woman called Athanasia from Alexandria re-

59. L. Deubner, *De incubatione capita quattuor* (Leipzig, 1900) 98ff.

60. Deubner, *De incubatione*, 102.

61. *Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle. Texte grec, traduction et commentaire*, ed. G. Dagron (Brussels, 1978) 50ff.

62. *Les homiliae cathedrales*, 136–37.

63. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient*, 384ff.

64. *Homilia xviii. Fragmenta de translatione reliquiarum martyrum Cyri et Joannis*, PG 77:1100C ff.

fused the title of martyr to Cyrus and John because no documents existed to satisfy her concerning the saints' deeds and the provenance of their relics.⁶⁵ Sophronius observed that many martyrs do not have documentation for their relics and that devotees piously venerated them for their qualities as intercessors. He further claimed that Cyril of Alexandria's texts are documentation enough for the relics' authenticity. Even without this indisputable fact, he continued, the martyrs' *bona fides* is the number of miracles, which exceeds those of certain other martyrs. Athanasia was willfully deaf to any argument and was struck by paralysis as punishment; only with her repentance was the affliction lifted. With mortal saints, the traces of activity constituted a partial proof of their existence; and yet the infallible proof was their relics.

In contrast to the mortal saints, the bodiless Archangel, who has no earthly existence, is made known by imprints and transformations of the perceptible world; remnants of a physical, mundane past are not possible. The relative stability of the effects, and the wonders deriving from them, is a necessary counterbalance to the essentially incomprehensible nature of the cause, the Archangel Michael. The invisible movements and inscrutable purposes of the angels are sometimes manifest, however, and in a way recognizable and approachable even to humanity. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite described the invisible, intellectual life of the angels using the metaphor of the lion who walks towards the sun without leaving any trace.⁶⁶ In this manner, the angels themselves imitate divine discretion in dissimulating the traces of their intelligence. The angels are permitted a divine illumination in enveloping mysteriously and without arrogance this ascension towards the Thearchy. The intellectual nature of the angels' activities necessitates that unmistakable tracks be left behind to signal the protective presence of Michael, or any other angel, for cult. The abstract and recondite nature of the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius could not have satisfied any desire for

65. *Homilia xviii*, XXIX, PG 87.3:3508A–13C.

66. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, SC vol. 58, ed. G. Heil and M. de Gandillac (Paris, 1958) 185 nt.

devotional certainties. Just the same, these passages on the intellectual life of the angels describe the remoteness and incomprehensibility of the angelic host. This theological conception, then, is the counterpoint to the miracle stories' descriptions of Michael's effect on place. The continuing guardianship manifest in Michael's traces, and underlined in the miracle stories, maintain his immanence in the wake of his difficult epiphany.

The Archangel's own promise of intent in the accounts of the Chonae miracle underlines the importance of place in his cult. At the climax of the miracle story, with the water standing before them to the height of ten persons, Michael struck the impenetrable rock, which resounded throughout the land like thunder. Michael then made his vow (18.8–12): "In this very place will be crushed all suffering and every evil and illness and enchantment and poison and all workings of wickedness. Here all fetters will be loosened and the troubled and the feeble will be healed."

At Gargano also Michael made explicit the motive behind his appearances. He appeared to Garganus and to the bishop, and constructed the chapel, in order that he might make known his will to remain present with benevolent purpose at that site. The material traces of this difficult presence at a blessed place are the signs the cult depended upon and are the common structure of these texts and the cult the texts relate.

Pilgrimage is an extension of this basic impulse to find ongoing testimony of Michael's benevolent activity. The hope of finding deliverance is greater at places where presence is promised and proven.⁶⁷ Victor and Mary Turner have written, "All sites of pilgrimage have this in common: they are believed to be places where miracles once happened, still happen and may happen again."⁶⁸ The shrine at Chonae was the site of pilgrimage and famous festivals in honor of the saint, at least until the late twelfth century and possibly

67. V. Turner and M. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture. Anthropological Perspectives* (New York, 1978) 6.

68. Turner / Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 6.

beyond.⁶⁹ Testimony establishes that pilgrims came to Chonae for the efficacious quality of a site where the presence of the bodiless Archangel was tangible, visible and constant.⁷⁰

The difficulties of perception and comprehension of the angels, particularly of the active and popular Michael, made certain strategies desirable in cult and its textual manifestations. The enigmatic nature of the Archangel found counterbalances in the positive proofs of cult, that is, material traces of the bodiless Archangel. On a textual level, the miracle stories underscore the importance of material traces by such devices as retro-motivation and re-nomination. Pilgrims sought the Archangel's favor, and healing and other assistances were expressions of his material interventions of a benevolent character: these were the cult certainties that the devotion to an immaterial being demanded. According to the stories of the miracle at Chonae, the landscape witnessed in a crucial sense Michael's presence and still contains the effects of that intervention. In a more radical, more thoroughgoing way, the landscape is a witness, since—as will be seen in the following section—autopsy is elusive and illusory.

69. Michael Choniates (ca. 1138–ca. 1222) described the gatherings for the shrine of Michael in this way: “The miracles in the church gave rise to a festival, a multitudinous festival, about it. It is multitudinous, indeed very multitudinous, for it draws, not to exaggerate, all the neighbouring towns, but also in addition the Lydians, Carians, Paphlagonians, and Lycians from beyond, and in addition barbarian Iconiotes, in order to buy and sell.” See Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ Σωζόμενα, ed. S. P. Lampros, 2 vols. (Athens, 1879–1880) I:56; trans. S. Vryonis, Jr., “The *Panegyris* of the Byzantine Saint: A Study in the Nature of a Medieval Institution, Its Origins and Fate,” in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London, 1981) 216.

70. On the pilgrimage to Chonae, see S. Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkeley, 1971, 20, 33 n165, and B. Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa. Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche* (Münster, 1950; rp. Münster, 1980) 166ff., Belke/Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, 223, and Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient*, 385.

Pilgrims also made their way to the shrine of Michael described by Psellus. He mentions a *panegyros* held for Michael there (Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 246.388), and a pilgrims' hostel (Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 246.368–72). And for Gargano, the long and well-documented history of pilgrimage is outlined by Angelillis, *Il santuario del Gargano*, II:163–250.

By their use of metaphor and scriptural model, miracle stories reveal the distance that separates human comprehension from full knowledge of the Archangel. The disparity between this desire for a greater apprehension and the ultimate failure to describe marks the verbal impasse in reports of the Archangel and his activities. Material images also share in this impasse. They normally show a winged youth, as in the Sinai icon of the Chonae miracle (fig. 15), but such a representation is simply an allusion to a transcendent nature rather than a literal rendering of an angel's appearance. Descriptions from miracle stories examined here do not provide stable models for representing the Archangel as they can for human saints. Like images, miracle stories provide a means for apprehension that not only compels contemplation but also denies resemblance and complete discernment of the archangelic subject.

Pre-existing structures derived from scripture and other texts determine to a large extent verbal descriptions in miracle stories of angels, including the Archangel Michael. These descriptions are recognizably "borrowed" and thus venerable because of their origins. They create familiarity and persuade the audience as to the miracle story's verity. At the same time, the unoriginal quality of the descriptions work to another purpose: descriptions of the Archangel obtained from scriptural passages reporting epiphanies indicate the impossibility of language truly rendering an Archangel or angel.

The encounter of holy man and angel at Chonae, as described in the miracle stories, is very much within the scriptural structure of divine epiphany. Furthermore, the encounter indicates the difficulties attendant upon confronting and perceiving an angelic being. Archippus had no sooner finished his Psalm than there arose a great peal of thunder outside the chapel and the Archistrategos appeared (14.16ff.). In the dialogue that ensues, Michael tries to calm the shaken monk. This structure of awful epiphany and conciliation—not to mention the preparations—has an obvious antecedent in the appearance of the "one like the similitude of the sons of men" to Daniel (Dan. 10:1ff.). Michael called out to the monk in a "great

voice” to leave the shrine before he is plunged in the water. Archippus came out very cautiously and saw a vision “glancing like lightning,” and he fell to the ground “as if dead.”⁷¹

At this moment Archippus is given a full vision of the power of his protector, and of his faith: the Archangel is a pillar of fire from earth to heaven.⁷² Exodus described the Angel of the Lord who led the Israelites out of the desert identically, “through the pillar of fire and of the cloud” (Ex. 14:24).⁷³ Moreover, Michael’s fiery nature, established by scripture, Psalm 104:4 most notably, often manifests itself in texts on epiphanies. Fire is a textual veil referring to the difficult nature and aspect established by scripture.

The Archangel thereupon told Archippus to stand firm and witness the power of God. Michael commanded the still approaching rivers to stop, and the waters stood to the height of ten persons. And then, Sissinius says, Michael acted just as Moses at the Red Sea: “For as Moses once formed walls of the waters when he struck them with his staff, and led the people to the promised land out of Egypt, why not even (greater) by the word of the Taxiarch Michael, leader of the entire host of heaven?”⁷⁴ Michael is able to stop the waters with a

71. Sissinius, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 15, *AASS* Sept. 8:46EF, describes Michael further as a “flashing forth of angelic glory,” an implicit comparison to Moses at Exodus 34:29ff. For instance, Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 330–ca. 395), *In Canticum Canticorum homiliae* xv, XII, *PG* 44:1025C, says that Moses was like the sun, with “the light flashing forth from his face.”

Archippus’s reaction is not untypical of such a dreadful epiphany: see C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven. A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York, 1982) 367.

72. The same description is found in the Metaphrastic version (Bonnet 27.8–9). Sissinius, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 15, *AASS* Sept. 8:46E, signals the indescribable nature of the vision with ὥσεὶ στύλος πυρὸς ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν standing on the hard rock near the shrine. The “just as” (ὥσεὶ) is a significant marker of an approximate description.

A fiery nature is one of the aspects of the angels’ being naturally. See, for instance, Pseudo-Dionysius, *De coelestii hierarchia*, XV.2, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 166–71.

The importance of the fiery nature in theology is translated into hagiographical description as seen in the Chonae hagiographies. See also T. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1901–1907; rp. New York, 1975) I:87.

73. See Theodore of Stoudios (759–826), *In sanctos angelos*, 3, *PG* 99:733CD, on this passage: the “divine angel transformed himself into a pillar of fire,” and “the beauty of the countenance took on the image of a cloud.”

74. Sissinius, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 16, *AASS* Sept. 8:46F–7A.

word, Sissinius also says, while Moses had to use his staff. The first miracle of stopping the water, then, is comparable to Moses's, but the second is even greater. Michael struck the impenetrable rock which resounded like thunder and shook the entire land, leaving the inhabitants in the surrounding area panic-stricken. At the creation of the chasm Michael made his important promise, that his benign presence would overshadow that place (18.8–17).⁷⁵

The encounter clearly owes some of its structure of awful epiphany, incomprehensible vision, and comforting and revelations to the Book of Daniel, as well as to the Gospel according to Matthew (28:2ff., for example). The identification of the vision is equally fraught. Michael asks, "Do you know who I am, that you shudder at my sight?" To this Archippus can only deny knowledge. Michael thereupon states his identity in terms that evoke the meeting of Joshua and the angel before the battle of Jericho (Joshua 5:14).⁷⁶ Like Joshua, Archippus misapprehends the nature of the epiphany but he saves the situation by not falling on his face and worshipping the "captain of the host of the Lord" as Joshua did. The appearance of the angel to Joshua occurs on holy ground for he tells Joshua, "Loose thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place whereon thou standest is holy" (5:15). This comparison is not explicit in the miracle story but the appearance of Michael at Chonae is *also* the marking of a permanently hallowed spot, as his promises indicate. In other words, the sanctification of the site, and the identification of the agent of that sanctification, is predetermined.

Michael's appearances at Chonae in the miracle story are multi-form. His first appearance is in a dream to the Laodicean pagan. The story described Michael as merely a "night vision" (4.2ff.) in the

75. Μηναία τῷ ὅλῳ ἐνιαυτοῦ, 6 vols. (Rome, 1888–1901) I:71 on Moses and Michael at Horeb (Ex. 17:6), and, 73, at the Red Sea. Michael is at the Burning Bush (Ex. 3:2), as described in the *Analecta hymnica graeca*, ed. A. Kominis (Rome, 1972) 232; the text also suggests a comparison between Moses who parted the sea with his staff (Ex. 14:16.21) and Michael's own similar deed (237). See Pantaleon, *Narratio miraculorum maximi archangeli Michaelis*, XIII, PG 140:580C–1A, on Michael's role in the engulfing of Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea (Ex. 14:1ff.).

76. Elliott, *Roads to Paradise*, 116ff., notes that in the Book of Tobias Raphael identifies himself in this way: Ego enim sum Raphael angelus (12:15).

anonymous version; in the Metaphrastian version, the pagan saw “a more Godly vision announcing better goodnesses” (22.13ff.). The Laodicean pagan is granted an incomplete glimpse of the Archangel, although his vision, according to Metaphrastes again, was a vision of some intellectual being standing beside him (22.22–23). “For he was not worthy of being a spectator of such things, how then can he see with the eyes of his soul, embracing as he did, an unbeliever, that gloom of the faithless” (22.18–20)? And the apparition told the pagan to go to the spring, and the result was the new chapel for Michael’s shrine (22.23ff.).

Later, in the destructive schemes of the local pagans, Michael makes his presence known in several different ways. The first plan of the pagans was direct assault, but this went wrong when they encountered at the source an inexplicable phenomenon: “Those who came saw flames of fire reflecting from the water in their own faces. And in this way the disbelievers were turned back, having been overpowered” (9.2–5). After this the pagans determined an indirect approach would accomplish their ends better and they diverted the Chryses; but Michael’s invisible intervention subverted that plot as well: the river divided in two and missed the shrine altogether. The pagans then decided to go one better; they dammed the Lykokaphros and the Kouphos until the rivers should have enough power to overwhelm the shrine, the hermit and the holy spring. At this point the most dramatic epiphany occurs:

In order therefore that the just be safeguarded, and the site of his holy spring, and church . . . and that God be extolled, he who makes great and inscrutable miracles, the Archangel Michael acting as servant was seen just as a pillar of fire reaching from the earth to the heavens and standing on the immovable rock by the shrine. . . .⁷⁷

77. *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 15, *AASS* Sept. 8:46E. According to Sissinius, Michael disappeared as incomprehensibly as he arrived, “The venerable one saw him as if a flame of fire streamed up into the heavens, filled with puzzlement and fear, he went back to sing psalms in the holy shrine, ‘God has sent his angel and liberated and saved me from the snares of the beasts, and he guarded his sacred shrine from the inundation of the waters’” (*Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 18, *AASS* Sept. 8:47AB).

The miracle story describes, then, a progression of revelation, all of a difficult and incomprehensible nature. Michael's mutability is an inescapable aspect of his appearances, as well as the manner in which human comprehension and description come up short in the face of such epiphanies. The security of angelic epiphanies from Hebrew scripture offers a kind of textual anchor in these miracle stories for otherwise impossible descriptions.

The epiphany on the mountainside at Gargano, for instance, uses direct borrowings from scripture to describe Michael's terrible appearance. The day after he had appeared in a dream to the bishop predicting "angelic victory" of the Sipontini, Michael made his presence on the mountain known through rumblings, darkness and lightning, which borrow directly from Exodus 19:16: "And it came to pass on the third day, when it was morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of a trumpet exceeding loud; and all the people that were in the camp trembled." The Greek text is more overt than the Latin version about its scriptural models and also calls up images from Isaiah 60:2 ("For behold, darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the peoples; but upon thee the Lord will arise, and His glory shall be seen upon thee").⁷⁸ The fire that mysteriously announces the presence of Michael at the shrine of Psellus has appropriated the particulars of the textual description from the scene of Moses and the Burning Bush in Exodus (3:2ff.). Michael as the fire which does not consume the bush, as the pillar of fire that led the Israelites, as the lightning and darkness on Sinai, are all sanctioned allusions to incomprehensible epiphanies of divine power.⁷⁹

78. Leanza 303.83ff. and 315; *AASS* Sept. 8:61D.

79. One further example is the appearance of Michael to Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604) on top of Hadrian's Mausoleum, subsequently Castel San Angelo, in 590 (*AASS* Sept. 8:72BC). Michael appears and silently returns his sword to its sheath, thereby signaling the reconciliation between God and the people of Rome. This reconciliation is effected through the disclosure of the source of the affliction and of the cessation of its attack. Michael is the bearer of reconciliation, not particularly benign, and of the abeyance of heavenly wrath, which is very much in the tradition of an Old Testament appearance. Rome is likened implicitly to Jerusalem, and Gregory to David, as the appearance has an antecedent at 1 Chronicles 21:15–27: "And God sent an angel unto Jerusalem to destroy it: and as he was destroying, the Lord beheld, and he repented him of the evil, and said to the angel

The miracle stories did not efface Michael's character as an angel of nature or as an elemental force. The choice of texts from scripture emphasizes this aspect of the Archangel's nature while also pointing to the Archangel's essential indescribability. The miracle stories describe Michael's appearance at Chonae as fire, thunder and lightning. Miracle stories often express Michael's character by such naturalistic metaphors, and, as Olga Rojdestvensky wrote, Michael is typically described in such elemental terms as "flashes of lightning, explosions of thunder, babbling of springs, sound of water falls, mystery of abyss and of grottoes, eternal silence of summits."⁸⁰ The descriptions of Michael are in an essential way profoundly dissembling, and the revelation at Chonae and his personal intervention in the local geography were strategies by which Michael's expansive and elusive character gained delineation and real presence.⁸¹

The topos concerning the distance between humanity and the angels common to theological speculation is equally present in the descriptions in miracle stories of the acts of the angels in this world. Pantaleon, in his miracle story of the Archangel Michael, is explicit about the inability of words to convey, and human comprehension to embrace, the nature of the angels.

How therefore shall we undertake to praise you according to your excellence, by what means shall we aspire to your praises, O Leader of the Host of the almighty God? What incorporeal voice, accord-

that destroyed, It is enough, stay now thine hand. . . . And David lifted up his eyes, and saw the angel of the Lord stand between the earth and the heaven, having a sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem. . . . And the Lord commanded the angel; and he put his sword again into the sheath thereof." Again, scripture provides the structure for these difficult epiphanies.

This connection of the appearance of Michael to Gregory and 1 Chronicles was noted by Hasluck, *Letters on Religions and Folklore*, 84–85.

80. O. Rojdestvensky, *Le culte de saint Michel et le moyen âge latin* (Paris, 1922) 54, and also 53: "La dramatique légende de saint Michel, pleine de jeux de lumière et d'ombre, devait ressusciter avec une puissance toute particulière là où les forces volcaniques et neptuniennes creusaient les précipices, faisaient jaillir les cascades, là où les vapeurs, fumées et flammes sulfuriques faisaient irruption." See also W. Lueken, *Michael. Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morganländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael* (Göttingen, 1898) 73–74.

81. Gothein, "L'arcangelo Michele," 108–109.

ing with the level of your incorporeal intelligence, shall we offer by means of our material and corporeal lips? What sounds shall we use to signify the ineffability and inexplicability of your glory? It is doubtful in truth that the collective nature of all earth born creation could laud and praise you, you who are the Leader of the Heavenly Host. For the matter of your divine beauty and splendor cannot be narrated and told by words. For in this way marvelous knowledge of God was made by us. . . . It is not possible by human comprehension for him to be apprehended and discovered.⁸²

If real description is therefore impossible, then recognition and identification of angelic epiphany is equally laden with risk of failure. As noted above, Archippus was completely at a loss until Michael revealed his identity in terms comprehensible to a man—and to the listener—thanks to the scriptural meaning behind this particular identification. At Gargano, Michael was identified subsequently by dream revelation and more securely by the material effects. Pantaleon also relates a miracle at the church of Michael at Eusebios, Constantinople, concerning a certain candle-maker Marcianus. All the doors of the church were suddenly flung open and towards him came “a fearful man as out of the heaven, with a rush descending on horseback on a white and terrible steed.”⁸³ Michael is dressed in the robe of a *praepositus*, or court official.⁸⁴ Marcianus knew only the terrifying aspect of his ecstatic vision until Michael declared his proprietorship of the shrine. Although Michael led Marcianus to the candle before his own icon, the icon plays no role in

82. *Narr. mir. max. arch. Mich.*, I, PG 140:573B–4B.

83. The parallel with the appearance of the angels to drive Apollonius out of the temple in the Third Book of Maccabees is striking: “there appeared from heaven angels, with flashing armour, who filled them with dread and terror. Then did Apollonius fall half dead in the court of the Gentiles and he stretched his hands to heaven. . . .” See *The Third and Fourth Book of Maccabees*, trans. M. Hadas (New York, 1953; rp. New York, 1976) 164 (4:9–14).

84. F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscou* (Brussels, 1963) 149–50; the other comes from the Life of Andrew the Fool (seventh century?), 233–36, PG 111:877A–80C. Other examples are found in Ch. Angelidi, “La version longue de la Vision du moine Cosmas,” *AB* 101(1983):86.188–187.196; Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, I:86.8ff.; and Achmet ibn Sirin (late eighth/early ninth century), *Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexel (Leipzig, 1925) 5–6 (#10).

determining the identity of the vision but only the place and means of real healing.

Visual identification of an Archangel is not possible since miracle stories and theology both agree that he has no form fully comprehensible to humans. Consequently, any stable resemblance in images of such a being remains out of reach. Cyril Mango has written that the angels are represented as they are, that is, as beardless, winged young men, because that is how they generally appear. "Whenever angels and archangels make themselves manifest in the Lives of saints and other edifying texts they do so in the guise of eunuchs or imperial *cubicularii*, not that of emperors."⁸⁵ Instances of the angels appearing as eunuchs are not uncommon.⁸⁶ Yet the texts are not homogeneous in this regard, as the miracle stories of the Archangel Michael discussed above show.⁸⁷ Moreover, the relation between description in miracle stories and the images of angels is not straightforward. Making images of angels is not a matter of transcription of visual information (or even textual description), since visions of these beings are clearly difficult to process, comprehend and render.

85. C. Mango, "St. Michael and Attis," *DChAE* 12(1984):44.

86. The post-Iconoclastic assimilation of court officials, particularly eunuchs, and angels, and the incongruities of that assimilation, have been examined recently by E. V. Maltese, "Gli angeli in terra: sull'immaginario dell'angelo bizantino," *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 24(1990):111–32 [= *Dimensione bizantine. Donne, angeli e demoni nel medioevo greco* (Turin, 1995) 69–92].

87. Finally, one need only browse through the many texts concerning Michael and the other angels collected by Amélineau, *Contes et romans de l'Égypte chrétienne*, to realize the endless variations possible. For instance, Michael appears to Donatius, in "Comment se convertit la ville d'Athènes," as "un homme lumineux sous l'apparence d'un général d'armée, tenant un sceptre d'or à la main" (ibid., 2). And in the "Vision de Saint Jean l'Évangile racontée par le patriarche Timothée," Michael "descendit du ciel monté sur sa barque de chérubims, escorté de tous les anges, des saints, des plus grands parmi les prophètes et les martyrs: ils étaient tous enveloppés d'une gloire indescriptable" (ibid., 13–14). And the Archangel Gabriel in the "Histoire d'Aour" appeared to the young Aour in another fashion: "Depuis le jour de ma naissance, le vingt-deuxième jour de chaque mois, il vient à moi vers le matin un oiseau dont le face brille comme le soleil; il est ceint d'une ceinture dorée, coiffée d'une couronne d'émerande et tient à sa maison une baguette d'or rouge. Son corps semble du feu, ses pieds du cuivre brillant, sa figure est celle d'un homme, ses traits étincellent et le son de sa voix est comme le bruit des flots de la mer quand elle est agitée. Toutes les fois que je l'ai vu . . . je suis tombé à ses pieds rempli d'effroi et il m'a relevé en disant: Ne crains pas! je suis l'archange Gabriel que me tiens devant le trône de Dieu . . ." (ibid., 112–13).

Identification of an angel by means of the description on an image is theoretically possible, however, if not in any way definitive. In the text praising Michael written by Psellus, a monk named Ephraim was able to recognize Michael because the Archangel had chosen the form manifested on his image for this epiphany in the monastery's church.⁸⁸ And the miracle story of Artemius, written in the 660s about his shrine in the church of John the Baptist in Oxeia at Constantinople, describes an identification of an angel.⁸⁹ One of the stories in the miracle story describes the night vision of a young girl, Euphemia.⁹⁰ In her vision angels led her to the lead coffin of the eponymous saint of the shrine, Artemius, and made her lie down in it. The coffin was then locked by the saint, trapping her inside. When she awoke, recovered from her illness, she gave an account of her vision. Her mother asked her if she had seen the angels, and Euphemia replied that she had. Her mother then asked her in what form had they appeared.⁹¹ The girl answered by indicating the images of the angels found in that church.⁹²

The mother's question is telling. In asking what form the angels appeared, she was acknowledging the possibility of other guises. And in voluntarily making themselves commensurate with their appearance on images in the church, the angels revealed their ability to condescend in form for human comprehension. In other words, angels manifest their terrible elemental force in famous instances of awesome intervention but for this girl the angels took a benign aspect in keeping with her youth and fitness.

The topos of recognition of a holy person by means of his or her image, therefore, has relevance for discussion of miracle story de-

88. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 253, 565–69. On this episode, see A. Cutler and R. Browning, "In the Margins of Byzantium? Some Icons in Michael Psellos," *BMGS* 16(1992):24–25.

89. C. Mango, "On the History of the *Templon* and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople," *Zograf* 10(1979):40ff.

90. V. S. Crisafulli and J. W. Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios. A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-Century Byzantium* (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1997) 176–84, and Mango, "On the History of the *Templon*," 43.

91. Crisafulli/Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, 180.23.

92. Crisafulli/Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, 180.23–24.

scriptions of angels. For Gilbert Dagron, images play a central role in the identification of saints in miracle stories, to the point of fundamentally determining the manner in which Byzantines visually perceived their saints.⁹³ For example, Cosmas and Damian approach the bed of a supplicant “in the form in which they are outlined.”⁹⁴ A letter of Nilus of Ankara (d. ca. 430) describes an episode of St. Platon’s life in which he freed a monk’s son from prison. Platon was recognized by the son through the saint’s image.⁹⁵ A similar episode exists in the tenth-century *Vita* of Irene of Chrysobalanton: “... while the holy woman stood interceding with her hands lifted up, she saw Basil the Great standing before her, looking such as the icons represent him.”⁹⁶

The second way miracle stories can state resemblance are instances where the saint appears to provide a perfect model for a painter, effectively taking the brush out of the painter’s hand. For instance, the “life” of Cornelius the Centurion emphasized the fidelity of the saint’s image, which was venerated at Skepis in the Hellespont. The exactitude of the copy, after the archetype, was particularly commended. The painter Egratius was hired by the bishop to make a copy of this image in order to send it from Skepis to Caesarea in

93. G. Dagron, “Holy Images and Likeness,” *DOP* 45(1991):30ff.; and idem, “Rêver de Dieu et parler de soi. Le rêve et son interprétation d’après les sources byzantines,” in *I sogni nel medioevo*, ed. T. Gregory (Rome, 1985) 42ff.

94. L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian. Texte und Einleitung* (Leipzig, 1907) 133.23–24.

95. See Mansi XIII:32C–3C.

96. *The Life of St Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton. A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes and Indices*, ed. J. O. Rosenqvist (Uppsala, 1986) 56.9–13: “... τοιοῦτον οἶον αἱ εἰκόνες γράφουσιν.”

Other examples are found in the seventh-century *Vita* of Theodore of Sykeon, written by his disciple George; see *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, I:34 (39.5–6): “The two saints were seen by him according to the likeness therefore of that which is seen in divine worship.” Festugière translates this as “sous l’aspect qu’ils avaient en cette image de culte.” The monk is said to be praying beneath the icon of Cosmas and Damian. And also at I:29 (32.9–13), Theodore’s mother has a vision of George according to the depicted story of the martyr George. George is described as a golden youth with curly hair and shining aspect.

And from the tenth-century “Vision of Cosmas the Monk”: “And suddenly, as if sent by someone, two men appeared with white robes and very venerable, and I recognised them to be the apostles Andrew and John, as I was put in mind (ἀναλογιζόμενος) of their appearances on the holy icons.” See Angelidi, “La version longue de la Vision du moine Cosmas,” 4.125–28.

Palestine. Egratius was then afflicted and healed by the saint, and with thanks he made an image “just he had seen him.” The portrait was then sent to Palestine and valued, the narrator says, because of the exactitude of its copying.⁹⁷ From examples such as these, Dagron concludes that the relationship between images and their models is reversed and “that [images] are no longer attached to the past but to the future.”⁹⁸ And further, “It is no longer the image that resembles the saint, but the saint who resembles his image.”⁹⁹

The number of examples in which the image determines the nature of the vision is, however, quite limited. The majority of examples of appearances of saints, by far, is in forms of disguise, if the miracle story provides a description at all. Artemius appears as a butcher, sailor, patrician, and in other guises.¹⁰⁰ Cosmas and Damian appear in many different guises (in the form of clerics, for example), alone or with a third person; they do their work either by “invisible hands” or “their own hands.”¹⁰¹ This last denotes the really important aspect: their activity and traces of their activity radiate from the center of their cult, that is, their bodies and relics. Nevertheless, the most significant admission concerning the nature of the saints’ appearances is that they appear “in a form *not* their own,”¹⁰² as the miracle story states. The miracle story of Cyrus and John furnishes another important example. It describes the two saints as appearing fulgent, in white robes, in a monk’s habit, as doctors, as the deacon Julian and in various other guises, but also, significantly, in

97. F. Halkin, “Un abrégé inédit de la vie ancienne et disparue de Corneille le Centurion,” *RSBN* n.s. 1(1964):37 (#6). And other examples are found in the *Vita S. Mariae Iunoris* (before 866?–ca. 902/3), *AASS* Nov. 4:699BC, and the life of Athanasius the Athonite (925/30–ca. 1001), *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, *Corpus Christianorum*, Series Graeca, vol. 9, ed. J. Noret (Turnhout, 1982) 122 (#254).

98. Dagron, “Holy Images and Likeness,” 31.

99. Dagron, “Holy Images and Likeness,” 31, and also: “more than ever it is [the saints’] cult image that serves as a reference.”

100. Crisafulli/Nesbitt. *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, 88.15–16, 96.22, 104.12–13, 144.21, 194.15–16.

101. See Deubner, *De incubatione*, 68ff.

102. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 99.21 (my emphasis). And other examples of guises: 135.25, “appearing in the form of a περιχύτος,” and 145.43–44, “the two appeared to him in the forms of clerics.”

their *own* form.¹⁰³ Again, the saints must acknowledge an earthly existence, even after death, that determines the essential nature of their being, even if this does not altogether regulate their subsequent manifestations. Angels have no such mooring. They are changeable by nature and essentially unknowable—all their outward forms are not their own.

This chapter has sought to indicate the means by which miracle stories, and cult as well, made the Archangel Michael more apprehensible and proximate. For a being that is bodiless, immaterial and elemental, the signs of appearance and presence made apparent in the texts are tangible and incontrovertible. Moreover, because of Michael's uncontainable nature, they are impressions; Michael does not relinquish anything of his "body," only indications of attendance. These signs that are both tangible and provisional give the texts and cult their special tension in that they simultaneously assert that he is really present but also powerfully immanent. By means of retro-motivation, indeed, Michael's acts, and even his will, are superseded by the texts' logic. The place name engenders its own sequence of activities and the text works backwards from "the place was thereafter known as Chonae" to create Michael's seminal act preset by language itself.

This desire for more apprehensibility is the complement of the other textual device examined in this chapter, that is, how miracle stories "got round" the difficulties of expressing the inexpressible nature of Michael. The seamless application of scriptural description to this task of expression is the clearest sign of descriptive impasse. On an overt level, the scriptural passages indicate enigmatic theophanies and venerable acts that parallel and prefigure Michael's own appearances and acts. Michael is like Moses in the miraculous manipulation of water for the protection of God's chosen people. Michael's manifestations recall the phenomena revealed to the prophets during sacred disclosures in the past. And the scriptural structures of receiving epiphany found in Daniel, Joshua and Matthew provide a mold within which witness under the New Covenant can be cast. In this

103. Deubner, *De incubatione*, 80ff.

sense, the narrators of these miracle stories of Michael provided scriptural models of revelation that were recognizable and accessible descriptions of the Archangel's famous moments on earth.

On the level of latent meaning, the arrogation of description signals at important points the lack of ability, or even intent, of speech and text to render in an original or descriptive fashion a being like the Archangel Michael. On this level, recognition of the original site of the text, in Exodus or Matthew for instance, is not essential for the audience. The descriptions of Michael as fire and earthquake and lightning do not rely for their full meaning on the audience's identifying the original context of the description. They signal the difficulty of comprehension, just the same, in their evocation of grand, irrational phenomena: the formless Archangel assumes all of these elements as his cloak but none are his own, none make him fully known.

Material images are likewise allusive to difficult nature, and this allusive quality makes angels' images incapable of possessing real likeness. Beings as transcendental as angels possess no definitive likeness inherently, and images partake equally of this indefinable resemblance. Recalling the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius, images are dissembling signs which the viewer engages in intellectually and without adherence. Describing an approach to images of angels, Agathias's epigram reveals an ability to interpret material images as the symbolic means to knowledge of an incomprehensible creature.¹⁰⁴ In this description of the image of the Archangel, the difficulty of comprehension derives from the incorporeal nature which would seem to be incompatible with material representation; but in Agathias's conception, the image also provides the viewer with the means to approach knowledge of the distant and immaterial Archangel by way of contemplation of the colors and outlines on the surface of the image. The material image is, therefore, the bridge between mundane reality and spiritual truths otherwise unattainable.

Michael's bodiless, relic-less existence provides such signs for human comprehension; less ambiguous material effects such as

104. Discussed in chapters 2 and 3.

Michael's transformations of landscape, imprints of invisibility, are essential proofs for a degree of knowledge of his activity and nature. Miracle stories and images work subtly. Texts exploit recognizable patterns from scripture to give the descriptions of events and appearances structure but at the same time deny any essential descriptiveness in their evocation of elemental and multiform wonders. In a comparable way, images depend on their non-resembling qualities to attract and lead the viewer to recognition of a higher, invisible reality. Michael transcends the ability of words and images to describe such a reality but it is this inability that attracts and compels contemplation.

CONCLUSION

This study has been concerned with representation in the widest sense. Examinations of material images notwithstanding, it has primarily explored conceptual problems involved in representing angels that arise from the unquantifiable nature of the bodiless host. “Subtle bodies” was a favored theological formulation for the nature of angels. The formulation was ascribed to Macarius the Great,¹ but it was the primary definition used by John of Thessalonike (d. 649?) in his defense of the worship of angels’ images ostensibly before a pagan opponent.² Moreover, the fathers of the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 included the “dialogue” between John of Thessalonike and the pagan in the conciliar acts, and so the definition—slippery, imprecise, but apt—became the basic definition of the nature of God’s messengers. Complementary to its examination of the representational problems of angels, this study has also examined the “image” of the holy man who sought the intercession of the Archangel

1. See the Introduction.

2. Mansi, XIII:164–65; H. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit vor dem Bilderstreit*, Texte und Untersuchungen, vol. 139 (Berlin, 1992) 327–28. And see G. Peers, “Imagination and Angelic Epiphany,” *BMGS* 21(1997):113–31, on this text.

Michael and witnessed the awful result of that prayer. Clearly, worship of angels, their “persons” and their images both, was a divisive issue in the Byzantine world, and the story of the miracle at Chonae was an attempt to establish a basis for a more seemly and more orthodox worship.

Evidently, then, angels raised issues that writers of theology and miracle stories tried to resolve. Many of the difficulties arose from the pagan antecedents to angel worship and, indeed, their iconography in Christian art. The “dialogue” of John of Thessalonike reveals just this difficulty as late as the seventh century, and its resolution by this earlier theologian still had relevance for the Council at Nicaea in the following century. The pagan, with whom John was in theory debating, had no difficulty in seeing the parallels between pagan worship of gods and Christian worship of angels. In a most polite manner, he observed that Christians paint the angels as human and worship them through these paintings, despite the belief that these beings were not human but incorporeal and spiritual. Surely, he reasoned, like Porphyry long before, this practice is no different than the pagan worship of their gods. John, of course, sidestepped the parallel drawn and offered a complete rebuttal to this possible rapprochement. He based his position primarily on the truth of the Christian pantheon versus the falseness of the pagan gods, but the fact that such a rebuttal was necessary as late as the seventh century shows that perceived parallels between angels and pagan beings were still possible.

The miracle story of Michael’s appearances at Chonae is further proof of an ongoing problem that the church thought necessary to combat. The story itself reveals that in the eighth century the issue of proper approach to angels was still alive. The caretaker Archippus is a prescriptive “image” of the appropriate manner of praying to the Archangel, and his answered prayer is the clearest indication of its appropriateness. The Archangel nonetheless revealed his origins as an angel of uncontrollable natural forces—earthquake, lightning, thunder and water—and, although the story sublimates these forces in scriptural allusions, Michael still had some of the overweening characteristics that made an orthodox presentation of angelology neces-

sary in the miracle story. The miracle story could not altogether efface Michael the Nile god of the Coptic text examined in the Introduction.

This study has also sought to demonstrate that representing angels—in miracle stories and material images—was part of a desire to make these bodiless beings more comprehensible and proximate. As theological discussion of angels had antecedents in pagan vocabulary and concepts, and contended with these antecedents, so self-conscious continuity from the Classical past was a characteristic of descriptions of angels in the visual arts. Sculptors, painters and mosaicists clearly were aware of models available in pagan art that could aid them in their search for an iconography capable of describing, albeit partially, the special immaterial, formless nature of angels. As seen on the Sarigüzel sarcophagus (fig. 3), they borrowed iconographic elements from pagan art, most notably wings, to this end, but maintained at the same time the angels' peculiarity as Christian beings.

Most Christian viewers evidently found this iconography sufficiently expressive of angelic nature and activity. On the evidence of sixth-century epigrams, painted panels with single figures of angels or Archangels became more common in devotion in this period. As a way of communicating the nature and activities of this invisible host, many Christians perceived these icons as "guarantors of knowledge,"³ even if images of angels ultimately frustrated full comprehension of the models.

In the period preceding Iconoclasm, sources dealing with images of angels reveal an increasing desire to regulate and define the place of images in Christian worship.⁴ For some Christians, the break with the Classical past in the visual arts was not clear enough, and the iconography of angels, though consciously distanced from its antecedents, was sullied by any association with pagan art. From the fourth to the seventh century, the writings of Macarius Magnes, Severus of Antioch and John of Thessalonike reveal a defensiveness on the part of Christians concerning the iconography of these bodi-

3. Cameron, "The Language of Images," 2.

4. See Cameron, "The Language of Images," 30.

less beings. The writings of opponents to angels' images also show dissent over the route to knowledge that images provide. For these opponents, material signs were clearly inadequate to describe the transcendental nature of angels.

Yet the increasing importance that images came to have in the period preceding Iconoclasm attests to a wide acceptance of material images as a means to understand divine things. The divergence shown in these two positions stands for a fundamental divide in Byzantine society over appropriate commemoration and worship. This study has attempted to describe the long-standing debate over the conceptual problems of representing angels, both visually and verbally. In the course of the sixth and seventh centuries, as Christian images became more common in devotion, these debates became more acute. This study has traced the "realignment" in Byzantine society that Averil Cameron describes but with specific regard to angels in texts of this period, taking passages from theological writings on images, question and answer guides and anti-Jewish tracts.⁵ All of these writings showed an increased concern over the meaning and nature of angelic signs, appropriate commemoration and material worship. This struggle over worship and images only became more acute in the eighth and ninth centuries, when this crisis came to a head with the declaration of Iconoclasm in the 720s, and the sources from the period of Iconoclasm attest to the role angels and their images played in this conflict.

The end of Iconoclasm in 843 effectively resolved the debate over the role of images of angels that had been decided in favor of a careful and abundant synthesis of material signs in spiritual worship. Just the same, images of angels always partake of a measure of ambiguity despite their full acceptance into Byzantine worship. Cameron writes, "Religious images ... fell naturally into place as one of the signs by which the impossibility of understanding God through language could be circumvented."⁶ This statement implies, however,

5. See Cameron, "The Language of Images," 3–4.

6. Cameron, "The Language of Images," 30; and see L. Brubaker, "Byzantine Art in the Ninth Century: Theory, Practice, and Culture," *BMGS* 13(1989):75ff.

that the debates over images that lasted from the sixth to the ninth century were resolved in favor of images that were explicit and literal in their description of spiritual reality.⁷ Rather, the tension between manifest form and incomprehensible nature, evident in the texts—epigrams, theology and miracle stories—is a defining characteristic of images of angels throughout the Byzantine period. This tension continued to determine the production and perception of images of angels long after the end of Iconoclasm. This Conclusion also aims, then, to examine briefly the tension between presence and transcendence, description and incomprehensibility, in images and texts of the middle and late Byzantine periods.

A Palaiologan icon of the Archangel Michael in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, is a particularly fine example of the pull between materiality and incorporeality that images of angels can communicate (fig. 19).⁸ This icon, in fact, manifests an especially subtle manipulation of style and iconography. Michael's spiritual qualities were made immediately clear to the Byzantine viewer since the Archangel is winged. Michael gracefully holds a staff and an orb in his hands, and a delicate fillet, tied at the back, is visible in his shoulder-length hair. The face of the Archangel is handled with great refinement. Indeed, the qualities of his face and expression, the full mouth, finely modeled cheeks and chin and detailed shaping of luxuriant hair, show a desire on the part of the painter to manifest a degree of sensuality in this image. Yet the painter at the same time denies the apparently terrestrial presence of the Archangel, in particular through his treatment of the eyes which are large and focused directly on the beholder. The Archangel's piercing eyes create a distance from the realm of the viewer that the sensual handling of the Archangel para-

7. This position is taken also by H. L. Kessler, "Real Absence: Early Medieval Art and the Metamorphosis of Vision," in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo*, Settimane vol. 45 (Spoleto, 1998) II:1157–70. But as C. von Schönborn, *L'icône du Christ. Fondements théologiques élaborées entre le Ier et le IIer Concile de Nicée (325–787)* (Fribourg, 1976) 217ff., has demonstrated, the characteristic of an image of Christ is opacity and particularity.

8. See M. Soteriou, "Παλαιολογεῖος εἰκὼν τοῦ Ἀρχαγγελοῦ Μιχαήλ," *DChAE* 1(1959): 80ff., M. Alpatov, "Sur l'iconographie des anges dans l'art de Byzance et de l'ancienne Russie," *Zograf* 11(1980):6, and *Conversation with God. Icons from the Byzantine Museum of Athens (9th–15th Centuries)*. *The Hellenistic Centre, London, 22 May–20 June 1998* (Athens, 1998) 65–69.



Figure 19. Icon of the Archangel Michael, Byzantine Museum, Athens, Palaiologan. Photo: Byzantine Museum, Athens.

doxically encourages. But the eyes also impart a sense of presence since the archangel is not gazing frontally out of the icon. In order to accommodate the equipment he presents, he has his right shoulder pushed closer to the picture plane than the left, and consequently his head turns slightly back to the left. This turning, found in some early icons also (fig. 1), gives the impression of animation, of the

body and eyes swiveling in order to take the viewer into account. So the eyes have the ability to create distance and presence at the same time, both through the penetrating scrutiny and the illusion of alertness which the sidelong stare implies. On this icon, style and iconography form a conjunction of corporeality and transcendence that encourages approach but thwarts familiarity: ultimately, the icon describes a nature contingent upon our material world, a nature that is only partially described and describable.⁹

While a formal analysis of this particularly fine example shows that painters could communicate the conditional quality of human comprehension of angelic nature, epigrams and ekphraseis from the Middle and Late Byzantine periods demonstrate that this quality was fully appreciated by the Byzantine viewer. The contingency of angelic nature, which images can state so subtly and compellingly, evoked articulate responses in writers on images and these responses show a striking continuity in writings about images of angels from the sixth century on. The persistence of these responses could be interpreted as normative, that is, as literary topoi that reappear periodically in Byzantine culture without demonstrable connection to real images.¹⁰ Yet formal analyses of images of angels show that painters did sometimes employ elements of style and iconography to attempt description of the problems of angelic nature. Texts about images of angels demonstrate that Byzantine viewers were fully engaged with these artistic attempts. The allusive, contingent quality of such images was a significant intellectual and devotional assumption that had real and ongoing meaning for the Byzantine viewer. Noteworthy, too, is the continuity from iconophile descriptions of angelic appearance and images to these later texts; evidently, iconophile image theory did have a degree of influence over the perpetuation of certain

9. Charles Barber has described the non-representational quality of Byzantine art as its primary attractive component; that is, the tension between reality and abstraction draws the viewer to contemplate the image in a more active manner. See C. Barber, "From Transformation to Desire: Art and Worship after Byzantine Iconoclasm," *ArtB* 75(1993):12: "one could argue that the formal practices employed in Byzantine art draw attention to the pictorial field itself as an autonomous significant space rather than as a representational space."

10. A problem addressed in D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago and London, 1989) 291–94.

perceptions of images after the issues had been decided in the mid-ninth century.

Several epigrams on images of angels by John Mavropus (ca. 1000–ca. 1075/81), Metropolitan of Euchaita, reveal continuity with earlier epigrams and image theory, and also a meaningful engagement with conceptual problems raised by material images of immaterial beings. Like the epigram of Agathias on the icon given in thanksgiving to the Archangel Michael, Mavropus also described an icon vowed because of particular devotion to the Archangel:

“On the bodiless one”: Who can give shape to the shapeless nature?
The faithful Theodora [has provided] a crown. And how does one
depict the unknowable sight? Faith easily reconciles all these things.
And what reward does this most pious woman desire? She yearns after
the spiritual saviour of all things. Archistrategos, hasten, fulfill the
yearning. This faithful woman will hold to this desire especially.¹¹

In relating Theodora’s longing for the protection of the Archangel, Mavropus played on the idea of Michael’s immanence. The epigram noted the transcendence of Michael’s nature, the “shapeless” and “bodiless” quality of the Archangel, that is essentially “unknowable.” The gap between this unknowable nature and human comprehension is bridged by two complementary means: the tension between the material shaping of “the shapeless nature” and “the unknowable sight,” and the faith of the viewer that leads him or her to contemplation and conviction. This process is a remarkable condensation of the elaborate image theory of the Iconoclastic period. The need to prove the circumscribability of a formless, immaterial host and the subsequent defense of the symbolic, non-resembling iconography of angels had lost any urgency that the eighth-/ninth-century context demanded; yet this same theoretical construct that justified the making of images of angels and the value they have for Christians was still valid in the eleventh century.

11. *Versus iambici*, PG 120:1177AB; *Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in codice vaticano graeco 676 supersunt*, ed. P. de Lagarde (Göttingen, 1882; rp. Amsterdam, 1979) 38 (#73).

Another epigram by Mavropus also described the tension between matter and immateriality that is the defining characteristic of images of angels; while this tension was common in some form to other religious images, capturing ethereal formlessness on a material image is an act peculiar to representing angels. In this epigram, Mavropus recounted the unresolved coincidence of color and formlessness on an image of the Archangel Michael:

“On the Archangel Michael”: Light, spirit and fire, we know the angels to be altogether above baseness and feeling; but the leader of immaterial host is set here formed out of colours. O faith, such wonders have you the power to bring about, so easily [you give] shapeless nature in shapes. Yet the representation reveals what is represented, not as he is by nature, but as he was made manifest many times.¹²

The irresolution that such an image manifests is, in fact, its compelling feature. As the subject is transcendent “light, spirit and fire,” delineating the Archangel does not capture his nature in any essential way; rather, this act shows him in one of his forms made manifest in the past. Moreover, the sense that such an image is contingent on this partial disclosure of the Archangel’s true nature lends the image its attractive quality to the viewer. As Mavropus said, the fact that the bodiless Archangel has condescended to assume a form comprehensible to humanity in material colors and lines makes Michael paradoxically present: in these shapes, Michael’s presence is somehow brought nearer, made more proximate. Like the neo-Platonic descriptions of Agathias and the iconophiles on the apprehension of

12. *Anthologia graeca*, ed. E. Cougny, 3 vols. (Paris, 1871–1890) III:413; very like the epigram at *Versus iambici*, PG 120:1139A, *Iohannis Euchaïtorum metropolitae*, 11–12 (#24). See also *Anthologia graeca*, III:361–63; III:415, “On the Archistrategos: In gold, like fire, from silver, as light, I shape you, light to me, flames to enemies”; and III:401: “On the Archistrategos: How does a material hand render the immaterial? The spirit the spirit renders, the hand the sign.” On some of these epigrams, see H. G. Thümmel, *Bilderlehre und Bilderstreit. Arbeiten zur Auseinandersetzung über die Ikone und ihre Begründung vornehmlich im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg, 1991) 161ff.

such images, the material image is conceived as a non-resembling symbol that paradoxically makes the object of desire proximate.

If Mavropus described the compelling paradox of angels' images, Michael Psellus—who, incidentally, knew Mavropus—attempted an interpretation of the appearance and attributes used to render angelic nature and activity. In an analysis of the iconography of angels, Psellus separated the appearance of angels in images into its component parts. The most notable aspect is their anthropomorphic form: “this shows them to be rational beings; for man alone among all living creatures has been enriched with intellect and reason.”¹³ The puzzling quality of the angels' appearances in images had profoundly discomfited such theologians as Epiphanius of Salamis and Severus of Antioch; that is, the depiction of angels as men with pagan-style dress and attributes was manifestly incommensurate with the angels' spiritual quality. Like the iconophiles, Psellus accepted the distance between angelic nature and material representation as a positive provision of incomplete knowledge of angels for humanity. Psellus's description is strikingly close in detail to the Palaiologan icon discussed above. While this icon is an especially fine example, and so worthy of examination, it is not exceptional iconographically, and clearly Psellus was examining an image very similar to that Palaiologan icon of the Archangel Michael. An ekphrasis closer in time to this Palaiologan icon is not lacking, however. For example, Symeon of Thessalonike, who died in 1429, responded in a similarly symbolic vein before just such an image.¹⁴ Both Psellus and Symeon, it should be

13. The individual attributes also hold clues for understanding the angels' being. The wings indicate “their exalting and heavenly upward motion”; the sphere often placed in one hand “suggests their quickness of movement: for the sphere is such that, touching a tiny portion of the ground, it is able to arrive independently of time and in less than an instant wherever it wishes”; the fillet denotes “the purity and chastity of their undefiled nature.” See K. Snipes, “An Unedited Treatise of Michael Psellos on the Iconography of Angels and on the Religious Festivals Celebrated on Each Day of the Week,” in *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerlink at 75*, ed. J. Duffy and J. Peradotto (Buffalo, 1988) 200ff.

14. *Responsa ad Gabrielem Pentapolitanum*, PG 155:869B–D. He was asked the reason why the angels wear the fillet in images, why the angels and saints have nimbi, and why in the hands of the angels there are circular, cloudy forms. With regard to the fillet, he an-

noted, took seriously the iconography of the angels as imparting, or showing covertly, the divine truths which are otherwise difficult of access.¹⁵

As these two ekphrasises show a continuity in engagement with the iconography of angels, so Palaiologan epigrams consistently reveal an appreciation of the tension between materiality and immateriality that images of angels play on. Nicephorus Kallistus Xanthopoulos (before 1256?–ca. 1335?) wrote specifically on the presence evoked through representation, and, while the paradoxical quality of the description of immateriality in colors is raised, this quality is left at the level of an irreconcilable contradiction. Michael's presence is some-

swered, "In examining the images of the holy angels, one surmises that the fillet worn round their heads shows covertly (ὕπεμφαίνει) the purity of their intellect, since it is worn round the place of the intellect, so that they are even bonded intellectually to God, and by these things are offered [such] for our contemplation and care in a fine appearing manner (ἀγαθοειδῶς). And moreover, as they are pure and immaterial beings, they wear [the fillet] just as a crown of their endless and heavenly virtue. And they have worn this (δεδεμένως) about their hair, so that they do not move confusedly or superfluously, but only concerning divine compulsion, and their intellect is speeded from above." Furthermore, the nimbi of the angels and of the saints "show covertly" the grace and radiance and action descended from God. Lastly, he addressed the reason for the orb carried by the angels, "And the cloudy and circular thing that the angels hold in their hands symbolises the consecration by the Spirit, and that they have been fixed immobile in the dispensation of the Saviour. In the midst of the circle is seen written this figure, X, so that by this Christ is revealed. But the form of the circle is also a theological sign. For if Christ teaches that he was made flesh, he also teaches that as God he has neither beginning nor end, and that Christ rules the universe, and has the whole cosmos in his hand, as David says." The orb is not the symbol of fleetness that it was for Psellus but a sign of Christ's duophysite nature, and of the delegation of offices to the angels in the new dispensation brought about through the incarnation. In contrast to the incorruptibility that the fillet denoted for Psellus, the fillet was a sign of the angels' intellectual unity with God for Symeon of Thessalonike.

15. See, however, the negative remarks of C. Mango, "St. Michael and Attis," *DChAE* 12(1984):39, on these texts. But see, too, H. Saradi-Mendelovici, "Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries," *DOP* 44(1990):58, who describes how far Byzantine viewers were from understanding pagan statues. She cites the interpretation of the iconography of a statue of Athena from the eighth-century *Parastaseis* as an example: Athena is represented without helmet because her wisdom is invisible, the gorgon on her chest is to show the speed of her mind, and so on. See *Constantinople in the Eighth Century. The "Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai,"* ed. Averil Cameron, J. Herrin et al. (Leiden, 1984) #3; and see 215–16. The text does not demonstrate detachment or ignorance since indeed it is following a literary tradition from antiquity, as in the writings of Porphyry on statues (see chapters 2 and 3). Likewise, Psellus's and Symeon's interpretations are not banal or without real explanatory power but take their form from ancient topoi and newly apply them to symbolic, Christian images of angels.

how alluded to by the representation, for he is by some inexplicable means made present in this ambiguous image:

“On the Archangel Michael, a work of art by the famous painter, master Eulalios”: It seems either that the painter has dipped his brush in immateriality to delineate a spirit, or else the spirit remains unobserved in his picture, hiding in colours his incorporeal nature. How is it that matter can drag the spirit down and encompass the immaterial by means of colours? This is [a work] of ardent love (as shown by the facts), and it kindles the heart.¹⁶

The “kindling of the heart” implicitly refers to the intellectual or spiritual process which, paradoxically, the material image initiates. The closing sentence, then, indicates an important function of images of the Archangel as it was described in the sixth-century epigrams of Agathias and Nilus, and in the elaborate image theory of the iconophile theologians. Indeed, as stated in chapter 3, the conceptual framework established by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite determined subsequent approaches to symbolic images of divine things, namely angels. In this framework, the symbols best suited for contemplation of divinity are non-resembling, since the intellect cannot adhere to these symbols and become simply mired in its material reality. Xanthopoulos’s epigram describes this very process: either matter has overcome its limitations and ascended to spirit or spirit has condescended to be captured in matter; the issue is not resolved, in fact is unresolvable, and leaves the image as allusive to the model in some indeterminate but compelling way. By this lack of essential likeness, the viewer is forced beyond the material surface to contemplation of a transcendent reality. In other words, images of angels remained fine examples of areopagite symbols.

The numerous epigrams of Manuel Philes (ca. 1275–ca. 1345) on images of angels exhibit the same basic dependence upon this neo-Platonic framework. Like other epigram writers, Philes engaged the

16. “Νικηφόρος Κάλλιςτος Ξανθόπουλος,” ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *BZ* 11(1902):46–47 (#16); trans. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire. 312–1453. Sources and Documents* (Toronto, 1986) 231.

incongruity of matter attempting to capture a spiritual creature. Writing on an image of an Archangel, Philes noted that paradoxically the matter of the image contains intellect, spirit, light and fire; the image is “intellect visible, spirit caught fast.”¹⁷ More strangely, he wrote, the flame submitted to be captured in human form, clothed, with hair and feathers, but marvelously the icon does not burn. The face ought to be red to indicate that fiery nature but, instead, the painter has used clever artifice and manipulated material color, that is yellow, to show the fire of the model. Like Xanthopoulus’s epigram, this epigram reveals an awareness of the distance between craft that deceitfully manifests an angelic form and the reality that is unknowable and uncontainable; in fact, this tension makes these images remarkable and compelling for the writers. At the same time as the images appear to make the Archangel apprehensible, they declare his transcendence:

Just now we see a strange blending in life. The painter mingles the flame with water. For having described the immaterial nature by means of flesh, he provides water to the faithful [to quench] the flames of desire.¹⁸

As the texts adduced in this Conclusion show, the irresolvable problem of depicting angels became a determining and compelling feature that always made their images a distinctive kind of representation. Representing angels brought angels nearer to their desiring worshippers, as Xanthopoulus averred, but not so near as to satisfy

17. *Manuelis Philae carmina ex codicibus Escorialensis, Florentinis, Parisinis et Vaticanis*, ed. E. Miller, 2 vols. (Paris, 1855–1857) II:202 (CLXXXVII).

18. *Manuelis Philae carmina*, II:415 (XLVIII). Philes also wrote the following two epigrams: “‘On an icon of the Archangel Michael’: If you desire to depict animation, Why do you depict, painter, a winged man, But not the intellect and spirit and light and flames? If not for the fact that no one can depict the immaterial in matter?” (ibid., I:357–58 [CXCII]) and, “‘On the guardian in stone’: You (are) spirit and flame, but behold, before me you do not burn. And you are found as a guard armed for us. Michael, loosening all darkening of sufferings into stony fire, you return to the light” (ibid., II:158–59 [CXVIII]). See also *Manuelis Philae carmina graeca*, ed. G. Wernsdorf (Leipzig, 1768) 28ff. (I.109ff.). Philes also wrote an epigram on the miracle at Chonae; see *Manuelis Philae carmina*, II:236 (CCXXVI).

that desire; as all writers on images of angels maintained, the angels are always absent from their images. But, by representing these creatures materially as well as verbally, Byzantines felt this spiritual world was made tantalizingly near and an immanence was provisionally contained.

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The Books of Enoch

The Book of Enoch (Enoch 1)

The book of the secrets of Enoch (Enoch 2)

The hebrew book of Enoch (Enoch 3)

Introduction

The Book of Enoch (also 1 Enoch[1]) is an ancient Jewish religious work, ascribed to Enoch, the great-grandfather of Noah. It is not regarded as scripture by Jews or any Christian group, apart from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which to this day regards it to be canonical.

Western scholars currently assert that its older sections (mainly in the Book of the Watchers) date from about 300 BC and the latest part (Book of Parables) probably was composed at the end of the 1st century BC.[2] However, Ethiopian scholars generally hold that Ge'ez is the language of the original from which the Greek and Aramaic copies were made, pointing out that it is the only language in which the complete text has yet been found[3].

It is wholly extant only in the Ge'ez language, with Aramaic fragments from the Dead Sea Scrolls and a few Greek and Latin fragments. There is no consensus among Western scholars about the original language: some propose Aramaic, others Hebrew, while the probable thesis according to E. Isaac is that 1 Enoch, as Daniel, was composed partially in Aramaic and partially in Hebrew[4]:6.

A short section of 1 Enoch (1En1:9) is quoted in the New Testament (Letter of Jude 1:14-15), and there apparently attributed to "Enoch the Seventh from Adam" (1En60:8). It is argued that all the writers of the New Testament were familiar with it and were influenced by it in thought and diction.[5] The first part of Book of Enoch describes the fall of the Watchers, the angels who fathered the Nephilim. The remainder of the book describes Enoch's visits to Heaven in the form of travels, visions and dreams, and his revelations.

The book consists of five quite distinct major sections (see each section for details):

The Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1 – 36)

The Book of Parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37 – 71) (Also called the Similitudes of Enoch)

The Astronomical Book (1 Enoch 72 – 82) (Also called the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries or Book of Luminaries.)

The Book of Dream Visions (1 Enoch 83 – 90) (Also called the Book of Dreams)

The Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 91 – 108)

The shared view[6] is that these five sections were originally independent works (with different dates of composition), themselves a product of much editorial arrangement, and were only later redacted into what we now call 1 Enoch. This view is now opposed only by a few authors who maintain the literary integrity of the Book of Enoch, one of

the most recent (1990) being the Ethiopian Wossenie Yifru[3]. Józef Milik has suggested that the Book of Giants found amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls should be part of the collection, appearing after the Book of Watchers in place of the Book of Parables, but for various reasons Milik's theory has not been widely accepted.

Canonicity in Judaism

Although evidently widely known at the time of the Development of the Jewish Bible canon, 1Enoch was excluded from both the formal canon of the Tanakh and the typical canon of the Septuagint and therefore also the writings known today as the Apocrypha.[7] [8] One possible reason for Jewish rejection of the book might be the textual nature of several early sections of the book which make use of material from the Torah, for example 1En1 is a midrash of Deuteronomy 33. [9][10]. The content, particularly detailed description of fallen angels, would also be a reason for rejection from the Hebrew canon at this period - as illustrated by the comments of Trypho the Jew when debating with Justin Martyr on this subject. Trypho: "The utterances of God are holy, but your expositions are mere contrivances, as is plain from what has been explained by you; nay, even blasphemies, for you assert that angels sinned and revolted from God." (Dialogue 79) [11]

THE BOOK OF ENOCH

translation by M. Knibb of the Ethiopian text in the
S.O.A.S. Library at the University of London.

Section I. Chapters I-XXXVI

BOOK OF THE WATCHERS

1.1 These are the words of the blessing of Enoch; according to which he blessed the chosen and righteous who must be present on the day of distress, which is appointed, for the removal of all the wicked and impious.

1.2 And Enoch began his story and said:

-

There was a righteous man whose eyes were opened by the Lord, and he saw a Holy vision in the Heavens, which the Angels showed to me. And I heard everything from them, and I understood what I saw: but not for this generation, but for a distant generation that will come.

1.3 Concerning the Chosen I spoke; and I uttered a parable concerning them: The Holy and Great One will come out of his dwelling.

1.4 And the Eternal God will tread from there upon Mount Sinai, and he will appear with his Host, and will appear in the strength of his power from Heaven.

1.5 And all will be afraid, and the Watchers will shake, and fear and great trembling will seize them, up to the ends of the earth.

1.6 And the high mountains will be shaken; and the high hills will be laid low and will melt like wax in a flame.

1.7 And the earth will sink, and everything that is on the earth will be destroyed, and there will be judgment upon all, and upon all the righteous.

1.8 But for the righteous: He will make peace, and He will keep safe the Chosen, and mercy will be upon them.

They will all belong to God, and will prosper and be blessed, and the light of God will shine on them.

1.9 And behold! He comes with ten thousand Holy Ones; to execute judgment upon them and to destroy the impious, and to contend with all flesh concerning everything that the sinners and the impious have done and wrought against Him.

2.1 Contemplate all the events in the sky; how the lights in the sky do not change their courses, how each rises and sets in order, each at its proper time, and they do not transgress their law.

2.2 Consider the earth and understand from the work that is done upon it, from the beginning to the end, that no work of God changes as it becomes manifest.

2.3 Consider the summer and the winter; how the whole earth is full of water and the clouds and dew and rain rest upon it.

3.1 Contemplate and see how all the trees appear withered and all their leaves are stripped - with the exception of the fourteen trees, which are not stripped, which remain with the old leaves until the new come after two or three years.

4.1 And, again, contemplate the days of summer; how at its beginning the Sun is above it. You seek shelter and shade because of the heat of the Sun and the earth burns with scorching heat, and you cannot tread upon the earth or upon a rock, because of its heat.

5.1 Contemplate how the trees are covered with green leaves and bear fruit. And understand, in respect of everything, and perceive how He Who Lives Forever made all these things for you.

5.2 And how His works are before Him in each succeeding year, and all His works serve Him and do not change; but as God has decreed - so everything is done.

5.3 And consider how the seas and rivers together complete their tasks.

5.4 But you have not persevered in, nor observed, the Law of the Lord. But you have transgressed and have spoken proud and hard words with your unclean mouth against his majesty. You hard of heart! You will not have peace!

5.5 And because of this you will curse your days, and the years of your life you will destroy. And the eternal curse will increase and you will not receive mercy.

5.6 In those days, you will transform your name into an eternal curse to all the righteous. And they will curse you sinners forever.

5.7 For the chosen; there will be light, joy, and peace, and they will inherit the earth. But for you, the impious, there will be a curse.

5.8 When wisdom is given to the chosen they will all live, and will not again do wrong, either through forgetfulness, or through pride. But those who possess wisdom will be humble.

5.9 They will not again do wrong, and they will not be judged in all the days of their life, and they will not die of wrath or anger. But they will complete the number of the days of their life. And their life will grow in peace, and the years of their joy will increase in gladness and eternal peace; all the days of their life.

6.1 And it came to pass, when the sons

of men had increased, that in those days there were born to them fair and beautiful daughters.

6.2 And the Angels, the sons of Heaven, saw them and desired them. And they said to one another: "Come, let us choose for ourselves wives, from the children of men, and let us beget, for ourselves, children."

6.3 And Semyaza, who was their leader, said to them:

"I fear that you may not wish this deed to be done and that I alone will pay for this great sin."

6.4 And they all answered him, and said:

"Let us all swear an oath, and bind one-another with curses, so not to alter this plan, but to carry out this plan effectively."

6.5 Then they all swore together and all bound one another with curses to it.

6.6 And they were, in all, two hundred and they came down on Ardis, which is the summit of Mount Hermon. And they called the mountain Hermon because on it they swore and bound one another with curses.

6.7 And these are the names of their leaders:

Semyaza, who was their leader, Urakiba (Araziel) , Rameel, Kokabiel, Tamiel, Ramiel, Daniel, Ezeqiel, Baraqiel, Asael, Armaros, Batariel, Ananel, Zaqiel, Samsiel, Satariel, Turiel, Yomiel, Sariel. (see Ch 8 & Ch 69)

6.8 These are the leaders of the two hundred Angels and of all the others with them.

7.1 And they took wives for themselves and everyone chose for himself one each. And they began to go into them and were promiscuous with them. And they taught them charms and spells, and they showed them the cutting of roots and trees.

7.2 And they became pregnant and bore large giants. And their height was three thousand cubits.

7.3 These devoured all the toil of men; until men were unable to sustain them.

7.4 And the giants turned against them in order to devour men.

7.5 And they began to sin against birds, and against animals, and against reptiles, and against fish, and they devoured one another's flesh, and drank the blood from it.

7.6 Then the Earth complained about the lawless ones.

8.1 And Azazel taught men to make swords, and daggers, and shields, and breastplates. And he showed them the things after these, and the art of making them; bracelets, and ornaments, and the art of making up the eyes, and of beautifying the eyelids, and the most precious stones, and all kinds of coloured dyes. And the world was changed.

8.2 And there was great impiety, and much fornication, and they went astray, and all their ways became corrupt.

8.3 Amezarak taught all those who cast spells and cut roots, Armaros the release of spells, and Baraqiel astrologers, and Kokabiel portents, and Tamiel taught astrology, and Asradel taught the path of the Moon.

8.4 And at the destruction of men they cried out; and their voices reached Heaven.

9.1 And then Michael, Gabriel, Suriel and Uriel, looked down from Heaven and saw the mass of blood that was being shed on the earth and all the iniquity that was being done on the earth.

9.2 And they said to one another: "Let the devastated Earth cry out with the sound of their cries, up to the Gate of Heaven.

9.3 And now to you, Oh Holy Ones of Heaven, the souls of men complain, saying: "Bring our complaint before the Most High."

9.4 And they said to their Lord, the King: "Lord of Lords, God of Gods, King of Kings! Your glorious throne endures for all the generations of the world, and blessed and praised!

9.5 You have made everything, and power over everything is yours. And everything is uncovered, and open, in front of you, and you see everything, and there is nothing that can be hidden from you.

9.6 See then what Azazel has done; how he has taught all iniquity on the earth and revealed the eternal secrets that are made in Heaven.

9.7 And Semyaza has made known spells, he to whom you gave authority to rule over those who are with him.

9.8 And they went into the daughters of men together, lay with those women, became unclean, and revealed to them these sins.

9.9 And the women bore giants, and thereby the whole Earth has been filled with blood and iniquity.

9.10 And now behold the souls which have died cry out and complain unto the Gate of Heaven, and their lament has ascended, and they cannot go out in the face of the iniquity which is being committed on the earth.

9.11 And you know everything, before it happens, and you know this, and what concerns each of them. But you say nothing to us. What ought we to do with them, about this?"

10.1 And then the Most High, the Great and Holy One, spoke and sent Arsyalalyur to the son of Lamech, and said to him:

10.2 "Say to him in my name; hide yourself! And reveal to him the end, which is coming, because the whole earth will be destroyed. A deluge is about to come on all the earth; and all that is in it will be destroyed.

10.3 And now teach him so that he may escape and his offspring may survive

for the whole Earth."

10.4 And further the Lord said to Raphael: "Bind Azazel by his hands and his feet and throw him into the darkness. And split open the desert, which is in Dudael, and throw him there.

10.5 And throw on him jagged and sharp stones and cover him with darkness. And let him stay there forever. And cover his face so that he may not see the light.

10.6 And so that, on the Great Day of Judgment, he may be hurled into the fire.

10.7 And restore the Earth which the Angels have ruined. And announce the restoration of the Earth. For I shall restore the Earth so that not all the sons of men shall be destroyed because of the knowledge which the Watchers made known and taught to their sons.

10.8 And the whole Earth has been ruined by the teaching of the works of Azazel; and against him write: ALL SIN."

10.9 And the Lord said to Gabriel: "Proceed against the bastards, and the reprobates, and against the sons of the fornicators. And destroy the sons of the fornicators, and the sons of the Watchers, from amongst men. And send them out, and send them against one another, and let them destroy themselves in battle; for they will not have length of days.

10.10 And they will petition you, but the petitioners will gain nothing in respect of them, for they hope for eternal life, and that each of them will live life for five hundred years."

10.11 And the Lord said to Michael: "Go, inform Semyaza, and the others with him, who have associated with the women to corrupt themselves with them in all their uncleanness.

10.12 When all their sons kill each other, and when they see the destruction of their loved ones, bind them for seventy generations, under the hills of

the earth, until the day of their judgment and of their consummation, until the judgment, which is for all eternity, is accomplished.

10.13 And in those days, they will lead them to the Abyss of Fire; in torment, and in prison they will be shut up for all eternity.

10.14 And then Semyaza will be burnt, and from then on destroyed with them; together they will be bound until the end of all generations.

10.15 And destroy all the souls of lust, and the sons of the Watchers, for they have wronged men.

10.16 Destroy all wrong from the face of the Earth and every evil work will cease.

10.17 And now all the righteous will be humble, and will live until they beget thousands. And all the days of their youth, and their sabbaths, they will fulfill in peace.

10.18 And in those days the whole earth will be tilled in righteousness and all of it will be planted with trees; and it will be filled with blessing.

10.19 And all the pleasant trees they will plant on it and they will plant on it vines. And the vine that is planted on it will produce fruit in abundance; and every seed that is sown on it, each measure will produce a thousand, and each measure of olives will produce ten baths of oil.

10.20 And you cleanse the Earth from all wrong, and from all iniquity, and from all sin, and from all impiety, and from all the uncleanness which is brought about on the earth.

10.21 And all the sons of men shall be righteous, and all the nations shall serve and bless me and all shall worship me.

10.22 And the Earth will be cleansed from all corruption, and from all sin, and from all wrath, and from all torment; and I will not again send a flood upon it, for all generations, forever.

11.1 And in those days, I will open the Storehouses of Blessing, which are in Heaven, so that I may send them down upon the Earth, upon the work, and upon the toil, of the sons of men.

11.2 Peace and truth will be united, for all the days of eternity, and for all the generations of eternity.

12.1 And then Enoch disappeared and none of the sons of men knew where he was hidden, where he was, or what had happened.

12.2 And all his doings were with the Holy Ones, and with the Watchers, in his days.

12.3 And I Enoch, was blessing the Great Lord and the King of Eternity. And behold, the Watchers called to me - Enoch the scribe - and said to me:

12.4 "Enoch, scribe of righteousness. Go and inform the Watchers of Heaven, who have left the High Heaven and the Holy Eternal Place, and have corrupted themselves with women, and have done as the sons of men do and have taken wives for themselves, and have become completely corrupt on the earth.

12.5 They will have on Earth, neither peace, nor forgiveness of sin, for they will not rejoice in their sons.

12.6 The slaughter of their beloved ones they will see; and over the destruction of their sons they will lament and petition forever. But they will have neither mercy nor peace."

13.1 And Enoch went and said to Azazel: "You will not have peace. A severe sentence has come out against you that you should be bound.

13.2 And you will have neither rest nor mercy, nor the granting of any petitions, because of the wrong which you have taught, and because of all the works of blasphemy and wrong and sin which you have shown to the sons of men."

13.3 And then I went and spoke to them all together, and they were all afraid; fear and trembling seized them.

13.4 And they asked me to write out for them the record of a petition, so that they might receive forgiveness, and to take a record of their petition up to the Lord in Heaven.

13.5 For they were not able, from then on, to speak, and they did not raise their eyes to Heaven, out of shame for the sins, for which they had been condemned.

13.6 And then I wrote out the record of their petition, and their supplication in regard to their spirits, and the deeds of each one of them, and in regard to what they asked; that they should obtain absolution and forbearance.

13.7 And I went and sat down by the waters of Dan, in Dan, which is southwest of Hermon; and I read out the record of their petition, until I fell asleep.

13.8 And behold a dream came to me, and visions fell upon me, and I saw a vision of wrath; that I should speak to the sons of Heaven and reprove them.

13.9 And I woke up and went to them, and they were all sitting gathered together as they mourned, in Ubelseyael, which is between Lebanon and Senir, with their faces covered.

13.10 And I spoke in front of them all; the visions that I had seen in my sleep, and I began to speak these words to reprove the Watchers of Heaven.

14.1 This book is the word of righteousness, and of reproof, for the Watchers who are from Eternity; as the Holy and Great One commanded in that vision.

14.2 I saw in my sleep what I will now tell, with the tongue of flesh, and with my breath, which the Great One has given men in the mouth, so that they might speak with it, and understand with the heart.

14.3 As He has created, and appointed, men to understand the word of knowledge, so He created and appointed me to reprove the Watchers, the sons of Heaven.

14.4 And I wrote out your petition, but in my vision, thus it appeared, that your petition would not be granted to you, for all the days of eternity; and complete judgment has been decreed against you, and you will not have peace.

14.5 And from now on, you will not ascend into Heaven, for all eternity, and it has been decreed that you will be bound on Earth for all the days of eternity.

14.6 And before this, you will have seen the destruction of your beloved sons, and you will not be able to enjoy them, but they will fall before you by the sword.

14.7 And your petition will not be granted in respect of them or in respect of yourselves. And while you weep and supplicate you do not speak a single word from the writings which I have written.

14.8 And the vision appeared to me, as follows: - Behold; clouds called me in the vision, and mist called me. And the path of the stars, and flashes of lightning, hastened me and drove me. And in the vision winds caused me to fly, and hastened me, and lifted me up into the sky.

14.9 And I proceeded until I came near a wall which was made of hailstones, and a tongue of fire surrounded it, and it began to make me afraid.

14.10 And I went into the tongue of fire and came near to a large house, which was built of hailstones, and the wall of that house was like a mosaic of hailstones and its floor was snow.

14.11 Its roof was like the path of the stars and flashes of lightning, and among them was fiery cherubim, and their sky was like water.

14.12 And there was a fire burning around its wall and its door was ablaze

with fire.

14.13 And I went into that house, and it was as hot as fire and as cold as snow, and there was neither pleasure nor life in it. Fear covered me and trembling took hold of me.

14.14 And as I was shaking and trembling, I fell on my face.

14.15 And I saw in the vision, and behold, another house which was larger than the former and all its doors were open before me, and it was built of a tongue of fire.

14.16 And in everything, it so excelled in glory and splendor and size, so that I am unable to describe to you its glory and its size.

14.17 And its floor was fire, and above lightning and the path of the stars, and its roof also was a burning fire.

14.18 And I looked, and I saw in it, a high throne, and its appearance was like ice, and its surrounds like the shining Sun and the sound of cherubim.

14.19 And from underneath the high throne there flowed out rivers of fire so that it was impossible to look at it.

14.20 And He who is Great in Glory sat upon it, and his raiment was brighter than the Sun, and whiter than any snow.

14.21 And no Angel could enter, and at the appearance of the face of Him who is Honoured and Praised, no creature of flesh could look.

14.22 A sea of fire burnt around Him, and a great fire stood in front of Him, and none of those around Him came near to Him. Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him but He needed no Holy Council.

14.23 And the Holy Ones who were near to Him did not leave by night or day and did not depart from Him.

14.24 And until then I had a covering on my face, as I trembled. And the Lord called me with his own mouth, and said to me: "Come here, Enoch, to my Holy Word."

14.25 And He lifted me up and brought me near to the door. And I looked, with

my face down.

15.1 And He answered me, and said to me with His voice: "Hear! Do not be afraid, Enoch, you righteous man, and scribe of righteousness. Come here and hear my voice.

15.2 And go say to the Watchers of Heaven, who sent you to petition on their behalf: You ought to petition on behalf of men, not men on behalf of you.

15.3 Why have you left the High, Holy and Eternal Heaven, and lain with women, and become unclean with the daughters of men, and taken wives for yourselves, and done as the sons of the earth, and begotten giant sons?

15.4 And you were spiritual, Holy, living an eternal life, but you became unclean upon the women, and begot children through the blood of flesh, and lusted after the blood of men, and produced flesh and blood, as they do, who die and are destroyed.

15.5 And for this reason I give men wives; so that they might sow seed in them, and so that children might be born by them, so that deeds might be done on the Earth.

15.6 But you, formerly, were spiritual, living an eternal, immortal life, for all the generations of the world.

15.7 For this reason I did not arrange wives for you; because the dwelling of the spiritual ones is in Heaven.

15.8 And now, the giants who were born from body and flesh will be called Evil Spirits on the Earth, and on the Earth will be their dwelling.

15.9 And evil spirits came out from their flesh, because from above they were created, from the Holy Watchers was their origin and first foundation. Evil spirits they will be on Earth and 'Spirits of the Evil Ones' they will be called.

15.10 And the dwelling of the Spirits of Heaven is Heaven, but the dwelling of the spirits of the Earth, who were born

on the Earth, is Earth.

15.11 And the spirits of the giants do wrong, are corrupt, attack, fight, break on the Earth, and cause sorrow. And they eat no food, do not thirst, and are not observed.

15.12 And these spirits will rise against the sons of men, and against the women, because they came out of them during the days of slaughter and destruction.

16.1 And the death of the giants, wherever the spirits have gone out from their bodies, their flesh will be destroyed, before the Judgment. Thus they will be destroyed until the Day of the Great Consummation is accomplished, upon the Great Age, upon the Watchers and the impious ones."

16.2 And now to the Watchers, who sent you to petition on their behalf, who were formerly in Heaven:

16.3 "You were in Heaven but its secrets had not yet been revealed to you; and a worthless mystery you knew. This you made known to women, in the hardness of your hearts. And through this mystery the women and the men cause evil to increase on the Earth."

16.4 Say to them therefore: "You will not have peace."

17.1 And they took me to a place where they were like burning fire, and, when they wished, they made themselves look like men.

17.2 And they led me to a place of storm, and to a mountain, the tip of whose summit reached to Heaven.

17.3 And I saw lighted places, and thunder in the outermost ends, in its depths a bow of fire, and arrows and their quivers, and a sword of fire, and all the flashes of lightning.

17.4 And they took me to the Water of Life, as it is called, and to the Fire of the

West, which receives every setting of the Sun.

17.5 And I came to a river of fire, whose fire flows like water, and pours out into the Great Sea, which is towards the west.

17.6 And I saw all the great rivers, and I reached the Great Darkness, and went where all flesh walks.

17.7 And I saw the Mountains of the Darkness of Winter and the place where the water of all the deeps pours out.

17.8 And I saw the mouths of all the rivers of the Earth, and the mouth of the deep.

18.¹ And I saw the storehouses of all the winds, and I saw how with them He has adorned all creation, and I saw the foundations of the Earth.

18.2 And I saw the cornerstone of the Earth. And I saw the four winds which support the Earth and the sky.

18.3 And I saw how the winds stretch out the height of Heaven, and how they position themselves between Heaven and Earth; they are the Pillars of Heaven.

18.4 And I saw the winds which turn the sky and cause the disc of the Sun and all the stars to set.

18.5 And I saw the winds on the Earth which support the clouds and I saw the paths of the Angels. I saw at the end of the Earth; the firmament of Heaven above.

18.6 And I went towards the south, and it was burning day and night, where there were seven mountains of precious stones, three towards the east and three towards the south.

18.7 And those towards the east were of coloured stone, and one was of pearl, and one of healing stone; and those towards the south, of red stone.

18.8 And the middle one reached to Heaven, like the throne of the Lord, of stibium, and the top of the throne was of sapphire.

18.9 And I saw a burning fire, and what

was in all the mountains.

18.10 And I saw a place there, beyond the great earth; there the waters gathered together.

18.11 And I saw a deep chasm of the earth, with pillars of heavenly fire, and I saw among them fiery pillars of Heaven, which were falling, and as regards both height and depth, they were immeasurable.

18.12 And beyond this chasm, I saw a place, and it had neither the sky above it, nor the foundation of earth below it; there was no water on it, and no birds, but it was a desert place.

18.13 And a terrible thing I saw there, seven stars, like great burning mountains.

18.14 And like a spirit questioning me, the Angel said: "This is the place of the end of Heaven and Earth; this is the prison for the Stars of Heaven and the Host of Heaven.

18.15 And the stars which roll over the fire, these are the ones which transgressed the command of the Lord, from the beginning of their rising, because they did not come out at their proper times.

18.16 And He was angry with them, and bound them until the time of the consummation of their sin, in the Year of Mystery."

19.¹ And Uriel said to me: "The spirits of the Angels who were promiscuous with women will stand here; and they, assuming many forms, made men unclean and will lead men astray so that they sacrifice to demons as gods. And they will stand there until the great judgment day, on which they will be judged, so that an end will be made of them.

19.2 And their wives, having led astray the Angels of Heaven, will become peaceful."

19.3 And I, Enoch, alone saw the sight, the ends of everything; and no man has seen what I have seen.

20.1 And these are the names of the Holy Angels who keep watch.

20.2 Uriel, one of the Holy Angels; namely the Holy Angel of the Spirits of Men.

20.4 Raguel, one of the Holy Angels; who takes vengeance on the world, and on the lights.

20.5 Michael, one of the Holy Angels, namely the one put in charge of the best part of humankind, in charge of the nation.

20.6 Saraqael, one of the Holy Angels; who is in charge of the spirits of men who cause the spirits to sin.

20.7 Gabriel, one of the Holy Angels, who is in charge of the Serpents, and the Garden, and the Cherubim.

21.1 And I went round to a place where nothing was made.

21.2 And I saw a terrible thing, neither the High Heaven nor the firm ground, but a desert place, prepared and terrible.

21.3 And there, I saw seven Stars of Heaven, bound on it together, like great mountains, and burning like fire.

21.4 Then I said: "For what sin have they been bound, and why have they been thrown here?"

21.5 And Uriel, one of the Holy Angels, who was with me and led me, spoke to me and said: "Enoch, about whom do you ask? About whom do you inquire, ask, and care?"

21.6 These are some of the stars which transgressed the command of the Lord Most High, and they have been bound here until ten thousand ages are completed; the number of days of their sin."

21.7 And from there I went to another place, more terrible than this. And I saw a terrible thing: there was a great fire there, which burnt and blazed. And the place had a cleft reaching into the abyss, full of great pillars of fire, which

were made to fall; neither its extent nor its size could I see, nor could I see its source.

21.8 Then I said: "How terrible this place is, and how painful to look at!"

21.9 Then Uriel, one of the Holy Angels, who was with me, answered me. He answered me and said to me: "Enoch, why do you have such fear and terror because of this terrible place, and before this pain?"

21.10 And he said to me: "This place is the prison of the Angels, and there they will be held for ever."

22.1 And from there, I went to another place, and he showed me in the west a large and high mountain, and a hard rock, and four beautiful places.

22.2 And inside, it was deep, wide, and very smooth. How smooth is that which rolls, and deep and dark to look at!

22.3 Then Raphael, one of the Holy Angels who was with me, answered me, and said to me: "These beautiful places are there so that the spirits, the souls of the dead, might be gathered into them. For them they were created; so that here they might gather the souls of the sons of men.

22.4 And these places they made, where they will keep them until the Day of Judgment, and until their appointed time, and that appointed time will be long, until the great judgment comes upon them.

22.5 And I saw the spirits of the sons of men who were dead and their voices reached Heaven and complained.

22.6 Then I asked Raphael, the Angel who was with me, and said to him: "Whose is this spirit, whose voice thus reaches Heaven and complains?"

22.7 And he answered me, and said to me, saying: "This spirit is the one that came out of Abel, whom Cain, his brother, killed. And he will complain about him until his offspring are destroyed from the face of the Earth, and from amongst the offspring of men,

his offspring perish."

22.8 Then I asked about him, and about judgment on all, and I said: "Why is one separated from another?"

22.9 And he answered me, and said to me: "These three places were made, in order that they might separate the spirits of the dead. And thus the souls of the righteous have been separated; this is the spring of water, and on it the light.

22.10 Likewise, a place has been created for sinners, when they die, and are buried in the earth, and judgment has not come upon them during their life.

22.11 And here their souls will be separated for this great torment, until the Great Day of Judgment and Punishment and Torment for those who curse, forever, and of vengeance on their souls. And there he will bind them forever. Verily, He is, from the beginning of the world.

22.12 And thus a place has been separated for the souls of those who complain, and give information about their destruction, about when they were killed, in the days of the sinners.

22.13 Thus a place has been created, for the souls of men who are not righteous, but sinners, accomplished in wrongdoing, and with the wrongdoers will be their lot. But their souls will not be killed on the day of judgment, nor will they rise from here."

22.14 Then I blessed the Lord of Glory, and said: "Blessed be my Lord, the Lord of Glory and Righteousness, who rules everything forever."

23.¹ And from there I went to another place, towards the west, to the ends of the Earth.

23.2 And I saw a fire that burnt and ran, without resting or ceasing from running, by day or by night, but continued in exactly the same way.

23.3 And I asked saying: "What is this which has no rest?"

23.4 Then Raguel, one of the Holy

Angels, who was with me, answered me, and said to me: "This burning fire, whose course you saw towards the west, is the fire of all the Lights of Heaven."

24.¹ And from there I went to another place of the Earth and he showed me a mountain of fire that blazed day and night.

24.2 And I went towards it and saw seven magnificent mountains. And all were different from one another, and precious and beautiful stones, and all were precious, and their appearance glorious, and their form was beautiful. Three towards the east one fixed firmly on another and three towards the south one on another, and deep and rugged valleys, no one of which was near another.

24.3 And there was a seventh mountain, in the middle of these, and in their height they were all like the seat of a throne and fragrant trees surrounded it.

24.4 And there was among them a tree such as which I have never smelt, and none of them, or any others, were like it. It smells more fragrant than any fragrance, and its leaves, and its flowers, and its wood never wither. Its fruit is good, and its fruit is like bunches of dates on a palm.

24.5 And then I said: "Behold, this beautiful tree! Beautiful to look at, and pleasant are its leaves, and its fruit very delightful in appearance."

24.6 And then Michael, one of the Holy and Honoured Angels, who was with me, and was in charge of them,

25.¹ answered me and said to me: "Enoch, why do you ask me about the fragrance of this tree, and why do you inquire to learn?"

25.2 Then I, Enoch, answered him saying: "I wish to learn about everything, but especially about this

tree.”

25.3 And he answered me, saying: “This high mountain, which you saw, whose summit is like the Throne of the Lord, is the throne where the Holy and Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit, when he comes down to visit the Earth for good.

25.4 And this beautiful and fragrant tree, and no creature of flesh has authority to touch it until the great judgment, when he will take vengeance on all and bring everything to a consummation forever, this will be given to the righteous and the humble.

25.5 From its fruit, life will be given to the chosen; towards the north it will be planted, in a Holy place, by the house of the Lord, the Eternal King.

25.6 Then they will rejoice with joy and be glad in the Holy place. They will each draw the fragrance of it into their bones, and they will live a long life on earth, as your fathers lived. And in their days sorrow and pain, and toil and punishment, will not touch them.”

25.7 Then I blessed the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, because he has prepared such things for righteous men, and has created such things, and said that they are to be given to them.

26.¹ And from there, I went to the middle of the earth, and saw a blessed, well watered place, which had branches which remained alive, and sprouted from a tree which had been cut down.

26.2 And there I saw a holy mountain, and under the mountain, to the east of it, there was water, and it flowed towards the south.

26.3 And I saw towards the east, another mountain, which was of the same height, and between them, there was a deep and narrow valley; and in it, a stream ran by the mountain.

26.4 And to the west of this one, was another mountain, which was lower than it was and not high; and under it, there was a valley between them. And

there were other deep and dry valleys at the end of the three mountains.

26.5 And all the valleys were deep and narrow, of hard rock, and trees were planted on them.

26.6 And I was amazed at the rock, and I was amazed at the valley; I was very much amazed.

27.¹ Then I said: "What is the purpose of this blessed land, which is completely full of trees, and of this accursed valley in the middle of them?"

27.2 Then Raphael, one of the Holy Angels who was with me, answered me, and said to me: "This accursed valley, is for those who are cursed for ever. Here will be gathered together all who speak with their mouths against the Lord - words that are not fitting, and say hard things about His Glory. Here they will gather them together, and here will be their place of judgment.

27.3 And in the last days there will be the spectacle of the righteous judgment upon them, in front of the righteous, forever. For here, the merciful will bless the Lord of Glory the Eternal King.

27.4 And in the days of the judgment on them they will bless Him, on account of his mercy, according as He has assigned to them their lot."

27.5 Then I myself blessed the Lord of Glory, I addressed Him, and I remembered His majesty, as was fitting.

28.¹ And from there, I went towards the east, to the middle of the mountain of the wilderness, and I saw only desert.

28.2 But it was full of trees from this seed and water gushed out over it from above.

28.3 The torrent, which flowed towards the northwest, seemed copious, and from all sides, there went up spray and mist.

29.¹ And I went to another place,

away from the wilderness; I came near to the east of this mountain.

29.2 And there I saw Trees of Judgment, especially vessels of the fragrance of incense and myrrh, and the trees were not alike.

30.1 And above it, above these, above the mountains of the east, and not far away, I saw another place, valleys of water, like that which does not fail.

30.2 And I saw a beautiful tree, and its fragrance was like that of the mastic.

30.3 And by the banks of these valleys I saw fragrant cinnamon. And beyond those valleys I came towards the east.

31.1 And I saw another mountain on which there were trees, and there flowed out water, and there flowed out from it, as it were, a nectar whose name is styrax and galbanum.

31.2 And beyond this mountain I saw another mountain, and on it there were aloe trees, and those trees were full of a fruit, which is like an almond, and is hard.

31.3 And when they take this fruit it is better than any fragrance.

32.1 And after these fragrances, to the north, as I looked over the mountains, I saw seven mountains full of fine nard, and fragrant trees of cinnamon and pepper.

32.2 And from there, I went over the summits of those mountains, far away to the east, and I went over the Red Sea, and I was far from it, and I went over the Angel Zotiel.

32.3 And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, and I saw beyond those trees many large trees growing there, sweet smelling, large, very beautiful and glorious, the Trees of Wisdom, from which they eat and know great wisdom.

32.4 And it is like the carob tree, and its fruit is like bunches of grapes on a vine, very beautiful, and the smell of this tree

spreads and penetrates afar.

32.5 And I said: "This tree is beautiful! How beautiful and pleasing is its appearance!"

32.6 And the Holy Angel Raphael, who was with me, answered me and said to me: "This is the Tree of Wisdom, from which your ancient father and ancient mother, who were before you, ate and learnt wisdom; and their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked. And they were driven from the garden."

33.1 And from there I went to the ends of the earth, and I saw there large animals, each different from the other, and also birds, which differed in form, beauty, and call - each different from the other.

33.2 And to the east of these animals, I saw the ends of the Earth, on which Heaven rests, and the open Gates of Heaven.

33.3 And I saw how the stars of Heaven come out, and counted the Gates out of which they come, and wrote down all their outlets, for each one, individually, according to their number. And their names, according to their constellations, their positions, their times, and their months, as the Angel Uriel, who was with me, showed me.

33.4 And he showed me everything, and wrote it down, and also their names he wrote down for me, and their laws and their functions.

34.1 And from there I went towards the north, to the ends of the Earth, and there I saw a great and glorious wonder at the ends of the whole Earth.

34.2 And there I saw three Gates of Heaven; through each of them north winds go out; when they blow there is cold, hail, hoarfrost, snow, fog, and rain.

34.3 And from one Gate, it blows for good; but when they blow through the

other two Gates, it is with force, and it brings torment over the earth, and they blow with force.

35.1 And from there I went towards the west, to the ends of the Earth, and I saw there, as I saw in the east, three open Gates - as many Gates and as many outlets.

36.1 And from there I went towards the south, to the ends of the Earth, and there I saw three Gates of Heaven open; and the south wind, the mist, and the rain, and wind, come out from there.

36.2 And from there I went towards the east of the ends of Heaven, and there I saw the three eastern Gates of Heaven open, and above them, there were smaller Gates.

36.3 Through each of these smaller Gates, the stars of Heaven pass, and go towards the west, on the path that has been shown to them.

36.4 And when I saw, I blessed, and I will always bless the Lord of Glory, who has made Great and Glorious Wonders so that he might show the greatness of His Work, to His Angels, and to the souls of men, so that they might praise His Work. And so that all his creatures might see the work of His Power, and praise the great work of His Hands, and bless Him forever!

Section II. Chapters XXXVII-

LXXI

The Parables

37.1 The second vision that he saw, the vision of wisdom, which Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Malalel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enosh, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, saw.

37.2 And this is the beginning of the words of wisdom, which I raised my

voice to speak, and say. "To those who dwell on dry ground: - Hear, you men of old, and see, those who come after; the words of the Holy One, which I will speak, in front of the Lord of Spirits."

37.3 "It would have been better to have said these things before, but from those who come after, we will not withhold the beginning of wisdom."

37.4 Until now, there has not been given, by the Lord of Spirits, such wisdom as I have received. In accordance with my insight, in accordance with the wish of the Lord of Spirits: by whom the lot of eternal life has been given to me.

37.5 And the three parables were imparted to me and I raised my voice, and said to those who dwell on the dry ground: -

38.1 The First Parable.

When the community of the righteous appears and the sinners are judged for their sins and are driven from the face of the dry ground.

38.2 And when the Righteous One appears, in front of the chosen righteous, whose works are weighed by the Lord of Spirits. And when light appears to the righteous and chosen who dwell on the dry ground. Where will be the dwelling of the sinners? And where will be the resting-place of those who denied the Lord of Spirits? It would have been better for them, if they had not been born.

38.3 And when the secrets of the righteous are revealed, the sinners will be judged, and the impious driven from the presence of the righteous and the chosen.

38.4 And from then on, those who possess the earth will not be mighty and exalted. Nor will they be able to look at the face of the Holy ones, for the light of the Lord of the Spirits will have appeared on the face of the Holy, the righteous, and the chosen.

38.5 And the mighty kings will at that time be destroyed and given into the hand of the righteous and the Holy.

38.6 And from then on no one will be able to seek the Lord of Spirits for their life will be at an end.

39.1 And it will come to pass in these days that the chosen and holy children will come down from the high Heavens and their offspring will become one with the sons of men.

39.2 In those days Enoch received books of indignation and anger and books of tumult and confusion. And there will be no mercy for them, says the Lord of Spirits.

39.3 And at that time clouds and a storm wind carried me off from the face of the earth and set me down at the end of Heaven.

39.4 And there I saw another vision; the Dwelling of the Righteous and the Resting-Places of the Holy.

39.5 There my eyes saw their dwelling with the Angels, and their resting places with the Holy Ones, and they were petitioning and supplicating and praying, on behalf of the sons of men; and righteousness, like water, flowed in front of them, and mercy like dew on the ground. Thus it is among them forever and ever.

39.6 And in those days my eyes saw the Place of the Chosen Ones of Righteousness and Faith; and there will be righteousness in their days, and the righteous and chosen will be without number, in front of him, forever and ever.

39.7 And I saw their dwelling, under the Wings of the Lord of Spirits, and all the righteous and chosen shone in front of him, like the light of fire. And their mouths were full of blessing, and their lips praised the name of the Lord of Spirits. And righteousness will not fail in front of him, and truth will not fail in front of him.

39.8 There I wished to dwell, and my

soul longed for that dwelling; there had my lot been assigned before, for thus it was decided about me, in front of the Lord of Spirits.

39.9 And in those days I praised and exalted the name of the Lord of Spirits, with blessing and praise, for he has destined me for blessing and praise, in accordance with the Lord of Spirits.

39.10 And for a long time my eyes looked at that place, and I blessed him and praised him, saying: "Blessed is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and for ever!"

39.11 And in his presence there is no end. He knew before the world was created what the world would be, even for all the generations that are to come.

39.12 Those who do not sleep bless you, and they stand before Your Glory, and bless and praise and exalt, saying: "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Spirits; he fills the earth with spirits."

39.13 And there, my eyes saw all those who do not sleep; standing in front of Him, and blessing, and saying: "Blessed are you, and blessed is the name of the Lord, for ever and ever!"

39.14 And my face was transformed until I was unable to see.

40.1 And after this I saw a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand! A multitude beyond number, or reckoning, who stood in front of the Glory of the Lord of Spirits.

40.2 I looked, and on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits, I saw four figures, different from those who were standing; and I learnt their names, because the Angel who went with me made known their names, and showed me all the secret things.

40.3 And I heard the voices of those four figures as they sang praises in front of the Lord of Glory.

40.4 The first voice blesses the Lord of Spirits forever and ever.

40.5 And the second voice I heard blessing the Chosen One and the chosen

who depend on the Lord of Spirits.

40.6 And the third voice I heard, petitioned, and prayed, on behalf of those who dwell on dry ground and supplicate in the name of the Lord of Spirits.

40.7 And the fourth voice I heard driving away the Satans and not allowing them to come in front of the Lord of Spirits to accuse those who dwell on the high ground.

40.8 And after this I asked the Angel of Peace, who went with me, and showed me everything which is secret: "Who are those four figures, whom I have seen, and whose words I have heard and written down?"

40.9 And he said to me: "This first one, is the Holy Michael, the merciful and long-suffering. And the second, who is in charge of all the diseases, and in charge of all the wounds of the sons of men, is Raphael. And the third, who is in charge of all the powers, is the Holy Gabriel. And the fourth, who is in charge of repentance and hope of those who will inherit eternal life, is Phanuel."

40.10 And these are the four Angels of the Lord Most High; and the four voices that I heard in those days.

41.1 And after this, I saw all the secrets of Heaven, and how the Kingdom is divided, and how the deeds of men are weighed in the Balance.

41.2 There I saw the Dwelling of the Chosen, and the Resting Places of the Holy; and my eyes saw there all the sinners who deny the name of the Lord of Spirits being driven from there. And they dragged them off, and they were not able to remain, because of the punishment that went out from the Lord of Spirits.

41.3 And there my eyes saw the secrets of the flashes of lightning and of the thunder. And the secrets of the winds, how they are distributed in order to blow over the earth, and the secrets of

the clouds, and of the dew; and there I saw from where they go out, in that place. And how, from there, the dust of the earth is saturated.

41.4 And there I saw closed storehouses from which the winds are distributed, and the storehouse of the hail, and the storehouse of the mist, and the storehouse of the clouds; and its cloud remained over the earth, from the beginning of the world.

41.5 And I saw the Chambers of the Sun and the Moon, where they go out, and where they return. And their glorious return; and how one is more honoured than the other is. And their magnificent course, and how they do not leave their course, neither adding nor subtracting from their course. And how they keep faith in one another, observing their oath.

41.6 And the Sun goes out first, and completes its journey at the command of the Lord of Spirits - and his Name endures forever and ever.

41.7 And after this is the hidden, and visible, path of the Moon, and it travels the course of its journey, in that place, by day and by night. One stands opposite the other, in front of the Lord of Spirits, and they give thanks, and sing praise, and do not rest, because their thanksgiving is like rest to them.

41.8 For the shining Sun makes many revolutions; for a blessing and for a curse. And the path of the journey of the Moon is for the righteous light but for the sinners; darkness. In the Name of the Lord, who has created a division between light and darkness, and has divided the spirits of men, and has established the spirits of the righteous, in the name of His Righteousness.

41.9 For no Angel hinders, and no power is able to hinder, because the judge sees them all, and judges them all Himself.

42.1 Wisdom found no place where she could dwell, and her dwelling was

in Heaven.

42.2 Wisdom went out, in order to dwell among the sons of men, but did not find a dwelling; wisdom returned to her place, and took her seat in the midst of the Angels.

42.3 And iniquity came out from her chambers; those whom she did not seek she found, and dwelt among them, like rain in the desert, and like dew on the parched ground.

43.¹ And again I saw flashes of lightning and the stars of Heaven, and I saw how He called them all by their names, and they obeyed Him.

43.2 And I saw the Balance of Righteousness, how they are weighed according to their light, according to the width of their areas, and the day of their appearing. And how their revolutions produce lightning, and I saw their revolutions, according to the number of the Angels, and how they keep faith with one another.

43.3 And I asked the Angel, who went with me and showed me what is secret: "What are these?"

43.4 And he said to me: "Their likeness, the Lord of Spirits has shown to you; these are the names of the righteous who, dwell on the dry ground and believe in the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever."

44.¹ And other things I saw concerning lightning, how some of the stars rise and become lightning but cannot lose their form.

45.¹ And this is **The Second Parable.** About those who deny the Name of the Dwelling of the Holy Ones and of the Lord of Spirits.

45.2 They will not ascend into Heaven nor will they come upon the earth; such will be the lot of the sinners who deny the Name of the Lord of Spirits who

will thus be kept for the Day of Affliction and Distress.

45.3 "On that day the Chosen One will sit on the Throne of Glory and will choose their works. And their resting places will be without number and their spirits within them will grow strong when they see My Chosen One and those who appeal to My Holy and Glorious Name.

45.4 And on that day I will cause My Chosen One to dwell among them and I will transform Heaven and make it an Eternal Blessing and Light.

45.5 And I will transform the dry ground and make it a blessing, and I will cause My Chosen Ones to dwell upon it; but those who commit sin and evil will not tread upon it.

45.6 For I have seen, and have satisfied with peace, My Righteous Ones, and have placed them in front of Me; but for the sinners My Judgement draws near so that I may destroy them from the face of the earth."

46.¹ And there I saw one who had a 'Head of Days' and his head was white like wool. And with him there was another whose face had the appearance of a man and his face was full of grace like one of the Holy Angels.

46.2 And I asked one of the Holy Angels, who went with me and showed me all the secrets, about that Son of Man, who he was, and from where he was, and why he went with the Head of Days.

46.3 And he answered me, and said to me:

"This is the Son of Man who has righteousness and with whom righteousness dwells. He will reveal all the treasures of that which is secret, for the Lord of Spirits has chosen him, and through uprightness his lot has surpassed all others, in front of the Lord of Spirits, forever.

46.4 And this Son of Man, who you have seen, will rouse the kings and the

powerful from their resting places, and the strong from their thrones, and will loose the reins of the strong, and will break the teeth of the sinners.

46.5 And he will cast down the kings from their thrones, and from their kingdoms, for they do not exalt him, and do not praise him, and do not humbly acknowledge from where their kingdom was given to them.

46.6 And he will cast down the faces of the strong and shame will fill them, and darkness will be their dwelling, and worms will be their resting place. And they will have no hope of rising from their resting-places, for they do not exalt the name of the Lord of Spirits.

46.7 And these are they who judge the Stars of Heaven, and raise their hands against the Most High, and trample upon the dry ground, and dwell upon it. And all their deeds show iniquity, and their power rests on their riches, and their faith is in their gods that they have made with their hands, and they deny the name of the Lord of Spirits.

46.8 And they will be driven from the houses of his congregation, and of the faithful, who depend on the Name of the Lord of Spirits.

47.1 And in those days, the prayer of the righteous, and the blood of the righteous will have ascended from the Earth in front of the Lord of Spirits.

47.2 In these days the Holy Ones who live in Heaven above will unite with one voice, and supplicate, and pray, and praise, and give thanks, and bless, in the name of the Lord of Spirits. Because of the blood of the righteous that has been poured out. And because of the prayer of the righteous, so that it may not cease in front of the Lord of Spirits, so that justice might be done to them, and that their patience may not have to last forever."

47.3 And in those days, I saw the Head of Days sit down on the Throne of his Glory and the Books of the Living were

opened in front of him and all His Host, which dwell in the Heavens above, and his Council were standing in front of Him.

47.4 And the hearts of the Holy Ones were full of joy that the number of righteousness had been reached, and the prayer of the righteous had been heard, and the blood of the righteous had not been required in front of the Lord of Spirits.

48.1 And in that place I saw an inexhaustible spring of righteousness and many springs of wisdom surrounded it, and all the thirsty drank from them and were filled with wisdom, and their dwelling was with the Righteous and the Holy and the Chosen.

48.2 And at that hour that Son of Man was named, in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, and his name brought to the Head of Days.

48.3 Even before the Sun and the constellations were created, before the Stars of Heaven were made, his name was named in front of the Lord of Spirits.

48.4 He will be a staff to the righteous and the Holy, so that they may lean on him and not fall, and he will be the Light of the Nations, and he will be the hope of those who grieve in their hearts.

48.5 All those who dwell upon the dry ground will fall down and worship in front of him, and they will bless, and praise, and celebrate with psalms, the name of the Lord of Spirits.

48.6 And because of this he was chosen, and hidden in front of Him, before the World was created, and forever.

48.7 But the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits has revealed him to the Holy and the righteous, for he has kept safe the lot of the righteous, for they have hated and rejected this world of iniquity. And all its works and its ways they have hated in the name of the Lord of Spirits. For in His name they are saved and he is the one who will require their lives.

48.8 And in those days the kings of the Earth, and the strong who possess the dry ground, will have downcast faces because of the works of their hands, for on the day of their distress and trouble they will not save themselves.

48.9 And I will give them into the hands of my chosen ones; like straw in the fire, and like lead in water, so they will burn in front of the righteous, and sink in front of the Holy, and no trace will be found of them.

48.10 And on the day of their trouble there will be rest on the earth and they will fall down in front of him and will not rise. And there will be no one who will take them with his hands and raise them for they denied the Lord of Spirits and his Messiah. May the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed!

49.¹ For wisdom has been poured out like water and glory will not fail in front of Him forever and ever.

49.2 For He is powerful in all the secrets of righteousness and iniquity will pass away like a shadow, and will have no existence; for the Chosen One stands in front of the Lord of Spirits and His Glory is for ever and ever, and His Power for all generations.

49.3 And in Him dwell the spirit of wisdom, and the spirit that gives understanding, and the spirit of knowledge and of power, and the spirit of those who sleep in righteousness.

49.4 And he will judge the things that are secret, and no one will be able to say an idle word in front of him, for he has been chosen in front of the Lord of Spirits, in accordance with His wish.

50.¹ And in those days a change will occur for the Holy and the chosen; the Light of Days will rest upon them, and glory and honour will return to the Holy.

50.2 And on the day of trouble, calamity will be heaped up over the

sinners, but the righteous will conquer in the Name of the Lord of Spirits and He will show this to others so that they might repent and abandon the works of their hands.

50.3 And they will have no honour in front of the Lord of Spirits, but in His Name they will be saved and the Lord of Spirits will have mercy on them, for his mercy is great.

50.4 And He is righteous in His judgment, and in front of His Glory iniquity will not be able to stand against His Judgment; he who does not repent will be destroyed.

50.5 "And from then on I will not have mercy on them," says the Lord of Spirits.

51.¹ And in those days the Earth will return that which has been entrusted to it, and Sheol will return that which has been entrusted to it and that which it has received. And destruction will return what it owes.

51.2 And He will choose the Righteous and the Holy from among them; for the day has come near when they must be saved.

51.3 And in those days, the Chosen One will sit on his throne, and all the Secrets of Wisdom will flow out from the council of his mouth, for the Lord of Spirits has appointed him and glorified him.

51.4 And in those days the mountains will leap like rams, and the hills will skip like lambs satisfied with milk, and all will become Angels in Heaven.

51.5 Their faces will shine with joy, for in those days the Chosen One will have risen and the earth will rejoice. And the righteous will dwell upon it and the chosen will walk upon it.

52.¹ And after those days, in that place where I had seen all the visions of that which is secret, for I had been carried off by a whirlwind, and they had

brought me to the west.

52.2 There my eyes saw the secrets of Heaven; everything that will occur on Earth: a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead.

52.3 And I asked the Angel who went with me, saying:

"What are these things which I have seen in secret?"

52.4 And he said to me: "All these things which you have seen serve the authority of His Messiah, so that he may be strong and powerful on the Earth."

52.5 And that Angel of Peace answered me, saying: "Wait a little and you will see, and everything which is secret, which the Lord of Spirits has established, will be revealed to you.

52.6 And these mountains, that you have seen; the mountain of iron, and the mountain of copper, and the mountain of silver, and the mountain of gold, and the mountain of soft metal, and the mountain of lead. All these in front of the Chosen One will be like wax before fire, and like the water that comes down from above onto these mountains they will be weak under his feet.

52.7 And it will come to pass in those days, that neither by gold, nor by silver, will men save themselves; they will be unable to save themselves, or to flee.

52.8 And there will be neither iron for war nor material for a breastplate; bronze will be no use, and tin will be of no use and will count for nothing, and lead will not be wanted.

52.9 All these will be wiped out and destroyed from the face of the earth when the Chosen One appears in front of the Lord of Spirits."

53.1 And there my eyes saw a deep valley, and its mouth was open; and all those who dwell upon dry ground and the sea and the islands will bring gifts and presents and offerings to him, but

that deep valley will not become full.

53.2 And their hands commit evil, and everything at which the righteous toil the sinners evilly devour; and so the sinners will be destroyed from in front of the Lord of Spirits, and will be banished from the face of His Earth, unceasingly for ever and ever.

53.3 For I saw the Angels of Punishment going and preparing all the instruments of Satan.

53.4 And I asked the Angel of Peace, who went with me, and I said to him: "These instruments - for whom are they preparing them?"

53.5 And he said to me: "They are preparing these for the kings and the powerful of this Earth, so that by means of them they may be destroyed.

53.6 And after this the Righteous and Chosen One will cause the house of his congregation to appear; from then on, in the name of the Lord of Spirits, they will not be hindered.

53.7 And in front of him these mountains will not be firm like the earth, and the hills will be like a spring of water; and the righteous will have rest from the ill-treatment of the sinners."

54.1 And I looked, and turned to another part of the Earth, and I saw there a deep valley with burning fire.

54.2 And they brought the kings and powerful and threw them into that valley.

54.3 And there my eyes saw how they made instruments for them - iron chains of immeasurable weight.

54.4 And I asked the Angel of Peace, who went with me, saying: "These chain instruments - for whom are they being prepared?"

54.5 And he said to me: "These are being prepared for the hosts of Azazel, so that they may take them, and throw them into the lowest part of hell; and they will cover their jaws with rough stones, as the Lord of Spirits

commanded.

54.6 And Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel - these will take hold of them on that great day. And throw them, on that day, into the furnace of burning fire, so that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance on them for their iniquity, in that they became servants of Satan, and led astray those who dwell upon the dry ground.

54.7 And in those days, the punishment of the Lord of Spirits will go out, and all the storehouses of the waters which are above the sky and under the earth, will be opened.

54.8 And all the waters will be joined with the waters that are above the sky. The water that is above the sky is male and the water that is under the Earth is female.

54.9 And all those who dwell upon the dry ground, and those who dwell under the ends of Heaven, will be wiped out.

54.10 And because of this they will acknowledge their iniquity which they have committed on the Earth and through this they will be destroyed."

55.1 And after this, the Head of Days repented, and said:

"I have destroyed to no purpose all those who dwell upon the dry ground."

55.2 And he swore by His Great Name: "From now on I will not act like this towards all those who dwell upon the dry ground. And I will put a sign in Heaven, and it will be a pledge of faith between me and them forever, so long as Heaven is above the Earth.

55.3 And this will be in accordance with my command. When I want to take hold of them with the hands of the Angels, on the day of distress and pain, in the face of my anger and my wrath, my wrath and anger will remain upon them" says the Lord, The Lord of Spirits.

55.4 "You powerful kings who dwell upon the dry ground will be obliged to watch my Chosen One sit down on the

throne of My Glory, and judge, in the Name of the Lord of Spirits, Azazel and all his associates and all his hosts."

56.1 And I saw there the hosts of the Angels of Punishment, as they went, and they were holding chains of iron and bronze.

56.2 And I asked the Angel of Peace, who went with me, saying:

"To whom are those who are holding the chains going?"

56.3 And he said to me: "Each to his own chosen ones, and to their beloved ones, so that they may be thrown into the chasm, in the depths of the valley."

56.4 And then, that valley will be filled with their chosen and beloved ones, and the days of their life will be at an end, and the days of their leading astray will no longer be counted.

56.5 And in those days, the Angels will gather together, and will throw themselves towards the east, upon the Parthians and Medes. They will stir up the kings so that a disturbing spirit will come upon them, and they will drive them from their thrones; and they will come out like lions from their lairs, and like hungry wolves in the middle of their flocks.

56.6 And they will go up and trample on the Land of My Chosen Ones, and the land of my chosen ones will become before them a tramping-ground and a beaten track.

56.7 But the City of My Righteous Ones will be a hindrance to their horses, and they will stir up slaughter amongst themselves, and their own right hand will be strong against them. And a man will not admit to knowing his neighbour, or his brother, nor a son his father, or his mother, until, through their death, there are corpses enough; and their punishment - it will not be in vain.

56.8 And in those days Sheol will open its mouth and they will sink into it and their destruction; Sheol will swallow up the sinners in front of the faces of the

chosen."

57.1 And it came to pass, after this, that I saw another host of chariots with men riding on them, and they came upon the wind from the east and from the west, to the south.

57.2 And the sound of the noise of their chariots was heard. And when this occurred the Holy Ones observed it from Heaven and the Pillars of the Earth were shaken from their foundations. And the sound was heard from the ends of the Earth to the ends of Heaven throughout one day.

57.3 And all will fall down and worship the Lord of Spirits. And this is the end of the second parable.

58.1 And I began to speak **The Third Parable.** About The Righteous and about The Chosen.

58.2 Blessed are you, the righteous and the chosen, for your lot will be glorious!

58.3 And the righteous will be in the light of the Sun and the chosen in the light of eternal life. And there will be no end to the days of their life and the days of the Holy will be without number.

58.4 And they will seek the light and will find righteousness with the Lord of Spirits. Peace be to the righteous with the Lord of the World!

58.5 And after this it will be said to the Holy that they should seek in Heaven the secrets of righteousness, the lot of faith; for it has become bright as the Sun upon the dry ground, and darkness has passed away.

58.6 And there will be ceaseless light, and to a limit of days, they will not come, for darkness will have been destroyed previously. And the light will endure in front of the Lord of Spirits, and the light of uprightness will endure in front of the Lord of Spirits, forever.

59.1 And in those days my eyes saw the secrets of the flashes of lightning, and the lights, and the regulations governing them; and they flash for a blessing or a curse, as the Lord of Spirits wishes.

59.2 And there I saw the secrets of the thunder and how when it crashes in Heaven above the sound of it is heard. And they showed me the dwellings of the dry ground, and the sound of the thunder, for peace, and for blessing, or for a curse, according to the word of the Lord of Spirits.

59.3 And after this all the secrets of the lights, and of the flashes of lightning, were shown to me. They flash to bring blessing and satisfaction.

60.1 In the fiftieth year, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth day of the month of the life of Enoch. In that parable, I saw how the Heaven of Heavens was shaken violently, and the Host of the Most High and the Angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, were extremely disturbed.

60.2 And then I saw the Head of Days sitting on the throne of his glory and the Angels and righteous were sitting around him.

60.3 And a great trembling seized me, and fear took hold of me, and my loins collapsed and gave way, and my whole being melted, and I fell upon my face.

60.4 And the Holy Michael sent another Holy Angel, one of the Holy Angels, and he raised me; and when he raised me my spirit returned, for I had been unable to endure the sight of that host, and the disturbance, and the shaking of Heaven.

60.5 And the Holy Michael said to me: "What sight has disturbed you like this? Until today has the day of His mercy lasted and He has been merciful and long suffering towards those who dwell

upon the dry ground.

60.6 And when the Day, and the Power, and the Punishment, and the Judgment come that the Lord of Spirits has prepared for those who worship the Righteous Judgment, and for those who deny the Righteous Judgment, and for those who take His name in vain - and that Day has been prepared. For the chosen a covenant, but for the sinners a visitation."

60.7 And on that day two monsters will be separated from one another, a female monster whose name is Leviathan, to dwell in the depths of the sea, above the springs of the waters.

60.8 And the name of the male is Behemoth who occupies with his breast an immense desert named Dendayn on the east of the Garden where the chosen and the righteous dwell. Where my great-grandfather was received, who was seventh from Adam, the first man whom the Lord of Spirits made.

60.9 And I asked that other Angel to show me the power of those monsters, how they were separated on one day, and thrown, one into the depths of the sea and the other on to the dry ground of the desert.

60.10 And he said to me: "Son of man, you here wish to know what is secret."

60.11 And the other Angel spoke to me, the one who went with me and showed me what is secret; what is first and last in Heaven, in the heights, and under the dry ground, in the depths, and at the Ends of Heaven, and at the Foundations of Heaven, and in the Storehouses of the Winds.

60.12 And how the spirits are distributed, and how they are weighed. And how the springs, and the winds, are counted according to the power of their spirit. And the power of the light of the Moon. And the divisions of the stars according to their names. And how all the divisions are made.

60.13 And the thunder - according to the places where it falls. And all the

divisions that are made in lightning - so that it may flash. And its hosts - how they quickly obey.

60.14 For the thunder have fixed intervals, which have been given to its sound, for waiting. And the thunder and the lightning are not separate although not the same. Through a spirit the two of them move inseparably.

60.15 For when the lightning flashes the thunder utters its voice, and the spirit, at the proper time, causes it to rest, and divides equally between them because the storehouse of the times for their occurrence is like that of the sand. And each of them, at the proper time, is held by a rein, and turned back by the power of the spirit, and likewise driven forward, according to the number of the regions of the Earth.

60.16 And the spirit of the sea is male and strong, and according to the power of its strength, the spirit turns it back with a rein, and likewise it is driven forward, and scattered amongst all the mountains of the Earth.

60.17 And the spirit of the hoarfrost is its own Angel; and the spirit of the hail, is a good Angel.

60.18 And the spirit of the snow has withdrawn because of its power, and it has a special spirit, and that which rises from it is like smoke and its name is frost.

60.19 And the spirit of the mist is not associated with them in their storehouse but has a special storehouse; for its course is glorious both in light and darkness, and in winter and in summer, and its storehouse is an Angel.

60.20 The spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of Heaven and is connected with the storehouses of the rain. And its course is in winter and in summer and its clouds. And the clouds of the mist are associated and one gives to the other.

60.21 And when the spirit of the rain moves from its storehouse the Angels come and open the storehouse and bring

it out. And when it is scattered over all the dry ground it joins with all the water that is on the dry ground. And whenever it joins with the water that is on the dry ground.(.....)

60.22 For the waters are for those who dwell upon the dry ground, for they are nourishment for the dry ground, from the Most High who is in Heaven. Therefore there is a fixed measure for the rain and the Angels comprehend it.

60.23 All these things, I saw towards the Garden of Righteousness.

60.24 And the Angel of Peace who was with me, said to me: "These two monsters, prepared in accordance with the greatness of the Lord, will feed them that Punishment of the Lord. And children will be killed with their mothers and sons with their fathers.

60.25 When the punishment of the Lord of Spirits rests upon them it will remain resting so that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not come in vain upon these. Afterwards, the judgment will be according to His mercy and His patience."

61.1 And in those days, I saw long cords given to those Angels and they acquired wings for themselves, and flew, and went towards the north.

61.2 And I asked the Angel, saying: "Why did these take the long cords, and go?" And he said to me: "They went so that they may measure."

61.3 And the Angel who went with me, said to me:

"These will bring the measurements of the righteous, and the ropes of the righteous, to the righteous, that they may rely on the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.

61.4 The chosen will begin to dwell with the chosen, and these measurements will be given to faith, and will strengthen righteousness.

61.5 And these measurements will reveal all the secrets of the depths of the Earth, and those who were destroyed by

the desert, and those who were devoured by the fish of the sea, and by animals, that they may return and rely on the Day of the Chosen One. For no one will be destroyed in front of the Lord of Spirits, and no one can be destroyed."

61.6 And all those in the Heavens above received a command, and power, and one voice, and one light like fire was given to them.

61.7 And Him, before everything, they blessed, and exalted, and praised in wisdom. And they showed themselves wise in speech and in the spirit of life.

61.8 And the Lord of Spirits set the Chosen One on the throne of his glory, and he will judge all the works of the Holy ones in Heaven above, and in the Balance he will weigh their deeds.

61.9 And when he lifts his face to judge their secret ways according to the word of the name of the Lord of Spirits, and their path according to the way of the Righteous Judgment of the Lord Most High, they will all speak with one voice and bless, and praise, and exalt, and glorify, the Name of the Lord of Spirits.

61.10 And he will call all the Host of the Heavens and all the Holy Ones above, and the Host of the Lord, the Cherubim, and the Seraphim, and the Ophannim, and all the Angels of Power, and all the Angels of the Principalities, and the Chosen One, and the other host that is upon the dry ground, and over the water, on that Day.

61.11 And they will raise one voice, and will bless, and praise, and glorify, and exalt, in the spirit of faith, and in the spirit of wisdom, and of patience, and in the spirit of mercy, and in the spirit of justice, and of peace, and in the spirit of goodness. And they will all say with one voice: "Blessed is He, and blessed be the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever."

61.12 All Those Who Do Not Sleep in Heaven above will bless him. All His Holy Ones who are in Heaven, will

bless Him, and all the chosen ones who dwell in the Garden of Life, and every spirit able to bless, and praise and exalt, and hallow your Holy Name. And all flesh which to the limit of its power, will praise, and bless, your Name forever and ever.

61.13 For great is the mercy of the Lord of Spirits, and he is long-suffering; and all his works and all his forces, as many as he has made, he has revealed to the righteous and the chosen, in the Name of the Lord of Spirits.

62.1 And thus the Lord commanded the kings, and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell upon the earth, and said: "Open your eyes and raise your horns if you are able to acknowledge the Chosen One."

62.2 And the Lord of Spirits sat on His Throne of Glory, and the spirit of righteousness was poured out on him, and the word of his mouth kills all the sinners and all the lawless, and they are destroyed in front of him.

62.3 And on that Day, all the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who possess the earth, will stand up and they will see and recognize how he sits on the Throne of His Glory. And the righteous are judged in righteousness, in front of him, and no idle word is spoken in front of him.

62.4 And pain will come upon them as upon a woman in labour, for whom giving birth is difficult when her child enters the mouth of the womb, and she has difficulty giving birth.

62.5 And one half of them will look at the other, and they will be terrified, and will cast down their faces, and pain will take hold of them when they see that son of a woman sitting on the throne of His Glory.

62.6 And the mighty kings, and all those who possess the earth, will praise and bless and exalt Him who rules everything that is hidden.

62.7 For from the beginning that Son of

Man was hidden, and the Most High kept him in the presence of His power, and revealed him only to the chosen.

62.8 And the community of the Holy and the chosen will be sown and all the chosen will stand before him on that day.

62.9 And all the mighty kings, and the exalted, and those who rule the dry ground, will fall down before him, on their faces, and worship; and they will set their hopes on that Son of Man, and will entreat him, and will petition for mercy from him.

62.10 But the Lord of Spirits will then so press them that they will hasten to go out from before Him, and their faces will be filled with shame, and the darkness will grow deeper on their faces.

62.11 And the Angels of Punishment will take them so that they may repay them for the wrong that they did to His children and to His chosen ones.

62.12 And they will become a spectacle to the righteous and to His chosen ones; they will rejoice over them, for the anger of the Lord of Spirits will rest upon them, and the sword of the Lord of Spirits will be drunk with them.

62.13 And the righteous and the chosen will be saved on that Day and they will never see the faces of the sinners and the lawless from then on.

62.14 And the Lord of Spirits will remain over them and with that Son of Man they will dwell, and eat, and lie down, and rise up, forever and ever.

62.15 And the righteous and chosen will have risen from the earth, and will have ceased to cast down their faces, and will have put on the Garment of Life.

62.16 And this will be a Garment of Life from the Lord of Spirits; and your garments will not wear out, and your glory will not fail, in front of the Lord of Spirits.

63.1 In those days, the mighty kings who possess the dry ground will entreat

the Angels of His Punishment to whom they have been handed over so that they might give them a little respite. And so that they might fall down and worship in front of the Lord of Spirits, and confess their sins in front of Him.

63.2 And they will bless and praise the Lord of Spirits, and say: "Blessed be the Lord of Spirits, and the Lord of Kings, the Lord of the Mighty, and the Lord of the Rich, and the Lord of Glory, and the Lord of Wisdom!

63.3 And everything secret is clear, in front of You, and your power is for all generations, and your glory is forever and ever. Deep and without number are all your secrets and your righteousness is beyond reckoning.

63.4 Now we realize that we ought to praise and bless the Lord of Kings and the one who is King over all Kings."

63.5 And they will say: "Would that we might be given a respite, so that we might praise and thank and bless him, and make our confession in front of His Glory.

63.6 And now we long for a respite, but do not find it; we are driven off and do not obtain it; and the light has passed away from before us, and darkness will be our dwelling forever and ever.

63.7 For we have not made our confession before him, and we have not praised the name of the Lord of Kings, and we have not praised the Lord for all his works, but our hopes have been on the sceptre of our kingdom, and of our glory.

63.8 And on the day of our affliction and distress he does not save us, and we find no respite to make our confession that our Lord is faithful in all his doings, and in all his judgments and his justice, and that his judgments show no respect for persons.

63.9 And we pass away from in front of him because of all our works and all our sins have been counted exactly."

63.10 Then they will say to them: "Our souls are sated with possessions gained

through iniquity, but they do not prevent our going down into the flames of the torment of Sheol."

63.11 And after this their faces will be filled with darkness and shame, in front of that Son of Man, and they will be driven away from him. And the sword will dwell among them - in front of Him.

63.12 And thus says the Lord of Spirits: "This is the Law and the Judgment for the mighty, and the kings, and the exalted, and for those who possess the dry ground, in front of the Lord of Spirits."

64.1 And I saw other figures hidden in that place.

64.2 I heard the voice of the Angel saying: "These are the Angels who came down from Heaven onto the Earth and revealed what is secret to the sons of men, and led astray the sons of men, so that they committed sin."

65.1 And in those days, Noah saw the Earth had tilted and that its destruction was near.

65.2 And he set off from there and went to the ends of the Earth and cried out to his great-grandfather Enoch; and Noah said three times in a bitter voice: "Hear me, hear me, hear me!"

65.3 And he said to him: "Tell me, what is it that is being done on the Earth, that the Earth is so afflicted and shaken, lest I be destroyed with it!"

65.4 And immediately there was a great disturbance on the Earth and a voice was heard from Heaven and I fell upon my face.

65.5 And my great-grandfather Enoch came, stood by me, and said to me: "Why did you cry out to me, with such bitter crying and weeping?"

65.6 And a command has gone out from the Lord against those who dwell upon the dry ground that this must be their

end. For they have learnt all the secrets of the Angels, and all the wrongdoings of the satans, and all their secret power, and all the power of those who practice magic arts, and the power of enchantments, and the power of those who cast molten images for all the Earth.

65.7 And further, how silver is produced from the dust of the earth and how soft metal occurs on the earth.

65.8 For lead and tin are not produced from the earth, like the former; there is a spring which produces them, and an Angel who stands in it, and that Angel distributes them."

65.9 And after this, my great-grandfather Enoch took hold of me with his hand, and raised me, and said to me: "Go, for I have asked the Lord of Spirits about this disturbance on the earth."

65.10 And he said to me: "Because of their iniquity, their judgment has been completed, and they will no longer be counted before me; because of the sorceries they have searched out and learnt, the Earth and those who dwell upon it will be destroyed.

65.11 And for these, there will be no place of refuge, for ever, for they showed to them what is secret, and they have been condemned; but not so for you, my son; the Lord of Spirits knows that you are pure and innocent of this reproach concerning the secrets.

65.12 And he has established your name among the Holy, and will keep you from amongst those who dwell upon the dry ground; and he has destined your offspring in righteousness, to be kings, and for great honours. And from your offspring will flow out a spring of the Righteous and Holy, without number forever."

66.1 And after this, he showed me the Angels of Punishment, who were ready to come and release all the forces of the water, which is under the earth, in order to bring judgment and destruction

on all those who reside and dwell upon the dry ground.

66.2 And the Lord of Spirits commanded the Angels who were coming out, not to raise their hands, but to keep watch; for those Angels were in charge of the forces of the waters.

66.3 And I came out from before Enoch.

67.1 And in those days, the word of the Lord came to me, and he said to me: "Noah, behold; your lot has come up before me, a lot without reproach, a lot of love and uprightness.

67.2 And now the Angels are making a wooden structure, and when the Angels come out from that task, I will put my hand on it, and keep it safe. And a change shall take place so that the dry ground may not remain empty.

67.3 And I will establish your offspring before me, forever and ever, and I will scatter those who dwell with you, over the face of the dry ground. I will not again put them to the test, on the face of the Earth, but they will be blessed and increase on the dry ground in the name of the Lord."

67.4 And they will shut up those Angels, who showed iniquity, in that burning valley, which my great-grandfather Enoch had shown to me previously, in the west, near the mountains of gold and silver and iron and soft metal and tin.

67.5 And I saw that valley, in which there was a great disturbance, and a heaving of the waters.

67.6 And when all this happened, from the fiery molten metal, and the disturbance, which disturbed the waters in that place, a smell of sulphur was produced, and it was associated with those waters. And that valley of the Angels, who led men astray, burns under the ground.

67.7 And through the valleys of that same area, flow out rivers of fire where those Angels will be punished, who led astray those on the dry ground.

67.8 And in those days, those waters will serve the kings, and the mighty, and the exalted, and those who dwell upon dry ground, for the healing of soul and body, but also for the punishment of the spirit. And their spirits are so full of lust that they will be punished in their bodies, for they denied the Lord of Spirits. And they see their punishment every day yet they do not believe in His Name.

67.9 And the more their bodies are burnt, the more a change will come over their spirits, for ever and ever; for no one can speak an idle word in front of the Lord of Spirits.

67.10 For judgment will come upon them, for they believe in the lust of their bodies, but deny the spirit of the Lord.

67.11 And those same waters will undergo a change in those days; for when those Angels are punished in those days, the temperature of those springs of water will change, and when the Angels come up, that water of the springs will change, and become cold.

67.12 And I heard the Holy Michael answering and saying: "This judgment, with which the Angels are judged, is a testimony for the kings and the mighty who possess the dry ground.

67.13 For these waters of judgment serve for the healing of the bodies of the kings, and for the lust of their bodies; but they do not see, and do not believe, that these waters will change, and will become a fire which burns forever."

68.¹ And after this, my great-grandfather Enoch gave me the explanation of all the secrets, in a book, and the parables that had been given to him; and he put them together for me, in the words of the Book of Parables.

68.2 And on that day the Holy Michael answered Raphael, saying: "The power of the spirit seizes me and makes me tremble because of the harshness of the judgment of the Angels. Who can endure the harshness of the judgment

which has been executed and before which they melt with fear?"

68.3 And the Holy Michael answered Raphael again, and said to him: "Who would not soften his heart over it, and whose mind would not be disturbed by this word? Judgment has gone out against them, upon those whom they have led out like this."

68.4 But it came to pass, when he stood before the Lord of Spirits, that the Holy Michael spoke as follows to Raphael: "I will not take their part under the eye of the Lord, for the Lord of Spirits is angry with them, because they act as if they were the Lord.

68.5 Because of this the hidden judgment will come upon them for ever and ever; for neither any other Angel, nor any man, will receive their lot, but they alone have received their judgment for ever and ever.

69.¹ And after this judgment I will terrify them, and make them tremble, for they have shown this to those who dwell upon the dry ground."

69.2 And behold, the names of those Angels: - The first of them is **Semyaza (Azza)**, and the second **Artaqifa**, and the third **Armen**, and the fourth **Kokabiel**, and the fifth **Turiel**, and the sixth **Ramiel**, and the seventh **Daniel**, and the eighth **Nuqaël**, and the ninth **Baraqiel**, and the tenth **Azazel**, and the eleventh **Armaros**, the twelfth **Batriel**, the thirteenth **Basasael**, the fourteenth **Ananel**, the fifteenth **Turiel**, the sixteenth **Samsiel**, the seventeenth **Yetarel**, the eighteenth **Tumiel**, the nineteenth **Turiel**, the twentieth **Rumiel**, the twenty-first **Azazel**.

69.3 And these are the chiefs of their Angels, and the names of the leaders of hundreds, and their leaders of fifties, and their leaders of tens.

69.4 The name of the first is **Yequn**; this is the one who led astray all the children of the Holy Angels, and he brought them down onto the dry ground, and led

them astray through the daughters of men.

69.5 And the name of the second is Asbeel; this one suggested an evil plan to the children of the Holy Angels, and led them astray, so that they corrupted their bodies with the daughters of men.

69.6 And the name of the third is Gadreel; this is the one that showed all the deadly blows to the sons of men. And he led astray Eve. And he showed the weapons of death to the children of men, the shield and the breastplate, and the sword for slaughter, and all the weapons of death to the sons of men.

69.7 And from his hand they have gone out against those who dwell the dry ground from that time and forever and ever.

69.8 And the name of the fourth is Penemue; this one showed the sons of men the bitter and the sweet and showed them all the secrets of their wisdom.

69.9 He taught men the art of writing with ink and paper, and through this many have gone astray, from eternity to eternity, and to this day.

69.10 For men were not created for this, that they should confirm their faith like this, with pen and ink.

69.11 For men were created no differently from the Angels, so that they might remain righteous and pure, and death, which destroys everything, would not have touched them; but through this knowledge of theirs they are being destroyed and through this power death consumes them.

69.12 And the name of the fifth is Kasdeyae; this one showed the sons of men all the evil blows of the spirits and of the demons, and the blows that attack the embryo in the womb so that it miscarries. And the blows that attack the soul: the bite of the serpent. And the blows that occur at midday, and the son of the serpent - who is strong.

69.13 And this is the task of Kesbeel, the chief of the oath, who showed the oath to the Holy ones when he dwelt on

high in glory. And his name is Beqa.

69.14 And this one told the Holy Michael that he should show him the secret name so that they might mention it in the oath, so that those, who showed the sons of men everything that is secret, trembled before that name and oath.

69.15 And this is the power of this oath, for it is powerful and strong, and he placed this oath, Akae, in the charge of the Holy Michael.

69.16 And these are the secrets of this oath, and they are strong through this oath, and Heaven was suspended, before the world was created, and forever.

69.17 And through it the earth was founded upon the water, and from the hidden recesses of the mountains come beautiful waters, from the creation of the world and for ever.

69.18 And through that oath the sea was created, and as its foundation, for the time of anger, he placed for it the sand, and it does not go beyond it, from the creation of the world and for ever.

69.19 And through that oath the deeps were made firm, and they stand and do not move from their place, from the creation of the world and for ever.

69.20 And through that oath the Sun and the Moon complete their course and do not transgress their command, from the creation of the world and for ever.

69.21 And through that oath the stars complete their course, and he calls their names, and they answer him, from the creation of the world and for ever.

69.22 And likewise the spirits of the water, of the winds, and of all the breezes, and their paths, according to all the groups of the spirits.

69.23 And there are kept the storehouses of the sound of thunder, and of the light of the lightning; and there are kept the storehouses of the hail, and the hoarfrost, and the storehouses of the mist, and the storehouses of the rain and dew.

69.24 And all these make their

confession and give thanks in front of the Lord of Spirits and sing praises with all their power. And their food consists of all their thanksgiving and they give thanks, praise, and exalt, in the name of the Lord of Spirits, forever and ever.

69.25 And this oath is strong over them and through it they are kept safe and their courses are not disturbed.

69.26 And they had great joy and they blessed, praised, and exalted, because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed to them.

69.27 And he sat on the Throne of His Glory and the whole judgment was given to the Son of Man and he will cause the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from the face of the Earth.

69.28 And those who led astray the world will be bound in chains and will be shut up in the assembly-place of their destruction, and all their works will pass away from the face of the earth.

69.29 And from then on there will be nothing corruptible. For that Son of Man has appeared, and has sat on the Throne of His Glory, and everything evil will pass away and go from in front of Him; and the word of that Son of Man will be strong in front of the Lord of Spirits.

This is the Third Parable of Enoch.

70.1 And it came to pass, after this, that while he was living his name was lifted from those who dwell upon the dry ground to the presence of that Son of Man, and to the presence of the Lord of Spirits.

70.2 And he was lifted on the chariots of the spirit, and his name vanished from among them.

70.3 And from that day I was not counted among them, and He placed me between two winds, between the north and the west, where the Angels took the cords to measure for me the place for the chosen and the righteous.

70.4 And there I saw the First Fathers

and the righteous who from the beginning of the world dwelt in that place.

71.1 And it came to pass, after this, that my spirit was carried off, and it went up into the Heavens. I saw the sons of the Holy Angels treading upon flames of fire their garments were white, and their clothing, and the light of their face, was like snow.

71.2 And I saw two rivers of fire, and the light of that fire shone like a hyacinth, and I fell upon my face in front of the Lord of Spirits.

71.3 And the Angel Michael, one of the Archangels, took hold of me by my right hand, and raised me and led me out to all the secrets of mercy, and the secrets of righteousness.

71.4 And he showed me all the secrets of the Ends of Heaven and all the Storehouses of the Stars and the Lights from where they come out from below the Holy Ones.

71.5 And the Spirit carried Enoch off to the Highest Heaven, and I saw there, in the middle of that Light, something built of crystal stones, and in the middle of those stones tongues of living fire.

71.6 And my spirit saw a circle of fire, which surrounded that house; from its four sides came rivers, full of living fire, and they surrounded that house.

71.7 And round about were the Seraphim and the Cherubim, and the Ophannim; these are They Who Do Not Sleep but keep watch over the Throne of His Glory.

71.8 And I saw Angels, who could not be counted, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, surrounding that house. And Michael, and Raphael, and Gabriel, and Phanuel, and the Holy Angels who are in the Heavens above, went in and out of that house.

71.9 And Michael, and Raphael, and Gabriel, and Phanuel, and many Holy Angels without number, came out from

that house.

71.10 And with them the Head of Days, his head white, and pure, like wool and his garments - indescribable.

71.11 And I fell upon my face, and my whole body melted, and my spirit was transformed; and I cried out in a loud voice, in the spirit of power, and I blessed, praised, and exalted.

71.12 And these blessings, which came out from my mouth, were pleasing before that Head of Days.

71.13 And that Head of Days came with Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, and thousands and tens of thousands of Angels without number.

71.14 And that Angel, came to me, and greeted me with his voice, and said to me: "You are the son of man who was born to righteousness and righteousness remains over you and the righteousness of the Head of Days, will not leave you."

71.15 And he said to me: "He proclaims peace to you in the name of the world which is to come, for from there peace has come out from the creation of the world and so you will have it for ever and for ever and ever.

71.16 And all will walk according to your way, inasmuch as righteousness will never leave you. With you will be their dwelling, and with you their lot, and they will not be separated from you for ever and for ever and ever.

71.17 And so there will be length of days with that Son of Man, and the righteous will have peace, and the righteous will have an upright way in the name of the Lord of Spirits, for ever and ever."

Section I I I. Chapters LXXII-

LXXXII

The Book of the Heavenly

Luminaries

72.1 The Book of the Revolutions of the Lights of Heaven.

Each as it is; according to their classes, according to their period of rule and their times, according to their names and places of origin, and according to their months. That Uriel, the Holy Angel who was with me, and is their leader, showed to me. And he showed me all their regulations, exactly as they are, for each year of the world and for ever, until the new creation shall be made which will last forever.

72.2 And this is the First Law of the Lights. The light called the Sun; its rising is in the Gates of Heaven that are towards the east, and its setting is in the western Gates of Heaven.

72.3 And I saw six Gates from which the Sun rises, and six Gates in which the Sun sets, and the Moon also rises and sets in those Gates, and the leaders of the stars together with those whom they lead. There are six in the east and six in the west, all exactly in place, one next to the other; and there are many windows to the south and the north of those Gates.

72.4 And first there rises the greater light, named the Sun, and its disc is like the disc of Heaven, and the whole of it is full of a fire which gives light and warmth.

72.5 The wind blows the chariots on which it ascends, and the Sun goes down in the sky and returns through the north in order to reach the east, and is led so that it comes to the appropriate Gate and shines in the sky.

72.6 In this way it rises in the first

month, in the large Gate, namely; it rises through the fourth of those six Gates that are towards the east.

72.7 And in that fourth Gate, through which the Sun rises in the first month, there are twelve window-openings from which, whenever they are opened, flames come out.

72.8 When the Sun rises in Heaven it goes out through that fourth Gate for thirty days, and exactly in the fourth Gate, in the west of Heaven, it goes down.

72.9 And in those days the day grows daily longer, and the night grows nightly shorter, until the thirtieth morning.

72.10 And on that day the day becomes longer than the night by a double part, and the day amounts to exactly ten parts, and the night amounts to eight parts.

72.11 And the Sun rises from that fourth Gate, and sets in the fourth Gate, and returns to the fifth Gate in the east for thirty mornings; and it rises from it and sets in the fifth Gate.

72.12 And then the day becomes longer by two parts, and the day amounts to eleven parts, and the night becomes shorter and amounts to seven parts.

72.13 And the Sun returns to the east and comes to the sixth Gate, and rises and sets in the sixth Gate for thirty-one mornings, because of its sign.

72.14 And on that day the day becomes longer than the night, and the day becomes double the night; and the day amounts to twelve parts, and the night becomes shorter and amounts to six parts.

72.15 And the Sun rises up so that the day may grow shorter, and the night longer; and the Sun returns to the east, and comes to the sixth Gate, and rises from it, and sets, for thirty mornings.

72.16 And when thirty mornings have been completed the day becomes shorter, by exactly one part; and the day amounts to eleven parts, and the night to

seven parts.

72.17 And the Sun goes out from the west, through that sixth Gate, and goes to the east, and rises in the fifth Gate for thirty mornings and it sets in the west again, in the fifth Gate in the west.

72.18 On that day the day becomes shorter by two parts, and the day amounts to ten parts, and the night to eight parts.

72.19 And the Sun rises from that fifth Gate, and sets in the fifth Gate in the west, and rises in the fourth Gate for thirty-one mornings because of its sign, and sets in the west.

72.20 On that day the day becomes equal with the night, and is of equal length; and the night amounts to nine parts, and the day to nine parts.

72.21 And the Sun rises from that Gate and sets in the west, and returns to the east, and rises in the third Gate for thirty mornings, and sets in the west in the third Gate.

72.22 And the Sun rises from that third Gate, and sets in the third Gate in the west, and returns to the east; and the Sun rises in the second Gate in the east for thirty mornings, and likewise, it sets in the second Gate, in the west of Heaven.

72.24 And on that day the night amounts to eleven parts and the day to seven parts.

72.25 And the Sun rises, on that day, from the second Gate, and sets in the west in the second Gate, and returns to the east to the first Gate for thirty-one mornings, then sets in the west in the first Gate.

72.26 And on that day the night becomes longer, and becomes double the day; and the night amounts to exactly twelve parts, and the day to six parts.

72.27 And with this, the Sun has completed the divisions of its journey, and it turns back again, along these divisions of its journey; and it comes through that first Gate for thirty

mornings, and sets in the west opposite it.

72.28 And on that day the night becomes shorter in length by one part, and amounts to eleven parts, and the day to seven parts.

72.29 And the Sun returns, and comes to the second Gate in the east, and it returns along those divisions of its journey for thirty mornings, rising and setting.

72.30 And on that day the night becomes shorter in length and the night amounts to ten parts and the day to eight parts.

72.31 And on that day, the Sun rises from the second Gate, and sets in the west, and returns to the east, and rises in the third Gate for thirty one mornings, and sets in the west of the sky.

72.32 And on that day the night becomes shorter, and amounts to nine parts, and the day amounts to nine parts, and the night becomes equal with the day. And the year amounts to exactly 364 days.

72.33 And the length of the day and the night, and the shortness of the day and the night - they are different because of the journey of the Sun.

72.34 Because of it, its journey becomes daily longer, and nightly shorter.

72.35 And this is the law and the journey of the Sun and its return, as often as it returns; sixty times it returns and rises, that is the great eternal light, which for ever and ever is named the Sun.

72.36 And this that rises is the great light, which is named after its appearance, as the Lord commanded.

72.37 And thus it rises and sets; it neither decreases, nor rests, but runs day and night in its chariot. And its light is seven times brighter than that of the Moon but in size the two are equal.

73.1 And after this law I saw another law, for the lesser light, named the Moon.

73.2 And its disc is like the disc of the Sun, and the wind blows its chariot on which it rides, and in fixed measure light is given to it.

73.3 And every month it's rising and setting change, and its days are as the days of the Sun, and when its light is uniformly full, it is a seventh part the light of the Sun.

73.4 And thus it rises, and its first phase is towards the east; it rises on the thirtieth morning. And on that day it appears, and becomes for you the first phase of the Moon, on the thirtieth morning, together with the Sun in the Gate through which the Sun rises.

73.5 And a half.(.....) .with a seventh part, and its entire disc is empty, without light, except for a seventh part, a fourteenth part of it's light.

73.6 And on the day that it receives a seventh part and a half of its light, its light amounts to a seventh, and a seventh part and a half.

73.7 It sets with the Sun, and when the Sun rises, the Moon rises with it, and receives a half of one part of light. And on that night at the beginning of its morning, at the beginning of the Moon's day, the Moon sets with the Sun, and is dark on that night in six and seven parts and a half.

73.8 And it rises on that day, with exactly a seventh part, goes out, recedes from the rising of the Sun, and becomes bright on the remainder of its days, in the other six and seven parts.

74.1 And another journey, and law, I saw for it, in that according to this law it makes its monthly journey.

74.2 And Uriel, the Holy Angel who is leader of them all, showed me everything, and I wrote down their positions as he showed them to me. And I wrote down their months, as they are, and the appearance of their light, until fifteen days have been completed.

74.3 In seventh parts it makes all its darkness full, and in seventh parts it

makes all its light full, in the east and in the west.

74.4 And in certain months, it changes its setting, and in certain months, it follows its own individual course.

74.5 In two months it sets with the Sun, in those two Gates that are in the middle, in the third and in the fourth Gate.

74.6 It goes out for seven days and turns back, and returns again to the Gate from which the Sun rises. And in that Gate it makes all its light full, and it recedes from the Sun, and comes, in eight days, to the sixth Gate from which the Sun rises.

74.7 And when the Sun rises from the fourth Gate, the Moon goes out for seven days, until it rises from the fifth Gate. And again it returns in seven days to the fourth Gate, makes all its light full, recedes, and comes to the first Gate in eight days.

74.8 And again it returns in seven days to the fourth Gate from which the Sun rises.

74.9 Thus I saw their positions; how the Moon rose and the Sun set in those days.

74.10 And if five years are added together, the Sun has an excess of thirty days. For each year, of the five years, there are three hundred and sixty four days.

74.11 And the excess, of the Sun and the stars, comes to six days. In five years, with six days each, they have an excess of thirty days, and the Moon falls behind the Sun and the stars by thirty days.

74.12 And the Moon conducts the years exactly, all of them according to their eternal positions; they are neither early nor late, even by one day, but change the year in exactly 364 days.

74.13 In three years, there are 1,092 days, and in five years 1,820 days, so that in eight years there are 2,912 days.

74.14 For the Moon alone, the days in three years come to 1,062 days, and in

five years it is fifty days behind.

74.15 And there are 1,770 days in five years so that for the Moon the days in eight years amount to 2,832 days.

74.16 For the difference in eight years is eighty days, and all the days that the Moon is behind, in eight years, are eighty days.

74.17 And the year is completed exactly, in accordance with their positions, and the positions of the Sun, in that they rise from the Gates from which the Sun rises and sets for thirty days.

75.¹ And the leaders of the tens of thousands, who are in charge of the whole of creation, and in charge of all the stars, and also the four days which are added, and are not separated from their position, according to the whole reckoning of the year. And these serve on the four days that are not counted in the reckoning of the year.

75.2 And because of them men go wrong in them. For these lights really serve in the stations of the world, one in the first Gate, and one in the third Gate, and one in the fourth Gate, and one in the sixth Gate. And the exact harmony of the world is completed in the separate 364 stations of the world.

75.3 For the signs, and the times, and the years, and the days, were showed to me by the Angel Uriel whom the Lord of Eternal Glory has placed in charge of all the Lights of Heaven. In Heaven and in the world, so that they might rule on the Face of Heaven, and appear over the earth, and be leaders of day and night; the Sun, the Moon, the stars, and all the serving creatures who revolve in all the Chariots of Heaven.

75.4 Likewise, Uriel showed to me twelve Gate-openings in the disc of the chariot of the Sun, in the sky, from which the rays of the Sun come out. And from them heat comes out over the Earth when they are opened at the times that are appointed for them.

75.5 And there are openings for the winds, and for the spirit of the dew, when they are opened at their times, opened in Heaven, at the ends of the earth.

75.6 I saw twelve Gates in Heaven, at the ends of the earth, from which the Sun, and the Moon, and the stars, and all the works of Heaven, go out in the east and in the west.

75.7 And there are many window-openings to the north and to the south, and each window, at its appointed time, sends out heat corresponding to those Gates, from which the stars go out, in accordance with His command to them, and in which they set according to their number.

75.8 And I saw chariots in Heaven, running through the region above those Gates, in which the stars that never set rotate.

75.9 And one is bigger than all the others. And it goes round through the whole world.

76.1 And at the ends of the earth, I saw twelve Gates open to all the winds, from which the winds come out and blow over the earth.

76.2 Three of them open in the front of Heaven, and three in the back, and three on the right of Heaven, and three on the left.

76.3 And the three first are those towards the east, and then the three towards the north, and the three after these towards the south, and the three in the west.

76.4 Through four of them come winds of blessing and peace. And from the other eight come winds of punishment; when they are sent they bring devastation to the whole Earth, and to the water which is on it, and to all those who dwell upon it, and to everything that is in the water and on dry ground.

76.5 And the first wind from those Gates, called the east wind, comes out through the first Gate, which is towards

the east. The one that comes from the south brings devastation, drought, heat, and destruction.

76.6 And through the second Gate, in the middle, comes what is right. And from it come rain, and fruitfulness, and prosperity, and dew. And through the third Gate, which is towards the north, comes cold and drought.

76.7 And after these, the winds towards the south come out, through three Gates. First, through the first of the Gates, which inclines towards the east, comes a hot wind.

76.8 And through the middle Gate, which is next to it, come pleasant fragrances, and dew, and rain, and prosperity, and life.

76.9 And through the third Gate, which is towards the west, come dew, and rain, and locusts, and devastation.

76.10 And after these, the winds towards the north...(…)from the seventh Gate, which is towards the east, come dew and rain, locusts and devastation.

76.11 And through the Gate exactly in the middle, come rain, and dew, and life, and prosperity. And through the third Gate, which is towards the west come mist and hoarfrost, and snow, and rain, and dew, and locusts.

76.12 And after these the winds towards the west. Through the first Gate, which inclines towards the north, come dew, and rain, and hoarfrost, and cold, and snow, and frost.

76.13 And from the middle Gate, come dew and rain, prosperity and blessing. And through the last Gate, which is towards the south, come drought and devastation, burning and destruction.

76.14 And thus the twelve Gates, of the four quarters of Heaven are complete. And all their laws, and all their punishments, and all their benefits, I have shown to you, my son Methuselah.

77.1 They called the first quarter eastern because it is the first, and they

call the second the south because there the Most High descends, and there especially the one who is blessed forever descends.

77.2 And the western quarter is called waning because there all the lights of Heaven wane and go down.

77.3 And the fourth quarter, named the north, is divided into three parts. And the first of them is the dwelling place for men; and the second contains seas of water, and the deeps, and the forests, and rivers, and darkness and mist; and the third part contains the Garden of Righteousness.

77.4 I saw seven high mountains, which were higher than all other mountains on the earth; and from them snow comes. And days and times and years, pass away and go by.

77.5 I saw seven rivers on the earth, larger than all the other rivers; one of them comes from the east and pours out its waters into the Great Sea.

77.6 And two of them come from the north to the sea and pour out their water into the Erythraean Sea in the east.

77.7 And the remaining four flow out on the side of the north, to their seas, two to the Erythraean Sea, and two into the Great Sea, and they discharge themselves there, and not into the wilderness, as some say.

77.8 I saw seven large islands, in the sea and on the land, two on the land, and five in the Great Sea.

78.¹ The names of the Sun are as follows: The first Oryares, and the second Tomases.

78.2 The Moon has four names: The first name is Asonya, and the second Ebla, and the third Benase, and the fourth Era'e.

78.3 These are the two great lights; their disc is like the disc of Heaven and in size the two are equal.

78.4 In the disc of the Sun, are seven parts of light, which are added to it more than to the Moon, and in fixed

measure light is transferred to the Moon until a seventh part of the Sun is exhausted.

78.5 And they set, go into the Gates of the west, go round through the north, and rise through the Gates of the east, on the face of Heaven.

78.6 And when the Moon rises, it appears in the sky, and has a half of a seventh part of light, and on the fourteenth day it makes all its light full.

78.7 And fifteen parts of light are transferred to it, until on the fifteenth day its light is full, according to the sign of the year, and amounts to fifteen parts. And the Moon comes into being by halves of a seventh part.

78.8 And in its waning on the first day, it decreases to fourteen parts of its light. And on the second to thirteen parts, and on the third to twelve parts, on the fourth to eleven parts, and on the fifth to ten parts, and on the sixth to nine parts, and on the seventh to eight parts, and on the eighth to seven parts, and on the ninth to six parts, and on the tenth to five parts, and on the eleventh to four parts, and on the twelfth to three, and on the thirteenth to two, and on the fourteenth to half of a seventh part. And all the light that remains from the total disappears on the fifteenth day.

78.9 And in certain months the Moon has twenty-nine days and once twenty-eight.

78.10 And Uriel showed me another law: - when light is transferred to the Moon, and on which side it is transferred from the Sun.

78.11 All the time that the Moon is increasing in its light, it transfers as it becomes opposite the Sun, until in fourteen days it's light is full in the sky; and when it is all ablaze, it's light is full in the sky.

78.12 And on the first day it is called the New Moon, for on that, daylight rises on it.

78.13 And its light becomes full exactly on the day that as the Sun goes down in

the west it rises from the east for the night. And the Moon shines for the whole night until the Sun rises opposite it, and the Moon is seen opposite the Sun.

78.14 And on the side on which the light of the Moon appears, there again it wanes, until all its light disappears, and the days of the Moon end and its disc remains empty without light.

78.15 And for three months, at its proper time, it achieves thirty days, and for three months, it achieves twenty-nine days, during which it completes its waning, in the first period, in the first Gate, 127 days.

78.16 And in the time of it's rising, for three months, it appears in each month with thirty days. And for three months it appears in each month with twenty-nine days

78.17 By night, for twenty days each time, it looks like a man, and by day like Heaven, for there is nothing else in it except it's light.

79.1 And now, my son Methuselah, I have shown you everything, and the whole Law of the Stars of Heaven is complete.

79.2 And he showed me the whole law for these, for every day, and for every time, and for every rule, and for every year, and for the end thereof, according to its command, for every month and every week.

79.3 And the waning of the Moon, which occurs in the sixth Gate, for in that sixth Gate it's light becomes full, and after that it is the beginning of the month.

79.4 And the waning, which occurs in the first Gate, at its proper time, until 127 days are complete, or by weeks; twenty-five weeks and two days.

79.5 And how it falls behind the Sun, according to the law of the stars, by exactly five days in one period of time, when it has completed the pathway you have seen.

79.6 Such is the appearance, and likeness, of every light, which Uriel, the great Angel who is their leader, showed to me.

80.1 And in those days Uriel answered me and said to me: "Behold, I have shown you everything, Oh Enoch. And I have revealed everything to you, so that you may see this Sun, and this Moon, and those who lead the Stars of Heaven, and all those who turn them, their tasks and their times and their rising.

80.2 But in the days of the sinners the years will become shorter, and their seed will be late on their land, and on their fields. And all things on the earth will change and will not appear at their proper time. And the rain will be withheld and Heaven will retain it.

80.3 And in those times the fruits of the earth will be late, and will not grow at their proper time, and the fruits of the trees will be withheld at their proper time.

80.4 And the Moon will change its customary practice and will not appear at its proper time.

80.5 But in those days it will appear in Heaven, come on top of a large chariot in the west, and shine with more than normal brightness.

80.6 And many heads of the stars, in command, will go astray. And these will change their courses and their activities and will not appear at the times that have been prescribed for them.

80.7 And the entire law of the stars will be closed to the sinners, and the thoughts of those who dwell upon the Earth will go astray over them, and they will turn from all their ways and will go astray, and will think them gods.

80.8 And many evils will overtake them and punishment will come upon them to destroy them all."

81.1 And he said to me: “Oh Enoch, look at the book of the Tablets of Heaven and read what is written upon them, and note every individual fact.”

81.2 And I looked at everything that was written and I noted everything. And I read the book and everything that was written in it, all the deeds of men, and all the children of flesh who will be upon the Earth, for all the generations of eternity.

81.3 And then I immediately blessed the Lord, the Eternal King of Glory, in that he has made all the works of the world, and I praised the Lord because of his patience, and I blessed him on account of the sons of Adam.

81.4 And at that time I said: “Blessed is the man who dies righteous and good, concerning whom no book of iniquity has been written, and against whom no guilt has been found.”

81.5 And these three Holy ones brought me and set me on the earth in front of the door of my house, and said to me: “Tell everything to your son Methuselah, and show all your children that no flesh is righteous, before the Lord, for He created them.

81.6 For one year we will leave you with your children, until you have regained your strength, so that you may teach your children and write these things down for them, and testify to all your children. And in the second year we will take you from amongst them.

81.7 Let your heart be strong, for the good will proclaim righteousness to the good, the righteous will rejoice with the righteous and they will wish each other well.

81.8 But the sinner will die with the sinner and the apostate will sink with the apostate.

81.9 And those who practice righteousness will die because of the deeds of men, and will be gathered in because of the deeds of the impious.”

81.10 And in those days they finished speaking to me and I went to my family as I blessed the Lord of Ages.

82.1 And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I recount to you, and write down for you. I have revealed everything to you, and have given you books about all these things. Keep, my son Methuselah, the books from the hand of your father so that you may pass them on to the generations of eternity.

82.2 I have given wisdom to you, and to your children, and to those who will be your children, that they may give it to their children, for all the generations, forever, this wisdom that is beyond their thoughts.

82.3 And those who understand it will not sleep, but will incline their ears that they may learn this wisdom, and it will be better for those who eat from it than good food.

82.4 Blessed are all the righteous, blessed are all those who walk in the way of righteousness and do not sin like the sinners.

In the numbering of all their days in which the Sun journeys in Heaven, coming in and out, through the Gates of Heaven, for thirty days.

With the leaders of the thousands, of this order of stars, and with the four which are added, and divided between the four seasons of the year, which lead them and appear with them on four days.

82.5 Because of them men go wrong, and they do not reckon them in the reckoning of the whole year; for men go wrong in respect of them and do not know them exactly.

82.6 For they belong in the reckoning of the year, and are truly recorded forever, one in the first Gate, and one in the third, and one in the fourth and one in the sixth. And the year is completed in 364 days.

82.7 And the account of it is true, and the recorded reckoning of it is exact, for the lights, and the months, and the feasts, and the years, and the days. Uriel showed me, and inspired me; he to whom the Lord of the whole created world gave commands about the Host of Heaven for me.

82.8 And he has power in Heaven, over night and day, to cause light to shine on men; the Sun, the Moon, and the stars, and all the Powers of Heaven, which rotate in their orbits.

82.9 And this is the Law of the Stars, which set in their places, at their times, and at their feasts, and in their months.

82.10 And these are the names of those who lead them, who keep watch, so that they appear at their times, and in their orders, and in their months, and in their periods of rule, and in their positions.

82.11 Their four leaders, who divide the four parts of the year, appear first; and after them the twelve leaders of the orders, who divide the months and the years into 364 days, with the heads over thousands, who separate the days. And for the four days, that are added to them, there are the leaders who separate the four parts of the year.

82.12 And as for these heads over thousands, one is added between the leader and the led, but their leaders make the separation.

82.13 And these are the names of the leaders who separate the four appointed parts of the year: Melkiel, Helemmelek, Meleyal, and Narel.

82.14 And the names of those whom they lead: Adnarel, Iyasusael, Iylumiel; these three follow behind the leaders of the orders. And all others follow behind the three leaders of the orders, who follow behind those leaders of positions, who separate the four parts of the year.

82.15 In the beginning of the year, Melkiel rises first and rules, who is called the southern Sun - and all the days of his period, during which he rules, are ninety-one.

82.16 And these are the signs of the days that are to be seen on the earth, in the days of his period of rule; sweat, and heat, and calm. And all the trees bear fruit, and leaves appear on all the trees, and the wheat harvest, and rose flowers. And all the flowers bloom in the field but the trees of winter are withered.

82.17 And these are the names of the leaders who are under them: Berkeel, Zelebsael, and another one who is added, a head over a thousand, named Heloyaseph. And the days of the period of rule, of this one, are complete.

82.18 The second leader, after him, is Helemmelec, whom they call the Shining Sun; and all the days of his light are ninety-one.

82.19 And these are the signs of the days on earth: heat, and drought. And the trees bring their fruit to ripeness and maturity and make their fruit dry. And the sheep mate and become pregnant. And men gather all the fruits of the earth, and everything that is in the fields, and the vats of wine. And these things occur in the days of his period of rule.

82.20 And these are the names, and the orders, and the leaders of these heads over thousands: Gedaeyal, Keel, and Heel. And the name of the head-over-a-thousand, who is added to them, is Asfael. And the days of his period of rule are complete.

Section IV. Chapters LXXXIII- XC.

The Dream-Visions.

83.¹ And now, my son Methuselah, I will show you all the visions that I saw, recounting them before you.

83.2 Two visions I saw, before I took a wife, and neither one was like the other. For the first time, when I learnt the art of writing, and for the second time,

before I took your mother. I saw a terrible vision and concerning this I made supplication to the Lord.

83.3 I had lain down in the house of my grandfather, Malalel, when I saw in a vision how Heaven was thrown down, and removed, and it fell upon the Earth.

83.4 And when it fell upon the Earth, I saw how the earth was swallowed up in a great abyss, and mountains were suspended on mountains, and hills sank down upon hills, and tall trees were torn up by their roots, and were thrown down, and sank into the abyss.

83.5 And then speech fell into my mouth, and I raised my voice to cry out, and said: "The earth is destroyed!"

83.6 And my grandfather, Malalel, roused me, since I lay near him, and said to me: "Why did you cry out so, my son, and why do you moan so?"

83.7 And I recounted to him the whole vision, which I had seen, and he said to me: "A terrible thing you have seen, my son! Your dream vision concerns the secrets of all the sin of the Earth; it is about to sink into the abyss and be utterly destroyed.

83.8 And now, my son, rise and make supplication to the Lord of Glory, for you are faithful, that a remnant may be left on the Earth and that he may not wipe out the whole Earth.

83.9 My son, from Heaven all this will come upon the Earth, and upon the Earth there will be great destruction."

83.10 And then I rose and prayed, and made supplication, and wrote my prayer down for the generations of eternity, and I will show everything to you my son Methuselah.

83.11 And, when I went out below and saw the sky, and the Sun rising in the east, and the Moon setting in the west, and some stars, and the whole Earth, and everything as He knew it since the beginning. Then I blessed the Lord of Judgment and ascribed Majesty to him, for he makes the Sun come out from the windows of the east, so that it ascends

and rises on the face of Heaven, and follows the path which has been shown to it.

84.1 And I raised my hands in righteousness and I blessed the Holy and Great One. And I spoke with the breath of my mouth, and with the tongue of flesh, which God has made for men born of flesh so that they might speak with it; and he has given them breath, and a tongue, and a mouth, so that they might speak with them.

84.2 "Blessed are you, Oh Lord King, and great and powerful in your majesty, Lord of the whole Creation of Heaven, King of Kings, and God of the whole world! And your kingly authority, and your Sovereignty and your Majesty will last forever, and forever and ever, and your power, for all generations. And all the Heavens are your throne, forever, and the whole Earth your footstool forever, and ever and ever.

84.3 For you made, and you rule, everything, and nothing is too hard for you, and no wisdom escapes you; it does not turn away from your throne nor from your presence. And you know, and see, and hear, everything, and nothing is hidden from you, for you see everything.

84.4 And now the Angels of your Heaven are doing wrong and your anger rests upon the flesh of men until the day of the great judgment.

84.5 And now, Oh God, Lord, and Great King, I entreat and ask that you will fulfill my prayer to leave me a posterity on Earth and not to wipe out all the flesh of men and make the earth empty so that there is destruction forever.

84.6 And now, my Lord, wipe out from the earth the flesh that has provoked your anger, but the flesh of righteousness and uprightness establish as a seed bearing plant forever. And do not hide your face from the prayer of your servant, Oh Lord."

85.1 And after this I saw another dream, and I will show it all to you, my son.

85.2 And Enoch raised his voice and said to his son Methuselah: "To you I speak, my son. Hear my words, and incline your ear to the dream vision of your father.

85.3 Before I took your mother, Edna, I saw a vision on my bed: - and behold - a bull came out of the earth, and that bull was white.

And, after it, a heifer came out, and with the heifer came two bullocks, and one of them was black and the other red.

85.4 And that black bullock struck the red one, and pursued it over the earth, and from then on I could not see that red bullock.

85.5 But that black bullock grew, and a heifer went with it; and I saw that many bulls came out from it, which were like it, and followed behind it.

85.6 And that cow, that first one, came from the presence of that first bull, seeking that red bullock, but did not find it. And then it moaned bitterly and continued to seek it.

85.7 And I looked until that first bull came to it, and calmed it, and from that time it did not cry out.

85.8 And after this, she bore another white bull, and after this she bore many black bulls and cows.

85.9 And I saw, in my sleep, that white bull, how it likewise grew and became a large white bull. And from it came many white bulls, and they were like it.

85.10 And they began to beget many white bulls that were like them - one following another.

86.1 And again, I looked with my eyes as I was sleeping, and I saw Heaven above, and behold, a star fell from Heaven, and it arose and ate and pastured amongst those bulls.

86.2 And, after this, I saw the large and the black bulls, and behold, all of them changed their pens, and their pastures, and their heifers. And they began to moan, one after another.

86.3 And, again, I saw in the vision and looked up at Heaven, and behold, I saw many stars, how they came down, and were thrown down from Heaven to that first star, and fell amongst those heifers and bulls. They were with them pasturing amongst them.

86.4 And I looked at them and saw, and behold, all of them let out their private parts, like horses, and began to mount the cows of the bulls. And they all became pregnant and bore elephants, camels, and asses.

86.5 And all the bulls were afraid of them, and were terrified in front of them. And they began to bite with their teeth, and to devour, and to gore with their horns.

86.6 And so they began to devour those bulls, and behold, all the sons of the Earth began to tremble and shake before them and to flee.

87.1 And again I saw them, how they began to gore one another, and to devour one another, and the Earth began to cry out.

87.2 And I raised my eyes again to Heaven, and saw in the vision, and behold, there came from Heaven beings that were like white men. And four came from that place, and three others with them.

87.3 And those three, who came out last, took hold of me by my hand and raised me from the generations of the Earth, and lifted me up onto a high place, and showed me a tower high above the earth, and all the hills were lower.

87.4 And one said to me: "Remain here until you have seen everything which is coming upon these elephants, and camels, and asses, and upon the stars, and upon all the bulls."

88.¹ And I saw one of those four who had come out first, how he took hold of that first star, which had fallen from Heaven, and bound it by its hands and feet, and threw it into an abyss. And that abyss was narrow, and deep, and horrible, and dark.

88.2 And one of them drew his sword, and gave it to those elephants, camels, and asses; and they began to strike one another, and the whole Earth shook because of them.

88.3 And as I looked in the vision, behold, one of those four who had come out cast a line from Heaven and gathered and took all the large stars; those whose private parts were like the private parts of horses, and bound them all by their hands and their feet, and threw them into a chasm of the Earth.

89.¹ And one of those four, went to a white bull, and taught him a mystery, trembling as he was. He was born a bull, but became a man, and built for himself a large vessel, and dwelt on it, and three bulls went with him in that vessel, and they were covered over.

89.2 And, again, I raised my eyes to Heaven and saw a high roof with seven water channels on it, and those channels discharged much water into an enclosure.

89.3 And I looked again, and behold, springs opened on the floor of that large enclosure, and water began to bubble up, and to rise above the floor. And I looked at that enclosure until its whole floor was covered by water.

89.4 And water, darkness, and mist increased on it, and I looked at the height of that water, and that water had risen above that enclosure and was pouring out over the enclosure, and it remained on the earth.

89.5 And all the bulls of that enclosure were gathered together, until I saw how they sank, and were swallowed up, and

destroyed, in that water.

89.6 And that vessel floated on the water, but all the bulls, elephants, camels, and asses sank to the bottom, together with all the animals, so that I could not see them. And they were unable to get out, but were destroyed, and sank into the depths.

89.7 And, again, I looked at that vision until those water channels were removed from that high roof, and the chasms of the Earth were made level, and other abysses were opened.

89.8 And the water began to run down into them, until the earth became visible, and that vessel settled on the earth and the darkness departed, and light appeared.

89.9 And that white bull, who became a man, went out from that vessel, and the three bulls with him. And one of the three bulls was white, like that bull, and one of them was red as blood, and one was black. And that white bull passed away from them.

89.10 And they began to beget wild animals and birds, so that there arose from them every kind of species: lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, hyenas, wild-boars, foxes, badgers, pigs, falcons, vultures, kites, eagles, and ravens. But amongst them was born a white bull.

89.11 And they began to bite one another but that white bull, which was born amongst them, begat a wild ass and a white bull with it, and the wild asses increased.

89.12 But that bull, which was born from it, begat a black wild boar and a white sheep, and that wild-boar begat many boars and that sheep begat twelve sheep.

89.13 And when those twelve sheep had grown, they handed one of their number over to the asses, and those in turn, handed that sheep over to the wolves; and that sheep grew up amongst the wolves.

89.14 And the Lord brought the eleven sheep to dwell with it, and to pasture

with it amongst the wolves, and they increased and became many flocks of sheep.

89.15 And the wolves began to make them afraid, and they oppressed them until they made away with their young, and then they threw their young into a river with much water; but those sheep began to cry out because of their young, and to complain to their Lord.

89.16 But a sheep, which had been saved from the wolves, fled and escaped to the wild asses. And I saw the sheep moaning and crying out, and petitioning the Lord with all their power, until that Lord of the sheep came down at the call of the sheep, from a high room, and came to them, and looked at them.

89.17 And he called that sheep, which had fled from the wolves, and spoke to it about the wolves, that it should warn them that they should not touch the sheep.

89.18 And the sheep went to the wolves, in accordance with the Word of the Lord, and another sheep met that sheep and went with it. And the two of them together, entered the assembly of those wolves, spoke to them, and warned them that from then on, they should not touch those sheep.

89.19 And after this, I saw the wolves, how they acted even more harshly towards the sheep, with all their power, and the sheep called out.

89.20 And their Lord came to the sheep and began to beat those wolves; and the wolves began to moan, but the sheep became silent and from then on they did not cry out.

89.21 And I looked at the sheep until they escaped from the wolves; but the eyes of the wolves were blinded, and those wolves went out in pursuit of the sheep with all their forces.

89.22 And the Lord of the sheep went with them, as he led them, and all his sheep followed him; and his face was glorious, and his appearance terrible and magnificent.

89.23 But the wolves began to pursue those sheep until they met them by a stretch of water.

89.24 And that stretch of water was divided, and the water stood on one side, and on the other, before them. And their Lord as he led them, stood between them and the wolves.

89.25 And while those wolves had not yet seen the sheep, they went into the middle of that stretch of water; but the wolves pursued the sheep, and those wolves ran after them into that stretch of water.

89.26 But when they saw the Lord of the sheep they turned to flee in front of him; but that stretch of water flowed together again, and suddenly resumed its natural form, and the water swelled up, and rose until it covered those wolves.

89.27 And I looked until all the wolves that had pursued those sheep were destroyed and drowned.

89.28 But the sheep escaped that water, and went to a desert, where there was neither water, nor grass. And they began to open their eyes and see, and I saw the Lord of the sheep pasturing them, and giving them water and grass, and that sheep going and leading them.

89.29 And that sheep went up to the summit of a high rock and the Lord of the sheep sent it to them.

89.30 And after this, I saw the Lord of the sheep standing before them, and his appearance was terrible and majestic, and all those sheep saw him and were afraid of him.

89.31 And all of them were afraid and trembled before him; and they cried out to that sheep, with those who were in their midst: "We cannot stand before our Lord nor look at him."

89.32 And that sheep, which led them, again went up to the summit of that rock; and the sheep began to be blinded, and go astray from the path which had been shown to them, but that sheep did not know.

89.33 And the Lord of the sheep was extremely angry with them, and that sheep knew, and went down from the summit of the rock, and came to the sheep, and found the majority of them, with their eyes blinded, and going astray from his path.

89.34 And when they saw it they were afraid and trembled before it and wished that they could return to their enclosure. And that sheep took some other sheep with it, and went to those sheep that had gone astray, and then began to kill them; and the sheep were afraid of it. And that sheep brought back those sheep that had gone astray, and they returned to their enclosures.

89.36 And I looked there at the vision, until that sheep became a man, and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and made all the sheep stand in that house.

89.37 And I looked until that sheep, which had met that sheep that led the sheep, fell asleep. And I looked until all the large sheep were destroyed and small ones arose in their place, and they came to a pasture, and drew near a river of water.

89.38 And that sheep that led them, which had become a man, separated from them and fell asleep, and all the sheep sought it, and cried out very bitterly over it.

89.39 And I looked until they left off crying for that sheep, and crossed that river of water. And there arose all the sheep that led them, in place of those which had fallen asleep; and they led.

89.40 And I looked until the sheep came to a good place and a pleasant and glorious land, and I looked until those sheep were satisfied. And that house was in the middle of them in that green and pleasant land.

89.41 And sometimes their eyes were opened, and sometimes blinded, until another sheep rose up, led them, and brought them all back. And their eyes were opened.

89.42 And the dogs, and the foxes, and

the wild boars, began to devour those sheep until the Lord of the sheep raised up a ram from among them, which led them.

89.43 And that ram began to butt those dogs, foxes, and wild boars, on one side and on the other until it had destroyed them all.

89.44 And the eyes of that sheep were opened, and it saw that ram in the middle of the sheep, how it renounced its glory, and began to butt those sheep, and how it trampled on them and behaved unbecomingly.

89.45 And the Lord of the sheep sent the sheep to another sheep and raised it up to be a ram and to lead the sheep in place of that sheep which had renounced its glory.

89.46 And it went to it, and spoke with it alone, and raised up that ram, and made it the prince and leader of the sheep. And, during all this, those dogs oppressed the sheep.

89.47 And the first ram pursued that second ram and that second ram rose and fled before it. And I looked until those dogs made the first ram fall.

89.48 And that second ram rose up and led the small sheep, and that ram begat many sheep, and fell asleep. And a small sheep became a ram, in place of it, and became the prince and leader of those sheep.

89.49 And those sheep grew and increased; but all the dogs, and foxes, and wild boars, were afraid and fled from it. And that ram butted and killed all the animals, and those animals did not again prevail amongst the sheep, and did not seize anything further from them.

89.50 And that house became large and broad, and for those sheep a high tower was built on that house for the Lord of the sheep. And that house was low but the tower was raised up and high. And the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower and they spread a full table before him.

89.51 And I saw those sheep again, how they went astray, and walked in many ways, and left that house of theirs; and the Lord of the sheep called some of the sheep, and sent them to the sheep, but the sheep began to kill them.

89.52 But one of them was saved, and was not killed, and it sprang away and cried out against the sheep. And they wished to kill it but the Lord of the sheep saved it from the hands of the sheep, brought it up to me, and made it stay.

89.53 And he sent many other sheep to those sheep, to testify to them and to lament over them.

89.54 And after this, I saw how when they left the house of the Lord of the sheep, and his tower, they went astray in everything, and their eyes were blinded. And I saw how the Lord of the sheep wrought much slaughter among them, in their pastures, until those sheep invited that slaughter, and betrayed his place.

89.55 And he gave them into the hands of the lions, and the tigers, and the wolves, and the hyenas, and into the hands of the foxes, and to all the animals. And those wild animals began to tear those sheep in pieces.

89.56 And I saw how he left that house of theirs, and their tower, and gave them all into the hands of the lions so that they might tear them in pieces and devour them, and into the hands of all the animals.

89.57 And I began to cry out with all my power, to call the Lord of the sheep, and to represent to him concerning the sheep; that all the wild animals were devouring them.

89.58 But he remained still, although he saw, and he rejoiced that they were devoured, swallowed up and carried off. And he gave them into the hands of all the animals for food.

89.59 And he called seventy shepherds, and cast off those sheep, so that they might pasture them. And he said to the shepherds and to their companions:

“Each one of you, from now on, is to pasture the sheep and do whatever I command you.

89.60 And I will hand them over to you, duly numbered, and I will tell you which of them are to be destroyed, and destroy them.” And he handed those sheep over to them.

89.61 And he called another, and said to him: “Observe and see everything that these shepherds do against these sheep for they will destroy from among them more than I have commanded them.

89.62 And write down all the excess and destruction, which is wrought by the shepherds; how many they destroy at my command and how many they destroy of their own volition. Write down against each shepherd, individually, all that he destroys.

89.63 And read out in front of me exactly how many they destroy of their own volition and how many are handed over for destruction so that this may be a testimony for me against them. So that I may know all the deeds of the shepherds in order to hand them over for judgment. And I will see what they do, whether they abide by my command with which I have commanded them, or not.

89.64 But they must not know this, and you must not show this to them, but only write down against each individual in his time all that the shepherds destroy, and bring it all up to me.”

89.65 And I looked until those shepherds pastured at their times, and they began to kill and destroy more than they were commanded, and they gave those sheep into the hands of the lions.

89.66 And the lions and the tigers devoured and swallowed up the majority of those sheep, and the wild boars devoured with them; and they burnt down that tower and demolished that house.

89.67 And I was extremely sad about that tower because that house of the sheep had been demolished; and after

that I was unable to see whether those sheep went into that house.

89.68 And the shepherds and their companions handed those sheep over to all the animals so that they might devour them. Each one of them, at his time, received an exact number, and for each of them, one after the other, there was written in a book how many of them were destroyed.

89.69 And each one killed and destroyed more than was prescribed and I began to weep and moan very much because of those sheep.

89.70 And likewise, in the vision, I saw that one who wrote, how each day, he wrote down each one that was destroyed by those shepherds. And he brought up, and presented, the whole book to the Lord of the sheep, everything they had done and all that each one of them had made away with, and all that they had handed to destruction.

89.71 And the book was read out in front of the Lord of the sheep, and he took the book in his hand, read it, sealed it, and put it down.

89.72 And after this I saw how the shepherds pastured for twelve hours, and behold three of those sheep returned, and arrived, and came and began to build up all that had fallen down from that house; but the wild boars hindered them so that they could not.

89.73 And they again began to build, as before, and they raised up that tower, and it was called the high tower. And they began again to place a table before the tower but all the bread on it was unclean and was not pure.

89.74 And, besides all this, the eyes of these sheep were blinded so that they could not see, and their shepherds likewise. And they handed yet more of them over to destruction, and they trampled on the sheep with their feet, and devoured them.

89.75 But the Lord of the sheep remained still, until all the sheep were

scattered abroad, and had mixed with them, and they did not save them from the hands of the animals.

89.76 And that one who wrote the book brought it up, showed it, and read it out in the dwelling of the Lord of the sheep. And he entreated Him on behalf of them, and petitioned Him, as he showed Him all the deeds of their shepherds and testified in front of Him against all the shepherds.

89.77 And he took the book, put it down by Him, and went out.

90.1 And I looked until the time that thirty-five shepherds had pastured the sheep the same way, and, each individually; they all completed their time like the first ones. And others received them into their hands to pasture them, at their time, each shepherd at his own time.

90.2 And after this, I saw in the vision, all the birds of the sky coming: - The eagles, the vultures, and the kites, and the ravens. But the eagles led all the birds, and they began to devour those sheep, to peck out their eyes, and to devour their flesh.

90.3 And the sheep cried out because the birds devoured their flesh. And I cried out and lamented in my sleep because of that shepherd who pastured the sheep.

90.4 And I looked until those sheep were devoured by those dogs, and by the eagles, and by the kites, and they left them neither flesh nor skin, nor sinew, until only their bones remained. And their bones fell upon the ground and the sheep became few.

90.5 And I looked until the time that twenty-three shepherds had pastured, and they completed, each in his time, fifty eight times.

90.6 And small lambs were born from those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes, to see, and to cry to the sheep.

90.7 But the sheep did not cry to them,

and did not listen to what they said to them, but were extremely deaf, and their eyes were extremely and excessively blinded.

90.8 And I saw in the vision, how the ravens flew upon those lambs, and took one of those lambs, and dashed the sheep in pieces and devoured them.

90.9 And I looked until horns came up on those lambs but the ravens cast their horns down. And I looked until a big horn grew on one of those sheep, and their eyes were opened.

90.10 And it looked at them and their eyes were opened. And it cried to the sheep, and the rams saw it, and they all ran to it.

90.11 And, besides all this, those eagles, and vultures, and ravens, and kites, were still continually tearing the sheep in pieces, and flying upon them and devouring them. And the sheep were silent but the rams lamented and cried out.

90.12 And those ravens battled and fought with it, and wished to make away with its horn, but they did not prevail against it.

90.13 And I looked at them until the shepherds and the eagles, and those vultures, and kites, came and cried to the ravens that they should dash the horn of that ram in pieces. And they fought and battled with it, and it fought with them and cried out so that its help might come to it.

90.14 And I looked until that man, who wrote down the names of the shepherds and brought them up before the Lord of the sheep, came, and he helped that ram and showed it everything; its help was coming down.

90.15 And I looked until that Lord of the sheep came to them in anger, all those who saw him fled, and they all fell into the shadow in front of Him.

90.16 All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites, gathered together and brought with them all the wild sheep, and they all came together and helped

one another in order to dash that horn of the ram in pieces.

90.17 And I looked at that man, who wrote the book at the command of the Lord, until he opened that book of the destruction that those last twelve shepherds had wrought. And he showed, in front of the Lord of the sheep, that they had destroyed even more than those before them had.

90.18 And I looked until the Lord of the sheep came to them and took the Staff of His Anger and struck the Earth. And the Earth was split. And all the animals, and the birds of the sky, fell from those sheep and sank in the earth; and it closed over them.

90.19 And I looked until a big sword was given to the sheep. And the sheep went out against all the wild animals to kill them. And all the animals, and birds of the sky, fled before them.

90.20 And I looked until a throne was set up in a pleasant land and the Lord of the sheep sat on it. And they took all the sealed books and opened the books in front of the Lord of the sheep.

90.21 And the Lord called those men, the seven first white ones, and commanded them to bring in front of Him the first star, which went before those stars whose private parts were like horses, and they brought them all in front of Him.

90.22 And He said to that man who wrote in front of Him, who was one of the seven white ones, He said to him: "Take those seventy shepherds, to whom I handed over the sheep, and who, on their own authority, took and killed more than I commanded them."

90.23 And behold, I saw them all bound, and they all stood in front of Him.

90.24 And the judgment was held, first on the stars, and they were judged and found guilty, and they went to the place of damnation, and were thrown into a deep place full of fire burning, and full of pillars of fire.

90.25 And those seventy shepherds were judged, and found guilty, and they also were thrown into that abyss of fire.

90.26 And I saw at that time, how a similar abyss was opened in the middle of the Earth which was full of fire, and they brought those blind sheep and they were all judged, and found guilty, and thrown into that abyss of fire and they burned. And that abyss was on the south of that house.

90.27 And I saw those sheep burning and their bones were burning.

90.28 And I stood up to look until he folded up that old house, and they removed all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of that house were folded up with it. And they removed it and put it in a place in the south of the land.

90.29 And I looked until the Lord of the sheep brought a new house, larger and higher than the first one, and he set it up on the site of the first one that had been folded up. And all its pillars were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first one - the old one that had been removed. And the Lord of the sheep was in the middle of it.

90.30 And I saw all the sheep that were left, and all the animals of the earth, and all the birds of the sky, falling down and worshipping those sheep, and entreating them and obeying them in every command.

90.31 And after this, those three who were dressed in white and had taken hold of my hand, the ones who had brought me up at first. They, with the hand of that ram also holding me, took me up, and put me down in the middle of those sheep before the judgment was held.

90.32 And those sheep were all white and their wool thick and pure.

90.33 And all those which had been destroyed and scattered, and all the wild animals, and all the birds of the sky, gathered together in that house, and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced very much

because they were all good, and had returned to His house.

90.34 And I looked until they had laid down that sword, which had been given to the sheep, and they brought it back into his house, and it was sealed in front of the Lord. And all the sheep were enclosed in that house but it did not hold them.

90.35 And the eyes of all of them were opened, and they saw well, and there was not one among them that did not see.

90.36 And I saw that that house was large, broad, and exceptionally full.

90.37 And I saw how a white bull was born, and its horns were big, and all the wild animals, and all the birds of the sky, were afraid of it, and entreated it continually.

90.38 And I looked until all their species were transformed and they all became white bulls. And the first among them was a wild-ox. And that wild-ox was a large animal and had big black horns on its head. And the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over them, and over all the bulls.

90.39 And I was asleep in the middle of them and I woke up and saw everything.

90.40 And this is the vision which I saw while I was asleep, and I woke up, blessed the Lord of Righteousness, and ascribed glory to him.

90.41 But after this I wept bitterly and my tears did not stop until I could not endure it. When I looked, they ran down, because of what I saw, for everything will come to pass and be fulfilled, and all the deeds of men, in their order, were shown to me.

90.42 That night I remembered my first dream, and because of it I wept, and was disturbed, because I had seen that vision.

Section V. XCI-CIV

A Book of Exhortation and Promised Blessing for the

Righteous and of Malediction and Woe for the Sinners.

91.1 And now my son Methuselah, call to me all your brothers, and gather to me all the children of your mother. For a voice calls me, and a spirit has been poured over me, so that I may show you everything that will come upon you forever.

91.2 And after this Methuselah went and called his brothers to him and gathered his relations.

91.3 And he spoke about righteousness to all his sons, and said:

“Hear, my children, all the words of your father, and listen properly to the voice of my mouth, for I will testify and speak to you - my beloved. Love uprightness and walk in it!

91.4 And do not draw near to uprightness with a double heart, and do not associate with those of a double heart, but walk in righteousness my children and it will lead you in good paths, and righteousness will be your companion.

91.5 For I know that the state of wrongdoing will continue on Earth, and a great punishment will be carried out on the Earth, and an end will be made of all iniquity. And it will be cut off at its roots and its whole edifice will pass away.

91.6 And iniquity will again be complete on the Earth, and all the deeds of iniquity, and the deeds of wrong, and of wickedness, will prevail for a second time.”

91.7 And when iniquity, and sin, and blasphemy, and wrong, and all kinds of evil deeds increase, and when apostasy, wickedness, and uncleanness increase, a great punishment will come from Heaven upon all these. And the Holy Lord will come in anger, and in wrath, to execute judgment on the Earth.

91.8 In those days wrongdoing will be cut off at its roots, and the roots of iniquity, together with deceit, will be destroyed from under Heaven.

91.9 And all the idols of the nations will be given up, their towers will be burnt in fire, and they will remove them from the whole Earth. And they will be thrown down into the Judgment of Fire, and will be destroyed in anger, and in the severe judgment that is forever.

91.10 And the righteous will rise from sleep, and wisdom will rise, and will be given to them.

91.11 And after this the roots of iniquity will be cut off and the sword will destroy the sinners. The blasphemers will be cut off; in every place blasphemy will be destroyed by the sword.

91.12 And after this there will be another week; **the eighth**, that of righteousness, and a sword will be given to it so that the Righteous Judgment may be executed on those who do wrong, and the sinners will be handed over into the hands of the righteous.

91.13 And, at its end, they will acquire Houses because of their righteousness, and a House will be built for the Great King in Glory, forever.

91.14 And after this, in the **ninth week**, the Righteous Judgment will be revealed to the whole world. And all the deeds of the impious will vanish from the whole Earth. And the world will be written down for destruction and all men will look to the Path of Uprightness.

91.15 And, after this, in the **tenth week**, in the seventh part, there will be an Eternal Judgment that will be executed on the Watchers and the Great Eternal Heaven that will spring from the midst of the Angels.

91.16 And the First Heaven will vanish and pass away and a New Heaven will appear, and all the Powers of Heaven will shine forever, with sevenfold light.

91.17 And after this, there will be many weeks without number, forever, in goodness and in righteousness. And from then on sin will never again be mentioned.

91.18 And now I tell you, my children, and show you the paths of righteousness, and the paths of wrongdoing. And I will show you again so that you may know what is to come.

91.19 And now listen, my children, walk in the paths of righteousness and do not walk in the paths of wrongdoing, for all those who walk in the path of iniquity will be destroyed forever.

92.¹ Written by Enoch-the-Scribe, this complete wisdom and teaching, praised by all men and a judge of the whole Earth.

For all my sons who dwell on Earth. And for the last generations who will practice justice and peace.

92.2 Let not your spirit be saddened by the times for the Holy and Great One has appointed days for all things.

92.3 And the righteous man will rise from sleep, will rise and will walk in the path of righteousness, and all his paths, and his journeys, will be in eternal goodness and mercy.

92.4 He will show mercy to the righteous man and to him give eternal uprightness, and to him give power. And he will live in goodness, and righteousness, and will walk in eternal light.

92.5 And sin will be destroyed in darkness, forever, and from that day will never again be seen.

93.¹ And, after this, Enoch began to speak from the books:

93.2 And Enoch said: "Concerning the sons of righteousness, and concerning the chosen of the world, and concerning the plant of righteousness and

uprightness, I will speak these things to you, and make them known to you, my children.

I, Enoch, according to that which appeared to me in the Heavenly vision, and that which I know from the words of the Holy Angels, and understanding from the Tablets of Heaven."

93.3 And Enoch then began to speak from the books, and said: "I was born the seventh, in the **first week**, while justice and righteousness still lasted.

93.4 And, after me, in the **second week**, great injustice will arise, and deceit will have sprung up. And in it there will be the First End, and in it, a man will be saved. And after it has ended, iniquity will grow, and He will make a law for the sinners.

93.5 And after this in the **third week**, at its end, a man will be chosen as the Plant of Righteous Judgment, and after him will come the Plant of Righteousness, forever.

93.6 And after this, in the **fourth week**, at its end, visions of the righteous and Holy will be seen, and a Law for All Generations, and an enclosure will be made for them.

93.7 And after this, in the **fifth week**, at its end, a House of Glory and Sovereignty will be built forever.

93.8 And after this, in the **sixth week**, all those who live in it will be blinded. And the hearts of them all, lacking wisdom, will sink into impiety. And in it, a man will ascend, and at its end the House of Sovereignty will be burnt with fire. And in it the whole race of the chosen root will be scattered.

93.9 And after this, in the **seventh week**, an apostate generation will arise. And many will be its deeds - but all its deeds will be apostasy.

93.10 And at its end, the Chosen Righteous, from the Eternal Plant of Righteousness, will be chosen, to whom will be given sevenfold teaching, concerning his whole creation.

93.11 For is there any man who can

hear the voice of the Holy One and not be disturbed? And who is there who can think his thoughts? And who is there who can look at all the works of Heaven?

93.12 And how should there be anyone who could understand the works of Heaven, and see a soul, or a spirit, and tell about it, or ascend and see all their ends and comprehend them, or make anything like them?

93.13 And is there any man who could know the length and breadth of the Earth? And to who has all its measurements been shown?

93.14 Or is there any man who could know the length of Heaven, and what is its height, and on what is it fixed, and how large is the number of stars, and where do all the lights rest?

94.¹ And now I say to you, my children, love righteousness and walk in it; for the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptance, but the paths of iniquity will quickly be destroyed and vanish.

94.2 And to certain men, from a future generation, the paths of wrongdoing and of death will be revealed; and they will keep away from them and will not follow them.

94.3 And now I say to you, the righteous: do not walk in the wicked path, or in wrongdoing, or in the paths of death, and do not draw near to them or you may be destroyed.

94.4 But seek, and choose for yourself, righteousness, and a life that is pleasing and walk in the paths of peace so that you may live and prosper.

94.5 And hold my words firmly in the thoughts of your heart, and do not let them be erased from your heart, for I know that sinners will tempt men to debase wisdom, and no place will be found for it, and temptation will in no way decrease.

94.6 Woe to those who build iniquity

and found deceit for they will quickly be thrown down and will not have peace.

94.7 Woe to those who build their houses with sin, for from their whole foundation they will be thrown down, and by the sword they shall fall, and those who acquire gold and silver will quickly be destroyed in the judgment.

94.8 Woe to you, you rich, for you have trusted in your riches, but from your riches you will depart for you did not remember the Most High in the days of your riches.

94.9 You have committed blasphemy, and iniquity, and are ready for the days of the outpouring of blood, and for the day of darkness, and for the day of the Great Judgment.

94.10 Thus I say, and make known to you, that He who created you will throw you down, and over your fall there will be no mercy, but your creator will rejoice at your destruction.

94.11 And your righteousness in those days will be a reproach to the sinners and to the impious.

95.¹ Would that my eyes were a rain-cloud, so that I might weep over you, and pour out my tears like rain, so that I might have rest from the sorrow of my heart!

95.2 Who permitted you to practice hatred and wickedness? May judgment come upon you, the sinners!

95.3 Do not be afraid of the sinners, you righteous, for the Lord will again deliver them into your hands, so that you may execute judgment on them as you desire.

95.4 Woe to you who pronounce anathema that you cannot remove.. Healing will be far from you because of your sin.

95.5 Woe to you who repay your neighbours with evil for you will be repaid according to your deeds.

95.6 Woe to you, you lying witnesses, and to those who weigh out iniquity, for

you will quickly be destroyed.

95.7 Woe to you, you sinners, because you persecute the righteous, for you yourselves will be handed over and persecuted, you men of iniquity, and their yoke will be heavy on you.

96.1 Be hopeful, you righteous, for the sinners will quickly be destroyed before you, and you will have power over them, as you desire.

96.2 And in the day of the distress of the sinners, your young will rise up, like eagles, and your nest will be higher than that of vultures. And you will go up, and like badgers, enter the crevices of the earth, and the clefts of the rock, forever, before the lawless, but they will groan and weep because of you, like satyrs.

96.3 And do not be afraid you who have suffered, for you will receive healing, and a bright light will shine upon you, and the Voice of Rest you will hear from Heaven.

96.4 Woes to you, you sinners, for your riches make you appear righteous, but your hearts prove you to be sinners. And this word will be a testimony against you as a reminder of your evil deeds.

96.5 Woe to you who devour the finest of the wheat, and drink the best of the water, and trample upon the humble through your power.

96.6 Woe to you who drink water all the time, for you will quickly be repaid, and will become exhausted and dry for you have left the spring of life.

96.7 Woe to you who commit iniquity, and deceit, and blasphemy, it will be a reminder of evil against you.

96.8 Woe to you, you powerful, who through power oppress the righteous; for the day of your destruction will come.

In those days many good days will come for the righteous in the day of your judgment.

97.1 Believe, you righteous, that the sinners will become an object of shame and will be destroyed on the Day of Judgment.

97.2 Be it known to you, sinners, that the Most High remembers your destruction and that the Angels rejoice over your destruction.

97.3 What will you do, you sinners, and where will you flee on that day of judgment when you hear the sound of prayer of the righteous?

97.4 But you will not be like them against whom this word will be a testimony:

“You have been associated with the sinners.”

97.5 And in those days, the prayer of the Holy will be in front of the Lord, and for you will come the days of your judgment.

97.6 And the words of your iniquity will be read out before the Great and Holy One, and your faces will blush with shame, and every deed which is founded upon iniquity will be rejected.

97.7 Woe to you, you sinners, who are in the middle of the sea, or on dry ground, their memory will be harmful to you.

97.8 Woe to you who acquire silver and gold, but not in righteousness, and say: “We have become very rich and have possessions, and have acquired everything that we desired.

97.9 And now let us do what we planned, for we have gathered silver and filled our storehouses, and as many as water are the servants of our houses.”

97.10 And like the water your life will flow away, for your riches will not stay with you, but will quickly go up from you, for you acquired everything in iniquity and you will be given over to a great curse.

98.1 Now I swear to you, the wise, and the foolish, that you will see many

things on the earth.

98.2 For you men will put on yourselves more adornments than a woman, and more coloured garments than a girl, clothed in sovereignty, and in majesty, and in power, and silver, and gold, and purple, and honours, - and food will be poured out like water.

98.3 Because of this they will have neither knowledge nor wisdom. And through this, they will be destroyed, together with their possessions, and with all their glory and their honour. And in shame, and in slaughter, and in great destitution, their spirits will be thrown into the fiery furnace.

98.4 I swear to you, you sinners, that as a mountain has not, and will not, become a slave, nor a hill a woman's maid, so sin was not sent on the Earth but man, of himself, created it. And those who commit it will be subject to a great curse.

98.5 And barrenness has not been given to a woman but because of the deeds of her hand she dies without children.

98.6 I swear to you, you sinners, by the Holy and Great One, that all your evil deeds are revealed in Heaven and that your wrongdoing is not covered or hidden.

98.7 And do not think in your spirit nor say in your heart, that you do not know, or do not see, every sin is written down every day in Heaven in front of the Most High.

98.8 From now on, you know that all your wrongdoing that you do will be written down every day, until the day of your judgment.

98.9 Woe to you, you fools, for you will be destroyed through your folly. And you do not listen to the wise and good will not come upon you.

98.10 And now know that you are ready for the day of destruction. And do not hope that you will live, you sinners; rather you will go and die, for you know no ransom. You are ready for the Day of the Great Judgment and for the day

of distress and great shame for your spirits.

98.11 Woe to you, you stubborn of heart who do evil and eat blood, from where do you have good things to eat and drink and to be satisfied? From all the good things which our Lord the Most High has placed in abundance on the earth. Therefore you will not have peace.

98.12 Woe to you who love deeds of iniquity. Why do you hope for good for yourselves? Know that you will be given into the hands of the righteous, and they will cut your throats and kill you, and will not have mercy on you.

98.13 Woe to you who rejoice in the distress of the righteous for graves will not be dug for you.

98.14 Woe to you who declare the words of the righteous empty for you will have no hope of life.

98.15 Woe to you who write lying words, and the words of the impious, for they write their lies so that men may hear and continue their folly. And they will not have peace but will die a sudden death.

99.1 Woe to you who do impious deeds and praise and honour lying words; you will be destroyed and will not have a good life.

99.2 Woe to you who alter the words of truth, and they distort the eternal law and count themselves as being without sin; they will be trampled underfoot on the ground.

99.3 In those days make ready, you righteous, to raise your prayers as a reminder and lay them as a testimony before the Angels, that they may lay the sin of the sinners before the Most High as a reminder.

99.4 In those days the nations will be thrown into confusion and the races of the nations will rise on the Day of Destruction.

99.5 And in those days, those who are in need will go out, seize their children,

and cast out their children. And their offspring will slip from them, and they will cast out their children while they are still sucklings, and will not return to them, and will not have mercy on their beloved ones.

99.6 And again I swear to you, the sinners, that sin is ready for the Day of Unceasing Bloodshed.

99.7 And they worship stone, and some carve images of gold and of silver, and of wood and of clay. And some, with no knowledge, worship unclean spirits and demons, and every kind of error. But no help will be obtained from them.

99.8 And they will sink into impiety because of the folly of their hearts, and their eyes will be blinded through the fear of their hearts, and through the vision of their ambitions.

99.9 Through these they will become impious and fearful, for they do all their deeds with lies, and worship stones, and they will be destroyed at the same moment.

99.10 And in those days, blessed are those who accept the words of wisdom, and understand them, and follow the paths of the Most High, and walk in the path of righteousness, and do not act impiously with the impious, for they will be saved.

99.11 Woe to you who extend evil to your neighbours; for you will be killed in Sheol.

99.12 Woe to you who lay foundations of sin and deceit, and who cause bitterness on the Earth, for because of this an end will be made of them.

99.13 Woe to you who build your houses with the toil of others, and all their building materials are the sticks and stones of sin; I say to you: "You will not have peace."

99.14 Woe to those who reject the measure, and the eternal inheritance of their fathers, and cause their souls to follow error, for they will not have rest.

99.15 Woe to those who commit iniquity, and help wrong, and kill their

neighbours, until the Day of the Great Judgment; for he will throw down your glory.

99.16 And you put evil into your hearts, and rouse the spirit of his anger, so that he may destroy you all with the sword. And all the righteous and the Holy will remember your sin.

100.¹ And in those days, and in one place, fathers and sons will strike one another, and brothers will together fall in death, until their blood flows as if it were a stream.

100.2 For a man will not, in mercy, withhold his hand from his sons, nor from his son's sons, in order to kill them. And the sinner will not withhold his hand from his honoured brother from dawn until the Sun sets they will kill one another.

100.3 And the horse will walk up to its chest in the blood of sinners and the chariot will sink up to its height.

100.4 And in those days the Angels will come down into the hidden places, and gather together in one place all those who have helped sin, and the Most High will rise on that day to execute the Great Judgment on all the sinners.

100.5 And he will set guards, from the Holy Angels, over all the righteous and Holy, and they will guard them like the apple of an eye, until an end is made of all evil and all sin. And even if the righteous sleep a long sleep they have nothing to fear.

100.6 And the wise men will see the truth, and the sons of the Earth will understand all the words of this book, and they will know that their riches will not be able to save them or overthrow their sin.

100.7 Woe to you, you sinners, when you afflict the righteous on the day of severe trouble, and burn them with fire, you will be repaid according to your deeds.

100.8 Woe to you, you perverse of heart who watch to devise evil; fear will come

upon you and there is no one who will help you.

100.9 Woe to you, you sinners, for an account of the words of your mouth, and for an account of the deeds of your hands that you have impiously done; you will burn in blazing flames of fire.

100.10 And now know that the Angels will inquire in Heaven into your deeds, from the Sun and the Moon and the Stars, into your sins, for on earth you execute judgment on the righteous.

100.11 And all the clouds and mist and dew and rain will testify against you, for they will be withheld from you so that they do not fall on you, and they will think about your sins.

100.12 And now give gifts to the rain, so that it may not be withheld from falling on you, and so that the dew, if it has accepted gold and silver from you, may fall.

100.13 When the hoarfrost and snow, with their cold, and all the snow-winds with their torments fall on you. In those days, you will not be able to stand before them.

101.1 Contemplate Heaven, all you sons of Heaven, and all the works of the Most High, and fear him, and do not do evil in front of Him.

101.2 If He closes the Windows of Heaven, and withholds the rain and the dew, so that it does not fall on the earth because of you, what will you do?

101.3 And if he sends his anger upon you, and upon all your deeds, will you not entreat him? For you speak proud and hard against his righteousness. And you will not have peace.

101.4 And do you not see the captains of the ships; how their ships are tossed by the waves and rocked by the winds and are in distress?

101.5 And because of this they are afraid, for all their good possessions that go out on the sea with them, and they think nothing good in their hearts, only that the sea will swallow them up,

and that they will be destroyed in it.

101.6 Is not all the sea, and all its waters, and all its movement, the work of the Most High, and did he not seal all it's doings and bind it all with sand?

101.7 And at his rebuke it dries up and becomes afraid, and all its fish die, and everything in it; but you sinners who are on Earth do not fear him.

101.8 Did he not make Heaven, Earth, and everything that is in them? And who gave knowledge, and wisdom, to all things that move on the ground and in the sea?

101.9 And do not those captains of the ships fear the sea?

Yet, sinners do not fear the Most High.

102.1 And in those days, if he brings a fierce fire upon you, where will you flee, and where will you be safe? And when he utters his voice against you will you not be terrified and afraid?

102.2 And all the Lights will shake with great fear, and the whole Earth will be terrified, and will tremble and quail.

102.3 And all the Angels will carry out their commands, and will seek to hide from the One who is Great in Glory, and the children of the Earth will tremble and shake; and you sinners will be cursed forever and will not have peace.

102.4 Do not be afraid you souls of the righteous, and be hopeful, you who have died in righteousness.

102.5 And do not be sad that your souls have gone down into Sheol in sadness and that your bodies did not obtain during your life a reward in accordance with your goodness.

102.6 But when you die the sinners will say about you: "As we die, the righteous have also died, and of what use to them were their deeds?"

102.7 "Behold, like us they have died in sadness and in darkness, and what advantage do they have over us? From now on we are equal."

102.8 "And what will they receive and

what will they see forever? For behold, they too have died, and from now on they will never again see the light.”

102.9 And I say to you, you sinners: “You are content to eat and drink, and strip men naked, and steal, and sin, and acquire possessions, and see good days.

102.10 But you saw the righteous, how their end was peace, for no wrong was found in them until the day of their death.”

102.11 “But they were destroyed and became as though they had not been and their souls went down to Sheol in distress.”

103.1 And now I swear to you, the righteous, by His Great Glory and His Honour, and by His Magnificent Sovereignty, and by His Majesty: - I swear to you that I understand this mystery.

103.2 And I have read the Tablets of Heaven and seen the writing of the Holy Ones. And I found written and engraved in it, concerning them, that all good, and joy, and honour, have been made ready, and written down, for the spirits of those who died in righteousness.

103.3 And much good will be given to you in recompense for your toil and that your lot will be more excellent than the lot of the living.

103.4 And the spirits of you who have died in righteousness will live, and your spirits will rejoice and be glad, and the memory of them will remain in front of the Great One for all the generations of eternity. Therefore do not fear their abuse.

103.5 Woe to you, you sinners, when you die in your sin, and those who are like you say about you: “Blessed were the sinners they saw their days.

103.6 And now they have died in prosperity and wealth, distress and slaughter they did not see during their life, but they have died in glory, and judgment was not executed on them in

their life.”

103.7 Know that their souls will be made to go down into Sheol, they will be wretched, and their distress will be great.

103.8 And in darkness, and in chains, and in burning flames, your spirits will come to the Great Judgment. And the Great Judgment will last for all generations, forever. Woe to you for you will not have peace.

103.9 Do not say, the righteous and the good who were alive; “In the days of our affliction we toiled laboriously, and saw every affliction, and met many evils. We were spent and became few and our spirit small.

103.10 We were destroyed and there was no one who helped us with words or with deeds. We were powerless and found nothing. We were tortured and destroyed and did not expect to see life from one day to the next.

103 11 We hoped to become the head but became the tail. We toiled and laboured, but were not masters of the fruits of our toil; we became food for the sinners, and the lawless made their yoke heavy upon us.

103.12 Those who hated us, those who goaded us, were masters of us. And to those who hated us we bowed our necks but they did not have mercy on us.

103.13 We sought to escape from them so that we might flee and be at rest. But we found no place where we might flee and be safe from them.

103.14 We complained about them to the rulers, in our distress, and cried out against those who devoured us, but they took no notice of our cries, and did not wish to listen to our voice.

103.15 And they helped those who plundered us and devoured us, and those who made us few, and they concealed their wrongdoing, and did not remove from us the yoke of those who devoured us, and scattered us, and killed us. And they concealed our slaughter and did not remember that they had

raised their hands against us.”

104.1 I swear to you, you righteous, that in Heaven the Angels remember you for good in front of the Glory of the Great One, and that your names are written down in front of the Glory of the Great One.

104.2 Be hopeful! For you were formerly put to shame through evils and afflictions, but now you will shine like the Lights of Heaven, and will be seen, and the Gate of Heaven will be opened to you.

104.3 And persevere in your cry for judgment and it will appear to you, for justice will be exacted from the rulers for all your distress, and from all those who helped those who plundered you.

104.4 Be hopeful, and do not abandon your hope, for you will have great joy like the Angels of Heaven.

104.5 What will you have to do? You will not have to hide on the day of the Great Judgment, nor will you be found to be sinners. The Eternal Judgment will be upon you for all the generations of eternity.

104.6 And now do not be afraid, you righteous, when you see the sinners growing strong and prospering in their desires, and do not be associated with them but keep far away from their wrongdoing, for you will be associates of the Host of Heaven.

104.7 For you sinners say: “None of our sins will be inquired into and written down!” But they will write down your sins every day.

104.8 And now I show you that light and darkness, day and night, see all your sins.

104.9 Do not be impious in your hearts, and do not lie, and do not alter the words of truth, nor say that the words of the Holy and Great One are lies, and do not praise your idols. For all your lies, and all your impiety, lead not to righteousness but to great sin.

104.10 And now I know this mystery;

that many sinners will alter and distort the words of truth, and speak evil words, and lie, and concoct great fabrications, and write books in their own words.

104.11 But when they write my words exactly in their languages, and do not alter or omit anything from my words, but write everything exactly, everything that I testified about before; then I know another mystery:

104.12 That books will be given to the righteous and wise and will be a source of joy and truth and much wisdom.

104.13 And books will be given to them, and they will believe in them and rejoice over them; and all the righteous who have learnt from them all the ways of truth will be glad.

105.1 And in those days, says the Lord, they shall call and testify to the sons of the Earth about the wisdom in them. Show it to them for you are their leaders and the rewards will be over all the Earth.

105.2 For my son and I will join ourselves with them, forever, in the paths of uprightness during their lives.

And you will have peace.

Rejoice - you sons of uprightness!

Amen

Fragment of the Book of Noah

106.1 And after those days my son Methuselah chose a wife for his son Lamech and she became pregnant by him and bore a son.

106.2 And his body was white like snow, and red like the flower of a rose, and the hair of his head was white like wool. And his eyes were beautiful and when he opened his eyes he made the whole house bright, like the Sun, so that the whole house was exceptionally bright.

106.3 And when he was taken from the

hand of the midwife he opened his mouth and spoke to the Lord of Righteousness.

106.4 And his father Lamech was afraid of him, and fled, and went to his father Methuselah.

106.5 And he said to him: "I have begotten a strange son; he is not like a man but is like the children of the Angels of Heaven, of a different type and not like us. And his eyes are like the rays of the Sun and his face glorious.

106.6 And it seems to me that he is not sprung from me but from the Angels and I am afraid that something extraordinary may be done on the earth in his days.

106.7 And now, my father, I am entreating you and petitioning you, to go to our father Enoch, and learn from him the truth, for his dwelling is with the Angels."

106.8 And when Methuselah heard the words of his son he came to me, at the ends of the Earth, for he had heard that I was there. And he cried out, and I heard his voice and went to him. And I said to him: "Behold I am here my son, for you have come to me."

106.9 And he answered me, and said: "Because of a great matter I have come to you, and because of a disturbing vision, have I come near.

106.10 And now hear me, my father, for a child has been born to my son Lamech, whose form and type are not like the type of a man. His colour is whiter than snow, and redder than the flower of the rose, and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool. And his eyes are like the rays of the Sun; and he opened his eyes and made the whole house bright.

106.11 And he was taken from the hand of the midwife, and he opened his mouth, and blessed the Lord of Heaven.

106.12 And his father Lamech was afraid and fled to me. And he does not believe he is sprung from him but thinks

him to be from the Angels of Heaven. And behold, I have come to you, so that you may make known to me the truth."

106.13 And I, Enoch, answered and said to him: "The Lord will do new things on Earth, and this I have already seen in a vision, and made known to you. For in the generation of my father, Jared, some from the height of Heaven transgressed the word of the Lord.

106.14 And behold, they commit sin and transgress the law, and have been promiscuous with women, and commit sin with them, and have married some of them, and have begotten children by them.

106.15 And there will be great destruction over the whole Earth, and there will be a deluge, and there will be great destruction for one year.

106.16 But this child, who has been born to you, will be left on the Earth, and his three sons will be saved with him. When all the men who are on the Earth die he and his sons will be saved.

106.17 They will beget on the Earth giants, not of spirit, but of flesh, and there will be great wrath on Earth, and the Earth will be cleansed of all corruption.

106.18 And now make known to your son Lamech that the one who has been born is truly his son. And call his name Noah, for he will be a remnant for you and he and his sons will be saved from the destruction which is coming on the earth because of all the sin and all the iniquity, which will be committed on the Earth in his days.

106.19 But after this, there will be yet greater iniquity than that which was committed on the earth before. For I know the mysteries of the Holy Ones, for the Lord showed them to me and made them known to me, and I read them in the Tablets of Heaven.

107.¹ And I saw written on them, that generation upon generation will do wrong, until a generation of

righteousness shall arise, and wrongdoing shall be destroyed, and sin shall depart from the earth, and everything good shall come upon it.

107.2 And now, my son, go, make known to your son Lamech, that this child that has been born, is truly his son, and this is no lie.

107.3 And when Methuselah had heard the words of his father Enoch - for he showed him everything which is secret - he returned, having seen him, and called the name of that child Noah; for he will comfort the Earth after all the destruction.

108.1 Another book which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah and for those who should come after him and keep the law in the last days.

108.2 You who have observed, and are waiting in these days, until an end shall be made of those who do evil, and an end shall be made of the power of the wrongdoers.

108.3 Do indeed wait until sin shall pass away, for their names shall be erased from the Books of the Holy Ones, and their offspring will be destroyed forever. And their spirits will be killed, and they will cry out and moan in a chaotic desert place, and will burn in fire, for there is no Earth there.

108.4 And there I saw something like a cloud, which could not be discerned, for because of its depth I was not able to look into it. And the flames of a fire I saw, burning brightly, and things like bright mountains revolved and shook from side to side.

108.5 And I asked one of the Holy Angels, who were with me, and I said to him: "What is this bright place? For there is no sky, but only the flames of a burning fire, and the sounds of crying, and weeping, and moaning, and severe pain."

108.6 And he said to me: "This place which you see; here will be thrown the

spirits of the sinners, and of the blasphemers, and of those who do evil. And of those who alter everything that the Lord has spoken through the mouths of the prophets about the things that shall be done.

108.7 For there are books, and records, about them in Heaven above so that the Angels may read them and know what is about to come upon the sinners. And upon the spirits of the humble, and of those who afflicted their bodies and were recompensed by God, and of those who were abused by evil men.

108.8 Those who loved God and did not love gold, or silver, or any possessions, but gave up their bodies to torment.

108.9 Those who, from the moment they existed, did not desire earthly food, but counted themselves as a breath which passes away, and kept to this. And the Lord tested them much, and their spirits were found pure, so that they might bless His Name."

108.10 And all their blessings I have recounted in the books, and he has assigned them their reward, for they were found to be such that they loved Heaven more than their life in the world. And although they were trampled underfoot by evil men, and had to listen to reviling and reproach from them, and were abused, yet they blessed their Lord.

108.11 And the Lord said: "And now I will call the spirits of the good, who are of the Generation of Light, and I will transform those who were born in darkness, who in the flesh were not recompensed with honour as was fitting to their faith.

108.12 And I will bring out into the shining light those who love my Holy Name and I will set each one on the throne of his honour."

108.13 And they will shine for times without number, for righteous is the Judgment of God, for with the faithful He will keep faith in the dwelling of upright paths.

108.14 And they will see those who were born in darkness thrown into the darkness while the righteous shine.

108.15 And the sinners will cry out as they see them shining but they themselves will go where days and times have been written down for them.

The Book of the Secrets of Enoch

INTRODUCTION

The Second Book of Enoch (usually abbreviated 2 Enoch, and otherwise variously known as Slavonic Enoch or The Secrets of Enoch) is a pseudepigraphic (a text whose claimed authorship is unfounded) of the Old Testament. It is usually considered to be part of the Apocalyptic literature. Late 1st century CE is the dating often preferred. The text has been preserved in full only in Slavonic, but in 2009 it was announced that Coptic fragments of the book had been identified. Greek is indicated as the language behind the Slavonic version[1]. It is not regarded as scripture by Jews or any Christian group. It was rediscovered and published at the end of 19th century.

Most scholars consider 2 Enoch to be composed by an unknown Jewish sectarian group, while some authors think it is a 1st century Christian text[2][3]. A very few scholars consider it a later Christian work[4]. This article discusses 2 Enoch. It is distinct from the Book of Enoch, known as 1 Enoch. There is also an unrelated 3 Enoch. The numbering of these texts has been applied by scholars to distinguish the texts from one another.

Dates ranging from the 1st century BC to the 10th century CE have been proposed, with the late 1st century CE often preferred. The date of the text can be deduced solely on the basis of the internal evidence since the book has survived only in the medieval manuscripts (even if a reference of 2 Enoch could be found in Origen's *De Principis* i, 3:3). Composition shall be later than the Book of the Watchers in 1 Enoch (about III century BCE). The crucial arguments for the early dating of the text have very largely been linked to the themes of the Temple in Jerusalem and its ongoing practices and customs. Scholarly efforts have been in this respect mostly directed toward finding hints that the Sanctuary was still standing when the original text was composed. Scholars noted that the text gives no indication that the destruction of the Temple had already occurred at the time of the book's composition. Critical readers of the pseudepigraphic would have some difficulties finding any explicit expression of feelings of sadness or mourning about the loss of the sanctuary.

Affirmations of the value of animal sacrifice and Enoch's halakhic instructions found in 2 Enoch 59 also appear to be fashioned not in the "preservationist," mishnaic-like mode but rather as if they reflected sacrificial practices that still existed when the author was writing his book. The author tries to legitimize the central place of worship, which through the reference to the place Ahuzan, which is a cryptic name for a Jewish Temple.

Scholars have also previously noted in the text some indications of the ongoing practice of pilgrimage to the central place of worship. These indications could be expected in a text written in the Alexandrian Diaspora. Thus in his instructions to the children, Enoch repeatedly encourages them to bring the gifts before the face of God for the remission of sins, a practice which appears to recall well-known sacrificial customs widespread in the Second Temple period. Further, the Slavonic apocalypse also contains a direct command to visit the Temple three times a day, an inconsistency if the sanctuary had been already destroyed.

The Book of the Secrets of Enoch

Also known as Slavonic Enoch or 2 Enoch

Translated from the Slavonic by W. R. Morfill, M.A.

1.1 There was a wise man, a great artificer, and the Lord conceived love for him and received him, that he should behold the uppermost dwellings and be an eye-witness of the wise and great and inconceivable and immutable realm of God Almighty, of the very wonderful and glorious and bright and many-eyed station of the Lord's servants, and of the inaccessible throne of the Lord, and of the degrees and manifestations of the incorporeal hosts, and of the ineffable ministration of the multitude of the elements, and of the various apparition and inexpressible singing of the host of Cherubim, and of the boundless light.

2 At that time, he said, when my one hundred and sixty-fifth year was completed, I begat my son Mathusal (Methuselah).

3 After this too I lived two hundred years and completed of all the years of my life three hundred and sixty-five years.

4 On the first day of the month I was in my house alone and was resting on my bed and slept.

5 And when I was asleep, great distress came up into my heart, and I was weeping with my eyes in sleep, and I could not understand what this distress was, or what would happen to me.

6 And there appeared to me two men, exceeding big, so that I never saw such on earth; their faces were shining like the sun, their eyes too (were) like a burning light, and from their lips was fire coming forth with clothing and singing of various kinds in

appearance purple, their wings brighter than gold, their hands whiter than snow.

7 They were standing at the head of my bed and began to call me by my name.

8 And I arose from my sleep and saw clearly those two men standing in front of me.

9 And I saluted them and was seized with fear and the appearance of my face was changed from terror, and those men said to me:

10 Have courage, Enoch, do not fear; the eternal God sent us to you, and lo! You shalt to-day ascend with us into heaven, and you shall tell your sons and all your household all that they shall do without you on earth in your house, and let no one seek you till the Lord return you to them.

11 And I made haste to obey them and went out from my house, and made to the doors, as it was ordered me, and summoned my sons Mathusal (Methuselah) and Regim and Gaidad and made known to them all the marvels those (men) had told me.

2 1. Listen to me, my children, I know not whither I go, or what will befall me; now therefore, my children, I tell you: turn not from God before the face of the vain, who made not Heaven and earth, for these shall perish and those who worship them, and may the Lord make confident your hearts in the fear of him. And now, my children, let no one think to seek me, until the Lord return me to you.

3.1 It came to pass, when Enoch had told his sons, that the angels took him on to their wings and bore him up on to the first heaven and placed him on the clouds. And there I looked, and again I looked higher, and saw the ether, and they placed me on the first heaven and showed me a very great Sea, greater than the earthly sea.

4.1 They brought before my face the elders and rulers of the stellar orders, and showed me two hundred angels, who rule the stars and (their) services to the heavens, and fly with their wings and come round all those who sail.

5.1 And here I looked down and saw the treasure-houses of the snow, and the angels who keep their terrible store-houses, and the clouds whence they come out and into which they go.

6.1 They showed me the treasure-house of the dew, like oil of the olive, and the appearance of its form, as of all the flowers of the earth; further many angels guarding the treasure-houses of these (things), and how they are made to shut and open.

7.1 And those men took me and led me up on to the second heaven, and showed me darkness, greater than earthly darkness, and there I saw prisoners hanging, watched, awaiting the great and boundless judgment, and these angels (spirits) were dark-looking, more than earthly darkness, and incessantly making weeping through all hours.

2 And I said to the men who were with me: Wherefore are these incessantly tortured? They answered me: These are God's apostates, who obeyed not God's commands, but took counsel with their own will, and turned away with their prince, who also (is) fastened on the fifth heaven.

3 And I felt great pity for them, and they saluted me, and said to me: Man of God, pray for us to the Lord; and I answered to them: Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels (spirits)? Who knows whither I go, or what will befall me? Or who will pray for me?

8.1 And those men took me thence, and led me up on to the third heaven, and placed me there; and I looked downwards, and saw the produce of these places, such as has never been known for goodness.

2 And I saw all the sweet-flowering trees and beheld their fruits, which were sweet-smelling, and all the foods borne (by them) bubbling with fragrant exhalation.

3 And in the midst of the trees that of life, in that place whereon the Lord rests, when he goes up into paradise; and this tree is of ineffable goodness and fragrance, and adorned more than every existing thing; and on all sides (it is) in form gold-looking and vermilion and fire-like and covers all, and it has produce from all fruits.

4 Its root is in the garden at the earth's end.

5 And paradise is between corruptibility and incorruptibility.

6 And two springs come out which send forth honey and milk, and their springs send forth oil and wine, and they separate into four parts, and go round with quiet course, and go down into the PARADISE OF EDEN, between corruptibility and incorruptibility.

7 And thence they go forth along the earth, and have a revolution to their circle even as other elements.

8 And here there is no unfruitful tree, and every place is blessed.

9 And (there are) three hundred angels very bright, who keep the garden, and with incessant sweet singing and never-silent

voices serve the Lord throughout all days and hours.

10 And I said: How very sweet is this place, and those men said to me:

9.1 This place, O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous, who endure all manner of offence from those that exasperate their souls, who avert their eyes from iniquity, and make righteous judgment, and give bread to the hungering, and cover the naked with clothing, and raise up the fallen, and help injured orphans, and who walk without fault before the face of the Lord, and serve him alone, and for them is prepared this place for eternal inheritance.

10.1 And those two men led me up on to the Northern side, and showed me there a very terrible place, and (there were) all manner of tortures in that place: cruel darkness and unilluminated gloom, and there is no light there, but murky fire constantly flaming aloft, and (there is) a fiery river coming forth, and that whole place is everywhere fire, and everywhere (there is) frost and ice, thirst and shivering, while the bonds are very cruel, and the angels (spirits) fearful and merciless, bearing angry weapons, merciless torture, and I said:

2 Woe, woe, how very terrible is this place.

3 And those men said to me: This place, O Enoch, is prepared for those who dishonour God, who on earth practice sin against nature, which is child-corruption after the sodomitic fashion, magic-making, enchantments and devilish witchcrafts, and who boast of their wicked deeds, stealing, lies, calumnies, envy, rancour, fornication, murder, and who, accursed, steal the souls of men, who, seeing the poor take away their goods and themselves wax rich, injuring them for other men's goods; who being able to satisfy the empty, made the hungering to die; being able to clothe, stripped the naked; and who knew not their creator, and bowed to the soulless (and lifeless) gods, who

cannot see nor hear, vain gods, (who also) built hewn images and bow down to unclean handiwork, for all these is prepared this place among these, for eternal inheritance.

11.1 Those men took me, and led me up on to the fourth heaven, and showed me all the successive goings, and all the rays of the light of sun and moon.

2 And I measure their goings, and compared their light, and saw that the sun's light is greater than the moon's.

3 Its circle and the wheels on which it goes always, like the wind going past with very marvellous speed, and day and night it has no rest.

4 Its passage and return (are accompanied by) four great stars, (and) each star has under it a thousand stars, to the right of the sun's wheel, (and by) four to the left, each having under it a thousand stars, altogether eight thousand, issuing with the sun continually.

5 And by day fifteen myriads of angels attend it, and by night A thousand.

6 And six-winged ones issue with the angels before the sun's wheel into the fiery flames, and a hundred angels kindle the sun and set it alight.

12.1 And I looked and saw other flying elements of the sun, whose names (are) Phoenixes and Chalkydri, marvellous and wonderful, with feet and tails in the form of a lion, and a crocodile's head, their appearance (is) empurpled, like the rainbow; their size (is) nine hundred measures, their wings (are like) those of angels, each (has) twelve, and they attend and accompany the sun, bearing heat and dew, as it is ordered them from God.

2 Thus (the sun) revolves and goes, and rises under the heaven, and its course goes under the earth with the light of its rays incessantly.

13.¹ Those men bore me away to the east, and placed me at the sun's gates, where the sun goes forth according to the regulation of the seasons and the circuit of the months of the whole year, and the number of the hours day and night.

2 And I saw six gates open, each gate having sixty-one stadia and A quarter of one stadium, and I measured (them) truly, and understood their size (to be) so much, through which the sun goes forth, and goes to the west, and is made even, and rises throughout all the months, and turns back again from the six gates according to the succession of the seasons; thus (the period) of the whole year is finished after the returns of the four seasons.

14.¹ And again those men led me away to the western parts, and showed me six great gates open corresponding to the eastern gates, opposite to where the sun sets, according to the number of the days three hundred and sixty-five and A quarter.

2 Thus again it goes down to the western gates, (and) draws away its light, the greatness of its brightness, under the earth; for since the crown of its shining is in heaven with the Lord, and guarded by four hundred angels, while the sun goes round on wheel under the earth, and stands seven great hours in night, and spends half (its course) under the earth, when it comes to the eastern approach in the eighth hour of the night, it brings its lights, and the crown of shining, and the sun flames forth more than fire.

15.¹ Then the elements of the sun, called Phoenixes and Chalkydri break into song, therefore every bird flutters with its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, and they broke into song at the command of the Lord.

2 The giver of light comes to give brightness to the whole world, and the morning guard takes shape, which is the rays of the sun, and the sun of the earth goes out, and receives its brightness to light up the whole face of the earth, and they showed me this calculation of the sun's going.

3 And the gates which it enters, these are the great gates of the calculation of the hours of the year; for this reason the sun is a great creation, whose circuit (lasts) twenty-eight years, and begins again from the beginning.

16.¹ Those men showed me the other course, that of the moon, twelve great gates, crowned from west to east, by which the moon goes in and out of the customary times.

2 It goes in at the first gate to the western places of the sun, by the first gates with (thirty)-one (days) exactly, by the second gates with thirty-one days exactly, by the third with thirty days exactly, by the fourth with thirty days exactly, by the fifth with thirty-one days exactly, by the sixth with thirty-one days exactly, by the seventh with thirty days exactly, by the eighth with thirty-one days perfectly, by the ninth with thirty-one days exactly, by the tenth with thirty days perfectly, by the eleventh with thirty-one days exactly, by the twelfth with twenty-eight days exactly.

3 And it goes through the western gates in the order and number of the eastern, and accomplishes the three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter days of the solar year, while the lunar year has three hundred fifty-four, and there are wanting (to it) twelve days of the solar circle, which are the lunar epacts of the whole year.

4 Thus, too, the great circle contains five hundred and thirty-two years.

5 The quarter (of a day) is omitted for three years, the fourth fulfills it exactly.

6 Therefore they are taken outside of heaven for three years and are not added to the

number of days, because they change the time of the years to two new months towards completion, to two others towards diminution.

7 And when the western gates are finished, it returns and goes to the eastern to the lights, and goes thus day and night about the heavenly circles, lower than all circles, swifter than the heavenly winds, and spirits and elements and angels flying; each angel has six wings.

8 It has a sevenfold course in nineteen years.

17.¹ In the midst of the heavens I saw armed soldiers, serving the Lord, with tympana and organs, with incessant voice, with sweet voice, with sweet and incessant (voice) and various singing, which it is impossible to describe, and (which) astonishes every mind, so wonderful and marvellous is the singing of those angels, and I was delighted listening to it.

18.¹ The men took me on to the fifth heaven and placed me, and there I saw many and countless soldiers, called Grigori, of human appearance, and their size (was) greater than that of great giants and their faces withered, and the silence of their mouths perpetual, and there was no service on the fifth heaven, and I said to the men who were with me:

2 Wherefore are these very withered and their faces melancholy, and their mouths silent, and (wherefore) is there no service on this heaven?

3 And they said to me: These are the Grigori, who with their prince Satanail (Satan) rejected the Lord of light, and after them are those who are held in great darkness on the second heaven, and three of them went down on to earth from the Lord's throne, to the place Ermon, and broke through their vows on the shoulder of the hill Ermon and saw the daughters of men how good they are, and took to themselves

wives, and befouled the earth with their deeds, who in all times of their age made lawlessness and mixing, and giants are born and marvellous big men and great enmity.

4 And therefore God judged them with great judgment, and they weep for their brethren and they will be punished on the Lord's great day.

5 And I said to the Grigori: I saw your brethren and their works, and their great torments, and I prayed for them, but the Lord has condemned them (to be) under earth till (the existing) heaven and earth shall end for ever.

6 And I said: Wherefore do you wait, brethren, and do not serve before the Lord's face, and have not put your services before the Lord's face, lest you anger your Lord utterly?

7 And they listened to my admonition, and spoke to the four ranks in heaven, and lo! As I stood with those two men four trumpets trumpeted together with great voice, and the Grigori broke into song with one voice, and their voice went up before the Lord pitifully and affectingly.

19.¹ And thence those men took me and bore me up on to the sixth heaven, and there I saw seven bands of angels, very bright and very glorious, and their faces shining more than the sun's shining, glistening, and there is no difference in their faces, or behaviour, or manner of dress; and these make the orders, and learn the goings of the stars, and the alteration of the moon, or revolution of the sun, and the good government of the world.

2 And when they see evil-doing they make commandments and instruction, and sweet and loud singing, and all (songs) of praise.

3 These are the archangels who are above angels, measure all life in heaven and on earth, and the angels who are (appointed) over seasons and years, the angels who are

over rivers and sea, and who are over the fruits of the earth, and the angels who are over every grass, giving food to all, to every living thing, and the angels who write all the souls of men, and all their deeds, and their lives before the Lord's face; in their midst are six Phoenixes and six Cherubim and six six-winged ones continually with one voice singing one voice, and it is not possible to describe their singing, and they rejoice before the Lord at his footstool.

20.1 And those two men lifted me up thence on to the seventh heaven, and I saw there a very great light, and fiery troops of great archangels, incorporeal forces, and dominions, orders and governments, Cherubim and seraphim, thrones and many-eyed ones, nine regiments, the Ioanit stations of light, and I became afraid, and began to tremble with great terror, and those men took me, and led me after them, and said to me:

2 Have courage, Enoch, do not fear, and showed me the Lord from afar, sitting on His very high throne. For what is there on the tenth heaven, since the Lord dwells there?

3 On the tenth heaven is God, in the Hebrew tongue he is called Aravat.

4 And all the heavenly troops would come and stand on the ten steps according to their rank, and would bow down to the Lord, and would again go to their places in joy and felicity, singing songs in the boundless light with small and tender voices, gloriously serving him.

21.1 And the Cherubim and seraphim standing about the throne, the six-winged and many-eyed ones do not depart, standing before the Lord's face doing his will, and cover his whole throne, singing with gentle voice before the Lord's face: Holy, holy, holy, Lord Ruler of Sabaoth, heavens and earth are full of Your glory.

2 When I saw all these things, those men said to me: Enoch, thus far is it commanded us to journey with you, and those men went away from me and thereupon I saw them not.

3 And I remained alone at the end of the seventh heaven and became afraid, and fell on my face and said to myself: Woe is me, what has befallen me?

4 And the Lord sent one of his glorious ones, the archangel Gabriel, and (he) said to me: Have courage, Enoch, do not fear, arise before the Lord's face into eternity, arise, come with me.

5 And I answered him, and said in myself: My Lord, my soul is departed from me, from terror and trembling, and I called to the men who led me up to this place, on them I relied, and (it is) with them I go before the Lord's face.

6 And Gabriel caught me up, as a leaf caught up by the wind, and placed me before the Lord's face.

7 And I saw the eighth heaven, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Muzaloth, changer of the seasons, of drought, and of wet, and of the twelve constellations of the circle of the firmament, which are above the seventh heaven.

8 And I saw the ninth heaven, which is called in Hebrew Kuchavim, where are the heavenly homes of the twelve constellations of the circle of the firmament.

22.1 On the tenth heaven, (which is called) Aravoth, I saw the appearance of the Lord's face, like iron made to glow in fire, and brought out, emitting sparks, and it burns.

2 Thus (in a moment of eternity) I saw the Lord's face, but the Lord's face is ineffable, marvellous and very awful, and very, very terrible.

3 And who am I to tell of the Lord's unspeakable being, and of his very wonderful face? And I cannot tell the quantity of his many instructions, and various voices, the Lord's throne (is) very great and not made with hands, nor the quantity of those standing round him, troops of Cherubim and seraphim, nor their incessant singing, nor his immutable beauty, and who shall tell of the ineffable greatness of his glory.

4 And I fell prone and bowed down to the Lord, and the Lord with his lips said to me:

5 Have courage, Enoch, do not fear, arise and stand before my face into eternity.

6 And the archistrateger Michael lifted me up, and led me to before the Lord's face.

7 And the Lord said to his servants tempting them: Let Enoch stand before my face into eternity, and the glorious ones bowed down to the Lord, and said: Let Enoch go according to Your word.

8 And the Lord said to Michael: Go and take Enoch from out (of) his earthly garments, and anoint him with my sweet ointment, and put him into the garments of My glory.

9 And Michael did thus, as the Lord told him. He anointed me, and dressed me, and the appearance of that ointment is more than the great light, and his ointment is like sweet dew, and its smell mild, shining like the sun's ray, and I looked at myself, and (I) was like (transfigured) one of his glorious ones.

10 And the Lord summoned one of his archangels by name Pravuil, whose knowledge was quicker in wisdom than the other archangels, who wrote all the deeds of the Lord; and the Lord said to Pravuil: Bring out the books from my store-houses, and a reed of quick-writing, and give (it) to Enoch, and deliver to him the choice and comforting books out of your hand.

23.1 And he was telling me all the works of heaven, earth and sea, and all the elements, their passages and goings, and the thunderings of the thunders, the sun and moon, the goings and changes of the stars, the seasons, years, days, and hours, the risings of the wind, the numbers of the angels, and the formation of their songs, and all human things, the tongue of every human song and life, the commandments, instructions, and sweet-voiced singings, and all things that it is fitting to learn.

2 And Pravuil told me: All the things that I have told you, we have written. Sit and write all the souls of mankind, however many of them are born, and the places prepared for them to eternity; for all souls are prepared to eternity, before the formation of the world.

3 And all double thirty days and thirty nights, and I wrote out all things exactly, and wrote three hundred and sixty-six books.

24.1 And the Lord summoned me, and said to me: Enoch, sit down on my left with Gabriel.

2 And I bowed down to the Lord, and the Lord spoke to me: Enoch, beloved, all (that) you see, all things that are standing finished I tell to you even before the very beginning, all that I created from non-being, and visible (physical) things from invisible (spiritual).

3 Hear, Enoch, and take in these my words, for not to My angels have I told my secret, and I have not told them their rise, nor my endless realm, nor have they understood my creating, which I tell you to-day.

4 For before all things were visible (physical), I alone used to go about in the invisible (spiritual) things, like the sun from east to west, and from west to east.

5 But even the sun has peace in itself, while I found no peace, because I was creating all things, and I conceived the thought of

placing foundations, and of creating visible (physical) creation.

25.¹ I commanded in the very lowest (parts), that visible (physical) things should come down from invisible (spiritual), and Adoil came down very great, and I beheld him, and lo! He had a belly of great light.

2 And I said to him: Become undone, Adoil, and let the visible (physical) (come) out of you.

3 And he came undone, and a great light came out. And I (was) in the midst of the great light, and as there is born light from light, there came forth a great age, and showed all creation, which I had thought to create.

4 And I saw that (it was) good.

5 And I placed for myself a throne, and took my seat on it, and said to the light: Go thence up higher and fix yourself high above the throne, and be A foundation to the highest things.

6 And above the light there is nothing else, and then I bent up and looked up from my throne.

26.¹ And I summoned the very lowest a second time, and said: Let Archas come forth hard, and he came forth hard from the invisible (spiritual).

2 And Archas came forth, hard, heavy, and very red.

3 And I said: Be opened, Archas, and let there be born from you, and he came undone, an age came forth, very great and very dark, bearing the creation of all lower things, and I saw that (it was) good and said to him:

4 Go thence down below, and make yourself firm, and be a foundation for the lower things, and it happened and he went down

and fixed himself, and became the foundation for the lower things, and below the darkness there is nothing else.

27.¹ And I commanded that there should be taken from light and darkness, and I said: Be thick, and it became thus, and I spread it out with the light, and it became water, and I spread it out over the darkness, below the light, and then I made firm the waters, that is to say the bottomless, and I made foundation of light around the water, and created seven circles from inside, and imaged (the water) like crystal wet and dry, that is to say like glass, (and) the circumcession of the waters and the other elements, and I showed each one of them its road, and the seven stars each one of them in its heaven, that they go thus, and I saw that it was good.

2 And I separated between light and between darkness, that is to say in the midst of the water hither and thither, and I said to the light, that it should be the day, and to the darkness, that it should be the night, and there was evening and there was morning the first day.

28.¹ And then I made firm the heavenly circle, and (made) that the lower water which is under heaven collect itself together, into one whole, and that the chaos become dry, and it became so.

2 Out of the waves I created rock hard and big, and from the rock I piled up the dry, and the dry I called earth, and the midst of the earth I called abyss, that is to say the bottomless, I collected the sea in one place and bound it together with a yoke.

3 And I said to the sea: Behold I give you (your) eternal limits, and you shalt not break loose from your component parts.

4 Thus I made fast the firmament. This day I called me the first-created [Sunday].

29.¹ And for all the heavenly troops I imaged the image and essence of fire, and my eye looked at the very hard, firm rock, and from the gleam of my eye the lightning received its wonderful nature, (which) is both fire in water and water in fire, and one does not put out the other, nor does the one dry up the other, therefore the lightning is brighter than the sun, softer than water and firmer than hard rock.

2 And from the rock I cut off a great fire, and from the fire I created the orders of the incorporeal ten troops of angels, and their weapons are fiery and their raiment a burning flame, and I commanded that each one should stand in his order.

3 And one from out the order of angels, having turned away with the order that was under him, conceived an impossible thought, to place his throne higher than the clouds above the earth, that he might become equal in rank to my power.

4 And I threw him out from the height with his angels, and he was flying in the air continuously above the bottomless.

30.¹ On the third day I commanded the earth to make grow great and fruitful trees, and hills, and seed to sow, and I planted Paradise, and enclosed it, and placed as armed (guardians) flaming angels, and thus I created renewal.

2 Then came evening, and came morning the fourth day.

3 [Wednesday]. On the fourth day I commanded that there should be great lights on the heavenly circles.

4 On the first uppermost circle I placed the stars, Kruno, and on the second Aphrodit, on the third Aris, on the fifth Zoues, on the sixth Ermis, on the seventh lesser the moon, and adorned it with the lesser stars.

5 And on the lower I placed the sun for the illumination of day, and the moon and stars for the illumination of night.

6 The sun that it should go according to each constellation, twelve, and I appointed the succession of the months and their names and lives, their thunderings, and their hour-markings, how they should succeed.

7 Then evening came and morning came the fifth day.

8 [Thursday]. On the fifth day I commanded the sea, that it should bring forth fishes, and feathered birds of many varieties, and all animals creeping over the earth, going forth over the earth on four legs, and soaring in the air, male sex and female, and every soul breathing the spirit of life.

9 And there came evening, and there came morning the sixth day.

10 [Friday]. On the sixth day I commanded my wisdom to create man from seven consistencies: one, his flesh from the earth; two, his blood from the dew; three, his eyes from the sun; four, his bones from stone; five, his intelligence from the swiftness of the angels and from cloud; six, his veins and his hair from the grass of the earth; seven, his soul from my breath and from the wind.

11 And I gave him seven natures: to the flesh hearing, the eyes for sight, to the soul smell, the veins for touch, the blood for taste, the bones for endurance, to the intelligence sweetness [enjoyment].

12 I conceived a cunning saying to say, I created man from invisible (spiritual) and from visible (physical) nature, of both are his death and life and image, he knows speech like some created thing, small in greatness and again great in smallness, and I placed him on earth, a second angel, honourable, great and glorious, and I appointed him as ruler to rule on earth and to have my wisdom, and there was none like him of earth of all my existing creatures.

13 And I appointed him a name, from the four component parts, from east, from west, from south, from north, and I appointed for him four special stars, and I called his name Adam, and showed him the two ways, the light and the darkness, and I told him:

14 This is good, and that bad, that I should learn whether he has love towards me, or hatred, that it be clear which in his race love me.

15 For I have seen his nature, but he has not seen his own nature, therefore (through) not seeing he will sin worse, and I said After sin (what is there) but death?

16 And I put sleep into him and he fell asleep. And I took from him A rib, and created him a wife, that death should come to him by his wife, and I took his last word and called her name mother, that is to say, Eva (Eve).

31.¹ Adam has life on earth, and I created a garden in Eden in the east, that he should observe the testament and keep the command.

2 I made the heavens open to him, that he should see the angels singing the song of victory, and the gloomless light.

3 And he was continuously in paradise, and the devil understood that I wanted to create another world, because Adam was lord on earth, to rule and control it.

4 The devil is the evil spirit of the lower places, as a fugitive he made Sotona from the heavens as his name was Satanail (Satan), thus he became different from the angels, (but his nature) did not change (his) intelligence as far as (his) understanding of righteous and sinful (things).

5 And he understood his condemnation and the sin which he had sinned before, therefore he conceived thought against Adam, in such form he entered and seduced Eva (Eve), but did not touch Adam.

6 But I cursed ignorance, but what I had blessed previously, those I did not curse, I cursed not man, nor the earth, nor other creatures, but man's evil fruit, and his works.

32.¹ I said to him: Earth you are, and into the earth whence I took you you shalt go, and I will not ruin you, but send you whence I took you.

2 Then I can again receive you at My second presence.

3 And I blessed all my creatures visible (physical) and invisible (spiritual). And Adam was five and half hours in paradise.

4 And I blessed the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, on which he rested from all his works.

33.¹ And I appointed the eighth day also, that the eighth day should be the first-created after my work, and that (the first seven) revolve in the form of the seventh thousand, and that at the beginning of the eighth thousand there should be a time of not-counting, endless, with neither years nor months nor weeks nor days nor hours.

2 And now, Enoch, all that I have told you, all that you have understood, all that you have seen of heavenly things, all that you have seen on earth, and all that I have written in books by my great wisdom, all these things I have devised and created from the uppermost foundation to the lower and to the end, and there is no counsellor nor inheritor to my creations.

3 I am self-eternal, not made with hands, and without change.

4 My thought is my counsellor, my wisdom and my word are made, and my eyes observe all things how they stand here and tremble with terror.

5 If I turn away my face, then all things will be destroyed.

6 And apply your mind, Enoch, and know him who is speaking to you, and take thence the books which you yourself have written.

7 And I give you Samuil and Raguil, who led you up, and the books, and go down to earth, and tell your sons all that I have told you, and all that you have seen, from the lower heaven up to my throne, and all the troops.

8 For I created all forces, and there is none that resists me or that does not subject himself to me. For all subject themselves to my monarchy, and labour for my sole rule.

9 Give them the books of the handwriting, and they will read (them) and will know me for the creator of all things, and will understand how there is no other God but me.

10 And let them distribute the books of your handwriting—children to children, generation to generation, nations to nations.

11 And I will give you, Enoch, my intercessor, the archistrateger Michael, for the handwritings of your fathers Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahaleleel, and Jared your father.

34.1 They have rejected my commandments and my yoke, worthless seed has come up, not fearing God, and they would not bow down to me, but have begun to bow down to vain gods, and denied my unity, and have laden the whole earth with untruths, offences, abominable lecheries, namely one with another, and all manner of other unclean wickedness, which are disgusting to relate.

2 And therefore I will bring down a deluge upon the earth and will destroy all men, and the whole earth will crumble together into great darkness.

35.1 Behold from their seed shall arise another generation, much afterwards, but of them many will be very insatiate.

2 He who raises that generation, (shall) reveal to them the books of your handwriting, of your fathers, (to them) to whom he must point out the guardianship of the world, to the faithful men and workers of my pleasure, who do not acknowledge my name in vain.

3 And they shall tell another generation, and those (others) having read shall be glorified thereafter, more than the first.

36.1 Now, Enoch, I give you the term of thirty days to spend in your house, and tell your sons and all your household, that all may hear from my face what is told them by you, that they may read and understand, how there is no other God but me.

2 And that they may always keep my commandments, and begin to read and take in the books of your handwriting.

3 And after thirty days I shall send my angel for you, and he will take you from earth and from your sons to me.

37.1 And the Lord called upon one of the older angels, terrible and menacing, and placed him by me, in appearance white as snow, and his hands like ice, having the appearance of great frost, and he froze my face, because I could not endure the terror of the Lord, just as it is not possible to endure A stove's fire and the sun's heat, and the frost of the air.

2 And the Lord said to me: Enoch, if your face be not frozen here, no man will be able to behold your face.

38.1 And the Lord said to those men who first led me up: Let Enoch go down on to

earth with you, and await him till the determined day.

2 And they placed me by night on my bed.

3 And Mathusal (Methuselah) expecting my coming, keeping watch by day and by night at my bed, was filled with awe when he heard my coming, and I told him, Let all my household come together, that I tell them everything.

39.1 Oh my children, my beloved ones, hear the admonition of your father, as much as is according to the Lord's will.

2 I have been let come to you to-day, and announce to you, not from my lips, but from the Lord's lips, all that is and was and all that is now, and all that will be till judgment-day.

3 For the Lord has let me come to you, you hear therefore the words of my lips, of a man made big for you, but I am one who has seen the Lord's face, like iron made to glow from fire it sends forth sparks and burns.

4 You look now upon my eyes, (the eyes) of a man big with meaning for you, but I have seen the Lord's eyes, shining like the sun's rays and filling the eyes of man with awe.

5 You see now, my children, the right hand of a man that helps you, but I have seen the Lord's right hand filling heaven as he helped me.

6 You see the compass of my work like your own, but I have seen the Lord's limitless and perfect compass, which has no end.

7 You hear the words of my lips, as I heard the words of the Lord, like great thunder incessantly with hurling of clouds.

8 And now, my children, hear the discourses of the father of the earth, how fearful and awful it is to come before the face of the ruler of the earth, how much more terrible and awful it is to come before the face of the

ruler of heaven, the controller (judge) of quick and dead, and of the heavenly troops. Who can endure that endless pain?

40.1 And now, my children, I know all things, for this (is) from the Lord's lips, and this my eyes have seen, from beginning to end.

2 I know all things, and have written all things into books, the heavens and their end, and their plenitude, and all the armies and their marchings.

3 I have measured and described the stars, the great countless multitude (of them).

4 What man has seen their revolutions, and their entrances? For not even the angels see their number, while I have written all their names.

5 And I measured the sun's circle, and measured its rays, counted the hours, I wrote down too all things that go over the earth, I have written the things that are nourished, and all seed sown and unsown, which the earth produces and all plants, and every grass and every flower, and their sweet smells, and their names, and the dwelling-places of the clouds, and their composition, and their wings, and how they bear rain and raindrops.

6 And I investigated all things, and wrote the road of the thunder and of the lightning, and they showed me the keys and their guardians, their rise, the way they go; it is let out (gently) in measure by a chain, lest by A heavy chain and violence it hurl down the angry clouds and destroy all things on earth.

7 I wrote the treasure-houses of the snow, and the store-houses of the cold and the frosty airs, and I observed their season's key-holder, he fills the clouds with them, and does not exhaust the treasure-houses.

8 And I wrote the resting-places of the winds and observed and saw how their key-

holders bear weighing-scales and measures; first, they put them in (one) weighing-scale, then in the other the weights and let them out according to measure cunningly over the whole earth, lest by heavy breathing they make the earth to rock.

9 And I measured out the whole earth, its mountains, and all hills, fields, trees, stones, rivers, all existing things I wrote down, the height from earth to the seventh heaven, and downwards to the very lowest hell, and the judgment-place, and the very great, open and weeping hell.

10 And I saw how the prisoners are in pain, expecting the limitless judgment.

11 And I wrote down all those being judged by the judge, and all their judgment (and sentences) and all their works.

41.1 And I saw all forefathers from (all) time with Adam and Eva (Eve), and I sighed and broke into tears and said of the ruin of their dishonour:

2 Woe is me for my infirmity and (for that) of my forefathers, and thought in my heart and said:

3 Blessed (is) the man who has not been born or who has been born and shall not sin before the Lord's face, that he come not into this place, nor bring the yoke of this place.

42.1 I saw the key-holders and guards of the gates of hell standing, like great serpents, and their faces like extinguishing lamps, and their eyes of fire, their sharp teeth, and I saw all the Lord's works, how they are right, while the works of man are some (good), and others bad, and in their works are known those who lie evilly.

43.1 I, my children, measured and wrote out every work and every measure and every righteous judgment.

2 As (one) year is more honourable than another, so is (one) man more honourable than another, some for great possessions, some for wisdom of heart, some for particular intellect, some for cunning, one for silence of lip, another for cleanliness, one for strength, another for comeliness, one for youth, another for sharp wit, one for shape of body, another for sensibility, let it be heard everywhere, but there is none better than he who fears God, he shall be more glorious in time to come.

44.1 The Lord with his hands having created man, in the likeness of his own face, the Lord made him small and great.

2 Whoever reviles the ruler's face, and abhors the Lord's face, has despised the Lord's face, and he who vents anger on any man without injury, the Lord's great anger will cut him down, he who spits on the face of man reproachfully, will be cut down at the Lord's great judgment.

3 Blessed is the man who does not direct his heart with malice against any man, and helps the injured and condemned, and raises the broken down, and shall do charity to the needy, because on the day of the great judgment every weight, every measure and every makeweight (will be) as in the market, that is to say (they are) hung on scales and stand in the market, (and every one) shall learn his own measure, and according to his measure shall take his reward.

45.1 Whoever hastens to make offerings before the Lord's face, the Lord for his part will hasten that offering by granting of his work.

2 But whoever increases his lamp before the Lord's face and make not true judgment, the

Lord will (not) increase his treasure in the realm of the highest.

3 When the Lord demands bread, or candles, or (the)flesh (of beasts), or any other sacrifice, then that is nothing; but God demands pure hearts, and with all that (only) tests the heart of man.

46.1 Hear, my people, and take in the words of my lips.

2 If any one bring any gifts to an earthly ruler, and have disloyal thoughts in his heart, and the ruler know this, will he not be angry with him, and not refuse his gifts, and not give him over to judgment?

3 Or (if) one man make himself appear good to another by deceit of tongue, but (have) evil in his heart, then will not (the other) understand the treachery of his heart, and himself be condemned, since his untruth was plain to all?

4 And when the Lord shall send a great light, then there will be judgment for the just and the unjust, and there no one shall escape notice.

47.1 And now, my children, lay thought on your hearts, mark well the words of your father, which are all (come) to you from the Lord's lips.

2 Take these books of your father's handwriting and read them.

3 For the books are many, and in them you will learn all the Lord's works, all that has been from the beginning of creation, and will be till the end of time.

4 And if you will observe my handwriting, you will not sin against the Lord; because there is no other except the Lord, neither in heaven, nor in earth, nor in the very lowest (places), nor in the (one) foundation.

5 The Lord has placed the foundations in the unknown, and has spread forth heavens visible (physical) and invisible (spiritual); he fixed the earth on the waters, and created countless creatures, and who has counted the water and the foundation of the unfixed, or the dust of the earth, or the sand of the sea, or the drops of the rain, or the morning dew, or the wind's breathings? Who has filled earth and sea, and the indissoluble winter?

6 I cut the stars out of fire, and decorated heaven, and put it in their midst.

48.1 That the sun go along the seven heavenly circles, which are the appointment of one hundred and eighty-two thrones, that it go down on a short day, and again one hundred and eighty-two, that it go down on a big day, and he has two thrones on which he rests, revolving hither and thither above the thrones of the months, from the seventeenth day of the month Tsivan it goes down to the month Thevan, from the seventeenth of Thevan it goes up.

2 And thus it goes close to the earth, then the earth is glad and makes grow its fruits, and when it goes away, then the earth is sad, and trees and all fruits have no florescence.

3 All this he measured, with good measurement of hours, and fixed A measure by his wisdom, of the visible (physical) and the invisible (spiritual).

4 From the invisible (spiritual) he made all things visible (physical), himself being invisible (spiritual).

5 Thus I make known to you, my children, and distribute the books to your children, into all your generations, and amongst the nations who shall have the sense to fear God, let them receive them, and may they come to love them more than any food or earthly sweets, and read them and apply themselves to them.

6 And those who understand not the Lord, who fear not God, who accept not, but

reject, who do not receive the (books), a terrible judgment awaits these.

7 Blessed is the man who shall bear their yoke and shall drag them along, for he shall be released on the day of the great judgment.

49.¹ I swear to you, my children, but I swear not by any oath, neither by heaven nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God created.

2 The Lord said: There is no oath in me, nor injustice, but truth.

3 If there is no truth in men, let them swear by the words, Yea, yea, or else, Nay, nay.

4 And I swear to you, yea, yea, that there has been no man in his mother's womb, (but that) already before, even to each one there is a place prepared for the repose of that soul, and a measure fixed how much it is intended that a man be tried in this world.

5 Yea, children, deceive not yourselves, for there has been previously prepared a place for every soul of man.

50.¹ I have put every man's work in writing and none born on earth can remain hidden nor his works remain concealed.

2 I see all things.

3 Now therefore, my children, in patience and meekness spend the number of your days, that you inherit endless life.

4 Endure for the sake of the Lord every wound, every injury, every evil word and attack.

5 If ill-requitals befall you, return (them) not either to neighbour or enemy, because the Lord will return (them) for you and be your avenger on the day of great judgment, that there be no avenging here among men.

6 Whoever of you spends gold or silver for his brother's sake, he will receive ample treasure in the world to come.

7 Injure not widows nor orphans nor strangers, lest God's wrath come upon you.

51.¹ Stretch out your hands to the poor according to your strength.

2 Hide not your silver in the earth.

3 Help the faithful man in affliction, and affliction will not find you in the time of your trouble.

4 And every grievous and cruel yoke that come upon you bear all for the sake of the Lord, and thus you will find your reward in the day of judgment.

5 It is good to go morning, midday, and evening into the Lord's dwelling, for the glory of your creator.

6 Because every breathing (thing) glorifies him, and every creature visible (physical) and invisible (spiritual) returns him praise.

52.¹ Blessed is the man who opens his lips in praise of God of Sabaoth and praises the Lord with his heart.

2 Cursed every man who opens his lips for the bringing into contempt and calumny of his neighbour, because he brings God into contempt.

3 Blessed is he who opens his lips blessing and praising God.

4 Cursed is he before the Lord all the days of his life, who opens his lips to curse and abuse.

5 Blessed is he who blesses all the Lord's works.

6 Cursed is he who brings the Lord's creation into contempt.

7 Blessed is he who looks down and raises the fallen.

8 Cursed is he who looks to and is eager for the destruction of what is not his.

9 Blessed is he who keeps the foundations of his fathers made firm from the beginning.

10 Cursed is he who perverts the decrees of his forefathers.

11 Blessed is he who imparts peace and love.

12 Cursed is he who disturbs those that love their neighbours.

13 Blessed is he who speaks with humble tongue and heart to all.

14 Cursed is he who speaks peace with his tongue, while in his heart there is no peace but a sword.

15 For all these things will be laid bare in the weighing-scales and in the books, on the day of the great judgment.

53.¹ And now, my children, do not say: Our father is standing before God, and is praying for our sins, for there is there no helper of any man who has sinned.

2 You see how I wrote all works of every man, before his creation, (all) that is done amongst all men for all time, and none can tell or relate my handwriting, because the Lord see all imaginings of man, how they are vain, where they lie in the treasure-houses of the heart.

3 And now, my children, mark well all the words of your father, that I tell you, lest you regret, saying: Why did our father not tell us?

54.¹ At that time, not understanding this let these books which I have given you be for an inheritance of your peace.

2 Hand them to all who want them, and instruct them, that they may see the Lord's very great and marvellous works.

55.¹ My children, behold, the day of my term and time have approached.

2 For the angels who shall go with me are standing before me and urge me to my departure from you; they are standing here on earth, awaiting what has been told them.

3 For to-morrow I shall go up on to heaven, to the uppermost Jerusalem to my eternal inheritance.

4 Therefore I bid you do before the Lord's face all (his) good pleasure.

56.¹ Mathosalam having answered his father Enoch, said: What is agreeable to your eyes, father, that I may make before your face, that you may bless our dwellings, and your sons, and that your people may be made glorious through you, and then (that) you may depart thus, as the Lord said?

2 Enoch answered to his son Mathosalam (and) said: Hear, child, from the time when the Lord anointed me with the ointment of his glory, (there has been no) food in me, and my soul remembers not earthly enjoyment, neither do I want anything earthly.

57.¹ My child Methosalam, summon all your brethren and all your household and the elders of the people, that I may talk to them and depart, as is planned for me.

2 And Methosalam made haste, and summoned his brethren, Regim, Riman, Uchan, Chermion, Gaidad, and all the elders

of the people before the face of his father Enoch; and he blessed them, (and) said to them:

58.1 Listen to me, my children, to-day.

2 In those days when the Lord came down on to earth for Adam's sake, and visited all his creatures, which he created himself, after all these he created Adam, and the Lord called all the beasts of the earth, all the reptiles, and all the birds that soar in the air, and brought them all before the face of our father Adam.

3 And Adam gave the names to all things living on earth.

4 And the Lord appointed him ruler over all, and subjected to him all things under his hands, and made them dumb and made them dull that they be commanded of man, and be in subjection and obedience to him.

5 Thus also the Lord created every man lord over all his possessions.

6 The Lord will not judge a single soul of beast for man's sake, but adjudges the souls of men to their beasts in this world; for men have a special place.

7 And as every soul of man is according to number, similarly beasts will not perish, nor all souls of beasts which the Lord created, till the great judgment, and they will accuse man, if he feed them ill.

59.1 Whoever defiles the soul of beasts, defiles his own soul.

2 For man brings clean animals to make sacrifice for sin, that he may have cure of his soul.

3 And if they bring for sacrifice clean animals, and birds, man has cure, he cures his soul.

4 All is given you for food, bind it by the four feet, that is to make good the cure, he cures his soul.

5 But whoever kills beast without wounds, kills his own souls and defiles his own flesh.

6 And he who does any beast any injury whatsoever, in secret, it is evil practice, and he defiles his own soul.

60.1 He who works the killing of a man's soul, kills his own soul, and kills his own body, and there is no cure for him for all time.

2 He who puts a man in any snare, shall stick in it himself, and there is no cure for him for all time.

3 He who puts a man in any vessel, his retribution will not be wanting at the great judgment for all time.

4 He who works crookedly or speaks evil against any soul, will not make justice for himself for all time.

61.1 And now, my children, keep your hearts from every injustice, which the Lord hates. Just as a man asks something for his own soul from God, so let him do to every living soul, because I know all things, how in the great time to come there is much inheritance prepared for men, good for the good, and bad for the bad, without number many.

2 Blessed are those who enter the good houses, for in the bad houses there is no peace nor return from them.

3 Hear, my children, small and great! When man puts a good thought in his heart, brings gifts from his labours before the Lord's face and his hands made them not, then the Lord will turn away his face from the labour of his hand, and (that) man cannot find the labour of his hands.

4 And if his hands made it, but his heart murmur, and his heart cease not making murmur incessantly, he has not any advantage.

62.¹ Blessed is the man who in his patience brings his gifts with faith before the Lord's face, because he will find forgiveness of sins.

2 But if he take back his words before the time, there is no repentance for him; and if the time pass and he do not of his own will what is promised, there is no repentance after death.

3 Because every work which man does before the time, is all deceit before men, and sin before God.

63.¹ When man clothes the naked and fills the hungry, he will find reward from God.

2 But if his heart murmur, he commits a double evil; ruin of himself and of that which he gives; and for him there will be no finding of reward on account of that.

3 And if his own heart is filled with his food and his own flesh, clothed with his own clothing, he commits contempt, and will forfeit all his endurance of poverty, and will not find reward of his good deeds.

4 Every proud and magniloquent man is hateful to the Lord, and every false speech, clothed in untruth; it will be cut with the blade of the sword of death, and thrown into the fire, and shall burn for all time.

64.¹ When Enoch had spoken these words to his sons, all people far and near heard how the Lord was calling Enoch. They took counsel together:

2 Let us go and kiss Enoch, and two thousand men came together and came to

the place Achuzan where Enoch was, and his sons.

3 And the elders of the people, the whole assembly, came and bowed down and began to kiss Enoch and said to him:

4 Our father Enoch, (may) you (be) blessed of the Lord, the eternal ruler, and now bless your sons and all the people, that we may be glorified to-day before your face.

5 For you shalt be glorified before the Lord's face for all time, since the Lord chose you, rather than all men on earth, and designated you writer of all his creation, visible (physical) and invisible (spiritual), and redeemed of the sins of man, and helper of your household.

65.¹ And Enoch answered all his people saying: Hear, my children, before that all creatures were created, the Lord created the visible (physical) and invisible (spiritual) things.

2 And as much time as there was and went past, understand that after all that he created man in the likeness of his own form, and put into him eyes to see, and ears to hear, and heart to reflect, and intellect wherewith to deliberate.

3 And the Lord saw all man's works, and created all his creatures, and divided time, from time he fixed the years, and from the years he appointed the months, and from the months he appointed the days, and of days he appointed seven.

4 And in those he appointed the hours, measured them out exactly, that man might reflect on time and count years, months, and hours, (their) alternation, beginning, and end, and that he might count his own life, from the beginning until death, and reflect on his sin and write his work bad and good; because no work is hidden before the Lord, that every man might know his works and never transgress all his commandments, and

keep my handwriting from generation to generation.

5 When all creation visible (physical) and invisible (spiritual), as the Lord created it, shall end, then every man goes to the great judgment, and then all time shall perish, and the years, and thenceforward there will be neither months nor days nor hours, they will be adhered together and will not be counted.

6 There will be one aeon, and all the righteous who shall escape the Lord's great judgment, shall be collected in the great aeon, for the righteous the great aeon will begin, and they will live eternally, and then too there will be amongst them neither labour, nor sickness, nor humiliation, nor anxiety, nor need, nor brutality, nor night, nor darkness, but great light.

7 And they shall have a great indestructible wall, and a paradise bright and incorruptible (eternal), for all corruptible (mortal) things shall pass away, and there will be eternal life.

66.¹ And now, my children, keep your souls from all injustice, such as the Lord hates.

2 Walk before his face with terror and trembling and serve him alone.

3 Bow down to the true God, not to dumb idols, but bow down to his similitude, and bring all just offerings before the Lord's face. The Lord hates what is unjust.

4 For the Lord sees all things; when man takes thought in his heart, then he counsels the intellects, and every thought is always before the Lord, who made firm the earth and put all creatures on it.

5 If you look to heaven, the Lord is there; if you take thought of the sea's deep and all the under-earth, the Lord is there.

6 For the Lord created all things. Bow not down to things made by man, leaving the

Lord of all creation, because no work can remain hidden before the Lord's face.

7 Walk, my children, in long-suffering, in meekness, honesty, in provocation, in grief, in faith and in truth, in (reliance on) promises, in illness, in abuse, in wounds, in temptation, in nakedness, in privation, loving one another, till you go out from this age of ills, that you become inheritors of endless time.

8 Blessed are the just who shall escape the great judgment, for they shall shine forth more than the sun sevenfold, for in this world the seventh part is taken off from all, light, darkness, food, enjoyment, sorrow, paradise, torture, fire, frost, and other things; he put all down in writing, that you might read and understand.

67.¹ When Enoch had talked to the people, the Lord sent out darkness on to the earth, and there was darkness, and it covered those men standing with Enoch, and they took Enoch up on to the highest heaven, where the Lord (is); and he received him and placed him before his face, and the darkness went off from the earth, and light came again.

2 And the people saw and understood not how Enoch had been taken, and glorified God, and found a roll in which was traced The Invisible (spiritual) God; and all went to their dwelling places.

68.¹ Enoch was born on the sixth day of the month Tsivan, and lived three hundred and sixty-five years.

2 He was taken up to heaven on the first day of the month Tsivan and remained in heaven sixty days.

3 He wrote all these signs of all creation, which the Lord created, and wrote three hundred and sixty-six books, and handed them over to his sons and remained on earth thirty days, and was again taken up to

heaven on the sixth day of the month Tsivan, on the very day and hour when he was born.

4 As every man's nature in this life is dark, so are also his conception, birth, and departure from this life.

5 At what hour he was conceived, at that hour he was born, and at that hour too he died.

6 Methosalam and his brethren, all the sons of Enoch, made haste, and erected an altar at that place called Achuzan, whence and where Enoch had been taken up to heaven.

7 And they took sacrificial oxen and summoned all people and sacrificed the sacrifice before the Lord's face.

8 All people, the elders of the people and the whole assembly came to the feast and brought gifts to the sons of Enoch.

9 And they made a great feast, rejoicing and making merry three days, praising God, who had given them such a sign through Enoch, who had found favour with him, and that they should hand it on to their sons from generation to generation, from age to age.

10 Amen.

INTRODUCTION

ENOCK 3

3 Enoch is an Old Testament Apocryphal book. 3 Enoch purports to have been written in the second century CE, but its origins can only be traced to the fifth century.[1] Other names for 3 Enoch include "The Third Book of Enoch", "The Book of the Palaces", "The Book of Rabbi Ishmael the High Priest" and "The Revelation of Metatron".

Content

Modern scholars describe this book as pseudepigraphal, as it says it is written by Rabbi Ishmael who became a 'high priest' after visions of ascension to Heaven, 90 AD - 135 AD.[1] Rabbi Ishmael is a leading figure of Merkabah literature.

The name Sefer Hekhalot (Hekhalot meaning Palaces/Temples), along with its proposed author, places this book as a member of Hekhalot/Merkabah lore. Its contents suggest that 3 Enoch's contents and ideas are newer than those shown in other Merkabah texts.[4] The book does not contain Merkabah hymns,[5] it has unique layout[6] and adjuration.[7] All these facts make 3 Enoch unique not just among Merkabah writings, but also within the writings of Enoch.

3 Enoch contains a number of Greek and Latin words. This book, unlike 1 Enoch, appears to have been originally written in Hebrew. There are a number of indications suggesting that the writers of 3 Enoch had knowledge of, and most likely read, 1 Enoch.

Some points that appear in Enoch 1 and Enoch 3 are:

Enoch ascends to Heaven in a storm chariot (3 Enoch 6:1; 7:1)

Enoch is transformed into an angel (3 Enoch 9:1-5; 15:1-2)

Enoch as an exalted angel is enthroned in Heaven (3 Enoch 10:1-3; 16:1)

Enoch receives a revelation of cosmological secrets of creation (3 Enoch 13:1-2)

The story about precious metals and how they will not avail their users and those that make idols from them (3 Enoch 5:7-14)

One of the characters is a hostile angel named Azaz'el/Aza'el (3 Enoch 4:6; 5:9)

The main themes running through 3 Enoch are the ascension of Enoch into Heaven and his transformation into the angel Metatron.

ENOCH 3

THE BOOK OF ENOCH

BY R. ISHMAEL BEN ELISHA
THE HIGH PRIEST

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
HUGO ODEBERG

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION :

**R. Ishmael ascends to heaven to
behold the vision of the Merkaba
and
is given in charge to Metatron**

**AND ENOCH WALKED WITH GOD :
AND HE WAS NOT ; FOR GOD TOOK
HIM (Gen. v. 24)**

Rabbi Ishmael said :

(1) When I ascended on high to behold the vision of the Merkaba and had entered the six Halls, one within the other:

(2) as soon as I reached the door of the seventh Hall I stood still in prayer before the Holy One, blessed be He, and, lifting up my eyes on high (i.e. towards the Divine Majesty), I said :

(3) " Lord of the Universe, I pray thee, that the merit of Aaron, the son of Amram, the lover of peace

and pursuer of peace, who received the crown of priesthood from Thy Glory on the mount of Sinai, be valid for me in this hour, so that Qafsiel*, the prince, and the angels with him may not get power over me nor throw me down from the heavens ".

(4) Forthwith the Holy One, blessed be He, sent to me Metatron, his Servant ('Ebed) the angel, the Prince of the Presence, and he, spreading his wings, with great joy came to meet me so as to save me from their hand.

(5) And he took me by his hand in their sight, saying to me: "Enter in peace before the high and exalted King³ and behold the picture of the Merkaba".

(6) Then I entered the seventh Hall, and he led me to the camp(s) of Shekina and placed me before the Holy One, blessed be He, to behold the Merkaba.

(7) As soon as the princes of the Merkaba and the flaming Seraphim perceived me, they fixed their eyes upon me. Instantly trembling and shuddering seized me and I fell down and was benumbed by the radiant image of their eyes and the splendid appearance of their faces; until the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked them, saying:

(8) "My servants, my Seraphim, my Kerubim and my 'Ophannim! Cover ye your eyes before Ishmael, my son, my friend, my beloved one and my glory, that he tremble not nor shudder !"

(9) Forthwith Metatron the Prince of the Presence, came and restored my spirit and put me upon my feet.

(10) After that (moment) there was not in me strength enough to say a song before the Throne of Glory of the glorious King, the mightiest of all kings, the most excellent of all princes, until after the hour had passed.

(11) After one hour (had passed) the Holy One, blessed be He, opened to me the gates of Shekina, the gates of Peace, the gates of Wisdom, the gates of Strength, the gates of Power, the gates of Speech (Dibbur), the gates of Song, the gates of Qedushsha, the gates of Chant.

(12) And he enlightened my eyes and my heart by words of psalm, song, praise, exaltation, thanksgiving, extolment, glorification, hymn and eulogy. And as I opened my mouth, uttering a song before the Holy One, blessed be He, the Holy Chayyoth beneath and above the Throne of Glory answered and said : "HOLY " and "BLESSED BE THE GLORY OF YHWH FROM HIS PLACE !" (i.e. chanted the Qedushsha).

CHAPTER II

The highest classes of angels make inquiries about R. Ishmael which are answered by Metatron

R. Ishmael said:

(1) In that hour the eagles of the Merkaba, the flaming 'Ophannim and the Seraphim of consuming fire asked Metatron, saying to him:

(2) "Youth ! Why sufferest thou one born of woman to enter and behold the Merkaba? From which nation, from which tribe is this one? What is his character?"

(3) Metatron answered and said to them : "From the nation of Israel whom the Holy One, blessed be He, chose for his people from among seventy tongues (nations), from the tribe of Levi, whom he set aside as a contribution to his name and from the seed of Aaron whom the Holy One, blessed be He, did choose for his servant and put upon him the crown of priesthood on Sinai".

(4) Forthwith they spake and said : "Indeed, this one is worthy to behold the Merkaba ". And they said: "Happy is the people that is in such a case!".

CHAPTER III

Metatron has 70 names, but God calls him 'Youth'

R. Ishmael said:

(1) In that hour I asked Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence: "What is thy name?"

(2) He answered me: "I have seventy names, corresponding to the seventy tongues of the world and all of them are based upon the name Metatron, angel of the Presence; but my King calls me 'Youth' (Na'ar)"

CHAPTER IV

Metatron is identical with Enoch who was translated to heaven at the time of the Deluge

R. Ishmael said :

(1) I asked Metatron and said to him: "Why art thou called by the name of thy Creator, by seventy names? Thou art greater than all the princes, higher than all the angels, beloved more than all the

servants, honoured above all the mighty ones in kingship, greatness and glory : why do they call thee ' Youth ' in the high heavens ?"

(2) He answered and said to me: " Because I am Enoch, the son of Jared.

(3) For when the generation of the flood sinned and were confounded in their deeds, saying unto God: 'Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways' (Job xxi. 14), then the Holy One, blessed be He, removed me from their midst to be a witness against them in the high heavens to all the inhabitants of the world, that they may not say: 'The Merciful One is cruel'".

(4) What sinned all those multitudes, their wives, their sons and their, daughters, their horses, their mules and their cattle and their property, and all the birds of the world, all of which the Holy One, blessed be He, destroyed from the world together with them in the waters of the flood?

(5) Hence the Holy One, blessed be He, lifted me up in their lifetime before their eyes to be a witness against them to the future world. And the Holy One, blessed be He, assigned me for a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels.

(6) In that hour three of the ministering angels, 'UZZA, 'AZZA and 'AZZAEL came forth and brought charges against me in the high heavens, saying before the Holy One, blessed be He:

"Said not the Ancient Ones (First Ones) rightly before Thee: < Do not create man! ' ' ' The Holy One, blessed be He, answered and said unto them: "I have made and I will bear, yea, I will carry and will deliver". (Is. xlv. 4.)

(7) As soon as they saw me, they said before Him: "Lord of the Universe ! What is this one that he should ascend to the height of heights? Is not he one from among the sons of [the sons of] those

who perished in the days of the Flood? "What doeth he in the Raqia?"

(8) Again, the Holy One, blessed be He, answered and said to them: "What are ye, that ye enter and speak in my presence? I delight in this one more than in all of you, and hence he shall be a prince and a ruler over you in the high heavens."

(9) Forthwith all stood up and went out to meet me, prostrated themselves before me and said: "Happy art thou and happy is thy father for thy Creator doth favour thee".

(10) And because I am small and a youth among them in days, months and years, therefore they call me "Youth" (Na'ar).

CHAPTER V

The idolatry of the generation of Enosh causes God to remove the Shekina from earth. The idolatry inspired by 'Azza, 'Uzza and 'Azziel

R.Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) From the day when the Holy One, blessed be He, expelled the first Adam from the Garden of Eden (and onwards), Shekina was dwelling upon a Kerub under the Tree of Life.

(2) And the ministering angels were gathering together and going down from heaven in parties, from the Raqia in companies and from the heavens in camps to do His will in the whole world.

(3) And the first man and his generation were sitting outside the gate of the Garden to behold the radiant appearance of the Shekina.

(4) For the splendour of the Shekina traversed the world from one end to the other (with a splendour) 365,000 times (that) of the globe of the sun. And everyone who made use of the splendour of the Shekina, on him no flies and no gnats did rest, neither was he ill nor suffered he any pain. No demons got power over him, neither were they able to injure him.

(5) When the Holy One, blessed be He, went out and went in: from the Garden to Eden, from Eden to the Garden, from the Garden to Raqia and from Raqia to the Garden of Eden then all and everyone beheld the splendour of His Shekina and they were not injured;

(6) until the time of the generation of Enosh who was the head of all idol worshippers of the world. (7) And what did the generation of Enosh do? They went from one end of the world to the other, and each one brought silver, gold, precious stones and pearls in heaps like unto mountains and hills making idols out of them throughout all the world. And they erected the idols in every quarter of the world: the size of each idol was 1000 parasangs.

(8) And they brought down the sun, the moon, planets and constellations, and placed them before the idols on their right hand and on their left, to attend them even as they attend the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is written (1 Kings xxii. 19): "And all the host of heaven was standing by him on his right hand and on his left".

(9) What power was in them that they were able to bring them down? They would not have been able to bring them down but for 'Uzza, 'Azza and 'Azziel who taught them sorceries whereby they brought them down and made use of them

(10) In that time the ministering angels brought charges (against them) before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying before him: "Master of the World! What hast thou to do with the children of men? As it is written (Ps. viii. 4) 'What is man (Enosh) that thou art mindful of him?' 'Mah Adam' is not written here, but 'Mah Enosh', for he (Enosh) is the head of the idol worshippers.

(11) Why hast thou left the highest of the high heavens, the abode of thy glorious

Name, and the high and exalted Throne in 'Araboth Raqia' in the highest and art gone and dwellest with the children of men who worship idols and equal thee to the idols.

(12) Now thou art on earth and the idols likewise. What hast thou to do with the inhabitants of the earth who worship idols?"

(13) Forthwith the Holy One, blessed be He, lifted up His Shekina from the earth, from their midst. (14) In that moment came the ministering angels, the troops of hosts and the armies of 'Araboth in thousand camps and ten thousand hosts : they fetched trumpets and took the horns in their hands and surrounded the Shekina with all kinds of songs. And He ascended to the high heavens, as it is written (Ps. xlvii. 5): "God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet".

CHAPTER VI

Enoch lifted up to heaven together with the Shekina.

Angels protests answered by God

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) When the Holy One, blessed be He, desired to lift me up on high, He first sent 'Anaphiel H (H = Tetragrammaton) the Prince, and he took me from their midst in their sight and carried me in great glory upon a fiery chariot with fiery horses, servants of glory. And he lifted me up to the high heavens together with the Shekina.

(2) As soon as I reached the high heavens, the Holy Chayyoth, the 'Ophannim, the Seraphim, the Kerubim, the Wheels of the Merkaba (the Galgallim), and the ministers of the consuming fire, perceiving my smell from a distance of 365,000 myriads of parasangs, said: "What smell of one born of woman and what taste of a white drop (is this) that ascends on high, and (lo, he is merely) a gnat among those who 'divide flames (of fire)'?"

(3) The Holy One, blessed be He, answered and spake unto them: "My servants, my hosts, my Kerubim, my 'Ophannim, my

Seraphim! Be ye not displeased on account of this! Since all the children of men have denied me and my great Kingdom and are gone worshipping idols, I have removed my Shekina from among them and have lifted it up on high. But this one whom I have taken from among them is an ELECT ONE among (the inhabitants of) the world and he is equal to all of them in faith, righteousness and perfection of deed and I have taken him for (as) a tribute from my world under all the heavens".

CHAPTER VII

Enoch raised upon the wings of the Shekina to the place of the Throne, the Merkaba and the angelic hosts

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) When the Holy One, blessed be He, took me away from the generation of the Flood, he lifted me on the wings of the wind of Shekina to the highest heaven and brought me into the great palaces of the 'Araboth Raqia' on high, where are the glorious Throne of Shekina, the Merkaba, the troops of anger, the armies of vehemence, the fiery Shin'anin', the flaming Kerubim, and the burning 'Ophannim, the flaming servants, the flashing Chashmattim and the lightening Seraphim. And he placed me (there) to attend the Throne of Glory day after day.

CHAPTER VIII

The gates (of the treasures of heaven) opened to Metatron

R. Ishmael said : Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Before He appointed me to attend the Throne of Glory, the Holy One, blessed be He, opened to me

three hundred thousand gates of Understanding

three hundred thousand gates of Subtlety

three hundred thousand gates of Life

three hundred thousand gates of grace and loving-kindness

three hundred thousand gates of love
 three hundred thousand gates of Tora
 three hundred thousand gates of
 meekness
 three hundred thousand gates of
 maintenance
 three hundred thousand gates' of
 mercy
 three hundred thousand gates of fear
 of heaven

(2) In that hour the Holy One, blessed be He, added in me wisdom unto wisdom, understanding unto understanding, subtlety unto subtlety, knowledge unto knowledge, mercy unto mercy, instruction unto instruction, love unto love, loving-kindness unto loving-kindness, goodness unto goodness, meekness unto meekness, power unto power, strength unto strength, might unto might, brilliance unto brilliance, beauty unto beauty, splendour unto splendour, and I was honoured and adorned with all these good and praiseworthy things more than all the children of heaven.

CHAPTER IX

Enoch receives blessings from the Most High and is adorned with angelic attributes

R. Ishmael said : Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) After all these things the Holy One, blessed be He, put His hand upon me and blessed me with 5360 blessings.
 (2) And I was raised and enlarged to the size of the length and width of the world.
 (3) And He caused 72 wings to grow on me, 36 on each side. And each wing was as the whole world.
 (4) And He fixed on me 365 eyes : each eye was as the great luminary.
 (5) And He left no kind of splendour, brilliance, radiance, beauty in (of) all the lights of the universe that He did not fix on me.

CHAPTER X

God places Metatron on a throne at the door of the seventh Hall and

announces through the Herald, that Metatron henceforth is God's representative and ruler over all the princes of kingdoms and all the children of heaven, save the eight high princes called YHWH by the name of their King

R. Ishmael said : Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) All these things the Holy One, blessed be He, made for me:He made me a Throne, similar to the Throne of Glory. And He spread over me a curtain of splendour and brilliant appearance, of beauty, grace and mercy, similar to the curtain of the Throne of Glory; and on it were fixed all kinds of lights in the universe.

(2) And He placed it at the door of the Seventh Hall and seated me on it.

(3) And the herald went forth into every heaven, saying:This is Metatron, my servant. I have made him into a prince and a ruler over all the princes of my kingdoms and over all the children of heaven, except the eight great princes, the honoured and revered ones who are called YHWH, by the name of their King.

(4) And every angel and every prince who has a word to speak in my presence (before me) shall go into his presence (before him) and shall speak to him (instead).

(5)And every command that he utters to you in my name do ye observe and fulfil. For the Prince of

Wisdom and the Prince of Understanding have I committed to him to instruct him in the wisdom of heavenly things and of earthly things, in the wisdom of this world and of the world to come.

(6) Moreover, I have set him over all the treasures of the palapes of Araboih and over all the stores of life that I have in the high heavens.

CHAPTER XI

God reveals all mysteries and secrets to Metatron

R. Ishmael said : Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Henceforth the Holy One, blessed be He, revealed to me all the mysteries of Tora and all the secrets of wisdom and all the depths of the Perfect Law; and all living beings' thoughts of heart and all the secrets of the universe and all the secrets of Creation were revealed unto me even as they are revealed unto the Maker of Creation.

(2) And I watched intently to behold the secrets of the depth and the wonderful mystery. Before a man did think in secret, I saw (it) and before a man made a thing I beheld it.

(3) And there was no thing on high nor in the deep hidden from me.

CHAPTER XII

God clothes Metatron in a garment of glory, puts a royal crown on his head and calls him "the Lesser YHWH"

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) By reason of the love with which the Holy One, blessed be He, loved me more than all the children of heaven, He made me a garment of glory on which were fixed all kinds of lights, and He clad me in it.

(2) And He made me a robe of honour on which were fixed all kinds of beauty, splendour, brilliance and majesty.

(3) And he made me a royal crown in which were fixed forty-nine costly stones like unto the light of the globe of the sun.

(4) For its splendour went forth in the four quarters of the 'Araboth Raqia', and in (through) the seven heavens, and in the four quarters of the world. And he put it on my head.

(5) And He called me THE LESSER YHWH in the presence of all His heavenly household; as it is written (Ex. xxiii. 21): "For my name is in him".

CHAPTER XIII

God writes with a flaming style on Metatron's crown the cosmic letters by which heaven and earth were created

R. Ishmael said : Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, the Glory of all heavens, said to me :

(1) Because of the great love and mercy with which the Holy One, blessed be He, loved and cherished me more than all the children of heaven, He wrote with his ringer with a flaming style upon the crown on my head the letters by which were created heaven and earth, the seas and rivers, the mountains and hills, the planets and constellations, the lightnings, winds, earthquakes and voices (thunders), the snow and hail, the storm-wind and the tempest ; the letters by which were created all the needs of the world and all the orders of Creation.

(2) And every single letter sent forth time after time as it were lightnings, time after time as it were torches, time after time as it were flames of fire, time after time (rays) like [as] the rising of the sun and the moon and the planets.

CHAPTER XIV

All the highest princes, the elementary angels and the planetary and sideric angels fear and tremble at the sight of Metatron crowned

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) When the Holy One, blessed be He, put this crown on my head, (then) trembled before me all the Princes of Kingdoms who are in the height of 'Araboth Raqiaf and all the hosts of every heaven; and even the princes (of) the 'Elim, the princes (of) the 'Er'ellim and the princes (of) the Tafsarim, who are greater than all the ministering angels who minister before the Throne of

Glory, shook, feared and trembled before me when they beheld me.

(2) Even Sammael, the Prince of the Accusers, who is greater than all the princes of kingdoms on high; feared and trembled before me.

(3) And even the angel of fire, and the angel of hail, and the angel of the wind, and the angel of the lightning, and the angel of anger, and the angel of the thunder, and the angel of the snow, and the angel of the rain; and the angel of the day, and the angel of the night, and the angel of the sun and the angel of the moon, and the angel of the planets and the angel of the constellations who rule the world under their hands, feared and trembled and were affrighted before me, when they beheld me.

(4) These are the names of the rulers of the world: Gabriel, the angel of the fire, Baradiel, the angel of the hail, Ruchiel who is appointed over the wind, Baraqiel who is appointed over the lightnings, Za'amiel who is appointed over the vehemence, Ziqiel who is appointed over the sparks, Zi'iel who is appointed over the commotion, Zdaphiel who is appointed over the storm-wind, Ra'amiel who is appointed over the thunders, Rctashiel who is appointed over the earthquake, Shalgiel who is appointed over the snow, Matariel who is appointed over the rain, Shimshiel who is appointed over the day, Lailiel who is appointed over the night, Galgalliel who is appointed over the globe of the sun, 'Ophanniel who is appointed over the globe of the moon, Kokbiel who is appointed over the planets, Rahatiel who is appointed over the constellations.

(5) And they all fell prostrate, when they saw me. And they were not able to behold me because of the majestic glory and beauty of the appearance of the shining light of the crown of glory upon my head.

CHAPTER XV

Metatron transformed into fire

R. Ishmael said : Metatron, the angel, the

Prince of the Presence, the Glory of all heavens, said to me :

(1) As soon as the Holy One, blessed be He, took me in (His) service to attend the Throne of Glory and the Wheels (Galgallim) of the Merkaba and the needs of Shekina, forthwith my flesh was changed into flames, my sinews into flaming fire, my bones into coals of burning juniper, the light of my eyelids into splendour of lightnings, my eyeballs into fire-brands, the hair of my head into dot flames, all my limbs into wings of burning fire and the whole of my body into glowing fire.

(2) And on my right were divisions 6 of fiery flames, on my left fire-brands were burning, round about me stormwind and tempest were blowing and in front of me and behind me was roaring of thunder with earthquake.

FRAGMENT OF 'ASCENSION OF MOSES'

(1) R. Ishmael said: Said to me Metatron, the Prince of the Presence and the prince over all the princes and he stands before Him who is greater than all the Elohim. And he goes in under the Throne of Glory. And he has a great tabernacle of light on high. And he brings forth the fire of deafness and puts (it) into the ears of the Holy Chayyoth, that they may not hear the voice of the Word (Dibbur) that goes forth from the mouth of the Divine Majesty.

(2) And when Moses ascended on high, he fasted 121 fasts, till the habitations of the chashmal were opened to him; and he saw the heart within the heart of the Lion and he saw the innumerable companies of the hosts Around about him. And they desired to burn him. But Moses prayed for mercy, first for Israel and after that for himself: and He who sitteth on the Merkaba opened the windows that are above the heads of the Kerubim. And a host of 1800 advocates and the Prince of the Presence, Metatron, with them went forth to meet Moses. And they took the prayers of Israel and put them as a crown on the head of the Holy One, blessed be He.

(3) And they said (Deut. vi. 4): "Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord" and their face shone and rejoiced over

Shekina and they said to Metatron: "What are these? And to whom do they give all this honour and glory?" And they answered: "To the Glorious Lord of Israel". And they spake: "Hear, O Israel: the Lord, our God, is one Lord. To whom shall be given abundance of honour and majesty but to Thee YHWH, the Divine Majesty, the King, living and eternal".

(4) In that moment spake Akatriel Yah Yehod Sebaoth and said to Metatron, the Prince of the Presence: "Let no prayer that he prayeth before me return (to him) void. Hear thou his prayer and fulfil his desire whether (it be) great or small".

(5) Forthwith Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to Moses:

"Son of Amram! Fear not, for now God delights in thee. And ask thou thy desire of the Glory and Majesty. For thy face shines from one end of the world to the other". But Moses answered him: "(I fear) lest I bring guiltiness upon myself". Metatron said to him: "Receive the letters of the oath, in (by) which there is no breaking the covenant" (which precludes any breach of the covenant).

CHAPTER XVI 1

Probably additional

Metatron divested of his privilege of presiding on a Throne of his own on account of Acher's misapprehension in taking him for a second Divine Power

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, the Glory of all heaven, said to me:

(1) At first I was sitting upon a great Throne at the door of the Seventh Hall ; and I was judging the children of heaven, the household on high by authority of the Holy One, blessed be He. And I divided Greatness, Kingship, Dignity, Rulership, Honour and Praise, and Diadem and Crown of Glory unto all the princes of kingdoms, while I was presiding (lit. sitting) in the Celestial Court (Yeshiba), and the princes of

kingdoms were standing before me, on my right and on my left by authority of the Holy One, blessed be He.

(2) But when Acher came to behold the vision of the Merkaba and fixed his eyes on me, he feared and trembled before me and his soul was affrighted even unto departing from him, because of fear, horror and dread of me, when he beheld me sitting upon a throne like a king with all the ministering angels standing by me as my servants and all the princes of kingdoms adorned with crowns surrounding me:

(3) in that moment he opened his mouth and said: "Indeed, there are two Divine Powers in heaven!" (4) Forthwith Bath Qol (the Divine Voice) went forth from heaven from before the Shekina and said: "Return, ye backsliding children (Jer. iii. 22), except Acher!"

(5) Then came 'Aniyel, the Prince, the honoured, glorified, beloved, wonderful, revered and fearful one, in commission from the Holy One, blessed be He and gave me sixty strokes with lashes of fire and made me stand on my feet.

CHAPTER XVII

The princes of the seven heavens, of the sun, moon, planets and constellations and their suites of angels

R. Ishmael said : Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, the glory of all heavens, said to me:

(1) Seven (are the) princes, the great, beautiful, revered, wonderful and honoured ones who are appointed over the seven heavens. And these are they : MIKAEL, GABRIEL, SHATQIEL, SHACHAQIEL, BAKARIEL, BADARIEL, PACHRIEL.

(2) And every one of them is the prince of the host of (one) heaven. And each one of them is accompanied by 496,000 myriads of ministering angels.

(3) MIKAEL, the great prince, is appointed over the seventh heaven, the highest one, which is in the 'Araboth. GABRIEL, the

prince of the host, is appointed over the sixth heaven which is in Makon.

SHATAQIEL, prince of the host, is appointed over the fifth heaven which is in Ma'on.

SHAHQI'EL, prince of the host, is appointed over the fourth heaven which is in Zebul.

BADARIEL, prince of the host, is appointed over the third heaven which is in Shehaqim.

BARAKIEL, prince of the host, is appointed over the second heaven which is in the height of (Merom) Raqia.

PAZRIEL, prince of the host, is appointed over the first heaven which is in Wilon, which is in Shamayim.

(4) Under them is GALGALLIEL, the prince who is appointed over the globe (galgal) of the sun, and with him are 96 great and honoured angels who move the sun in Raqia'.

(5) Under them is 'OPHANNIEL, the prince who is set over the globe ('ophari) of the moon. And with him are 88 angels who move the globe of the moon 354 thousand parasangs every night at the time when the moon stands in the East at its turning point. And when is the moon sitting in the East at its turning point? Answer: in the fifteenth day of every month.

(6) Under them is RAHATIEL, the prince who is appointed over the constellations. And he is accompanied by 72 great and honoured angels. And why is he called RAHATIEL? Because he makes the stars run (marhit) in their orbits and courses 339 thousand parasangs every night from the East to the West, and from the West to the East. For the Holy One, blessed be He, has made a tent for all of them, for the sun, the moon, the planets and the stars in which they travel at night from the West to the East.

(7) Under them is KOKBIEL, the prince who is appointed over all the planets. And with him are 365,000 myriads of ministering angels, great and honoured ones who move the planets from city to city and from province to province in the Raqia' of heavens.

(8) And over them are SEVENTY-TWO PRINCES OF KINGDOMS on high

corresponding to the 72 tongues of the world. And all of them are crowned with royal crowns and clad in royal garments and wrapped in royal cloaks. And all of them are riding on royal horses and they are holding royal sceptres in their hands. And before each one of them when he is travelling in Raqia' , royal servants are running with great glory and majesty even as on earth they (princes) are travelling in chariot(s) with horsemen and great armies and in glory and greatness with praise, song and honour.

CHAPTER XVIII

The order of ranks of the angels and the homage received by the higher ranks from the lower ones

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, the glory of all heaven, said to me:

(1) THE ANGELS OF THE FIRST HEAVEN, when(ever) they see their prince, they dismount from their horses and fall on their faces.

And THE PRINCE OF THE FIRST HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the second heaven, he dismounts, removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

And THE PRINCE OF THE SECOND HEAVEN, when he sees the Prince of the third heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

And THE PRINCE OF THE THIRD HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the fourth heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

And THE PRINCE OF THE FOURTH HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the fifth heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

xAnd THE PRINCE OF THE FIFTH HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the sixth heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

And THE PRINCE OF THE SIXTH HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the

seventh heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(2) And THE PRINCE OF THE SEVENTH HEAVEN, when he sees THE SEVENTY-TWO PRINCES OF KINGDOMS, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

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(3) And the seventy-two princes of kingdoms, when they see THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE FIRST HALL IN THE ARABOTH RAQIA in the highest, they remove the royal crown from their head and fall on their faces.

3And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE FIRST HALL, when they see the door keepers of the second Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE SECOND HALL, when they see the door keepers of the third Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE THIRD HALL, when they see the door keepers of the fourth Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE FOURTH HALL, when they see the door keepers of the fifth Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE FIFTH HALL, when they see the door keepers of the sixth Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE SIXTH HALL, when they see the DOOR KEEPERS OF THE SEVENTH HALL, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

(4) And the door keepers of the seventh Hall, when they see THE FOUR GREAT PRINCES, the honoured ones, WHO ARE APPOINTED OVER THE FOUR CAMPS OF SHEKINA, they remove the crown(s) of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

(5) And the four great princes, when they see TAG'AS, the prince, great and honoured

with song (and) praise, at the head of all the children of heaven, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

(6) And Tag' as, the great and honoured prince, when he sees BARATTIEL, the great prince of three fingers in the height of 'Araboth, the highest heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(7) And Barattiel, the great prince, when he sees HAMON, the great prince, the fearful and honoured, pleasant and terrible one who maketh all the children of heaven to tremble, when the time draweth nigh (that is set) for the saying of the '(Thrice) Holy', as it is written (Isa. xxxiii. 3): "At the noise of the tumult (hamon) the peoples are fled; at the lifting up of thyself the nations are scattered" he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(8) And Hamon, the great prince, when he sees TUTRESIEL, the great prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(9) And Tutresiel H', the great prince, when he sees ATRUGIEL, the great prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(10) And Atrugiel the great prince, when he sees NA'ARIRIEL H', the great prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(n) And Na'aririel H', the great prince, when he sees SASNIGIEL H', the great prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(12) And Sasnigiel H', when he sees ZAZRIEL H', the great prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(13) And Zazriel H', the prince, when he sees GEBURATIEL H', the prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(14) And Geburatiel H', the prince, when he sees 'ARAPHIEL H', the prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(15) And 'Araphiel H', the prince, when he sees 'ASHRUYLU, the prince, who presides in all the sessions of the children of heaven,

he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(16) And Ashruylu H', the prince, when he sees GALLISUR H', THE PRINCE, WHO REVEALS ALL THE SECRETS OF THE LAW (Tora), he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(17) And Gallisur H', the prince, when he sees ZAKZAKIEL H', the prince who is appointed to write down the merits of Israel on the Throne of Glory, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(18) And Zakzakiel H', the great prince, when he sees 'ANAPHIEL H', the prince who keeps the keys of the heavenly Halls, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. Why is he called by the name of 'Anaphiel ? Because the bough of his honour and majesty and his crown and his splendour and his brilliance covers (overshadows) all the chambers of 'Araboth Raqia on high even as the Maker of the World (doth overshadow them). Just as it is written with regard to the Maker of the World (Hab. iii. 3): "His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise", even so do the honour and majesty of 'Anaphiel cover all the glories of 'Araboth the highest.

(19) And when he sees SOTHER 'ASHIEL H', the prince, the great, fearful and honoured one, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. Why is he called Sother Ashiel? Because he is appointed over the four heads of the fiery river over against the Throne of Glory; and every single prince who goes out or enters before the Shekina, goes out or enters only by his permission.

For the seals of the fiery river are entrusted to him. And furthermore, his height is 7000 myriads of parasangs. And he stirs up the fire of the river ; and he goes out and enters before the Shekina to expound what is written (recorded) concerning the inhabitants of the world. According as it is written (Dan. vii. 10) : "the judgement was set, and the books were opened".

(20) And Sother 'Ashiel the prince, when he sees SHOQED CHOZI, the great prince, the

mighty, terrible and honoured one, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls upon his face.

And why is he called Shoqed Chozi? Because he weighs all the merits (of man) in a balance in the presence of the Holy One, blessed be He.

(21) Andwhen he sees ZEHANPURYU H',the great prince, the mighty and terrible one, honoured, glorified and feared in all the heavenly household, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. Why is he called Zehanpuryu? Because he rebukes the fiery river and pushes it back to its place.

(22) Andwhen he sees 'AZBUGA H', the great prince, glorified, revered, honoured, adorned, wonderful, exalted, beloved and feared among allthe great princes who know the mystery of the Throne of Glory, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. Why is he called 'Azbuga? Because in the future he will gird (clothe) the righteous and pious of the world with the garments of life and wrap them in the cloak of life, that they may live in them an eternal life.

(23) And when he sees the two great princes, the strong and glorified ones who are standing above him, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. And these are the names of the two princes:

SOPHERIEL H' (WHO) KILLETH, (Sopheriel H' the Killer), the great prince, the honoured, glorified, blameless, venerable, ancient and mighty one; (and) SOPHERIEL H' (WHO) MAKETH ALIVE (Sopheriel H' the Lifegiver), the great prince, the honoured, glorified, blameless, ancient and mighty one.

(24) Why is he called Sopheriel H' who killeth (Sopheriel H' the Killer)? Because he is appointed over the books of the dead : [so that] everyone, when the day of his death draws nigh, he writes him in the books of the dead.

Why is he called Sopheriel H' who maketh alive (Sopheriel H' the Lifegiver)? Because he is appointed over the books of the living (of life), so that every one whom the Holy One, blessed be He, will bring into life, he

writes him in the book of the living (of life), by authority of MAQOM. Thou might perhaps say: "Since the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting on a throne, they also are sitting when writing". (Answer): The Scripture teaches us (1 Kings xxii. 19, 2 Chron. xviii. 18) : "And all the host of heaven are standing by him ".

"The host of heaven " (it is said) in order to show us, that even the Great Princes, none like whom there is in the high heavens, do not fulfil the requests of the Shekina otherwise than standing. But how is it (possible that) they (are able to) write, when they are standing?

It is like this :

(25) One is standing on the wheels of the tempest and the other is standing on the wheels of the storm-wind.

The one is clad in kingly garments, the other is clad in kingly garments.

The one is wrapped in a mantle of majesty and the other is wrapped in a mantle of majesty.

The one is crowned with a royal crown, and the other is crowned with a royal crown.

The one's body is full of eyes, and the other's body is full of eyes.

The appearance of one is like unto the appearance of lightnings, and the appearance of the other is like unto the appearance of lightnings.

The eyes of the one are like the sun in its might, and the eyes of the other are like the sun in its might.

The one's height is like the height of the seven heavens, and the other's height is like the height of the seven heavens.

The wings of the one are as (many as) the days of the year, and the wings of the other are as (many as) the days of the year.

The wings of the one extend over the breadth of Raqia', and the wings of the other extend over the breadth of Raqia.

The lips of the one, are as the gates of the East, and the lips of the other are as the gates of the East.

The tongue of the one is as high as the waves of the sea, and the tongue of the other is as high as the waves of the sea.

From the mouth of the one a flame goes forth, and from the mouth of the other a flame goes forth.

From the mouth of the one there go forth lightnings and from the mouth of the other there go forth lightnings.

From the sweat of the one fire is kindled, and from the perspiration of the other fire is kindled.

From the one's tongue a torch is burning, and from the tongue of the other a torch is burning.

On the head of the one there is a sapphire stone, and upon the head of the other there is a sapphire stone.

On the shoulders of the one there is a wheel of a swift cherub, and on the shoulders of the other there is a wheel of a swift cherub.

One has in his hand a burning scroll, the other has in his hand a burning scroll.

The one has in his hand a flaming style, the other has in his hand a flaming style.

The length of the scroll is 3000 myriads of parasangs ; the size of the style is 3000 myriads of parasangs; the size of every single letter that they write is 365 parasangs.

CHAPTER XIX

Rikbiel, the prince of the wheels of the Merkaba. The surroundings of the Merkaba. The commotion among the angelic hosts at the time of the Qedushsha

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Above 2 these three angels, these great princes there is one Prince, distinguished, honoured, noble, glorified, adorned, fearful, valiant, strong, great, magnified, glorious, crowned, wonderful, exalted, blameless, beloved, lordly, high and lofty, ancient and mighty, like unto whom there is none among the princes. His name is RIKBIEL H', the great and revered Prince who is standing by the Merkaba.

(2) And why is he called RIKBIEL? Because he is appointed over the wheels of

the Merkaba, and they are given in his charge.

(3) And how many are the wheels? Eight; two in each direction. And there are four winds compassing them round about. And these are their names: "the Storm-Wind", "the Tempest", "the Strong Wind", and "the Wind of Earthquake".

(4) And under them four fiery rivers are continually running, one fiery river on each side. And round about them, between the rivers, four clouds are planted (placed), and these they are: "clouds of fire", "clouds of lamps", "clouds of coal", "clouds of brimstone" and they are standing over against [their] wheels.

(5) And the feet of the Chayyoth are resting upon the wheels. And between one wheel and the other earthquake is roaring and thunder is thundering.

(6) And when the time draws nigh for the recital of the Song, (then) the multitudes of wheels are moved, the multitude of clouds tremble, all the chieftains (shallishim) are made afraid, all the horsemen (parashim) do rage, all the mighty ones (gibborim) are excited, all the hosts (seba'im) are afrighted, all the troops (gedudim) are in fear, all the appointed ones (memunnim) haste away, all the princes (sarim) and armies (chayyelim) are dismayed, all the servants (mesharetim) do faint and all the angels (mal'akim) and divisions (degalim) travail with pain.

(7) And one wheel makes a sound to be heard to the other and one Kerub to another, one Chayya. to another, one Seraph to another (saying) (Ps. Ixviii. 5) "Extol to him that rideth in 'Araboth, by his name Jah and rejoice before him!"

CHAPTER XX

CHAYYELIEL, the prince of the Chayyoth

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Above these there is one great and mighty prince. His name is CHAYYELIEL H', a noble and revered prince, a glorious and mighty prince, a great and revered prince, a prince before whom all the children

of heaven do tremble, a prince who is able to swallow up the whole earth in one moment (at a mouthful).

(2) And why is he called CHAYYELIEL H'? Because he is appointed over the Holy Chayyoth and smites the Chayyoth with lashes of fire: and glorifies them, when they give praise and glory and rejoicing and he causes them to make haste to say "Holy" and "Blessed be the Glory of H' from his place!" (i.e. the Qedushshd).

CHAPTER XXI

The Chayyoth

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Four (are) the Chayyoth corresponding to the four winds. Each Chayya is as the space of the whole world. And each one has four faces ; and each face is as the face of the East.

(2) Each one has four wings and each wing is like the cover (roof) of the universe.

(3) And each one has faces in the middle of faces and wings in the middle of wings. The size of the faces is (as the size of) 248 faces, and the size of the wings is (as the size of) 365 wings.

(4) And every one is crowned with 2000 crowns on his head. And each crown is like unto the bow in the cloud. And its splendour is like unto the splendour of the globe of the sun. And the sparks that go forth from every one are like the splendour of the morning star (planet Venus) in the East.

CHAPTER XXII 1

KERUBIEL, the Prince of the Kerubim.

Description of the Kerubim

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Above these there is one prince, noble, wonderful, strong, and praised with all kinds of praise. His name is KERUBIEL H', a mighty prince, full of power and strength a prince of highness, and Highness (is) with him, a righteous prince, and righteousness (is) with him, a holy prince, and holiness (is)

with him, a prince glorified in (by) thousand hosts, exalted by ten thousand armies.

(2) At his wrath the earth trembles, at his anger the camps are moved, from fear of him the foundations are shaken, at his rebuke the 'Araboth do tremble.

(3) His stature is full of (burning) coals. The height of his stature is as the height of the seven heavens the breadth of his stature is as the wideness of the seven heavens and the thickness of his stature is as the seven heavens.

(4) The opening of his mouth is like a lamp of fire. His tongue is a consuming fire. His eyebrows are like unto the splendour of the lightning. His eyes are like sparks of brilliance. His countenance is like a burning fire.

(5) And there is a crown of holiness upon his head on which (crown) the Explicit Name is graven, and lightnings go forth from it. And the bow of Shekina is between his shoulders.

(6) And his sword is like unto a lightning; and upon his loins there are arrows like unto a flame, and upon his armour and shield there is a consuming fire, and upon his neck there are coals of burning juniper and (also) round about him (there are coals of burning juniper).

(7) And the splendour of Shekina is on his face ; and the horns of majesty on his wheels; and a royal diadem upon his skull.

(8) And his body is full of eyes. And wings are covering the whole of his high stature (lit. the height of his stature is all wings).

(9) On his right hand a flame is burning, and on his left a fire is glowing; and coals are burning from it. And firebrands go forth from his body. And lightnings are cast forth from his face. With him there is alway thunder upon (in) thunder, by his side there is ever earthquake upon (in) earthquake.

(10) And the two princes of the Merkaba are together with him.

(11) Why is he called KERUBIEL H', the Prince. Because he is appointed over the chariot of the Kerubim. And the mighty Kerubim are given in his charge. And he adorns the crowns on their heads and polishes the diadem upon their skull.

(12) He magnifies the glory of their appearance. And he glorifies the beauty of their majesty. And he increases the greatness of their honour. He causes the song of their praise to be sung. He intensifies their beautiful strength. He causes the brilliance of their glory to shine forth. He beautifies their goodly mercy and lovingkindness. He frames the fairness of their radiance. He makes their merciful beauty even more beautiful. He glorifies their upright majesty. He extols the order of their praise, to stablish the dwellingplace of him "who dwelleth on the Kerubim".

(13) And the Kerubim are standing by the Holy Chayyoth, and their wings are raised up to their heads (lit. are as the height of their heads)

and Shekina is (resting) upon them
and the brilliance of the Glory is upon their faces

and song and praise in their mouth
and their hands are under their wings
and their feet are covered by their wings
and horns of glory are upon their heads
and the splendour of Shekina on their face
and Shekina is (resting) upon them
and sapphire stones are round about them
and columns of fire on their four sides
and columns of firebrands beside them.

(14) There is one sapphire on one side and another sapphire on another side and under the sapphires

there are coals of burning juniper.

(15) And one Kerub is standing in each direction but the wings of the Kerubim compass each other above their skulls in glory; and they spread them to sing with them a song to him that inhabiteth the clouds and to praise with them the fearful majesty of the king of kings.

(16) And KERUBIEL H', the prince who is appointed over them, he arrays them in comely, beautiful and pleasant orders and he exalts them in all manner of exaltation, dignity and glory. And he hastens them in glory and might to do the will of their Creator every moment. For above their lofty heads abides continually the glory of the high king "who dwelleth on the Kerubim".

CHAPTER XXII b (ADDITIONAL)

- (1) And there is a court before the Throne of Glory,
- (2) which no seraph nor angel can enter, and it is 36,000 myriads of parasangs, as it is written (Is.vi.2): "and the Seraphim are standing above him" (the last word of the scriptural passage being 'Lamech-Vav' [numerical value: 36]).
- (3) As the numerical value Lamech-Vav (36) the number of the bridges there.
- (4) And there are 24 myriads of wheels of fire. And the ministering angels are 12,000 myriads. And there are 12,000 rivers of hail, and 12,000 treasuries of snow. And in the seven Halls are chariots of fire and flames, without reckoning, or end or searching.

R. Ishmael said to me: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

- (1) How are the angels standing on high? Pie said: Like a bridge that is placed over a river so that every one can pass over it, likewise a bridge is placed from the beginning of the entry to the end.
- (2) And three ministering angels surround it and utter a song before YHWH, the God of Israel. And there are standing before it lords of dread and captains of fear, thousand times thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand in number and they sing praise and hymns before YHWH, the God of Israel.
- (3) Numerous bridges are there: bridges of fire and numerous bridges of hail. Also numerous rivers of hail, numerous treasuries of snow and numerous wheels of fire.
- (4) And how many are the ministering angels? 12,000 myriads: six (thousand myriads) above and six (thousand myriads) below. And 12,000 are the treasuries of snow, six above and six below. And 24 myriads of wheels of fire, 12 (myriads) above and 12 (myriads) below. And they surround the bridges and the rivers of fire and the rivers of hail. And there are numerous ministering angels, forming entries, for all the creatures that are standing

in the midst thereof, corresponding to (over against) the paths of Raqia Shamayim.

(5) What doeth YHWH, the God of Israel, the King of Glory? The Great and Fearful God, mighty in strength, doth cover his face.

(6) In Araboth are 660,000 myriads of angels of glory standing over against the Throne of Glory and the divisions of flaming fire. And the King of Glory doth cover His face; for else the (Araboth Raqia¹ would be rent asunder in its midst because of the majesty, splendour, beauty, radiance, loveliness, brilliancy, brightness and excellency of the appearance of (the Holy One,) blessed be He.

(7) There are numerous ministering angels performing his will, numerous kings, numerous princes in the 'Araboth of his delight, angels who are revered among the rulers in heaven, distinguished, adorned with song and bringing love to remembrance: (who) are affrighted by the splendour of the Shekina, and their eyes are dazzled by the shining beauty of their King, their faces grow black and their strength doth fail.

(8) There go forth rivers of joy, streams of gladness, rivers of rejoicing, streams of triumph, rivers of love, streams of friendship (another reading:) of commotion and they flow over and go forth before the Throne of Glory and wax great and go through the gates of the paths of 'Araboth Raqia at the voice of the shouting and music of the CHAYYOTH, at the voice of the rejoicing of the timbrels of his 'OPHANNIM and at the melody of the cymbals of His Kerubim. And they wax great and go forth with commotion with the sound of the hymn: "HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, IS THE LORD OF HOSTS; THE WHOLE EARTH IS FULL OF HIS GLORY!"

CHAPTER XXII c

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence said to me:

- (1) What is the distance between one bridge and another? 12 myriads of parasangs. Their ascent is 12 myriads of parasangs, and their descent 12 myriads of parasangs.

(2) (The distance) between the rivers of dread and the rivers of fear is 22 myriads of parasangs; between the rivers of hail and the rivers of darkness 36 myriads of parasangs; between the chambers of lightnings and the clouds of compassion 42 myriads of parasangs; between the clouds of compassion and the Merkaba 84 myriads of parasangs; between the Merkaba and the Kerubim 148 myriads of parasangs; between the Kerubim and the 'Ophannim 24 myriads of parasangs; between the 'Ophannim and the chambers of chambers 24 myriads of parasangs; between the chambers of chambers and the Holy Chayyoth 40,000 myriads of parasangs; between one wing (of the Chayyoth) and another 12 myriads of parasangs; and the breadth of each one wing is of that same measure; and the distance between the Holy Chayyoth and the Throne of Glory is 30,000 myriads of parasangs.

(3) And from the foot of the Throne to the seat there are 40,000 myriads of parasangs. And the name of Him that sitteth on it: let the name be sanctified!

(4) And the arches of the Bow are set above the 'Araboth, and they are 1000 thousands and 10,000 times ten thousands (of parasangs) high. Their measure is after the measure of the 'Irin and Qaddishin (Watchers and Holy Ones). As it is written (Gen. ix. 13) "My bow I have set in the cloud". It is not written here "I will set" but "I have set", (i.e.) already; clouds that surround the Throne of Glory. As His clouds pass by, the angels of hail (turn into) burning coal.

(5) And a fire of the voice goes down from by the Holy Chayyoth. And because of the breath of that voice they "run" (Ezek. i. 14) to another place, fearing lest it command them to go; and they "return" lest it injure them from the other side. Therefore "they run and return" (Ezek. i. 14).

(6) And these arches of the Bow are more beautiful and radiant than the radiance of the sun during the summer solstice. And they are whiter than a flaming fire and they are great and beautiful.

(7) Above the arches of the Bow are the wheels of the 'Ophannim. Their height is 1000 thousand and 10,000 times 10,000

units of measure after the measure of the Seraphim and the Troops (Gedudim).

CHAPTER XXIII

The winds blowing under the wings of the Kerubim

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) There are numerous winds blowing under the wings of the Kerubim.

There blows "the Brooding Wind", as it is written (Gen. i. 2): "and the wind of God was brooding upon the face of the waters".

(2) There blows "the Strong Wind", as it is said (Ex. xiv. 21): "and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night".

(3) There blows "the East Wind" as it is written (Ex. x. 13): "the east wind brought the locusts".

(4) There blows "the Wind of Quails" as it is written (Num. xi. 31): "And there went forth a wind from the Lord and brought quails".

(5) There blows "the Wind of Jealousy" as it is written (Num.v.14): "And the wind of jealousy came upon him".

(6) There blows the "Wind of Earthquake" as it is written (i Kings .xix. 1 1): "and after that the wind of the earthquake ; but the Lord was not in the earthquake".

(7) There blows the "Wind of H' " as it is written (Ex. xxxvii. i) : "and he carried me out by the wind of H' and set me down".

(8) There blows the "Evil Wind " as it is written (i Sam. xvi. 23): "and the evil wind departed from him".

(9) There blow the "Wind of Wisdom" and the "Wind of Understanding" and the "Wind of Knowledge" and the "Wind of the Fear of H'" as it is written (Is. xi. 2): "And the wind of H'shall rest upon him; the wind of wisdom and understanding, the wind of counsel and might, the wind of knowledge and of the fear.

(10) There blows the "Wind of Rain", as it is written (Prov. xxv. 23): "the north wind bringeth forth rain".

(11) There blows the "Wind of Lightnings ", as it is written (Jer.x.13, li. 16): "he maketh

lightnings for the rain and bringeth forth the wind out of his treasures ".

(12) There blows the "Wind, Breaking the Rocks", as it is written (1 Kings xix. n): "the Lord passed by and a great and strong wind rent the mountains and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord)".

(13) There blows the "Wind of Assuagement of the Sea", as it is written (Gen. viii. i): "and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters assuaged".

(14) There blows the "Wind of Wrath", as it is written (Job i. 19) : "and behold there came a great wind from the wilderness and smote the four corners of the house and it fell".

(15) There blows the " Storm-Wind ", as it is written (Ps. cxlviii. 8) : "Storm-wind, fulfilling his word".

(16) And Satan is standing among these winds, for "storm-wind " is nothing else but "Satan", and all these winds do not blow but under the wings of the Kerubim, as it is written (Ps. xviii. n) : "and he rode upon a cherub and did fly, yea, and he flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind".

(17) And whither go all these winds? The Scripture teaches us, that they go out from under the wings of the Kerubim and descend on the globe of the sun, as it is written (Eccl. i. 6) : " The wind goeth toward the south and turneth about unto the north ; it turneth about continually in its course and the wind 14 returneth again to its circuits ". And from the globe of the sun they return and descend upon the rivers and the seas, upon] the mountains and upon the hills, as it is written (Am.iv.13): "For lo, he that formeth the mountains and createth the wind".

(18) And from the mountains and the hills they return and descend to the seas and the rivers ; and from the seas and the rivers they return and descend upon (the) cities and provinces ; and from the cities and provinces they return and descend into the Garden, and from the Garden they return and descend to Eden, as it is written (Gen.iii. 8): "walking in the Garden in the wind of day". And in the midst of the Garden they join together and blow from one side to the other and are perfumed with the spices of the Garden even

from its remotest parts, until they separate from each other, and, filled

with the scent of the pure spices, they bring the odour from the remotest parts of Eden and the spices of the Garden to the righteous and godly who in the time to come shall inherit the Garden of Eden and the Tree of Life, as it is written (Cant. iv. 16) : "Awake, O north wind; and come thou south; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out. Let my beloved come into his garden and eat his precious fruits".

CHAPTER XXIV

The different chariots of the Holy One, blessed be He

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, the glory of all heaven, said to me :

(1) Numerous chariots has the Holy One, blessed be He:

He has the "Chariots of (the) Kerubim", as it is written (Ps.xviii.11, 2 Sam.xxii.11): "And he rode upon a cherub and did fly".

(2) He has the "Chariots of Wind", as it is written (ib.) : "and he flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind ".

(3) He has the "Chariots of (the) Swift Cloud", as it is written (Is. xix. i): "Behold, the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud".

(4) He has "the Chariots of Clouds", as it is written (Ex. xix. 9): "Lo, I come unto thee in a cloud".

(5) He has the "Chariots of the Altar", as it is written (Am. ix. i) : "I saw the Lord standing upon the Altar".

(6) He has the "Chariots of Ribbotaim", as it is written (Ps.Ixviii. 18) : "The chariots of God are Ribbotaim ; thousands of angels ".

(7) He has the "Chariots of the Tent", as it is written (Deut.xxxi. 15) : "And the Lord appeared in the Tent in a pillar of cloud ".

(8) He has the "Chariots of the Tabernacle", as it is written (Lev. i. 1): "And the Lord spake unto him out of the tabernacle".

(9) He has the "Chariots of the Mercy-Seat", as it is written (Num. vii. 89): "then he heard the Voice speaking unto him from upon the mercy-seat".

(10) He has the "Chariots of Sapphire Stone", as it is written (Ex. xxiv. 10) : "and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of sapphire stone".

(11) He has the "Chariots of Eagles ", as it is written (Ex. xix. 4) : "I bare you on eagles' wings". Eagles literally are not meant here but "they that fly swiftly as eagles".

(12) He has the "chariots of Shout", as it is written (Ps. xlvii. 6) : "God is gone up with a shout".

(13) He has the "Chariots of 'Araboth", as it is written (Ps. lxxviii. 5): "Extol Him that rideth upon the 'Araboth".

(14) He has the "Chariots of Thick Clouds", as it is written (Ps. civ. 3): "who maketh the thick clouds His chariot".

(15) He has the "Chariots of the Chayyoth", as it is written (Ezek. i. 14) : "and the Chayyoth

ran and returned". They run by permission and return by permission, for Shekina is above their heads.

(16) He has the "Chariots of Wheels (Galgallim)", as it is written (Ezek. x. 2): "And he said: Go in between the whirling wheels".

(17) He has the "Chariots of a Swift Kerub", as it is written (Ps. lxxviii. 10 & Is. xix. 1): "riding on a swift cherub".

And at the time when He rides on a swift kerub, as he sets one of His feet upon him, before he sets the other foot upon his back, he looks through eighteen thousand worlds at one glance. And he discerns and sees into them all and knows what is in all of them and then he sets down the other foot upon him, according as it is written (Ezek. xlvi. 35): "Round about eighteen thousand".

Whence do we know that He looks through every one of them every day? It is written (Ps. xiv. 2): "He looked down from heaven upon the children of men to see if there were any that did understand, that did seek after God".

(18) He has the "Chariots of the 'Ophannim", as it is written

(Ezek. x. 12): "and the 'Ophannim were full of eyes round about". 12

(19) He has the "Chariots of His Holy Throne", as it is written (Ps. xlvii. 8) : " God sitteth upon his holy throne ".

(20) He has the "chariots of the Throne of Yah", as it is written (Ex. xvii. 16) : "Because a hand is lifted up upon the Throne of Jah".

(21) He has the "Chariots of the Throne of Judgement", as it is written (Is. v. 16): "but the Lord of hosts shall be exalted in judgment".

(22) He has the "Chariots of the Throne of Glory ", as it is written (Jer. xvii. 12) : "The Throne of Glory, set on high from the beginning, is the place of our sanctuary".

(23) He has the "Chariots of the High and Exalted Throne", as it is written (Is. vi. i): "I saw the Lord sitting upon the high and exalted throne".

CHAPTER XXV

'Ophanniel, the prince of the 'Ophannim.

Description of the 'Ophannim

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Above these there is one great prince, revered, high, lordly, fearful, ancient and strong. 'OPHPHANNIEL H is his name.

(2) He has sixteen faces, four faces on each side, (also) hundred wings on each side. And he has 8466 eyes, corresponding to the days of the year. [2190 –and some say 2116- on each side.] [2191 /2196 and sixteen on each side.]

(3) And those two eyes of his face, in each one of them lightnings are flashing, and from each one of them firebrands are burning ; and no creature is able to behold them : for anyone who looks at them is burnt instantly.

(4) His height is (as) the distance of 2500 years' journey. No eye can behold and no mouth can tell the mighty power of his strength save the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, alone.

(5) Why is he called 'OPHPHANNIEL ?

Because he is appointed over the 'Ophannim and the 'Ophannim are given in his charge. He stands every day and attends and beautifies them. And he exalts and orders their apartment and polishes their standing-

place and makes bright their dwellings, makes their corners even and cleanses their seats. And he waits upon them early and late, by day and by night, to increase their beauty, to make great their dignity and to make them "diligent in praise of their Creator.

(6) And all the 'Ophannim are full of eyes, and they are all full of brightness; seventy two sapphire stones are fixed on their garments on their right side and seventy two sapphire stones are fixed on their garments on their left side.

(7) And four carbuncle stones are fixed on the crown of every single one, the splendour of which proceeds in the four directions of 'Araboth even as the splendour of the globe of the sun proceeds in

all the directions of the universe. And why is it called Carbuncle (Bareqet)? Because its splendour is like the appearance of a lightning (Baraq). And tents of splendour, tents of brilliance, tents of brightness as of sapphire and carbuncle inclose them because of the shining appearance of their eyes.

CHAPTER XXVI

SERAPHIEL, the Prince of the Seraphim.

Description of the Seraphim

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Above these there is one prince, wonderful, noble, great, honourable, mighty, terrible, a chief and leader 1 and a swift scribe, glorified, honoured and beloved.

(2) He is altogether filled with splendour, full of praise and shining; and he is wholly full of brilliance, of light and of beauty; and the whole of him is filled with goodness and greatness.

(3) His countenance is altogether like (that of) angels, but his body is like an eagle's body.

(4) His splendour is like unto lightnings, his appearance like fire brands, his beauty like unto sparks, his honour like fiery coals, his majesty like chashmals, his radiance like the light of the planet Venus.

The image of him is like unto the Greater Light. His height is as the seven heavens. The light from his eyebrows is like the sevenfold light.

(5) The sapphire stone upon his head is as great as the whole universe and like unto the splendour of the very heavens in radiance.

(6) His body is full of eyes like the stars of the sky, innumerable and unsearchable. Every eye is like the planet Venus. Yet, there are some of them like the Lesser Light and some of them like unto the Greater Light. From his ankles to his knees (they are) like unto stars of lightning, from his knees to his thighs like unto the planet Venus, from his thighs to his loins like unto the moon, from his loins to his neck like the sun, from his neck to his skull like unto the Light Imperishable. (Cf. Zeph. iii. 5.)

(7) The crown on his head is like unto the splendour of the Throne of Glory. The measure of the crown is the distance of 502 years' journey. There is no kind of splendour, no kind of brilliance, no kind of radiance, no kind of light in the universe but is fixed on that crown.

(8) The name of that prince is SERAPHIEL H". And the crown on his head, its name is "the Prince of Peace". And why is he called by the name of SERAPHIEL '? Because he is appointed over the Seraphim. And the flaming Seraphim are given in his charge. And he presides over them by day and by night and teaches them song, praise, proclamation of beauty, might and majesty; that they may proclaim the beauty of their King in all manner of Praise and Sanctification (Qedushsha).

(9) How many are the Seraphim? Four, corresponding to the four winds of the world. And how many wings have they each one of them? Six, corresponding to the six days of Creation. And how many faces have they? Each one of them four faces.

(10) The measure of the Seraphim and the height of each one of them correspond to the height of the seven heavens. The size of each wing is like the measure of all Raqia' . The size of each face is like that of the face of the East.

(11) And each one of them gives forth light like unto the splendour of the Throne of Glory: so that not even the Holy Chayyoth, the honoured 'Ophannim, nor the majestic KeruUm are able to behold it. For everyone who beholds it, his eyes are darkened because of its great splendour.

(12) Why are they called Seraphim? Because they burn (saraph) the writing tables of Satan : Every day Satan is sitting, together with SAMMAEL, the Prince of Rome, and with DUBBIEL, the Prince of Persia, and they write the iniquities of Israel on writing tables which they hand over to the Seraphim, in order that they may present them before the Holy One, blessed be He, so that He may destroy Israel from the world. But the Seraphim know from the secrets of the Holy One, blessed be He, that he desires not, that this people Israel should perish. What do the Seraphim? Every day do they receive (accept) them from the hand of Satan and burn them in the burning fire over against the high and exalted Throne in order that they may not come before the Holy One, blessed be He, at the time when he is sitting upon the Throne of Judgement, judging the whole world in truth.

CHAPTER XXVII

RADWERIEL, the keeper of the Book of Records

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel of H', the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Above the Seraphim there is one prince, exalted above all the princes, wondrous more than all the servants. His name is RADWERIEL H' who is appointed over the treasures of the books.

(2) He fetches forth the Case of Writings (with) the Book of Records in it, and brings it before the Holy One, blessed be He. And he breaks the seals of the case, opens it, takes out the books and delivers them before the Holy One, blessed be He. And the Holy One, blessed be He, receives them of his hand and gives them in his sight to the Scribes, that they may read them in the Great Beth Din (The court of justice) in the

height of 'Araboth Raqia', before the heavenly household.

(3) And why is he called RADWERIEL? Because out of every word that goes forth from his mouth an angel is created : and he stands in the songs (in the singing company) of the ministering angels and utters a song before the Holy One, blessed be He when the time draws nigh for the recitation of the (Thrice) Holy.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The 'Irin and Qaddishin

R. Ishmael said : Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Above all these there are four great princes, Irin and Qaddishin by name: high, honoured, revered, beloved, wonderful and glorious ones, greater than all the children of heaven. There is none like unto them among all the celestial princes and none their equal among all the Servants. For each one of them is equal to all the rest together.

(2) And their dwelling is over against the Throne of Glory, and their standing place over against the Holy One, blessed be He, so that the brilliance of their dwelling is a reflection of the brilliance of the Throne of Glory. And the splendour of their countenance is a reflection of the splendour of Shekina.

(3) And they are glorified by the glory of the Divine Majesty (Gebura) and praised by (through) the praise of Shekina.

(4) And not only that, but the Holy One, blessed be He, does nothing in his world without first consulting them, but after that he doeth it. As it is written (Dan. iv. 17) : "The sentence is by the decree of the 'Irin and the demand by the word of the Qaddishin."

(5) The Irin are two and the Qaddishin are two. And how are they standing before the Holy One, blessed be He? It is to be understood, that one 'Ir is standing on one side and the other 'Ir on the other side, and one Qaddish is standing on one side and the other on the other side.

(6) And ever do they exalt the humble, and they abase to the ground those that are

proud, and they exalt to the height those that are humble.

(7) And every day, as the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting upon the Throne of Judgement and judges the whole world, and the Books of the Living and the Books of the Dead are opened before Him, then all the children of heaven are standing before him in fear, dread, awe and trembling. At that time, (when) the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting upon the Throne of Judgement to execute judgement, his garment is white as snow, the hair on his head as pure wool and the whole of his cloak is like the shining light. And he is covered with righteousness all over as with a coat of mail.

(8) And those 'Irm and Qaddishin are standing before him like court officers before the judge. And they raise and argue every case and close the case that comes before the Holy One, blessed be He, in judgement, according as it is written (Dan. iv. 17) : "The sentence is by the decree of the 'Irm and the demand by the word of the Qaddishin"

(9) Some of them argue and others pass the sentence in the Great Beth Din in 'Araboth. Some of them make the requests from before uthe Divine Majesty and some close the cases before the Most

High. Others finish by going down and (confirming) executing the sentences on earth below. According as it is written (Dan. iv. 13 , 14) : " Behold an 'Ir and a Qaddishcame down from heaven and cried aloud and said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit: let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches ".

(10) Why are they called 'Irin and Qaddishint By reason that they sanctify the body and the spirit with lashes of fire on the third day of the judgement, as it is written (Hos. vi. 2): "After two days will he revive us : on the third he will raise us up, and we shall live before him."

CHAPTER XXIX

Description of a class of angels

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence,said to me:

(1) Each one of them has seventy names corresponding to the seventy tongues of the world. And all of them are (based) upon the name of the Holy One, blessed be He. And every several name is written with a flaming style upon the Fearful Crown (Keiher Nora) which is on the head of the high and exalted King.

(2) And from each one of them there go forth sparks and lightnings. And each one of them is beset with horns of splendour round about. From each one lights are shining forth, and each one is surrounded by tents of brilliance so that not even the Seraphim and the Chayyoth who are greater than all the children of heaven are able to behold them.

CHAPTER XXX

The 72 princes of Kingdoms and the Prince of the World officiating at the Great Sanhedrin in heaven

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Whenever the Great Beth Din is seated in the 'Araboth Raqia' on high there is no opening of the mouth for anyone in the world save those great princes who are called H' by the name of the Holy One, blessed be He.

(2) How many are those princes? Seventy-two princes of the kingdoms of the world besides the Prince of the World who speaks (pleads) in favour of the world before the Holy One, blessed be He, every day, at the hour when the book is opened in which are recorded all the doings of the world, according as it is written (Dan.vii.10) : "The judgement was set and the books were opened."

CHAPTER XXXI
(The attributes of) Justice, Mercy
and Truth
by the Throne of Judgement

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) At the time when the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting on the Throne, of Judgement, (then) Justice is standing on His right and Mercy on His left and Truth before His face.

(2) And when man enters before Him to judgement, (then) there comes forth from the splendour of the Mercy towards him as (it were) a staff and stands in front of him. Forthwith man falls upon his face, (and) all the angels of destruction fear and tremble before him, according as it is written (Is. xvi. 5): "And with mercy shall the throne be established, and he shall sit upon it in truth."

CHAPTER XXXII
The execution of judgement on the
wicked. God's sword

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) When the Holy One, blessed be He, opens the Book half of which is fire and half flame, (then) they go out from before Him in every moment to execute the judgement on the wicked by His sword

(that is) drawn forth out of its sheath and the splendour of which shines like a lightning and pervades the world from one end to the other, as it is written (Is. lxvi. 16): "For by fire will the Lord plead (and by his sword with all flesh)."

(2) And all the inhabitants of the world (lit. those who come into the world) fear and tremble before Him, when they behold His sharpened sword like unto a lightning from one end of the world to the other, and sparks and flashes of the size of the stars of Raqia' going out from it; according as it is written (Deut. xxxii. 41): "If I whet the lightning of my sword".

CHAPTER XXXIII
The angels of Mercy, of Peace and
of Destruction by
the Throne of Judgement. The
scribes, (vss. i, 2)
The angels by the Throne of Glory
and the
fiery rivers under it. (vss. 3-5)

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) At the time that the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting on the Throne of Judgement, (then) the angels of Mercy are standing on His right, the angels of Peace are standing on His left and the angels of Destruction are standing in front of Him.

(2) And one scribe is standing beneath Him, and another scribe above Him.

(3) And the glorious Seraphim surround the Throne on its four sides with walls of lightnings, and the 'Ophannim. surround them with fire-brands round about the Throne of Glory. And clouds of fire and clouds of flames compass them to the right and to the left; and the Holy Chayyoth carry the Throne of Glory from below: each one with three fingers. The measure of the fingers of each one is 800,000 and 700 times hundred, (and) 66,000 parasangs.

(4) And underneath the feet of the Chayyoth seven fiery rivers are running and flowing. And the breadth of each river is 365 thousand parasangs and its depth is 248 thousand myriads of parasangs. Its length is unsearchable and immeasurable.

(5) And each river turns round in a bow in the four directions of 'Araboth Raqict , and (from there) it falls down to Ma'on and is stayed, and from Ma'1 on to Zebul, from Zebul to Shechaqim, from Shechaqim to Raqia' , from Raqia' to Shamayim and from Shamayim upon the heads of the wicked who are in Gehenna, as it is written (Jer. xxiii. 19): "Behold a whirlwind of the Lord, even his fury, is gone, yea, a whirling tempest; it shall burst upon the head of the wicked".

CHAPTER XXXIV

The different concentric circles round the Chayyoth, consisting offire, water, hailstones etc. and of the angels uttering the Qedushsha responsorium

R. Ishmael said: Metatron; the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) The hoofs of the Chayyoth are surrounded by seven clouds of burning coals. The clouds of burning coals are surrounded on the outside by seven walls of flame(s). The seven walls of flame(s) are surrounded on the outside by seven walls of hailstones (stones of 'Et-gabish, Ezek. xiii. 11,13, xxviii. 22). The hailstones are surrounded on the outside by xstones of hail (stone of Barad). The stones of hail are surrounded on the outside by stones of "the wings of the tempest ".

The stones of "the wings of the tempest" are surrounded on the outside by flames of fire. The flames of fire are surrounded by the chambers of the whirlwind. The chambers of the whirlwind are surrounded on the outside by the fire and the water.

(2) Round about the fire and the water are those who utter the "Holy". Round about those who utter the "Holy" are those who utter the "Blessed". Round about those who utter the "Blessed" are the bright clouds. The bright clouds are surrounded on the outside by coals of burning juniper ; and on the outside surrounding the coals of burning juniper there are thousand camps of fire and ten thousand hosts of flame(s). And between every several camp and every several host there is a cloud, so that they may not be burnt by the fire.

CHAPTER XXXV

The camps of angels in 'Araboth Raquia: angels, performing the Qedushsha

1 R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel,

the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) 506 thousand myriads of camps has the Holy One, blessed be He, in the height of 'Araboth Raquia. And each camp is (composed of) 496 thousand angels.

(2) And every single angel, the height of his stature is as the great sea; and the appearance of their countenance as the appearance of the lightning, and their eyes as lamps of fire, and their arms and their feet like in colour to polished brass and the roaring voice of their words like the voice of a multitude.

(3) And they are all standing before the Throne of Glory in four rows. And the princes of the army are standing at the head of each row.

(4) And some of them utter the "Holy" and others utter the "Blessed", some of them run as messengers, others are standing in attendance, according as it is written (Dan. vii. 10): "Thousand

thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him : the judgment was set and the books were opened ".

(5) And in the hour, when the time draws nigh for to say the "Holy", (then) first there goes forth a whirlwind from before the Holy One, blessed be He, and bursts upon the camp of Shekina and there arises a great commotion among them, as it is written (Jer.xxx. 23): "Behold, the whirlwind of the Lord goeth forth with fury, a continuing commotion".

(6) At that moment 4thousand thousands of them are changed into sparks, thousand thousands of them into firebrands, thousand thousands into flashes, thousand thousands into flames, thousand thousands into males, thousand thousands into females, thousand thousands into winds, thousand thousands into burning fires, thousand thousands into flames, thousand thousands into sparks, thousand thousands into chashmals of light; until they take upon themselves the yoke of the kingdom of heaven, the high and lifted up, of the Creator of them all with fear, dread, awe and trembling, with commotion, anguish, terror and trepidation. Then they are changed again into their former shape to

have the fear of their King before them always, as they have set their hearts on saying the Song continually, as it is written (Is. vi. 3): "And one cried unto another and said (Holy, Holy, Holy, etc.)".

CHAPTER XXXVI

The angels bathe in the fiery river before reciting the 'Song'

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) At the time when the ministering angels desire to say (the) Song, (then) Nehar di-Nur (the fiery stream) rises with many thousand thousands and myriads of myriads" (of angels) of power and strength of fire and it runs and passes under the Throne of Glory, between the camps of the ministering angels and the troops of 'Araboth.

(2) And all the ministering angels first go down into Nehar di-Nur, and they dip themselves in the fire and dip their tongue and their mouth seven times ; and after that they go up and put on the garment of 'Machaqe Samal' and cover themselves with cloaks of chashmal and stand in four rows over against the Throne of Glory, in all the heavens.

CHAPTER XXXVII

The four camps of Shekina and their surroundings

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) In the seven Halls there are standing four chariots of Shekina, and before each one are standing the four camps of Shekina. Between each camp a river of fire is continually flowing.

(2) Between each river there are bright clouds [surrounding them], and between each cloud there are put up pillars of brimstone. Between one pillar and another there are standing flaming wheels, surrounding them. And between one wheel

and another there are flames of fire round about. Between one flame and another there are treasuries of lightnings; behind the treasuries of lightnings are the wings of the stormwind. Behind the wings of the stormwind are the chambers of the tempest; behind the chambers of the tempest there are winds, voices, thunders, sparks [upon] sparks and earthquakes [upon] earthquakes.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The fear that befalls all the heavens at the sound of the 'Holy? esp. the heavenly bodies. These appeared by the Prince of the World

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) At the time, when the ministering angels utter (the Thrice) Holy, then all the pillars of the heavens and their sockets do tremble, and the gates of the Halls of Araboth Raqia' are shaken and the foundations of Shechaqim and the Universe (Tebel) are moved, and the orders of Ma'on and the chambers of Makon quiver, and all the orders of Raqia and the constellations and the planets are dismayed, and the globes of the sun and the moon haste away and flee out of their courses and run 12,000 parasangs and seek to throw themselves down from heaven,

(2) by reason of the roaring voice of their chant, and the noise of their praise and the sparks and lightnings that go forth from their faces; as it is written (Ps. Ixxvii. 18): "The voice of thy thunder was in the heaven (the lightnings lightened the world, the earth trembled and shook) ".

(3) Until the prince of the world calls them, saying: "Be ye quiet in your place ! Fear not because of the ministering angels who sing the Song before the Holy One, blessed be He". As it is written (Job.xxxviii. 7): "When the morning stars sang together and all the children of heaven shouted for joy".

CHAPTER XXXIX
The explicit names fly off from the
Throne and all the
various angelic hosts prostrate
themselves before it at
the time of the Qedushsha

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) When the ministering angels utter the "Holy" then all the explicit names that are graven with a flaming style on the Throne of Glory fly off like eagles, with sixteen wings. And they surround and

compass the Holy One, blessed be He, on the four sides of the place of His Shekina¹.

(2) And the angels of the host, and the flaming Servants, and the mighty 'Ophannim, and the Kerubim of the Shekina, and the Holy Chayyoth, and the Seraphim, and the 'Er'ellim, and the Taphsarim and the troops of consuming fire, and the fiery armies, and the flaming hosts, and the holy princes, adorned with crowns, clad in kingly majesty, wrapped in glory, girt with loftiness, 4 fall upon their faces three times, saying: "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever".

CHAPTER XL
The ministering angels rewarded
with crowns, when uttering
the "Holy" in its right order,
and punished by consuming fire
if not. New ones created in the stead
of the consumed angels

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) When the ministering angels say "Holy" before the Holy One, blessed be He, in the proper way, then the servants of His Throne, the attendants of His Glory, go forth with great mirth from under the Throne of Glory.

(2) And they all carry in their hands, each one of them thousand thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand crowns of stars, similar in appearance to the planet Venus, and put them on the ministering angels and

the great princes who utter the "Holy". Three crowns they put on each one of them: one crown because they say "Holy", another crown, because they say "Holy, Holy", and a third crown because they say "Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hosts" .

(3) And in the moment that they do not utter the "Holy" in the right order, a consuming fire goes forth from the little finger of the Holy One, blessed be He, and falls down in the midst of their ranks and is divided into 496 thousand parts corresponding to the four camps of the ministering angels, and consumes them in one moment, as it is written (Ps. xcvi. 3): "A fire goeth before him and burneth up his adversaries round about".

(4) After that the Holy One, blessed be He, opens His mouth and speaks one word and creates others in their stead, new ones like them. And each one stands before His Throne of Glory, uttering the "Holy", as it is written (Lam. iii. 23): "They are new every morning; great is thy faithfulness".

CHAPTER XLI
Metatron shows R. Ishmael the
letters engraved on
the Throne of Glory by which
letters everything in
heaven and earth has been created

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Come and behold the letters by which the heaven and the earth were created, the letters by which were created the mountains and hills, the letters by which were created the seas and rivers, the letters by which were created the trees and herbs, the letters by which were created the planets and the constellations, the letters by which were created the globe of the moon and the globe of the sun, Orion, the Pleiades and all the different luminaries of Raqia' .

(2) the letters by which were created the Throne of Glory and the Wheels of the

Merkaba, the letters by which were created the necessities of the worlds,
 (3) the letters by which were created wisdom, understanding, knowledge, prudence, meekness and righteousness by which the whole world is sustained.
 (4) And I walked by his side and he took me by his hand and raised me upon his wings and showed me those letters, all of them, that are graven with a flaming style on the Throne of Glory : and sparks go forth from them and cover all the chambers of 'Araboth.

CHAPTER XLII

Instances of polar opposites kept in balance by several Divine Names and other similar wonders

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Come and I will show thee, where the waters are suspended in the highest, where fire is burning in the midst of hail, where lightnings lighten out of the midst of snowy mountains, where thunders are roaring in the celestial heights, where a flame is burning in the midst of the burning fire and where voices make themselves heard in the midst of thunder and earthquake.

(2) Then I went by his side and he took me by his hand and lifted me up on his wings and showed me all those things. I beheld the waters suspended on high in 'Araboth Raqia' by (force of) the name YAH 'EHYE 'ASHER 'EHYE (Jah, I am that I am), And their fruits going down from heaven and watering the face of the world, as it is written (Ps.civ.13): "(He watereth the mountains from his chambers :) the earth is satisfied with the fruit of thy work".

(3) And I saw fire and snow and hailstone that were mingled together within each other and yet were undamaged, by (force of) the name 'ESH 'OKELA (consuming fire), as it is written (Deut. iv. 24) : "For the Lord, thy God, is a consuming fire".

(4) And I saw lightnings that were lightening out of mountains of snow and yet

were not damaged (quenched), by (force of) the name YAH SUR 'OLAMIM (Jah, the everlasting rock), as it is written (Is. xxvi. 4): "For in Jah, YHWH, the everlasting rock".

(5) And I saw thunders and voices that were roaring in the midst of fiery flames and were not damaged (silenced), by (force of) the name 'EL-SHADDAI RABBA (the Great God Almighty) as it is written (Gen. xvii. i): "I am God Almighty".

(6) And I beheld a flame (and) a glow (glowing flames) that were flaming and glowing in the midst of burning fire, and yet were not damaged (devoured), by (force of) the name YAD 'AL KES YAH

(the hand upon the Throne of the Lord) as it is written (Ex. xvii. 16) : " And he said: for the hand is upon the Throne of the Lord ".

(7) And I beheld rivers of fire in the midst of rivers of water and they were not damaged (quenched) by (force of) the name 'OSE SHALOM (Maker of Peace) as it is written (Job xxv. 2): "He maketh peace in his high places". For he makes peace between the fire and the water, between the hail and the fire, between the wind and the cloud, between the earthquake and the sparks.

CHAPTER XLIII

Metatron shows R. Ishmael the abode of the unborn spirits and of the spirits of the righteous dead

R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me:

(1) Come and I will show thee 1where are1 the spirits of the righteous that have been created and have returned, and the spirits of the righteous that have not yet been created.

(2) And he lifted me up to his side, took me by his hand and lifted me up near the Throne of Glory by the place of the Shekina ; and he revealed the Throne of Glory to me, and he showed me the spirits that have been created and had returned : and they were flying above the Throne of Glory before the Holy One, blessed be He.

(3) After that I went to interpret the following verse of Scripture and I found in what is written (Isa. Ivii. 16): "for the spirit clothed itself before me, and the souls I have made" that ("for the spirit was clothed before me") means the spirits that have been created in the chamber of creation of the righteous and that have returned before the Holy One, blessed be He; (and the words:) "and the souls I have made" refer to the spirits 4 of the righteous that have not yet been created in the chamber (GUPH).

CHAPTER XLIV
Metatron shows R. Ishmael the
abode of the wicked
and the intermediate in Sheol. (vss.
1-6)
The Patriarchs pray for the
deliverance of Israel
(vss. 7-10)

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, x the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Come and I will show thee the spirits of the wicked and the spirits of the intermediate where they are standing, and the spirits of the intermediate, whither they go down, 3and the spirits of the wicked, where they go down.

(2) And he said to me : The spirits of the wicked go down to She'ol by the hands of two angels of destruction: ZA'APHIEL and SIMKIEL are their names.

(3) SIMKIEL is appointed over the intermediate to support them and purify them because of the great mercy of the Prince of the Place (Maqom). ZA'APHIEL is appointed over the spirits of the wicked in order to cast them down from the presence of the Holy One, blessed be He, and from the splendour of the Shekina to She'ol, to be punished in the fire of Gehenna with staves of burning coal.

(4) And I went by his side, and he took me by his hand and showed me all of them with his fingers.

(5) And I beheld the appearance of their faces (and, lo, it was) as the appearance of children of men, and their bodies like eagles.

And not only that but (furthermore) the colour of the countenance of the intermediate was like pale grey on account of their deeds, for there are stains upon them until they have become cleaned from their iniquity in the fire.

(6) And the colour of the wicked was like the bottom of a pot on account of the wickedness of their doings.

(7) And I saw the spirits of the Patriarchs Abraham Isaac and Jacob and the rest of the righteous whom they have brought up out of their graves and who have ascended to the Heaven (Raqirf). And

they were praying before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying in their prayer: "Lord of the Universe! How long wilt thou sit upon (thy) Throne like a mourner in the days of his mourning with thy right hand behind thee 7and not7 deliver thy children and reveal thy Kingdom in the world? And for how long wilt thou have no pity upon thy children who are made slaves among the nations of the world? Nor upon thy right hand that is behind thee wherewith thou didst stretch out the heavens and the earth and the heavens of heavens? When wilt thou have compassion?"

(8) Then the Holy One, blessed be He, answered every one of them, saying: "Since these wicked do sin so and so, and transgress with such and such transgressions against me, how could I deliver my great Right Hand in the downfall by their hands (caused by them).

(9) In that moment Metatron called me and spake to me: "My servant! Take the books, and read their evil doings!" Forthwith I took the books and read their doings and there were to be found 36 transgressions (written down) with regard to each wicked one and besides, that they have transgressed all the letters in the Tora, as it is written (Dan. ix. u) : "Yea, all Israel have transgressed thy Law". It is not written 'al torateka but 'et (JIN) torateka, for they have transgressed from 'Aleph to Taw, 40 statutes have they transgressed for each letter.

(10) Forthwith Abraham, Isaac and Jacob wept. Then said to them the Holy One, blessed be He: "Abraham, my beloved, Isaac, my Elect one, Jacob, my firstborn!

How can I now deliver them from among the nations of the world?" And forthwith MIKAEL, the Prince of Israel, cried and wept with a loud voice and said (Ps. x. i) : "Why standest thou afar off, O Lord?"

CHAPTER XLV

Metatron shows R. Ishmael past and future events recorded on the Curtain of the Throne

R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me:

(1) Come, and I will show thee the Curtain of MAQOM (the Divine Majesty) which is spread before the Holy One, blessed be He, (and) whereon are graven all the generations of the world and all their doings, both what they have done and what they will do until the end of all generations.

(2) And I went, and he showed it to me pointing it out with his fingers Mike a father who teaches his children the letters of Tora. And I saw each generation, the rulers of each generation, and the heads of each generation, the shepherds of each generation, the oppressors (drivers) of each generation, the keepers of each generation, the scourgers of each generation, the overseers of each generation, the judges of each generation, the court officers of each generation, the teachers of each generation, the supporters of each generation, the chiefs of each generation, the presidents of academies of each generation, the magistrates of each generation, the princes of each generation, the counsellors of each generation, the nobles of each generation, and the men of might of each generation, the elders of each generation, and the guides of each generation.

(3) And I saw Adam, his generation, their doings and their thoughts, Noah and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,

and the generation of the flood, their doings and their thoughts, Shem and his generation, their doings and their thoughts, Nimrod and the generation of the confusion of tongues, and his generation, their doings and their thoughts, Abraham and his generation, their doings and their thoughts, Isaac and his generation, their doings and their thoughts, Ishmael and his generation, their doings and their thoughts, Jacob and his generation, their doings and their thoughts, Joseph and his generation, their doings and their thoughts, the tribes and their generation, their doings and their thoughts, Amram and his generation, their doings and their thoughts, Moses and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,

(4) Aaron and Mirjam their works and their doings, the princes and the elders, their works and doings, Joshua and his generation, their works and doings, the judges and their generation, their works and doings, Eli and his generation, their works and doings, "Phinehas, their works and doings, Elkanah and his generation, their works and their doings, Samuel and his generation, their works and doings, the kings of Judah with their generations, their works and their doings, the kings of Israel and their generations, their works and their doings, the princes of Israel, their works and their doings; the princes of the nations of the world, their works and their doings, the heads of the councils of Israel, their works and their doings ; the heads of (the councils in) the nations of the world, their generations, their works and their doings; the rulers of Israel and their generation, their works and their doings ; the nobles of Israel and their generation, their works and their doings ; the nobles of the nations of the world and their generation(s), their works and their doings; the men of reputation in Israel, their generation, their works and their doings ; the judges of Israel, their generation, their works and their doings ; the judges of the nations of the world and their generation, their works and their doings ; the teachers of children in Israel, their generations, their works and their doings ; the teachers of children in the nations of the world, their generations, their works and

their doings; the counsellors (interpreters) of Israel, their generation, their works and their doings ; the counsellors (interpreters) of the nations of the world, their generation, their works and their doings ; all the prophets of Israel, their generation, their works and their doings ; all the prophets of the nations of the world, their generation, their works and their doings ;

(5) and all the fights and wars that the nations 16 of the world wrought against the people of Israel in the time of their kingdom. And I saw Messiah, son of Joseph, and his generation "and their" works and their doings that they will do against the nations of the world. And I saw Messiah, son of David, and his generation, and all the fights and wars, and their works and their doings that they will do with Israel both for good and evil. And I saw all the fights and wars that Gog and Magog will fight in the days of Messiah, and all that the Holy One, blessed be He, will do with them in the time to come.

(6) And all the rest of all the leaders of the generations and all the works of the generations both in Israel and in the nations of the world, both what is done and what will be done hereafter to all generations until the end of time, (all) were graven on the Curtain of MAQOM. And I saw all these things with my eyes; and after I had seen it, I opened my mouth in praise of MAQOM (the Divine Majesty) (saying thus, Eccl. viii. 4, 5): "For the King's word hath power (and who may say unto him: What doest thou?) Whoso keepeth the commandments shall know no evil thing". And I said: (Ps. civ. 24) "O Lord, how manifold are thy works!".

CHAPTER XLVI

The place of the stars shown to R. Ishmael

R. Ishmael said : Metatron said to me :

(1) (Come and I will show thee) the space of the stars that are standing in Raqia' night

by night in fear of the Almighty (MAQOM) and (I will show thee) where they go and where they stand.

(2) I walked by his side, and he took me by his hand and pointed out all to me with his fingers. And they were standing on sparks of flames round the Merkaba of the Almighty (MAQOM). What did Metatron do? At that moment he clapped his hands and chased them off from their place. Forthwith they flew off on flaming wings, rose and fled from the four sides of the Throne of the Merkaba, and (as they flew) he told me the names of every single one. As it is written (Ps. cxlvii. 4) : "He telleth the number of the stars ; he giveth them all their names", teaching, that the Holy One, blessed be He, has given a name to each one of them.

(3) And they all enter in counted order under the guidance of (lit. through, by the hands of) RAHATIEL to Raqia' ha-shSHamayim to serve the world. And they go out in counted order to praise the Holy One, blessed be He, with songs and hymns, according as it is written (Ps. xix. i): "The heavens declare the glory of God".

(4) But in the time to come the Holy One, blessed be He, will create them anew, as it is written (Lam. iii. 23): "They are new every morning". And they open their mouth and utter a song.

Which is the song that they utter? (Ps. viii. 3): "When I consider thy heavens".

CHAPTER XLVII

Metatron shows R. Ishmael the spirits of the punished angels

R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me:

(1) Come and I will show thee the souls of the angels and the spirits of the ministering servants whose bodies have been burnt in the fire of MAQOM (the Almighty) that goes forth from his little finger. And they have been made into fiery coals in the midst of the fiery river (Nehar di-Nur). But their spirits and their souls are standing behind the Shekina.

(2) Whenever the ministering angels utter a song at a wrong time or as not appointed to be sung they are burnt and consumed by the fire of their Creator and by a flame from their Maker, in the places (chambers) of the whirlwind, for it blows upon them and drives them into the Nehar di-Nur; and there they are made into numerous mountains of burning coal. But their spirit and their soul return to their Creator, and all are standing behind their Master.

(3) And I went by his side and he took me by his hand ; and he showed me all the souls of the angels and the spirits of the ministering servants who were standing behind the Shekina upon wings of the whirlwind and walls of fire surrounding them.

(4) At that moment Metatron opened to me the gates of the walls within which they were standing behind the Shekina, And I lifted up my eyes and saw them, and behold, the likeness of every one was as (that of) angels and their wings like birds' (wings), made out of flames, the work of burning fire. In that moment I opened my mouth in praise of MAQOM and said (Ps. xcii. 5): "How great are thy works, O Lord ".

CHAPTER XLVIII (A)

Metatron shows R. Ishmael the Right Hand of the Most High, now inactive behind Him, but in the future destined to work the deliverance of Israel

R. Ishmael said : Metatron said to me :

(1) Come, and I will show thee the Right Hand of MAQOM, laid behind (Him) because of the destruction of the Holy Temple ; from which all kinds of splendour and light shine forth and by which the 955 heavens were created ; and whom not even the Seraphim and the 'Ophannim are permitted (to behold), until the day of salvation shall arrive.

(2) And I went by his side and he took me by his hand and showed me (the Right Hand of MAQOM), with all manner of praise, rejoicing and song; and no mouth can tell its praise, and no eye can behold it, because of its greatness, dignity, majesty, glory and beauty.

(3) And not only that, but all the souls of the righteous who are counted worthy to behold the joy of Jerusalem, they are standing by it, praising and praying before it three times every day, saying (Is. li. 9): "Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord" according as it is written (Is. lxiii. 12): "He caused his glorious arm to go at the right hand of Moses".

(4) In that moment the Right Hand of MAQOM was weeping. And there went forth from its five fingers five rivers of tears and fell down into the great sea and shook the whole world, according as it is written (Is. xxiv. 19, 20): "The earth is utterly broken (1), the earth is clean dissolved (2), the earth is moved exceedingly (3), the earth shall stagger like a drunken man (4) and shall be moved to and fro like a hut (5)", five times corresponding to the fingers of his Great Right Hand.

(5) But when the Holy One, blessed be He, sees, that there is no righteous man in the generation, and no pious man (Chasid] on earth, and no justice in the hands of men ; and (that there is) no man like unto Moses, and no intercessor as Samuel who could pray before MAQOM for the salvation and for the deliverance, and for His Kingdom, that it be revealed in the whole world; and for His great Right Hand that He put it before Himself again to work great salvation by it for Israel,

(6) then forthwith will the Holy One, blessed be He, remember His own justice, favour, mercy and grace : and He will deliver His great Arm by himself, and His righteousness will support Him. According as it is written (Is. lix. 16): "And he saw, that there was no man" (that is:) like unto Moses who prayed countless times for Israel in the desert and averted the (Divine) decrees from them" and he wondered, that there was no intercessor" like unto Samuel who intreated the Holy One, blessed be He, and called unto Him

and he answered him and fulfilled his desire, even if it was not fit (in accordance with the Divine plan), according as it is written (i Sam. xii. 17) : "Is it not wheat-harvest to-day? I will call unto the Lord".

(7) And not only that, but He joined fellowship with Moses in every place, as it is written (Ps.xcix.6): "Moses and Aaron among His priests." And again it is written (Jer. xv. i): "Though Moses and Samuel stood before me" (Is. Ixiii. 5): "Mine own arm brought salvation unto me".

(8) Said the Holy One, blessed be He in that hour: " How long shall I wait for the children of men to work salvation according to their righteousness for my arm? For my own sake and for the sake of my merit and righteousness will I deliver my arm and by it redeem my children from among the nations of the world.

As it is written (Is. xlvi. n): "For my own sake will I do it. For how should my name be profaned".

(9) In that moment will the Holy One, blessed be He, reveal His Great Arm and show it to the nations of the world: for its length is as the length of the world and its breadth is as the width of the world. And the appearance of its splendour is like unto the splendour of the sunshine in its might, in the summer solstice.

(10) Forthwith Israel will be saved from among the nations of the world. And Messiah will appear unto them and He will bring them up to Jerusalem with great joy. And not only that but Israel will come from the four quarters of the World and eat with Messiah. But the nations of the world shall not eat with them, as it is written (Is. Hi. 10): "The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations ; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God". And again (Deut. xxxii. 12): "The Lord alone did lead him, and there was no strange god with him". (Zech. xiv. 9) : "And the Lord shall be king over all the earth".

CHAPTER XLVIII (cont.) (B)

The Divine Names that go forth from the Throne of Glory,

crowned and escorted by numerous angelic hosts through the heavens and back again to the Throne the angels sing the 'Holy' and the 'Blessed'

These are the seventy-two names written on the heart of the Holy One, blessed be He: SS, SeDeQ {righteousness}, SaHPeL SUR {Is. xxvi. 4}, SBI, SaDdlQ{righteous}, S'Ph, SHN, SeBa'oTh {Lord of Hosts},ShaDdaY {God Almighty}, 'eLoHIM {God}, YHWH, SH, DGUL, W'DOM, SSS", 'YW, 'F, 'HW, HB, YaH, HW, WWW, SSS, PPP, NN, HH, HaY {living}, HaY, ROKeB 'aRaBOTH {riding upon the 'Araboth', Ps. Ixviii. 5}, YH, HH, WH, MMM, NNN, HWW, YH, YHH, HPhS, H'S, 'I, W, S", 'Z', '"', QQQ {Holy, Holy, Holy}, QShR, BW, ZK, GINUR, GINURYa', Y', YOD, 'aLePh, H'N, P'P, R'W, YYWy YYW, BBS, DDD, TTT, KKK, KLL, SYS, 'XT', BShKMLW {= blessed be the Name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever}, completed for MeLeK HalOLaM {the King of the Universe}, JBRH LB' {the beginning of Wisdom for the children of men}, BNLK W" Y {blessed be He who gives strength to the weary and increaseth strength to them that have no might, Is. xl. 29}that go forth (adorned) with numerous crowns of fire with numerous crowns of flame, with numerous crowns of chashmal, with numerous crowns of lightning from before the Throne of Glory. And with them (there are) thousand hundreds of power (i.e. powerful angels) who

escort them like a king with trembling and dread, with awe and shivering, with honour and majesty andfear, with terror, with greatness and dignity, with glory and strength, with understanding and knowledge and with a pillar of fire and a pillar of flame and lightning and their light is as lightnings of light and with the likeness of the chashmal.

(2) And they give glory unto them and they answer and cry before them: Holy, Holy, Holy.

And they roll (convoy) them through every heaven as mighty and honoured princes. And when they bring them all back to the place of the Throne of Glory, then all the Chayyoth by the Merkaba open their mouth in praise of His glorious name, saying: "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever".

CHAPTER XLVIII (cont.) (c) An Enoch-Metatron piece

ALT 1

(1) "I seized him, and I took him and I appointed him" that is Enoch, the son of Jared, whose name is Metatron

(2) and I took him from among the children of men

(5) and made him a Throne over against my Throne. Which is the size of that Throne? Seventy thousand parasangs (all) of fire.

(9) I committed unto him 70 angels corresponding to the nations (of the world) and I gave into his charge all the household above and below.

(7) And I committed to him Wisdom and Intelligence more than (to) all the angels. And I called his name "the LESSER YAH", whose name is by Gematria 71. And I arranged for him all the works of Creation. And I made his power to transcend (lit. I made for him power more than) all the ministering angels.

ALT 2

(3) He committed unto Metatron that is Enoch, the son of Jared all treasures. And I appointed him

over all the stores that I have in every heaven. And I committed into his hands the keys of each heavenly store.

(4) I made (of) him the prince over all the princes, and I made (of) him a minister of my Throne of Glory, to provide for and arrange the Holy Chayyoth, to wreathe crowns for them (to crown them with crowns), to clothe them with honour and majesty to prepare for them a seat when he is

sitting on his throne to magnify his glory in the height.

(5) The height of his stature among all those (that are) of high stature (is) seventy thousand parasangs. And I made his glory great as the majesty of my glory.

(6) and the brilliance of his eyes as the splendour of the Throne of Glory.

(7) his garment honour and majesty, his royal crown 500 by 500 parasangs.

ALT 3

(1) Aleph1 I made him strong, I took him, I appointed him: (namely) Metatron, my servant who is one (unique) among all the children of heaven. I made him strong in the generation of the first Adam. But when I beheld the men of the generation of the flood, that they were corrupt, then I went and removed my Shekina from among them. And I lifted it up on high with the sound of a trumpet and with a shout, as it is written (Ps.xlvii. 6): "God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet".

(2) "And I took him": (that is) Enoch, the son of Jared, from among them. And I lifted him up with the sound of a trumpet and with a tera'a (shout) to the high heavens, to be my witness together with the Chayyoth by the Merkaba in the world to come.

(3) I appointed him over all the treasures and stores that I have in every heaven. And I committed into his hand the keys of every several one.

(4) I made (of) him the prince over all the princes and a minister of the Throne of Glory (and) the Halls of 'Araboth: to open their doors to me, and (of) the Throne of Glory, to exalt and arrange it; (and I appointed him over) the Holy Chayyot to wreathe crowns upon their heads; the majestic 'Ophannim, to crown them with strength and glory; the; honoured Kerubim, to clothe: them in majesty; over the radiant sparks, to make them to shine with splendour and brilliance; over the flaming Seraphim, to cover them with highness; the Chashmallim of light, to make them radiant with Light and to prepare the seat for me every morning as I sit upon the Throne of Glory. And to extol and magnify my glory in the height of my power; (and I have

committed unto him) the secrets of above and the secrets of below (heavenly secrets and earthly secrets).

(5) I made him higher than all. The height of his stature, in the midst of all (who are) high of stature (I made) seventy thousand parasangs. I made his Throne great by the majesty of my Throne. And I increased its glory by the honour of my glory.

(6) I transformed his flesh into torches of fire, and all the bones of his body into fiery coals; and I made the appearance of his eyes as the lightning, and the light of his eyebrows as the imperishable light. I made his face bright as the splendour of the sun, and his eyes as the splendour of the Throne of Glory.

(7) I made honour and majesty his clothing, beauty and highness his covering cloak and a royal crown of 500 by (times) 500 parasangs (his) diadem. And I put upon him of my honour, my majesty and the splendour of my glory that is upon my Throne of Glory. I called him the LESSER YHWH, the Prince of the Presence, the Knower of Secrets: for every secret did I reveal to him as a father and all mysteries declared I unto him in uprightness.

(8) I set up his throne at the door of my Hall that he may sit and judge the heavenly household on high. And I placed every prince before him, to receive authority from him, to perform his will.

(9) Seventy names did I take from (my) names and called him by them to enhance his glory.

Seventy princes gave I into his hand, to command unto them my precepts and my words in every language:

to abase by his word the proud to the ground, and to exalt by the utterance of his lips the humble to the height; to smite kings by his speech, to turn kings away from their paths, to set up(the) rulers over their dominion as it is written (Dan.ii. 21): "and he changeth the times and the seasons, and to give wisdom unto all the setwise of the world and understanding (and) knowledge to all who understand knowledge, as it is written (Dan. ii. 21): " and knowledge to them that know understanding", to reveal to them the

secrets of my words and to teach the decree of my righteous judgement,

(10) as it is written (Is.Iv. n): "so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth; it shall not return unto me void but shall accomplish (that which I please)". 'E'eseh' (I shall accomplish) is not written here, but "asdh' (he shall accomplish), meaning, that whatever word and whatever utterance goes forth from before the Holy One, blessed be He, Metatron stands and carries it out. And he establishes the decrees of the Holy One, blessed be He.

CHAPTER XLVIII (D)

The names of Metatron. The treasuries of Wisdom opened to Moses on mount Sinai. The angels protest against Metatron for revealing the secrets to Moses and are answered and rebuked by God. The chain of tradition and the power of the transmitted mysteries to heal diseases

(1) Seventy names has Metatron which the Holy One, blessed be He, took from his own name and put upon him. And these they are: YeHOEL, YaH, YeHOEL, YOPHIEL and Yophphiel, and 'APHPHIEL and MaRGeZIEL, GIPpUYEL, Pa'aZIEL, 'A'aH, PeRIEL, TaTRIEL, TaBKIEL, 'W, YHWH, DH, WHYH, 'eBeD, DiBbURIEL, 'aPh'aPIEL, SPPIEL, PaSPaSIEL, SeNeGRON, MeTaTRON, SOGDIN, 'ADRIgon, ASUM, SaQPAM, SaQTAM, MIGON MITTON, MOTTRON, ROSPHIM, QINOTH, ChaTaTYaH, DeGaZYaH, PSPYaH, BSKNYH, MZRG, BaRaD., MKRKK, MSPRD, ChShG, ChShB, MNRTTT, BSYRYM, MITMON, TITMON, PiSQON, SaPhSaPhYaH, ZRCh, ZRChYaH, B', BeYaH, HBH BeYaH, PeLeT, PLTYaH, RaBRaBYaH, ChaS, ChaSYaH, TaPhTaPhYaH, TaMTaMYaH, SeHaSYaH, IRURYaH, 'aL'aLYaH, BaZRIDYaH, SaTSaTKYaH, SaSDYaH, RaZRaZYAH, BaZRaZYaH, 'aRIMYaH, SBHYaH, SBIBKHYYH, SiMKaM,

YaHSeYaH, SSBIBYaH, SaBKaSBeYaH, QeLILQaLYaH, fKIHHH, HHYH, WH, WHYH, ZaKklKYaH, TUTRISYaH, SURYaH, ZeH, PeNIRHYaH, Z1Z'H, GaL RaZaYYa, MaMLIKYaH, TTYaH, eMeQ, QaMYaH, MeKaPpeRYaH, PeRISHYaH, SePhaM, GBIR, GiBbORYaH, GOR, GORYaH, ZIW, 'OKBaR, the LESSER YHWH, after the name of his Master, (Ex. xxiii. 21) "for my name is in him", RaBIBIEL, TUMIEL, Segansakkiel ('Sagnezagiel' / 'Neganzegael), the Prince of Wisdom.

(2) And why is he called by the name Sagnesakiel? Because all the treasures of wisdom are committed in his hand.

(3) And all of them were opened to Moses on Sinai, so that he learnt them during the forty days, while he was standing (remaining}: the Torah in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, the Prophets in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, the Writings in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, "the Halakas in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, the Traditions in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, the Haggadas in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues and the Toseftas in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues'.

(4) But as soon as the forty days were ended, he forgot all of them in one moment. Then the Holy One, blessed be He, called Yephiphyah, the Prince of the Law, and (through him) they were given to Moses as a gift. As it is written (Deut. x. 4): "and the Lord gave them unto me". And after that it remained with him. And whence do we know, that it remained (in his memory) ? Because it is written (Mai. iv. 4): "Remember ye the Law of Moses my servant which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, even my statutes and judgements". The Law of Moses': that is the Tora, the Prophets and the Writings, 'statutes': that is the Halakas and Traditions, 'judgements': that is the Haggadas and the Toseftas. And all of them were given to Moses on high on Sinai.

(5) These seventy names (are) a reflection of the Explicit Name(s) on the Merkaba which

are graven upon the Throne of Glory. For the Holy One, blessed be He, took from His Explicit Name(s) and put upon the name of Metatron: Seventy Names of His by which the ministering angels call the King of the kings of kings, blessed be He, in the high heavens, and twenty-two letters that are on the ring upon his finger with which are sealed the destinies of the princes of kingdoms on high in greatness and power and with which are sealed the lots of the Angel of Death, and the destinies of every nation and tongue.

(6) Said Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence; the Angel, the Prince of the Wisdom; the Angel, the Prince of the Understanding; the Angel, the Prince of the Kings; the Angel, the Prince of the Rulers; the angel, the Prince of the Glory; the angel, the Prince of the high ones, and of the princes, the exalted, great and honoured ones, in heaven and on earth:

(7) "H, the God of Israel, is my witness in this thing, (that] when I revealed this secret to Moses, then all the hosts in every heaven on high raged against me and said to me:

(8) Why dost thou reveal this secret to son of man, born of woman, tainted and unclean, a man of a putrefying drop, the secret by which were created heaven and earth, the sea and the dry land, the mountains and hills, the rivers and springs, Gehenna of fire and hail, the Garden of Eden and the Tree of Life; and by which were formed Adam and Eve, and the cattle, and the wild beasts, and the fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea, and Behemoth and Leviathan, and the creeping things, the worms, the dragons of the sea, and the creeping things of the deserts; and the Tora and Wisdom and Knowledge and Thought and the Gnosis of things above and the fear of heaven. Why dost thou reveal this to flesh and blood?

I answered them: Because the Holy One, blessed be He, has given me authority, And furthermore, I have obtained permission from the high and exalted Throne, from which all the Explicit Names go forth with lightnings of fire and flaming chashmallim.

(9) But they were not appeased, until the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked them and drove them away with rebuke from before

him, saying to them: "I delight in, and have set my love on, and have entrusted and committed unto Metatron, my Servant, alone, for he is One (unique) among all the children of heaven.

(10) And Metatron brought them out from his house of treasures and committed them to Moses, and Moses to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets and the prophets to the men of the Great Synagogue, and the men of the Great Synagogue to Ezra and Ezra the Scribe to Hillel the elder, and Hillel the elder to R. Abbahu and R. Abbahu to R. Zera, and R. Zera to the men of faith, and the men of faith (committed them) to give warning and to heal by them all diseases that rage in the world, as it is written (Ex. xv. 26): "If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord, thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his eyes, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and keep all his statutes, I will put none of the diseases upon thee, which I have put upon the Egyptians : for I am the Lord, that healeth thee".

(Ended and finished. Praise be unto the Creator of the World.)

SLAVONIC VITA ADAE ET EVAE

by R.H. Charles

Scanned and Edited by Joshua Williams

1995

from [The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament](#) Website

xxviii 1 And we sat together before the gate of paradise, Adam weeping with his face bent down to the earth, lay on the ground lamenting. And seven days passed by and we had nothing
2 to eat and were consumed with great hunger, and I Eve cried with a loud voice: 'Pity me, O Lord, My Creator; for my sake Adam suffereth thus!'

xxxix 1 And I said to Adam: 'Rise up! my lord, that we may seek us food; for now my spirit faileth me and my heart within me is brought low.' Then Adam spake to me: 'I have thoughts of
2 killing thee, but I fear since God created thine image and thou showest penitence and criest to God; hence my heart hath not departed from thee.'

xxx 1 And Adam arose and we roamed through all lands and found nothing to eat save nettles (and) grass of the field. And we returned again to the gates of paradise and cried aloud and entreated: 'Have compassion on thy creature.
2 O Lord Creator, allow us food.'

xxxi 1 And for fifteen days continuously we entreated. Then we heard Michael the archangel and Joel
2 praying for us, and Joel the archangel was commanded by the Lord, and he took a seventh part of paradise and gave it to us. Then the
3 Lord said: 'Thorns and thistles shall spring up from under thy hands; and from thy sweat shalt thou eat (bread), and thy wife shall tremble when she looketh upon thee.'

xxxii 1 The archangel Joel said to Adam: 'Thus saith the Lord; I did not create thy wife to command thee, but to obey; why art thou obedient to thy wife?' Again Joel the archangel bade Adam separate the cattle and all kinds of flying and creeping things and animals, both wild and tame; and to give names to all things. Then indeed
3 he took the oxen and began to plough.

xxxiii 1 Then the devil approached and stood before the oxen, and hindered Adam in tilling the field and said to Adam: 'Mine are the things of
2 earth, the things of Heaven are God's; but if thou wilt be mine, thou shalt labour on the earth; but if thou wilt be God's, (pray) go away to paradise.' Adam said: 'The things
3 of Heaven are the Lord's, and the things of earth and Paradise and the whole Universe.'

xxxiv 1 The devil said: 'I do not suffer thee to till the field, except thou write the bond that thou art mine.' Adam replied: 'Whosoever is lord of
2 the earth, to the same do I (belong) and my children.' Then the devil was overcome with joy. (But Adam was not ignorant that the Lord
3 would descend on earth and tread the devil under foot.) The devil said: 'Write me thy
4 bond.' And Adam wrote: 'Who is lord of the earth, to the same do I belong and my children.'

xxxv 1 Eve said to Adam, 'Rise up, my lord, let us pray to God in this cause that He set us free

from that devil, for thou art in this strait on my account.'

But Adam said: 'Eve, since thou repentest of
2 thy misdeed, my heart will hearken to thee, for the Lord created thee out of my ribs. Let us fast
forty days perchance the Lord will have pity on us and will leave us understanding and life.' I, for
my part, said: 'Do thou, (my) lord,
3 fast forty days, but I will fast forty-four.'

xxxvi 1 And Adam said to me: 'Haste thee to the river, named Tigris, and take a great stone and
place it under thy feet, and enter into the stream and clothe thyself with water, as with a cloak, up
to the neck, and pray to God in thy heart and let no word proceed out of thy mouth.' And
2 I said: 'O (my) lord, with my whole heart will I call upon God.' And Adam said to me:
3 'Take great care of thyself. Except thou seest me and all my tokens, depart not out of the water,
nor trust in the words, which are said to thee, lest thou fall again into the snare.' And
4 Adam came to Jordan and he entered into the water and he plunged himself altogether into the
flood, even (to) the hairs of his head, while he made supplication to God and sent (up) prayers to
Him.

xxxvii 1 And there, the angels came together and all living creatures, wild and tame, and all birds
that fly, (and) they surrounded Adam, like a wall, praying to God for Adam.

xxxviii 1 The devil came to me, wearing the form and brightness of an angel, and shedding big
teardrops, (and) said to me: 'Come out of the water,
2 Eve, God hath heard thy prayers and (heard) us angels. God hath fulfilled the prayers of those
who intercede on thy behalf. God hath sent me to thee, that thou mayst come out of the water.'

xxxix 1 But I (Eve) perceived that he was the devil and answered him nothing. But Adam (when)
he returned from Jordan, saw the devil's footprints, and feared lest perchance he had deceived
me; but when he had remarked me standing in the water he was overcome with joy (and) he took
2 me and led me out of the water.

xl 1 Then Adam cried out with a loud voice: 'Be silent, Eve, for already is my spirit straitened in
my body; arise, go forth, utter prayers to God, till I deliver up my spirit to God.'

(Passage follows exactly parallel to Apocalypsis Mosis xxxii. seq., but in abbreviated form.)

Return

2 Baruch

Chapter 1

1 And it happened in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah, king of Judah, that the word of the Lord came to Baruch, the son of Neriah, and said to him:

2 Have you seen all that this nation (people) are doing to Me, that the evils which these two tribes which remained have done are greater than (those of) the ten tribes which were carried away captive?

3 For the former tribes were forced by their kings to commit sin, but these two of themselves have been forcing and compelling their kings to commit sin.

4 For this reason, I bring evil upon this city, and upon its inhabitants, and it will be removed from before Me for a time, and I will scatter these people among the Gentiles that they may do good to the Gentiles. And My people will be chastened, and the time will come when they will seek the prosperity of this period (their times.)

Chapter 2

1 For I have said these things to you that you may tell Jeremiah, and all those that are like you, to leave this city.

2 For your works are to this city as a firm pillar, and your prayers as a strong wall.

Chapter 3

1 And I said: O Lord, my Lord, have I come into the world for this purpose that I might see the evils of my mother?

2 Not so, my Lord. If I have found grace in Your sight, first take my spirit that I may go to my father's and not witness the destruction of my mother.

3 For two things vehemently constrain me: for I cannot resist You, and my soul cannot behold the evils of my mother.

4 But one thing I will ask in Your presence, a Lord.

5. What will there be after these things? If You destroy Your city and deliver up Your land to those that hate us, how will the name of Israel be remembered?

6 Or how will one speak of Your praises?

7 Or to whom will Your law be explained and all things therein?

8 Or will the world return to the nature it had before, and the age revert to primeval silence?

9 And will the multitude of souls be taken away, and the nature of man not again be named? And where is all that which You said to Moses regarding us?

Chapter 4

1 And the Lord said to me: This city will be delivered up for a time, and the people will be chastened during a time, And the world will not be given over to oblivion.

2 Do you think that this is that city of which I said: On the palms of My hands have I graven you?

3 This building now built in your midst is not that which is revealed with Me, that which was prepared beforehand here from the time when I took counsel to make Paradise, and showed it to Adam before he sinned, but when he transgressed the commandment it was removed from him, as also Paradise.

4 And after these things I showed it to My servant Abraham by night among the allotted victims.

5 And again also I showed it to Moses on Mount Sinai when I showed him the likeness of the tabernacle and all its vessels.

6 And now, behold, it is preserved with Me, as also is Paradise.

7 Go, therefore, and do as I command you."

Chapter 5

1 And I answered and said: So then I am destined to grieve for Zion, For your enemies will come to this place and pollute your sanctuary, and lead your inheritance into captivity; And make themselves masters of those whom You have loved. They will depart again to the place of their idols, and will boast before them: And what will You do for Your great name?

2 And the Lord said to me: My name and My glory are to all eternity; And My judgment will maintain its right in its own time.

3 You will see with your eyes that the enemy will not overthrow Zion, nor will they burn Jerusalem, but be the ministers of the Judge for the time.

4 Now go and do what I have said to you.

5 And I went and took Jeremiah, and Adu, and Seriah, and Jabish, and Gedaliah, and all the honorable men of the people, and I led them to the valley of Cedron, and I explained to them all that had been said to me.

7 And they lifted up their voices, and they all wept.

8 And we sat there and fasted until the evening.

Chapter 6

1 And it came to pass the next day that the army of the Chaldees surrounded the city, and at the time of the evening, I, Baruch, left the people and I went out and stood by the oak.

2 And I was grieving over Zion, and lamenting over the captivity which had come upon the people.

3 Suddenly a strong spirit raised me, and carried me aloft over the wall of Jerusalem.

4 And I saw four angels standing at the four corners of the city, each of them holding a torch of fire in his hands.

5 And another angel began to descend from heaven, and said to them: Hold your lamps, and do not light them till I tell you.

6 For I am first sent to speak a word to the earth, and to place in it what the Lord the Most High has commanded me.

7 And I saw him descend into the Holy of holies, and take from there the veil, and the holy ark, and the mercy-seat, and the two tables, and the holy raiment of the priests, and the altar of incense, and the forty-eight precious stones, wherewith the priest was adorned and all the holy vessels of the tabernacle.

5 And he spoke to the earth with a loud voice: Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the mighty God, And receive what I commit to you, And guard them until the last times so that when you are ordered you may restore them, so that strangers may not get possession of them.

9 For the time comes when Jerusalem also will be delivered for a time, until it is said, that it is again restored for ever.

10 And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up.

Chapter 7

1 And after these things I heard that angel saying to those angels who held the lamps. Destroy it and overthrow its wall to its foundations so that the enemy should not boast and say: We have overthrown the wall of Zion, and we have burnt the place of the mighty God.

2 And you have seized the place where I had been standing before.

Chapter 8

1 Now the angels did as he had commanded them, and when they had broken up the corners of the walls, a voice was heard from the interior of the temple, after the wall had fallen, saying:

2 Enter, you enemies. Come, you adversaries; For he who kept the house has forsaken it.

3 And I, Baruch, departed.

4 And after these things happened the army of the Chaldees entered and seized the house and all that was around it.

5 And they led the people away captive, and killed some of them, and bound Zedekiah the King, and sent him to the King of Babylon.

Chapter 9

1 And I, Baruch, came, and Jeremiah, whose heart was found pure from sins, who had not been captured in the seizure of the city.

2 And we ripped our garments, we wept, and mourned, and fasted seven days.

Chapter 10

1 After seven days the word of God came to me, and said to me:

2 Tell Jeremiah to go and support the people who are led captive in to Babylon.

3 But you remain here amid the desolation of Zion, and I will show you after these days what will occur at the end of days.

4 And I said to Jeremiah as the Lord commanded me.

5 And he indeed, departed with the people; but I, Baruch, returned and sat before the gates of the temple, and I lamented with the following lamentation over Zion and said:

6 Blessed is he who was not born, or he, who having been born, has died.

7 But as for us who live, woe to us, Because we see the afflictions of Zion, and what has befallen Jerusalem.

8 I will call the Sirens from the sea, And you Lilin, (Lilin, in Jewish myth, was the daughter of Lilith, Adam's first wife, and the demon Samael who is often identified with Satan) come from the desert. And you Shedim and dragons from the forests: Awake and prepare yourselves for mourning; and take up with me the dirges, and make lamentation with me.

9 You husbandmen, sow not again; and, O earth, wherefore gives you your harvest fruits? Keep within you the sweets of your sustenance.

10 And you, vine, why further do you give your wine; for an offering will not again be made there from in Zion. Nor will the first-fruits again be offered.

11 And do you, O heavens, withhold your dew, and open not the treasuries of rain? 12 And do you, O sun, withhold the light of your rays? And do you, O moon, extinguish the multitude of your light? For why should light rise again where the light of Zion is darkened?

13 And you, you bridegrooms, enter not in. And let not the brides adorn themselves with garlands. And you women, pray not that you may bear.

14 For the barren will above all rejoice, And those who have no sons will be glad,

and those who have sons will have anguish.

15 For why should they bear in pain, only to bury in grief?

16 Why again should mankind have sons? Why should the offspring of their kind again be named; where this mother is desolate, and her sons are led into captivity?

17 From this time forward speak not of beauty, and do not discuss gracefulness.

18 Moreover, you priests, take you the keys of the sanctuary and cast them into the height of heaven; and give them to the Lord and say: Guard Your house Yourself. For we are found to be false stewards.

19 And you virgins who weave fine linen and silk with gold of Ophir (the place from where the fleets of Solomon brought gold), take with haste all (these) things and cast (them) into the fire, that it may carry them to Him who made them. And the flame send them to Him who created them, lest the enemy get possession of them.

Chapter 11

1 Moreover, I, Baruch, say this against you, Babylon: If you had prospered, and Zion had dwelt in her glory, the grief to us would have been great because you would be equal to Zion.

2 But now, the grief is infinite; and the lamentation measureless because you are prospered and Zion desolate.

3 Who will be judge regarding these things? Or to whom will we complain regarding that which has befallen us? O Lord, how have You borne (it)?

4 Our fathers went to rest without grief and the righteous sleep in the earth in tranquility.

5 For they knew not this anguish, nor yet had they heard of that which had befallen us.

6 Would that you had ears, O earth, and that you had a heart, O dust. That you might go and announce in Sheol (hell / place of the dead) and say to the dead: Blessed are you more than we who live.

Chapter 12

1 But I will say what I think and I will speak against you, O land, which are prospering.

2 The noonday does not always burn, nor do the rays of the sun constantly give light.

3 Do not expect [and hope] that you will always be prosperous and rejoicing. Do not be not greatly arrogant and boastful.

4 For certainly in its own season the divine rage will awake against you, even though now in long-suffering it is held in as it were by reins.

5 And when I had said these things, I fasted seven days.

Chapter 13

1 After these things I, Baruch, was standing upon Mount Zion, and a voice came from the height and said to me:

2 Stand up on your feet, Baruch, and hear the word of the mighty God.

3 Because you have been amazed at what has befallen Zion, you will therefore be certainly preserved to the conclusion of the times, that you may be for a testimony.

4 If ever those prosperous cities say: Why has the mighty God brought upon us this retribution?

5 You say to them: You and those like you who will have seen this evil; (This is the evil) and retribution which is coming upon you and upon your people in its (destined) time that the nations may be thoroughly beaten (smitten.)

6 And then they will be in anguish.

7 And if they say at that time: For how long? You will say to them: You who have drunk the strained wine, drink also of its dregs, the judgment of the Lofty One Who has no respect of persons.

8 On this account before he had no mercy on His own sons, but afflicted them as His enemies, because they sinned, then they were disciplined so that they might be sanctified.

9 But now, you peoples and nations, you are guilty because you have always trodden down the earth, and used the creation sinfully and wrongfully.

10 For I have always benefited you and you have always been ungrateful for the beneficence.

Chapter 14

1 And I answered and said: You have shown me the method (behavior / procedure) of the times, and that which will alter these things, and You have said to me that the retribution, which has been spoken of by You, will come upon the nations.

2 And now I know that those who have sinned are many, and they have lived in prosperity, and left the world, but few nations will be left in those times, to whom those words will be said which You have said.

3 For what advantage is there in this, or what evil, worse than what we have seen happen us can we expect to see?

4 But again I will speak in Your presence: What have they profited who had knowledge before You and have not walked in vanity as the rest of the nations, and have not said to the dead: "Give us life," but always feared You, and have not left

Your ways?

5 They have been carried off, nor on their account have You had mercy on Zion.

6 And if others did evil, it was due to Zion, that on account of those who do good works should be forgiven, and should not be overwhelmed on account of the works of those who practice unrighteousness.

7 But who, O Lord, my Lord, will understand Your judgment, or who will search out the profoundness of Your way?

8 Or who will think out the weight of Your path?

9 Or who will be able to think out Your incomprehensible counsel?

10 Or who of those that are born has ever found the beginning or end of Your wisdom?

11 For we have all been made like a breath. For as the breath ascends involuntarily and again dies, so it is with the nature of men, who depart not according to their own will, and know not what will befall them in the end.

12 For the righteous justly hope for the end, and without fear leave this habitation, because they have with You a store of works preserved in treasuries. 13 On this account also these without fear leave this world, and trusting with joy they hope to receive the world which You have promised them.

14 But as for us --- woe to us, who also are now shamefully treated, and at that time look forward (only) to evil.

15 But You know accurately what You have done by means of Your servants; for we are not able to understand that which is good as You are, our Creator.

16 But again I will speak in Your presence, O LORD, my Lord.

17 In ancient times there was no world with its inhabitants, You did devise and speak with a word, and with that the works of creation stood before You.

18 And You did say that You would make man the administrator of Your works, that it might be known that he was by no means made on account of the world, but the world on account of him.

19 And now I see that as the world was made on account of us, and it abides, but we, on account of whom it was made, depart.

Chapter 15

1 And the Lord answered and said to me: You are rightly amazed regarding the departure of man, but you have not judged well regarding the evils which befall those who sin.

2 And as regards what you have said, that the righteous are carried off and the impious are prospered.

3 And as regards what you have said, "Man knows not Your judgment," on this account hear, and I will speak to you, and listen, and I will cause you to hear My

words.

4 Man would not rightly have understood My judgment, unless he had accepted the law, and I had instructed him in understanding.

5 But now, because he transgressed knowingly on this ground that he worked, he will be tormented.

6 And as regards what you did say regarding the righteous, that on account of them has this world come, so also again will that which is to come, come on their account.

7 For this world is to them a strife and a labor with much trouble; and that accordingly which is to come, a crown with great glory.

Chapter 16

1 And I answered and said: O LORD, my Lord, the years of this time are few and evil, and who is able in his little time to acquire that which is measureless?

Chapter 17

1 And the Lord answered and said to me: With the Most High account is not taken of much time nor of a few years.

2 For what did it profit Adam that he lived nine hundred and thirty years, and transgressed that which he was commanded?

3 Therefore the multitude of time that he lived did not profit him, but brought death and cut off the years of those who were born from him.

4 Or wherein did Moses suffer loss in that he lived only one hundred and twenty years, and inasmuch as he was subject to Him who formed him, brought the law to the seed of Jacob, and lighted a lamp for the nation of Israel?

Chapter 18

1 And I answered and said: He that lighted has taken from the light, and there are but few that have imitated him.

2 But those many whom he has lighted have taken from the darkness of Adam and have not rejoiced in the light of the lamp.

Chapter 19

1 And He answered and said to me: So it was at that time he appointed for them a covenant. And He said to them: Behold I have placed before you life and death, and he called heaven and earth to witness against them.

2 For he knew that his time was but short, but that heaven and earth endure always.

3 But after his death they sinned and transgressed, though they knew that they had the law reproving them, and the light in which nothing could err, also the spheres

(planets and stars?) which testify, and Me.

4 Now regarding everything that is, it is I that judge, but do not you take counsel in your soul regarding these things, nor afflict yourself because of those which have been.

5 For now it is the consummation of time that should be considered, whether of business, or of prosperity, or of shame, and not the beginning thereof.

6 Because if a man be prospered in his beginnings and shamefully treated in his old age, he forgets all the prosperity that he had.

7 And again, if a man is shamefully treated in his beginnings, and at his end is prospered, he remembers not again his evil treatment.

8 And again listen; though each one were prospered all that time all the time from the day on which death was decreed against those who transgress, and in his end was destroyed, everything would have been in vain.

Chapter 20

1 Therefore, behold! The days come, and the times will hasten more than the former, and the seasons will speed on more than those that are past, and the years will pass more quickly than the present (years).

2 Therefore have I now taken away Zion, that I may the more speedily visit the world in its season.

3 Therefore hold fast in your heart everything that I command you, and seal it in the recesses of your mind.

4 And then I will show you the judgment of My might, and My ways which cannot be known.

5 Go and sanctify yourself seven days, and eat no bread, nor drink water, nor speak to anyone.

6 Afterwards come to that place and I will reveal Myself to you, and speak true things with you, and I will give you commandment regarding the method (procedure / system) of the times; for they are coming and tarry not.

Chapter 21

1 And I went thence and sat in the valley of Cedron in a cave of the earth, and I sanctified my soul there, and I ate no bread, yet I was not hungry, and I drank no water, yet I thirsted not, and I was there till the seventh day, as He had commanded me.

2 And afterwards I came to that place where He had spoken with me.

3 And it came to pass at sunset that my soul (mind) took much thought, and I began to speak in the presence of the Mighty One, and said:

4 O You that made the earth, hear me; you that have fixed the firmament by the word, and have made firm the height of the heaven by the spirit, that have called from the beginning of the world that which did not yet exist, and they obey You.

5 You that have commanded the air by Your nod, and have seen those things which are to be as those things which You are (now) doing.

6 You that rule with great thought the hosts that stand before You; also the countless holy beings which You made from the beginning from the flame and fire, which stand around Your throne where You rule with indignation.

7 To You only does this belong that You should do whatsoever You wish.

8 Who causes the drops of rain to rain by number upon the earth, and alone know the conclusion of the times before they come; have respect to my prayer.

9 For You alone are able to sustain all who are, and those who have passed away, and those who are to be, those who sin, and those who are righteous as living and being past finding out.

10 For You alone live immortal and past finding out, and know the number of mankind.

11 And if in time many have sinned, yet others not a few have been righteous.

12 You know where You preserve the end of those who have sinned, or the conclusion of those who have been righteous.

13 For if there were this life only, which belongs to all men, nothing could be more bitter than this.

14 For of what profit is strength that turns to sickness, or fullness of food that turns to famine, or beauty that turns to ugliness?

15 For the nature of man is always changeable.

16 For what we were formerly now we no longer are, and what we now are we will not afterwards continue to be.

17 For if a conclusion had not been prepared for all, then their beginning would have been in vain.

18 Everything that comes from You, You informed me, and regarding everything about which I ask You, You enlighten me?

19 How long will that which is corruptible remain, and how long will the time of mortals succeed, and until what time will those who transgress in the world be polluted with much wickedness?

20 Command in mercy and accomplish all that You said You would bring, that Your might may be made known to those who think that Your long-suffering is weakness.

21 Show to those who do not recognize it, that everything that has befallen us and our city until now has been according to the long-suffering of Your power, because on account of Your name You have called us a beloved people.

22 Bring mortality to an end. Reprimand the angel of death, and let Your glory appear, and let the might of Your beauty be known, and let Sheol be sealed so that

from this time forward it may not receive the dead, and let the treasuries of souls (the chamber of Guf, in Jewish mythology) restore those which are enclosed in them.

23 For there have been many years like those that are desolate from the days of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and of all those who are like them, who sleep in the earth, on whose account You did say that You had created the world.

24 And now quickly show Your glory, and do not put off what has been promised by You. When I had completed this prayer I was greatly weakened.

Chapter 22

1 After these things the heavens were opened, and I saw, and power was given to me, and a voice was heard from on high, and it said to me:

2 Baruch, Baruch, why are you troubled?

3 He who travels by a road but does not complete it, or who departs by sea but does not arrive at the port, can he be comforted?

4 Or he who promises to give a present to another, but does not fulfill it, is it not robbery?

5 Or he who sows the earth, but does not reap its fruit in its season, does he not lose everything?

6 Or he who plants a plant unless it grows till the time suitable to it, does he who planted it expect to receive fruit from it?

7 Or a woman who has conceived, if she bring forth untimely, does she not certainly kill her infant?

8 Or he who builds a house, if he does not roof it and complete it, can it be called a house? Tell Me that first.

Chapter 23

1, And I answered and said: "Not so, O LORD, my Lord."

2 And He answered and said to me: Why are you troubled about that which you know not, and why are you ill at ease about things of which you are ignorant?

3 You have not forgotten the people who now are and those who have passed away, so I remember those who are appointed to come.

4 Because when Adam sinned and death was the judgment against those who should be born, then the multitude of those who should be born was numbered, and for that number a place was prepared where the living might dwell and the dead might be guarded.

5 Before the appointed number is fulfilled, the creature will not live again for My spirit is the creator of life, and Sheol will receive the dead.

6 It is given to you to hear what things are to come after these times.

7 For truly My redemption has drawn near, and is not as distant as it was.

Chapter 24

1 The days come and the books will be opened in which are written the sins of all those who have sinned, and also the treasures in which the righteousness of all those who have been righteous in creation is gathered.

2 For it will come to pass at that time that you will see, and the many that are with you, the long-suffering of the Most High, which has been throughout all generations, who has been long-suffering towards all who are born, like those who sin and those who are righteous."

3 And I answered and said: But Lord, no one knows the number of those things which have passed nor yet of those things which are to come.

4 For I know indeed that which has befallen us, but what will happen to our enemies I know not, and when You will visit Your works.

Chapter 25

1 And He answered and said to me: You too will be preserved till that time till that sign which the Most High will work for the inhabitants of the earth in the end of days.

2 This therefore will be the sign:

3 When a stupor will seize the inhabitants of the earth, and they will fall into many tribulations, and again when they will fall into great torments.

4 And it will come to pass when they say in their thoughts because of their much tribulation: The Mighty One doth no longer remember the earth yea, it will come to pass when they abandon hope, that the time will then awake.

Chapter 26

1 And I answered and said: Will that tribulation which is to be, continue a long time, and will it necessitate many years?

Chapter 27

1 And He answered and said to me: Into twelve parts (pieces or section) is that time divided, and each one of them is reserved for that which is appointed for it.

2 In the first section (piece) there will be the beginning of commotions.

3 And in the second section (piece) slayings of the great ones.

4 And in the third section (piece) the fall of many by death.

5 And in the fourth section (piece) the sending of the sword.
6 And in the fifth section (piece) famine and the withholding of rain.
7 And in the sixth section (piece) earthquakes and terrors and wanting (need for food, water, and shelter).
8 And in the eighth section (piece) a multitude of specters and attacks of the Shedim.
9 And in the ninth section (piece) the fall of fire.
10 And in the tenth section (piece) rapine and much oppression.
11 And in the eleventh section (piece) wickedness and hedonism.
12 And in the twelfth section (piece) confusion from the mingling together of all those things aforesaid.
13 For these slices of that time are reserved, and will be mingled one with another and reinforce one another.
14 For some will leave out some of their own, and receive (in its stead) from others, and some complete their own and that of others, so that those may not understand who are upon the earth in those days that this is the consummation of the times.

Chapter 28

1 Nevertheless, whosoever understands will then be wise.
2 For the measure and reckoning of that time are two parts (pieces or section) a week of seven weeks.
3 And I answered and said: It is good for a man to come and behold, but it is better that he should not come lest he fall.
4 But I will ask this also: Will he who is incorruptible despise those things which are corruptible? What happens in the case of those things which are corruptible, so that he might look only to those things which are not corruptible?
5 But if, O Lord, those things will certainly come to pass which You have foretold to me, show this to me also if indeed I have found grace in Your sight. 6 Is it in one place or in one of the sections of the earth that those things are come to pass, or will the whole earth experience them?

Chapter 29

1 And He answered and said to me: Whatever will befall the whole earth all who live will experience.
2 For at that time I will protect only those who are found in those same days in this land.
3 And when all is accomplished that was to come to pass in those sections, that the Messiah will then begin to be revealed.
4 And Behemoth will be revealed from his place and Leviathan will ascend from the

sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and will have kept until that time; and then they will be food for all that are left.

5 The earth also will yield its fruit ten thousand fold and on each vine there will be a thousand branches, and each branch will produce a thousand clusters, and each cluster produces a thousand grapes, and each grape produces a cor (a unit of measure approximately 517 pints) of wine.

6 And those who have hungered will rejoice, moreover, they will behold marvels every day.

7 For winds will go forth from before Me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits, and at the close of the day clouds distilling the dew of health.

8 And it will come to pass at that same time that the treasury of manna will again descend from on high, and they will eat of it in those years, because these are they who have come to the end of time.

Chapter 30

1 And it will come to pass after these things, when the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled, that He will return in glory.

2 Then all who have fallen asleep in hope of Him will rise again.

3 And it will come to pass at that time that the treasures will be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous, and they will come forth, and a multitude of souls will be seen together in one assemblage of one thought, and the first will rejoice and the last will not be grieved. For they know that the time has come of which it is said, that it is the consummation of the times.

4 But the souls of the wicked, when they behold all these things, will then waste away the more.

5 For they will know that their torment has come and their perdition has arrived."

Chapter 31

1 And after these things I went to the people and said to them:

2 Assemble to me all your elders and I will speak words to them.

3 And they all assembled in the valley of the Cedron. And I answered and said to them: Hear, O Israel, and I will speak to you, And give ear, O seed of Jacob, and I will instruct you.

4 Forget not Zion, But hold in remembrance the anguish of Jerusalem.

5 For the days come, when everything exists will become the prey of corruption and will be as though it had not been.

Chapter 32

1 But if you prepare your hearts, so as to sow in them the fruits of the law, it will protect you in that time in which the Mighty One is to shake the whole creation.
2 Because after a little time the building of Zion will be shaken in order that it may be built again.
3 But that building will not remain, but will again after a time be pulled up by the roots, and will remain desolate until the time.
4 And afterwards it must be renewed in glory, and perfected for evermore.
5 Therefore we should not be distressed so much over the evil which has now come as over that which is still to be.
6 For there will be a greater trial than these two tribulations when the Mighty One will renew His creation.
7 And now do not draw near to me for a few days, nor seek me till I come to you.
8 And when I had spoken to them all these words, that I, Baruch, went my way, and when the people saw me leaving, they lifted up their voice and lamented and said: To what place do you depart from us, Baruch, and forsake us as a father who forsakes his orphan children, and departs from them?

Chapter 33

1 Are these the commands which your companion, Jeremiah the prophet, commanded you, and said to you:
2 Look to this people till I go and make ready the rest of the brethren in Babylon, against whom has gone forth the sentence that they should be led into captivity?
3 And now if you also forsake us, it were good for us all to die before you withdraw from us.

Chapter 34

1 And I answered and said to the people: Far be it from me to forsake you or to withdraw from you, but I will only go to the Holy of Holies to inquire of the Mighty One concerning you and concerning Zion; in the hopes I should receive more illumination and after these things I will return to you.

Chapter 35

1 And I, Baruch, went to the holy place, and sat down upon the ruins and wept, and said:
2 O that mine eyes were springs, and mine eyelids a spring of tears.
3 For how will I lament for Zion, and how will I mourn for Jerusalem?

4 Because in that place where I am now prostrate, of old the high priest offered holy sacrifices; and placed thereon an incense of fragrant odors.

5 But now our glorying has been made into dust, And the desire of our soul into sand.

Chapter 36

1 And when I had said these things I fell asleep there, and I saw a vision in the night.

2 I saw a forest of trees planted on the plain, and lofty and rugged rocky mountains surrounded it, and that forest occupied much space. 3 And over beside it arose a vine, and from under it there went forth a peaceful fountain.

4 Now that fountain came to the forest and was agitated into great waves, and those waves submerged that forest, and suddenly they pulled up by the roots the greater section (area) of that forest, and overthrew all the mountains which were around it.

5 And the height of the forest began to be made low, and the top of the mountains was made low and that fountain greatly overtook it, so that it left nothing of that great forest save one cedar only.

6 Also when it had cast it down and had destroyed and pulled up by the roots the greater part of that forest, so that nothing was left of it, nor could its place be recognized, then that vine began to come with the fountain in peace and great tranquility, and it came to a place which was not far from that cedar, and they brought the cedar which had been cast down to it.

7 And I saw that vine opened its mouth and spoke and said to that cedar: Are you not that cedar which was left of the forest of wickedness, and by whose means wickedness persisted, and did evil all those years, and goodness never?

8 And you kept conquering that which was not yours, and to that which was yours you never showed compassion, and you kept extending your power over those who were far from you, and those who ventured near to you held tightly in the toils of your wickedness, and you lifted yourself up always as one that could not be pulled up by the roots!

9 But now your time has sped by and your hour is come. Do you also therefore depart O cedar, after the forest, which departed before you, and become dust with it, and let your ashes be mingled together?

10 And now lay down in anguish and rest in torment till your last time comes, in which you will come again and be tormented still more.

Chapter 37

1 And after these things I saw that cedar burning, and the vine glowing and all

around it the plain was full of unfading flowers. And I awoke and arose.

Chapter 38

1 And I prayed and said: O LORD, my Lord, You always enlighten those who are led by understanding.

2 Your law is life, and Your wisdom is right guidance.

3 Make known to me the interpretation of this vision.

4 For You know that my soul has always walked in Your law, and from my earliest days I departed not from Your wisdom.

Chapter 39

1 And He answered and said to me: Baruch, this is the interpretation of the vision which you have seen.

2 As you have seen the great forest which lofty and rugged mountains surrounded, this is the word.

3 The days come, and this kingdom will be destroyed which once destroyed Zion, and it will be subjected to that which comes after it.

4 After a time the kingdom will be destroyed, and another, a third, will arise, and that also will have dominion for its time, and will be destroyed. 5 And after these things a fourth kingdom will arise, whose power will be harsh and evil far beyond those which were before it, and it will rule many times as the forests on the plain, and it will hold firmly for a time, and will exalt itself more than the cedars of Lebanon.

6 And by it the truth will be hidden, and all those who are polluted with sinfulness will flee to it, as evil beasts flee and creep into the forest.

7 And when the time of its end and fall has approached, then the kingdom of My Messiah will be revealed, which is like the fountain and the vine, and when it is revealed it will root out the multitude of its host.

8 And concerning that which you have seen, the lofty cedar, which was left out of that forest, and the fact, that the vine spoke those words with it which you did hear, this is the word.

Chapter 40

1 The last leader of that time will be left alive, when the multitude of his hosts will be put to the sword, and he will be bound, and they will take him up to Mount Zion, and My Messiah will convict him of all his unlawful deeds, and will gather and set before him all the works of his hosts.

2 And afterwards he will put him to death, and protect the rest of My people which will be found in the place which I have chosen.

3 And his kingdom will stand for ever, until the world of corruption is at an end, and until the times aforesaid are fulfilled.

4 This is your vision, and this is its interpretation.

Chapter 41

1 And I answered and said: For whom and for how many will these things be or who will be worthy to live at that time?

2 I will speak to you everything that I think, and I will ask of You regarding those things about which I think.

3 I see many of Your people who have with drawn from Your covenant, and cast from them the yoke of Your law.

4 But I have seen others who have forsaken their vanity, and fled for refuge beneath Your wings.

5 What will become of them or how will the last time receive them?

6 Or perhaps the time of these will certainly be weighed, and as the beam inclines will they be judged accordingly?

Chapter 42

1 And He answered and said to me: "I will show you these things also.

2 To whom will these things be, and how many will they be?"

3 To those who have believed there will be the good which was spoken of before, and to those who despise there will be the contrary.

4 And regarding those who have drawn near (to Me) and those who have withdrawn (from Me) this is the word. As for those who were before subject (to Me), and afterwards withdrew and mingled themselves with the seed of mingled peoples, the time of these was the former, and was accounted as something exalted.

5 As for those who before knew (Me) not but afterwards knew life, and mingled (only) with the seed of the people which had separated itself the time of these (is) the latter, and is accounted as something exalted. 6 Time will succeed to (advance) time and season to season, and one will receive

from another, and then with a view to the conclusion everything will be compared according to the measure of the times and the hours of the seasons.

7 Corruption will take those that belong to it, and life will take those that belong to it.

8 And the dust will be called, and there will be said to it: Give back that which is not yours, and raise up all that you have kept until its time.

Chapter 43

1 But, do you, Baruch, direct your heart to that which has been said to you, and understand those things which have been shown to you? For there are many eternal comforts for you.

2 You will leave this place, and you will pass from the regions which you see now, and you will forget whatever is corruptible, and will not again recall those things which happen among mortals.

3 Go and command your people, and come to this place, and afterwards fast seven days, and then I will come to you and speak with you.

Chapter 44

1 And I, Baruch, went from that place and came to my people, and I called my firstborn son and the Gedaliahs my friends, and seven of the elders of the people, and I said to them:

2 I go to my fathers according to the way of all the earth.

3 But you should not withdraw from the way of the law, but guard and admonish the people which remain;

4 that they should not withdraw from the commandments of the Mighty One, for you see that He whom we serve is just, and our Creator is no respecter of persons.

5 And see what has happened to Zion, and what has happened to Jerusalem.

6 For the judgment of the Mighty One will be made known, and His ways, which, though past finding out, are right.

7 For if you endure and persevere in fear (respect / awe) of Him, and do not forget His law, the times will change over you for good. And you will see the consolation (reward) of Zion.

8 Because whatever exists now is nothing, but that which will be is very great. For everything that is corruptible will pass away, and everything that dies will depart, and all the present time will be forgotten, nor will there be any remembrance of the present time, which is defiled with evil.

9 That which runs now runs to vanity, and that which prospers will quickly fall and be humiliated.

10 That which is to come will be the object of desire, and for that which comes afterwards will we hope.

11 For it is a time that will not pass, and the hour comes which abides for ever.

12 And the new world (comes) which is blessedness and does not turn to corruption for those who depart to it, but it has no mercy on those who depart to torment, and it leads to perdition those who live in it.

13 For these are they who will inherit that time which has been spoken of, and theirs is the inheritance of the promised time. 14 These are they who have acquired for themselves treasures of wisdom, and with them are found stores of understanding, and they have not withdrawn from mercy and the truth of the law have they preserved. 15 For to them will be given the world to come, but the dwelling of the rest, who are many, will be in the fire."

Chapter 45

1 Instruct the people as far as you are able, for that labor is ours. For if you teach them, you will quicken them.

Chapter 46

1 And my son and the elders of the people answered and said to me: Has the Mighty One humiliated us to such a degree as to take you from us quickly?
2 We will truly be in darkness, and there will be no light to the people who are left. For where again will we seek the law, or who will distinguish for us between death and life?
3 And I said to them: I cannot resist the throne of the Mighty One; nevertheless, there will not be wanting in Israel for a wise man, nor a son of the law to the race of Jacob.
4 But only prepare your hearts, that you may obey the law, and be subject to those who in fear are wise and understanding;
5 And prepare your souls that you may not leave them.
6 For if you do these things, good things will come to you., which I before told you of; nor will you fall into the torment, of which I testified to you before.
7 But with regard to the word that I was to be taken I did not make it known to them or to my son.

Chapter 47

1 And when I had gone out and dismissed them, I went from there and said to them:
2 I go to Hebron: for that is where the Mighty One has sent me. And I came to that place where the word had been spoken to me, and I sat there, and fasted seven days.

Chapter 48

1 And it came to pass after the seventh day, that I prayed before the Mighty One and said, O my Lord, You summon the advent of the times and they stand before You;

2 You cause the power of the ages to pass away, and they do not resist You; You arrange the method (progress / procedures) of the seasons, and they obey You.

3 You alone know the duration of the generations, and You do not reveal Your mysteries to many.

4 You make known the multitude of the fire, and You weigh the lightness of the wind.

5 You explore the limit of the heights, and You scrutinize the depths of the darkness.

6 You care for the number which pass away that they may be preserved and You prepare an habitation (abode) for those that are to be.

7 You remember the beginning which You have made, and the destruction that is to be You do not forget. 8 With nods of fear and indignation You command the flames, and they change into spirits, and with a word You quicken that which was not, and with mighty power You hold that which has not yet come.

9 You instruct created things in the understanding of You, and You make wise the spheres (orbs / heavenly bodies) so as to minister in their orders.

10 Armies innumerable stand before You and minister in their orders quietly at Your nod.

11 Hear Your servant and give ear to my petition.

12 For in a little time are we born, and in a little time do we return.

13 But with You hours are as a time (an age / eon) , and days as generations.

14 Be not angry with man; for he is nothing and take not account of our works; for what are we?

15 For by Your gift we come into the world, and we depart not of our own will.

16 For we said not to our parents, Beget us, Nor did we send to Sheol (place of the dead) and say, Receive us.

17 What therefore is our strength that we should bear Your rage or what are we that we should endure Your judgment?

18 Protect us in Your compassions, and in Your mercy help us.

19 Behold the little ones that are subject to You, and save all that draw near to You: Do not destroy the hope of our people, and do not cut short the times (occurrences) of our aid.

20 For this is the nation which You have chosen, and these are the people, to whom You find no equal.

21 But I will speak now before You, and I will say as my heart thinks.

22 In You do we trust, for Your law is with us and we know that we will not fall so long as we keep Your statutes.

23 To all time are we blessed at all events in this that we have not mingled with the Gentiles.

24 For we are all one celebrated people, who have received one law from One:

25 And the law which is among us will aid us, and the surpassing wisdom which is in us will help us.

26 And when I had prayed and said these things, I was greatly weakened. And He answered and said to me: You have prayed simply, O Baruch, and all your words have been heard.

27 But My judgment exacts its own and My law exacts its rights.

28 For from your words I will answer you, and from your prayer I will speak to you.

29 For this is as follows: he that is corrupted is not at all (is as though he does not exist);

30 He has acted sinfully in any way he could and has not remembered my goodness, and has not remembered My goodness, nor accepted My long-suffering.

31 Therefore you will surely be taken up, as I before told you.

32 For that time will arise which brings affliction; for it will come and pass by with quick vehemence, and it will be turbulent coming in the heat of indignation.

33 And it will come to pass in those days that all the inhabitants of the earth will be moved one against another, because they do not know that My judgment has drawn near.

34 For there will not be found many wise at that time, and the intelligent will be but a few. Moreover, even those who know will most of all be silent.

35 And there will be many rumors and tidings, not just a few. And the actions and deeds of spirits (phantoms) will be manifest, and many promises will be recounted. Some of them (will prove) idle, and some of them will be confirmed.

36 And honor will be turned into shame, and strength will be humiliated into contempt, and decency will be destroyed, and beauty will become ugliness.

37 And many will say to many at that time: "Where has the multitude of intelligence hidden itself, and to what place has the multitude of wisdom removed itself?"

38 And while they are thinking on these things, envy will arise in those who had not thought highly of themselves, and passion will seize him that is peaceful, and many will be stirred up in anger to injure many, and they will rouse up armies in order to shed blood, and in the end they will perish together with them.

39 And it will come to pass at the same time, that a change of times will manifestly appear to every man, because in all those times they polluted themselves. and they practiced oppression, and walked every man in his own works, and remembered not the law of the Mighty One.

40 Therefore a fire will consume their thoughts, and in flame will the control of their thoughts be tested; for the Judge will come and will not tarry, because each of the inhabitants of the earth knew when he was transgressing. But because of their pride they did not know My Law.

41 But many will certainly weep over the living more than over the dead.

42 And I answered and said: O Adam, what have you done to all those who are born

from you? And what will be said to the first Eve who hearkened to the serpent?
43 For all this multitude are going to corruption, nor is there any numbering of those whom the fire will devour.
44 But again I will speak in Your presence.
45 You, O LORD, my Lord, know what is in Your creature.
46 Long ago You command the dust to produce Adam, and You know the number of those who are born from him, and how far they have sinned before You, who have existed and not confessed You as their Creator.
47 Their end will convict all of them, and Your law which they have transgressed will reward (revenge) them on Your day.
48 But now let us dismiss the wicked and inquire about the righteous.
49 And I will recount their blessedness and not be silent in celebrating their glory, which is reserved for them.
50 This transitory world which you live, has made you endured much labor in a short time, so in that world to which there is no end you will receive great light.

Chapter 49

1 Nevertheless, I will again ask mercy from You, O Mighty One, who made all things.
2 In what shape will those live who live in Your day? Or how will the splendor of those who are after that time continue?
3 Will they then resume this form of the present, and put on these members which hold us back, impeded us, and are now involved in evils, and in which evils are consummated, or will You possibly change these things which have been in the world as You also change the world?

Chapter 50

1 And He answered and said to me: "Hear, Baruch, this word, and write the remembrance of all that you will learn in your heart.
2 The earth will certainly return the dead, which it now receives in order to preserve them. It will not change their form, but it will return them in the same form it received them, and as I delivered them to it, so will it raise them.
3 Then it will be necessary to show the living that the dead have come to life again, and that those who had departed have returned again.
4 And when they have recognized those whom they now know, then judgment will grow strong, and those things which were spoken of prior will come to be.

Chapter 51

1 When that appointed day has passed, the appearance of those who are condemned will be changed and the glory of those who are justified will be shown.

2 For the appearance of those who act wickedly will become worse because they will suffer torment.

3 But the glory of those who have now been justified in My law, who have had understanding in their life, and who have planted the root of wisdom in their heart, their splendor for their face will be changed and glorified. Their face will be turned into the light of their beauty, that they may be able to take and receive the world which does not die, which is promised to them at that time.

4 Those that rejected My law, and stopped their ears that they might not hear wisdom or receive understanding will lament their actions over and above all things.

5 When they see those they were exalted over but who will be exalted and glorified more than they, they will both be transformed, the latter into the splendor of angels, and the former will waste away more as they wonder at the visions when they see the angelic forms.

6 For they will first see these things and afterwards depart to be tormented.

7 But those who have been saved by their works, and to whom the law has been a hope and understanding, and an expectation, and wisdom, and a confidence, will have wonders appear in their time.

8 For they will behold the world which is now invisible to them, and they will behold the time which is now hidden from them:

9 And time will no longer cause them to age.

10 For they will dwell in the high places of that world and they will be made like the angels and they will be made equal to the stars, and they will be changed into every form they desire from beauty to loveliness and from light to glorious splendor.

11 Before them the borders of Paradise will be spread out, and the beauty and majesty of the living creatures which are beneath the throne will be shown to them. They will see the armies of the angels who are held fast by My word, lest they should appear and are held fast by a command, that they may stand in their places until the time of their appearance comes.

12 There will be righteous excellence surpassing that of the angels.

13 For the first will receive the last. Those who have passed away will receive whom they were expecting. Those who had passed away and who we had heard of we should expect to see.

14 For they have been delivered from the tribulation of this world and laid down their burden of anguish.

15 For what have men lost their life, and for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul?

16 They did not choose the time which is beyond the reach of anguish. But they

chose that time whose results are full of lamentations and evils, and they denied the world which does make those who come to it grow old, but they rejected the time of glory. Thus that they will not have the honor of which I told you before."

Chapter 52

- 1 And I asked: How can we forget those whom are destined for sorrow?
- 2 Why do we mourn for those who die? Why do we weep for those who depart to Sheol?
- 3 Lamentations should be reserved for the beginning of the torment to come. Let tears be stored up for the time of destruction.
- 4 But even in the face of these things will I speak. What will the righteous do now?
- 5 Rejoice in the suffering which you now suffer. Why do you look for the decline of your enemies?
- 6 Make your soul ready for what is reserved for you, and prepare your souls for the reward which is stored up for you.

Chapter 53

- 1 And when I had said these things I fell asleep and I saw a vision. A cloud was ascending from a very large sea, and I kept looking at it and I saw it was full of black and white waters, and there were many colors in those same waters, and it looked like powerful lightning as seen from a summit.
- 2 And I saw the cloud passing quickly in short courses, and it covered all the earth.
- 3 Then, after these things that cloud began to pour all the waters that were in it upon the earth.
- 4 And I saw that all the waters which fell from it looked different.
- 5 To begin with, the waters were black and there was a lot for a time, and afterwards I saw that the waters became bright, but they were not as much, and after that I again saw black waters, and after these things again bright, and again black and again bright how this was done twelve times, but the black were always more numerous than the bright.
- 6 At the end of the cloud it rained black waters, and they were darker than had been all those waters that were before, and fire was mingled with them, and where those waters descended, they work devastation and destruction.
- 7 And after all of this I saw that lightning I had seen on the summit of the cloud seized hold of it and hurled it to the earth.
- 8 Now that lightning shone very brightly so that it illuminated the whole earth, and it healed those regions where the last waters had descended and work devastation.
- 9 And it took hold of the whole earth, and had dominion over it.

10 After these things I saw the twelve rivers were ascending from the sea, and they began to surround that lightning and to become subject to it.

11 And because of my fear I awoke.

Chapter 54

1 And I besought the Mighty One, and said: You alone, O Lord, know the deep things of the world before they happen. The things which occur in their times You bring about by Your word. You speed the beginning of these times against the works of the inhabitants of the earth, and the end of the seasons You alone know.

2 For You nothing is too hard. You do everything easily by a nod.

3 You, to whom the depths come as the heights, and whose word the beginnings of the ages serve;

4 You, who reveal to those who fear what You prepared for them so that they may be comforted.

5 You show great acts to those who do not know You. You break down the walls of those who are ignorant, and You light up what is dark, and You reveal what is hidden to the pure, who have submitted themselves to You and in Your law.

6 You have shown your servant this vision. Reveal its interpretation to me.

7 I know that for those things I have asked You about, I have received an answer. You have revealed to me with what voice I should praise You, and with what members of mine I should praise You and cause hallelujahs to ascend to You.

8 If my members were mouths and the hairs of my head were voices, I could not give you adequate food of praise, nor could I worship you as is befitting. I could never tell the glory of your beauty or praise you enough.

9 For what am I among men? Why am I counted among those who are more excellent than I that I have heard all these marvelous things from the Most High and numberless promises from Him who created me?

10 Blessed be my mother among those that bear, and let she that bare me be praised among women.

11 For I will not be silent in praising the Mighty One, and with the voice of praise I will tell His marvelous deeds.

12 For who does deeds like Your marvelous deeds, O God? Who comprehends Your deep thought of life.

13 With Your counsel You govern all the creatures which Your right hand has created. You have established every fountain of light beside You, and You have prepared the treasures of wisdom beneath Your throne.

14 Those who do not love your law perish justly. The torment of judgment awaits those who have not submitted themselves to Your power.

15 For though Adam first sinned and untimely brought death upon all, yet each of

those who were born from him has prepared his own soul for the torment to come, and each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come.

16 It is certain that he who believes will receive reward.

17 But now, you wicked are bond for destruction because you will quickly be visited because you have rejected the understanding of the Most High.

18 His works have not taught you, and you have not been convinced by the skill of His creation which argued with you continually.

19 Adam is therefore not the cause, except for only his own soul, but each of us has been the Adam (man) of his own soul.

20 But You, O Lord, explain (open) to me those things which You have revealed to me, and inform me regarding that which I besought You.

21 For at the creation and until the end of the world, vengeance will be taken upon those who have done wickedness according to the wickedness in them, and You will glorify the faithful according to their faithfulness.

22 For those who are among Your own You rule, and those who sin You blot out from among Your own.

Chapter 55

1 Then, when I had finished speaking the words of this prayer I sat there under a tree that I might rest in the shade of the branches.

2 And I wondered and was amazed as I pondered the multitude of goodness which sinners who are upon the earth have rejected, and the tremendous torment they have hated, though they knew that they would be tormented because of the sin they had committed.

3 And when I was thought about these things the angel Ramiel, who presides over visions of truth, was sent to me, and he said to me:

4 Why does your heart trouble you, Baruch, and why do you have disturbing thoughts?

5 If the report you have only heard regarding judgment moved you so much what will you do when you see it manifest before yours eyes?

6 And if you expect the day of the Mighty One and you are so overcome just by the expectation, what will you do when you come to its actual occurrence?

7 If at the mention of the announcement of the torment of those who have done foolishly, you are so completely upset, how much more will you be when the event reveals astonishing things? And if you have heard announcements of the good and evil things which are coming and are grieved, what will you do when you behold the majesty that will be revealed, which will convict some and cause others to rejoice.

Chapter 56

- 1 Nevertheless, because you have asked the Most High to reveal to you the interpretation of the vision you have seen, I have been sent to tell you.
- 2 And the Mighty One has certainly made known to you the arrangement of the times which have passed, and are destined to pass in His world regarding those of deceit and of those of truth from the beginning of its creation to its end.
- 3 As you saw, a tremendous cloud ascended from the sea, and covered the earth. This is the duration of the world which the Mighty One made when he thought to make the world.
- 4 And when the world came into being and had left His presence (area of the throne), the time of the world was short, and was established according to the vast intelligence of Him who sent it.
- 5 And as you saw before on the summit of the cloud, black waters descended previously on the earth. This is the transgression that Adam the first man committed.
- 6 For since the time he transgressed, (early) untimely death came. Grief was named and anguish was prepared, pain was created, and trouble was born, disease took hold, and Sheol kept demanding to be renewed in blood The birth of children was brought about, and the passion of parents was its fruit, and the greatness of humanity was humiliated, and goodness died.
- 7 What can be blacker or darker than these things?
- 8 This is the beginning of the black waters which you have seen.
- 9 From these black waters, black was derived, and from the darkness, darkness was produced.
- 10 For he became a danger to his own soul and even to the angels.
- 11 At the time when he was created, they (the angels) enjoyed liberty.
- 12 But some of them descended, and mingled with the women. 13 And those who did so were tormented in chains.
- 14 But the rest of the multitude of the angels, of which there is no number, restrained themselves.
- 15 Those who lived on the earth perished together with them (the fallen angels) through the waters of the flood.
- 16 These are the first black waters.

Chapter 57

- 1 And after these waters you saw bright waters. This is the spring of Abraham and his generations and the birth of his son and his son's son and of those like them.
- 2 Because at that time the unwritten law was named among them. The words of the

commandments were then fulfilled. Belief in the coming judgment was then born and hope of the world that was to be renewed was then created. The promise of life to come was begun.

3 These are the bright waters, which you have seen.

Chapter 58

1 The third black waters you have seen are the mingling of all sins, which the nations committed after the death of those righteous men in the wickedness of the land of Egypt where they did unrighteousness. And they made their sons serve unrighteousness.

2 However, these also perished in the end.

Chapter 59

1 And the fourth bright waters you have seen are the birth of Moses, Aaron, Miriam, and Joshua the sons of Nun and Caleb and of all those like them.

2 For at that time the lamp of the eternal law shone on all those who sat in darkness, which announced to them that believe the promise of their reward, and to them that deny, the torment of fire which is reserved for them.

3 But also the heavens at that time were shaken from their place, and those who were under the throne of the Mighty One were disturbed, when He was taking Moses to Himself For He showed him many reproofs along with the principles of the law and the completion of the times, as He also showed to you. He also showed the pattern of Zion and its size, in the pattern of which the sanctuary of the present time was to be made.

4 But then also He showed him the size of the fire, the depths of the abyss, the weight of the winds, the number of the drops of rain,

5 How much of (His) anger (He) holds back, and the amount of long-suffering (He has), and the truth of (His) judgment,

6 And the origin of wisdom, the wealth of understanding, the wellspring of knowledge,

7 The height of the air, and the greatness of Paradise, the end of the ages, and the beginning of the day of judgment,

8 The amount of the offerings, the earths which are yet to come,

9 The mouth of Gehenna (hell), the place of vengeance, the place of faith, and the place of hope, 10 The visions of future torment, the multitude of angelic hosts, the flaming hosts,

the splendor of the lightning and the voice of the thunders, the orders of the captains of the angels, the treasures of light, and the changing of times, and the searching of

the law.

11. These are the bright fourth waters which you have seen.

Chapter 60

1 The fifth black waters you have seen rammg are the deeds the Amorites committed, and the spells of their incantations which they performed, and the unrighteousness contained in their mysteries, and the pollutions they mixed.

2 Even Israel was polluted by sins in the days of the judges, though they saw many slip from Him who made them.

Chapter 61

1 And the sixth bright waters you saw is the time in which David and Solomon were born.

2 That was the time of the building of Zion, the dedication of the sanctuary, the shedding of much blood of the nations that sinned, and many offerings which were given in the dedication of the sanctuary.

3 Peace and tranquility existed at that time, And wisdom was heard in the congregation.

4 The wealth of understanding was magnified in the congregations, and the holy feasts and ceremonies were carried out in blessings and great joy.

5 The judgment of the rulers was without guile and it was witnessed as such. The righteous law of the Mighty One was accomplished with truth.

6 And the land was then loved by the Lord because its inhabitants sinned not and it was glorified beyond all lands. At that time the city Zion ruled over all lands and regions.

7 These are the bright waters which you have seen.

Chapter 62

1 And the seventh black waters which you have seen is the perversion brought about by the counsel of Jeroboam, who decided to make two calves of gold:

2 And all the iniquities which kings who were after him sinfully worked,

3 And the curse of Jezebel and the worship of idols which Israel practiced at that time.

4 The withholding of rain, and the famines which occurred until women ate the fruit of their wombs,

5 And the time of their captivity which came upon the nine tribes and a half tribe because they were in many sins.

6 Then, Salmanasar, King of Assyria, came and led them away captive.
7 But regarding the Gentiles, how they always were sinful and wicked, and always unrighteousness would be wearisome to tell
8 These are the seventh black waters which you have seen.

Chapter 63

1 And the eighth bright waters you have seen is the correction and uprightness of Hezekiah King of Judah and the grace of God which came upon him. 2 When Sennacherib was aggressing in order to kill Hezekiah the deadly rage of Sennacherib troubled Hezekiah because a great population of the nations were with him .
3 When Hezekiah the king heard those things which the king of Assyria was devising and how he planned to come and seize him and destroy his people, the two and a half tribes which remained and how he wished to overthrow Zion Hezekiah trusted in his works, and had hope in his righteousness, and spoke with the Mighty One and said:
4 "Look! Sennacherib is prepared to destroy us, and he will boast and strut when he has destroyed Zion."
5 And the Mighty One heard him because Hezekiah was wise and so He listened to his prayer because he was righteous.
6 Then the Mighty One commanded Ramiel, His angel, who speaks with you.
7 And I went out and destroyed their population, whose count of their chiefs alone was a hundred and eighty-five thousand, and each one of them had an equal number that he commanded.
8 And at that time I burned their bodies from the inside out, but their clothing and weapons I preserved outwardly so that more wonderful deeds of the Mighty One might be seen, and that because of this His name might be spoken of throughout the whole earth.
9 And Zion was saved and Jerusalem delivered and Israel was freed from tribulation.
10 And all those who were in the holy land rejoiced, and the name of the Mighty One was mentioned and glorified.
11 These are the bright waters which you have seen.

Chapter 64

1 "The ninth black waters which you saw was all the wickedness which was in the days of Manasseh the son of Hezekiah.
2 His deed showed that he had no regard for God. He killed the righteous people,

and he forcibly stole away judgment. He shed the blood of the innocent. He violently raped women, he overturned the altars and destroyed their offerings. He drove out their priests so that they could not minister in the sanctuary.

3 He made an image with five faces: four of them looked to the four winds, and the fifth on the top of the image was a passionate enemy of the Mighty One.

4 Then rage went out from the presence of the Mighty One to the intent that Zion should be pulled up by its roots, just like it happened in your days.

5 A decree went out from God against the two tribes and a half tribe that they should also be led away captive, as you have now seen.

6 The impiety of Manasseh increased greatly to the point that it removed the praise of the Most High from the sanctuary.

7 Because of this Manasseh was then named "the impious", and finally his dwelling was in the fire.

8 For though his prayer was heard by the Most High, finally, when he was thrown into the brass horse and the brass horse was then melted, it was meant as a sign to him for that time.

9 He had not lived perfectly. He was not worthy but this was done so that he might know by whom he should be tormented in the end.

10 For He who is able to reward is also able to torment. Chapter 65

1 Manasseh acted without regard for God, and thought that in his time the Mighty One would not look into these things.

2 These are the ninth black waters which you saw.

Chapter 66

1 "And the tenth bright waters which you have seen is the purity of the generations of Josiah King of Judah, who was the only one at the time who submitted himself to the Mighty One with all his heart and with all his soul.

2 He cleansed the land from idols, and sanctified all the vessels which had been polluted, and restored the offerings to the altar, and the horn of the holy was lifted, and he exalted the righteous, and honored all that were wise in understanding, and brought back the priests to their ministry, and destroyed and removed the magicians and enchanters and necromancers from the land.

3 He killed the sinners that were living and they also took from the sepulchers the bones of the dead and burned them with fire.

4 He established the festivals and the Sabbaths in their sanctity. He burned their polluted ones in the fire and the lying prophets which deceived the people were also burned in the fire, and the people who listened to them when they were living, he threw them into the brook Cedron, and heaped stones upon them.

5 And he was zealous with passion for the Mighty One with all his soul. He alone

was steadfast in the law at that time, so that he left none that was uncircumcised, or that sinned in all the land, all the days of his life.

6 Therefore he will receive an eternal reward, and he will be glorified with the Mighty One beyond many at a later time.

7 For on his account and on account of those who are like him were the honorable glories, of which you was told before, created and prepared.

8 These are the bright waters which you have seen.

Chapter 67

1 And the eleventh black waters which you have seen is the calamity which is now befalling Zion.

2 Do you think that there is no anguish to the angels in the presence of the Mighty One because Zion was delivered up in such a way or that the Gentiles boast in their hearts, and amass before their idols? The gentiles say, 'she who so often trod down is now trodden down and she who reduced others to slavery is now a slave herself.

3 Do you think that in these things the Most High rejoices, or that His name is glorified?

4 But how will it effect His righteous judgment?

5 Yet after these things the gentile will seize and scatter them in the tribulation and they will dwell in shame in every place.

6 Because Zion is delivered up and Jerusalem has been laid waste, idols prosper in the cities of the Gentiles, and the cloud of smoke from the incense of the righteousness which the commands is now extinguished in Zion. In every place in and surrounding Zion there is the smoke of sin.

7 The King of Babylon who has now destroyed Zion will arise, and he will boast about being ruler over the people, and he will speak great things in his heart in the presence of the Most High. 8 But he will fall in the end. These are the black waters.

Chapter 68

1 The twelfth bright waters which you have seen is the word.

2 After these things occur a time will come when your people will fall into distress, so that they will all run the risk of perishing together.

3 Nevertheless, they will be saved, and their enemies will fall in their presence.

4 In time they will have much joy.

5 After a little space of time Zion will be built again, and its offerings will be restored again, and the priests will return to their ministry, and the Gentiles will come to glorify it, but not as fully as they did in the beginning.

6 After these things there will be the fall of many nations.

8 These are the bright waters which you have seen."

Chapter 69

1 The last waters which you have seen were darker than all that were before them. Those were after the twelfth number were collected together. They belong to the entire world.

2 The Most High made division from the beginning, because He alone knows what will happen due to the depth and breadth of the sin which will be committed before Him. He foresaw six kinds of them.

5 He also foresaw six kinds of good works of the righteous which will be accomplished before Him. They will go beyond those which He will work at the end and conclusion of the age.

6 For Him there were not black waters with black, nor bright with bright; because it is the end.

Chapter 70

1 Hear the interpretation of the last black waters which are to come after the all other black waters. This is the word.

2 The days will come when the time of the age is ripe that is the harvest of evil and good seeds. This is what the Mighty One will bring upon the earth and its inhabitants and upon its rulers. It is disturbing to the spirit and lethargy of heart.

3 They will hate one another, and provoke one another to fight, and the cruel will rule over the honorable, and those of low status will be honored above the famous.

4 Many will be delivered into the hands of the few, and those who were nothing will rule over the strong. The poor will have abundance beyond the rich, and the wicked will exalt themselves above the heroic.

5 The wise will be silent, and the foolish will speak. The ideas of men will not be heeded, nor will the counsel of the mighty. The hope of those who hope be will not be rewarded.

6 And when those things which were predicted have come to pass confusion will fall upon all men. Some of them will fall in battle, some of them will die in torment and pain, and some of them will be destroyed by their own people.

7 Then the Most High will reveal those peoples whom He has prepared from before and they will come and make war with the leaders that will be left.

8 And whosoever survives the war will die in the earthquake, and whosoever survives the earthquake will be burned by the fire, and whosoever survives the fire will be destroyed by famine. 9 But whosoever of the victors and the' vanquished survives and escapes all these

things mentioned before will be delivered into the hands of My servant Messiah.
10 For all the earth will devour its inhabitants.

Chapter 71

1 And the holy land will have mercy on its own, and it will protect its inhabitants at that time.
2 This is the vision you have seen and this is the interpretation.
3 I have come to tell you these things because your prayer has been heard by the Most High.

Chapter 72

1 Listen, regarding the bright lightning which is to come at the end, after the black waters. This is the word.
2 After the signs which you were told of before, when the nations become turbulent, and the time of My Messiah is come, he will summon all the nations. Some of them he will spare, and some of them he will kill.
3 These things will come upon the nations which are spared by Him.
4 Every nation which does not know Israel and has not trodden down the seed of Jacob will be spared.
5 This is because some out of every nation will be subjected to your people.
6 But all those who have ruled over you or have known you will be given up to the sword.

Chapter 73

1 When He has brought everything that is in the world low and has sat down on the throne of His kingdom in peace for the dispensation, joy will be revealed and rest will appear.
2 Healing will descend in the dew and disease will go away and anxiety, pain and sorrow will vanish from among men. Gladness will go forth through the whole earth.
3 And no one will again die before his time (young) nor will adversity suddenly befall any.
4 Judgments, reproach, arguments, revenge, spilling of blood, passions, envy, hatred, and things like these will be condemned when they are removed.
5 For it is these very things which have filled this world with evils. On account of these the life of man has been greatly troubled.
6 Wild beasts will come from the forest and minister to men, asps and dragons

(serpents) will come out from their holes to submit themselves to a little child.
7 Women will no longer then have pain when they bear children or suffer torment when they yield the fruit of the womb.

Chapter 74

1 In those days the reapers will not grow weary, nor those that build be weary from work. The works will quicken itself and speed those who do the work and give them much tranquility.
2 That which is corruptible will be destroyed. It is the beginning of that which is not corruptible.
3 Those things predicted will belong to this age. It is far removed from evil and near to things eternal.
4 This is the bright lightning which came after the last dark waters."

Chapter 75

1 And I asked: Lord, Who can understand Your goodness? For it is incomprehensible.
2 Who can look into your compassions, which are infinite?
3 Who can understand Your intelligence?
4 Who is able to explain the thoughts of Your mind?
5 Who of those born can hope to attain those things unless to him are merciful and gracious?
6 Certainly if You did not have compassion on those who are under Your right hand they could not come to those things. Only those who are in the numbers you named can be called.
7 We who exist know why we have come and so we submit ourselves to Him who brought us out of Egypt. We will come again and remember those things which have passed. We will rejoice in what has been.
8 But if we do not know why we have come and if we do not recognize the kingdom of Him who brought us up out of Egypt, we will have to come again and seek after those things which have been now. We will be grieved with pain again because of those things which have befallen.

Chapter 76

1 And He answered and said to me: This vision has been revealed and interpreted to you as you asked me to do, now hear the word of the Most High that you may know what is to befall you after these things.

2 You will surely leave this earth, but not by death, but you will be preserved until the end of the age (times).

3 Go up to the top of that mountain, and all the regions of that land, and the figure of the inhabited world, and the tops of the mountains, and the depth of the valleys, and the depths of the seas, and the number of the rivers will pass before you so that you may see what you are leaving, and to what place you are going. Now this will happen after forty days.

4 Go now during these days and teach the people as much as you are able so that they may learn and not die at the last age but they may learn in order that they may live at the last age."

Chapter 77

1 And I, Baruch, went from there and came to the people, and assembled them together from the greatest to the least, and said to them:

2 Hear, children of Israel! See how many of you are who remain of the twelve tribes of Israel.

3 To you and to your fathers the Lord gave a law more excellent than to all peoples.

4 Because your brethren transgressed the commandments of the Most High, He brought vengeance upon you and upon them. He did not spare the former, and the latter also He gave into slavery.

5 He did not leave a trace of them. But you are here with me.!

6 If you direct your ways correctly you will not depart as your brethren departed, but they will come back to you.

7 You worship He who is full of mercy. Your hope is in Him who is gracious and true. He will do good and not evil.

8 Have you not seen what has befallen Zion?

9 Do you think that the place (area/location) had sinned and that is why it was overthrown? Did you think that the land had performed foolishness and that because of this it was delivered up?

10 Don't you know it was because of you who sinned, that those things which did not sin were overthrown? It was because of you who performed wickedness that those thing which did not do foolish acts were delivered up to its enemies?

11 All the people answered and said to me, We can recall the good things which the Mighty One has done for (to) us. We do recall them. There are these things and those things which we do not remember that He in His mercy knows.

12 In spite of this, please do this for us, your people, write to our brethren in Babylon an letter of (religious) teaching and a scroll containing hope so that you may confirm them before you leave us.

13 The religious leaders (shepherds) of Israel have died, and the lamps which gave

light are extinguished, and the fountains from which we drank have withheld their stream.

14 We are left in the darkness among the trees of the forest, the thirst of the wilderness."

15 And I answered and said to them: Shepherds and lamps and fountains come from the law: And though we leave, yet the law remains.

16 If you have respect for the law, and are determined to become wise, a lamp will not be lacking, and a shepherd (religious leader) will not fail, and a fountain will not dry up.

17 I will write also to your brethren in Babylon, and I will send by means of men, and I will write in like manner to the nine tribes and a half, and send by means of a bird.

18 And on twenty-first day in the eighth month that I, Baruch, came and sat down under the oak under the shadow of the branches, and no man was with me, but I was alone.

19 And I wrote these two letters; one I sent by an eagle to the nine and a half tribes;

20 And the other I sent to those that were at Babylon by means of three men.

21 And I called the eagle and spoke these words to it: The Most High has made you that you should be higher than all birds.

22 Now go and do not stop in any place, nor enter a nest, nor settle upon any tree, till you have passed over the breadth of the many waters of the river Euphrates, and have gone to the people that dwell there, and drop down to them this letter.

23 Remember that at the time of the deluge Noah received the fruit of the olive from a dove when he sent it out from the ark.

24 The ravens also ministered to Elijah, bringing him food as they had been commanded.

25 Solomon, in the time of his kingdom, when he wished to send or seek for anything, commanded a bird to go out and it obeyed him as he commanded it.

26 So do not tire, and do not turn to the right hand nor the left, but fly and go by a direct way, that you may preserve the command of the Mighty One, according as I said to you.

Chapter 78

1 These are the words of that letter which Baruch the son of Neriah sent to the nine and a half tribes, which were across the river Euphrates, in which these things were written.

2 Baruch the son of Neriah says to the brethren carried into captivity: "Mercy and peace."

3 I bear in mind, my brethren, the love of Him who created us, who loved us from

ancient times, and never hated us, but above all taught us.

4 And truly I know that all of us in the twelve tribes are bound by one bond, inasmuch as we are born from one father.

5 Because of this I have been the more diligent to leave you the words of this letter before I die, so that you may be comforted regarding the evils which have come upon you, and also that you may be grieved regarding the evil that has befallen your brethren; and also that you may justify (understand and accept) His judgment which He has decreed against you that you should be carried away captives. What you have suffered is a sentence disproportionably greater than what you have done. But this was done in order that, at the last times, you may be found worthy of your fathers.

6 So, if you consider that you have now suffered those things for your good, that you may not be condemned and tormented in the end, then you will receive eternal hope. But you must remove from your heart all error and vanity, for it was because of this you departed from here.

7 If you so do these things He will never forget you. He who gave His promise to those greater than us but on our behalf, that He will never forget or forsake us, but will gather together again those who were dispersed with much mercy.

Chapter 79

1 Now, my brethren, learn first what befell Zion and how Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon came up against us.

2 For we have sinned against Him who made us, and we have not kept the commandments which he ordered us to keep. Yet he has not chastened us as we deserved.

3 For what befell you we also suffer in a the highest degree, for it happened to us also.

Chapter 80

1 And now, my brethren, I reveal to you that when the enemy had surrounded the city the angels of the Most High were sent, and they collapsed the fortifications of the strong wall and they destroyed the solid iron corners, which could not be pulled up.

2 Nevertheless, they hid all the vessels of the sanctuary, to prevent the enemy from possessing them.

3 And when they had done these things, they delivered to the enemy the collapsed wall, and the plundered house, and the burnt temple, and the people who were overcome because they were delivered up. They did this so the enemy could not

boast and say: "In war, by force have we been able to lay waste to the house of the Most High."

4 They also have bound your brethren and led away them to Babylon, and have forced them to live there.

5 But we, being very few, have been left here ..

6 This is the tribulation about which I wrote to you.

7 And certainly I know that alleviation of the pain of the inhabitants of Zion consoles you. You knew that they prospered so your consolation was greater than the tribulation which you endured in having to leave it.

Chapter 81

1 But regarding consolation, listen to my word.

2 I was grieving regarding Zion, and I prayed for mercy from the Most High, and I said:

3 How long will these things last for us? Will we always have these evils on us?"

4 The Mighty One acted according out of the multitude of His mercies and according to the vastness of His compassion. He revealed to me His word so that my suffering would be relieved. He showed me visions that I should not again endure anguish. He made known to me the mystery of the times. And the advent of the hours he showed me.

Chapter 82

1 Therefore, my brethren, I have written to you, that you may comfort yourselves regarding the multitude of tribulations.

2 You know that our Maker will certainly avenge us and do to our enemies according to all that they have done to us. The end, which the Most High will make is very near will bring His mercy and the final result of His judgment is by no means far off.

3 For now we see the numerous prosperity of the Gentiles, even though they act sinfully and they are like a vapor.

4 We see their great power, even though they act wickedly, But they will become like a drop (of water).

5 We see the strength of their might, even though they resist the Mighty One every hour. But they will be considered as spittle.

6 We consider the glory of their greatness, though they do not keep the statutes of the Most High. But as smoke will they pass away.

7 And we think about the beauty of their gracefulness, even though they give it with pollutions. But as grass that withers will they fade away.

8 And we consider the strength of their cruelty, though they do not remember what it brought or how it ended. But as a wave that passes (through them) they will be broken.

9 And we remark about how they brag about being mighty although they deny that it was God that gave it to them. But they will disappear like a passing cloud.

Chapter 83

1 Most High will certainly speed up His times, and He will bring on His hours.

2 He will judge those who are in His world with certainty, and visit truth on all their hidden works.

3 He will examine the secret thoughts, and those things of all the members of man which they laid up in the secret chambers. He will make them appear in the presence of all with reproof.

4 Allow none of these present things to ascend into your hearts, but above all let us be expectant because that which is promised to us will come.

5 Do not let us look to the delights of the Gentiles now but let us remember what has been promised to us in the end.

6 For the end of the times and of the seasons and whatever is with them will cease together.

7 The conclusion of the age will show the tremendous strength of its ruler, when all things come to judgment.

8 Prepare your hearts for that which you have believed or you will be in bondage in both worlds and you be led away captive here and be tormented there.

9 That which is now or which was, or which will come, is the evil fully evil, nor the good fully good.

10 For all your health of this time are turning into sickness, and all strength of this time is turning into weakness, and all the power of this time is turning into impotence, and the energy of youth is turning into old age and death.

11 Every beauty of gracefulness of this time is becoming faded and hateful, and every prideful kingdom of this time is turning into humiliation and shame, and every praise of the glory of this time is turning into the embarrassment of silence, and every empty bragging insult of this time is turning into a mute ruin.

12 Every delight and joy of this time is turning to worms and decay, and every noise of the proud of this time is turning into dust and lethargy.

13 Every possession of riches of this time is being turned into Sheol (hell) alone, and all the yearning of passion of this time is turning into death, and every lustful desire of this time is turning into judgment with torment.

14 Every trick and craftiness of this time is turning into a proof of the truth. Every sweet ointment of this time is turning into judgment and condemnation, and every

love of lying is turning to rudely to the truth.

15 Since all these things are done now does anyone think that they will not be avenged? The consummation of all things will come to the truth.

Chapter 84

1 Because of these things I have revealed to you this while I am still alive. I have said these things that you should learn the things that are excellent, for the Mighty One has commanded me to instruct you. So I will set before you some of the commandments of His judgment before I die.

2 Do not forget that Moses called heaven and earth to witness against you and said:

3 If you transgress the law you will be dispersed, but if you keep it you will be kept." He also used to say these things to you when you, the twelve tribes, were together in the desert.

4 After his death you threw them away from you and because of this there came upon you what had been predicted.

5 Moses used to tell you tell you what would befall you, and now you see they have befallen you because you have forsaken the law.

6 Now, I also say to you after you have suffered, that if you obey those things which have been said to you, you will receive from the Mighty One whatever has been laid up and waiting for you.

7 Let this letter be for a testimony between me and you so that you may remember the commandments of the Mighty One and that there may be to me a defense in the presence of Him who sent me.

8 And remember the law and Zion, the holy land, your brethren, and the covenant of your fathers. Do not forget the festivals and the sabbaths.

9 Deliver this letter and the traditions of the law to your sons after you, as also your fathers delivered them to you.

10 At all times make requests and pray diligently and unceasingly with your whole heart that the Mighty One may hold nothing against you, and that He may not count the multitude of your sins, but instead remember the rectitude of your fathers.

11 If He do not judges us according to the multitude of His mercies, woe to all us who are born.

Chapter 85

1 Do you not know that in the past and in the generations of old our fathers had helpers? They were righteous men and holy prophets.

2 We were in our own land and they helped us when we sinned, and they interceded for us with Him who made us, because they trusted in their works, and the Mighty

One heard their prayer and forgave us.

3 But now the righteous have been gathered and the prophets have fallen asleep, and we also have gone out from the land, and Zion has been taken from us, and we have nothing now except the Mighty One and His law.

4 If therefore we direct and commit our hearts we will receive everything that we lost, and much better things than we lost by many times.

5 For what we have lost would decay, but what we will receive will not be corruptible.

6 Also, I have written to our brethren to Babylon that to them also I may testify to these very things.

7 Let all those things I said before be always before your eyes, because we are still in the spirit and the power of our liberty.

8 The Most High is long-suffering towards us here, and He has shown us what is to be, and has not concealed from us what will happen in the end.

9 Before judgment takes its own (costs), and truth that which is its due, let us prepare our souls so that we may possess and not be taken as a possession and that we may hope and not be put to shame, and that we may rest with our fathers, and not be tormented with our enemies.

10 For the youth of the world is past, and the strength of the creation already exhausted, and the occurrence of the times is very short because they have already passed by. The pitcher is near to the cistern, and the ship to the port, and the course of the journey nears the city, and life to its conclusion.

11 Prepare your souls, so that when you sail and ascend from the ship you may have rest and not be condemned when you depart.

12 When the Most High will bring about all these things there will not be a place left for repentance, nor a limit to the times or a duration for the hours, or a change of ways, or a place to pray, or a way to send pleas, or to receive knowledge, or give of love. There will be no place of repentance for the soul, nor prayers for offences, nor intercession of the fathers, nor prayer of the prophets, nor help of the righteous.

13 There is the sentence of decay, the way of fire, and the path which leads to Gehenna (place of burning/ hell/ destruction).

14 There is one law (made) by one. There is one age and an end for all who are in it.

15 Then He will save those whom He can forgive, and at the same time destroy those who are polluted with sins.

Chapter 86

1 When you receive this, my letter, read it in your congregations with care.

2 Meditate on it, and above all do this on the days of your fasts.

3 Keep me in mind by means of this letter, as I also keep you in mind in it, always.

Fare you well.

Chapter 87

1 And when I had ended all the words of this letter, and had written it without tiring to its close, that I folded it, and sealed it carefully, and bound it to the neck of the eagle, and dismissed it and sent it.

THE
ANCHOR
BIBLE

MATTHEW

A NEW TRANSLATION
WITH
INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY BY
W. F. ALBRIGHT and C. S. MANN



THE ANCHOR YALE BIBLE
MATTHEW



Introduction, Translation, and Notes
by

W. F. ALBRIGHT

AND

C. S. MANN

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PREFACE

At a time when the Anchor Bible was still supposed to consist of concise, one-volume paperbacks, the editors invited Professor W. D. Davies to prepare commentaries on Matthew and Mark. He accepted, but pressure of other work kept delaying him until he finally decided—presumably because of the steadily increasing length of the published contributions—that he would have to give up the assignment. We were greatly disappointed, but fortunately Dr. C. S. Mann of London and Baltimore had just finished collaborating with the senior editor on the unfinished commentary on Acts left by the late lamented Johannes Munck. We agreed to collaborate on the Matthew commentary.

We owe special thanks to the junior editor, Professor David Noel Freedman, for reading the manuscript and pointing out weaknesses in the original treatment.

We owe a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. Leona Running, of Andrews University, Michigan, for much invaluable help at various stages of the preparation of this work, and not least in the final editing of the typescript.

For much too long a time the course of New Testament scholarship has been dictated by theological, quasi-theological, and philosophical presuppositions. In far too many cases commentaries on NT books have neglected such basic requirements as up-to-date historical and philological analysis of the text itself. In many ways this preoccupation with theological and metaphysical interpretation is the unacknowledged child of Hegelianism. To this should be added the continuing and baleful influence of Schleiermacher and his successors on the whole treatment of historical material. The result has often been steadfast refusal to take seriously the findings of archaeological and linguistic research. We believe that there is less and less excuse for the resulting confusion in this latter half of the twentieth century.

Closely allied with these presuppositions is the ever present fog of existentialism, casting ghostly shadows over an already confused landscape; Existentialism as a method of interpreting the New Testament is based upon a whole series of undemonstrable postulates of Platonic, Neo-Platonic, left-wing scholastic, and relativistic origins. So anti-historical is this approach that it fascinates speculative minds which prefer clichés to factual data, and shifting ideology to empirical research and logical demonstration.

In this commentary we have endeavored to take the words of Matthew's gospel seriously and to see behind them a whole cultural, legal, and spiritual tradition growing around the belief that Israel was the chosen people of God and that the coming of the Messiah was the fulfillment of God's revelation of himself to men. This is the conviction with which the nascent Christian community met

the world of its day, both Jewish and Greek, and there is no understanding of our NT sources unless the conviction that Jesus was the promised Messiah is treated seriously. We have, therefore, taken considerable pains to place the Jesus of the gospels firmly against his own background, making full use of all the evidence now available—historical, archaeological, and linguistic. For example, we have insisted that it is absolutely necessary to take seriously Greek historical sources such as Josephus and Eusebius, both of whom are now being vindicated as careful historians by independent discoveries. This is particularly true of the discoveries at Masada, Qumran, Chenoboskion, and Ugarit (the last-mentioned may seem anachronistic to NT scholarship, but it has done more to demonstrate the accuracy of Eusebius' use of such sources as Philo Byblius than any other discovery of modern times). Similarly, in spite of steadfast refusal on the part of some writers to give credence to the discoveries at Qumran as illustrating the New Testament, the cumulative results of Qumran studies so far have more than vindicated the tentative conclusions drawn by some of the first writers in the field.

Of almost equal importance for the NT scholar have been the epoch-making discoveries in Palestinian archaeology since the beginning of this century. We now possess a great deal more information about social and cultural conditions in Palestine in the time of Jesus than was dreamed possible seventy years ago.

In preparing this volume we have drawn especially on the results of Qumran research and other recent discoveries in the area of early Jewish sectarian studies as well as on the critical rehabilitation of early Christian historians. Thanks to this material, we have been able to determine the kind of Aramaic spoken by Jesus to an extent never before remotely approached. As a result we have resumed the research of the senior author on the original Aramaic form of the proper names of the New Testament, begun nearly fifty years ago and continued intermittently since then. This particular research has proved to have implications far beyond those originally envisaged. We do not believe that any *substantial* part of our present gospel text was first *written* in Aramaic, though the possibility of such a composition cannot be ruled out entirely. Research on the proper names has led to recognition of the extraordinary importance of the Syriac recensions for better understanding of the gospels.

It is doubtful whether this commentary would ever have been written at all without the highly original investigations carried on by the late Abram Spiro, of Wayne State University, on the importance of the Samaritans in NT tradition. This particular collaboration began with the joint study of some *pēsher* (commentary) fragments of Qumran while the senior author was in Detroit in April 1964. It led to a prolonged and voluminous correspondence between us, in

which the junior author joined soon after his arrival in this country in July 1965. Dr. Spiro's untimely death put an end to this fruitful co-operation, but a mass of manuscript material is preserved, the most important of which was condensed by the authors of the present volume into a long appendix to Johannes Munck's Anchor commentary on Acts. In our opinion, Spiro's work is revolutionary in its importance for proper understanding of early Christian tradition in the book of Acts, and it casts a bright light on the parallel gospel tradition. We must rank Spiro's contributions to the understanding of the New Testament on a par with the Qumran and Chenoboskion discoveries and the new knowledge about the development of Aramaic dialects. We gratefully dedicate this volume to his memory.

W.F.A. and C.S.M.

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108. JESUS' FINAL COMMISSION (28:16–20)†

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PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

1. PUBLICATIONS

- BA Biblical Archaeologist
CBQ Catholic Biblical Quarterly
ET Expository Times
IB The Interpreter's Bible, 12 vols., New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1951–57
ICC International Critical Commentary
IDB The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, 4 vols., New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962
JBL Journal of Biblical Literature
NovT Novum Testamentum
NTS New Testament Studies
1QH Qumran Hymns of Thanksgiving
1QS Qumran Manual of Discipline
RB Revue Biblique
StB H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 6 vols., Munich: Beck, 1922–61
StEv *Studia Evangelica*. Papers from the Oxford International Congresses of NT Studies, published at Berlin, Akademie-Verlag
TNTS *Twelve New Testament Studies*, by John A. T. Robinson, London: SCM, 1962
TS Theological Studies
TWNT *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, eds. Gerhard Kittel et al., Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933–
ZNW Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche

2. VERSIONS

- AB The Anchor Bible, 1964–
KJ The King James, or Authorized Version of 1611
LXX The Septuagint
MT Masoretic Text
NEB The New English Bible, 1961, 1970
RSV The Revised Standard Version, 1946, 1952

3. OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

- Ar. Arabic
Aram. Aramaic
Gr. Greek

Heb.	Hebrew
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
Syr.	Syriac
TB	Talmud Babli
TY	Talmud Yerushalmi

INTRODUCTION

I. THE GOSPEL AND THE CANONICAL “GOSPELS”

A

The four books in our New Testament which are called the “gospels” stand alone, in that there is no other material by which to judge them.¹ This is not to say that they are a wholly new literary form, but rather that the material they discuss is not to be found paralleled anywhere else. It is true that during the centuries after the events recorded in the New Testament, the apocryphal gospels and various Gnostic compilations of sayings attributed to Jesus were composed. But an examination of the materials so collected, and a comparison of them with the canonical gospels of the New Testament, reveals that these later compositions were slanted to a form of belief about the person and work of Jesus which finds no expression in the pages of the New Testament.

The designation of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John as “gospels” has grown out of a convention. The New English Bible ([NEB](#)) provides the general title “The Gospel” for all four books, and then a subheading for each one, as: “according to Matthew.” *The Gospel* is the proclamation in the ministry of Jesus that through him the reign of God is being declared to men who are ready to receive it: it is the good news of man’s incorporation into this reign, this kingdom, through the remission of sin. “Good tidings,” or “to convey good tidings,” is a common enough expression in the Dead Sea scrolls: *the Gospel, the proclamation*, came about at a decisive moment in history when God uttered once-and-for-all his good news through Jesus, his “Word.” The Gospel shows us that God’s promise to Israel was fulfilled at a midpoint in history, that everything which God promised in his dealings with the people of the Old Covenant was summed up in his Anointed Servant, the Messiah Jesus. This Gospel presupposes and grows out of the Old Testament, and there is no understanding of the books of the New Testament without the books of the Old. (Even a cursory examination of Paul’s letters, especially Romans and Corinthians, shows how much knowledge of the Old Testament the Apostle demanded, even if the majority of his converts were non-Jews.) When we speak of the books of the Old Testament, it is well to remember that the Jewish canon of Hebrew Scripture was fixed long before the early rabbinic scholars gave it formal expression at Jamnia toward the end of the first century A.D.

If we come to Matthew’s interpretation of the Gospel expecting chronologically arranged history, we shall be disappointed. It is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the two nativity narratives of Matthew and Luke; we have to assume that these represent two sources, or two traditions. The Great Instruction, which in Matthew is said to have taken place on a

mountainside, is said by Luke to have been delivered on the plain; moreover, Matthew uses this account to include a whole block of teaching found in quite different contexts in the other gospels.

If we come to the gospels expecting to find biography in the modern sense, we shall again look in vain. There was little real interest in scientific biography in the ancient world—Plutarch is an exception—and Matthew provides us with no biographical material between the infancy and the beginning of the Baptist's ministry. Almost all the elements that a modern reader would demand of a biography are lacking. Matthew has two principal interests: the fulfillment of God's purposes in and through Jesus, and how this fulfillment will find expression in the community which Jesus founded. In addition to Matthew's concern with themes rather than with history, the most cursory inspection of this gospel would reveal that—from the purely historical point of view—it devotes a disproportionate amount of space and attention to the narrative of the passion.

This concentration on the passion and the resurrection of Jesus provides us with a clue to the purpose of a written gospel. Although it is possible to reconstruct something of the earthly life, and even the ministry, of Jesus from the letters and from Acts (and we have to remember that the letters of Paul were all written prior to the gospels), obviously there was a further need felt to make the record as clear and authentic as possible. There were, for example, phrases in Paul's letters which were open to misinterpretation or misuse by such as the nascent Gnostic sects (cf. the Apostle's use of "the wisdom of God" in 1 Cor 1:24). In addition, there must have been considerable anxiety among Christians lest all the original twelve disciples should die before the process of sifting and control had been completed. The four gospels were not written for people to whom Jesus-Messiah was outside experience; those outside the Christian community were not the intended audience for the gospels, however much the availability of those writings may now persuade us to the contrary. Belief in the passion and resurrection of Jesus, and in their saving effects, is central to the gospels; for the evangelists the passion was central to the interpretation of those events. References to the life and ministry of Jesus in the letters are central to practical questions of Christian living—God's will is ascertained by prayer and study of the Lord's teaching (1 Cor 7:10, 17, 25), and behavior at the Eucharist is determined, or should be, by what the Eucharist is (1 Cor 11:23 ff.; 2 Cor 8:9; Gal 4:4; 1 Pet 3:12 ff.).

Certainly there were differences of emphasis in the early Church on the ministry of Jesus. Jewish Christians might be acutely sensitive about the role of Jesus as Lawgiver, while Gentiles might be much more aware of Jesus as the harbinger of salvation (a popular concept in the world of that time). We must be

careful not to see these two points of view as contradictory—all too often the contrast between these roles has been hopelessly exaggerated. There is equal concern for “salvation” in the material allegedly from the source(s) called “Q,” and lawmaking is not a Jewish prerogative. The two strands might appear to present divergent traditions, but both are to be found throughout the gospels and in the New Testament generally; they present us with a rounded picture of the whole scene. If we expect to discover traces of divergent tradition in the gospels, with the simplicity born of our modern habit of encapsulating everything, we shall find merely our own notions of what we think the divergent traditions ought to have been. It has been debated often enough in the past precisely how far it is correct to regard the gospel of John as “anti-Jewish,” or how far Matthew’s composition is the most “Jewish” of the four gospels. This is hopelessly simple. It supposes that Jews in the first century possessed a homogeneity which we now know to have been wholly lacking. It also fails to recognize that the *omission* of polemical material (e.g., against the Sadducees) may be due to the fact that after A.D. 70 the Sadducees had ceased to exist as a force at all.

Why were the gospels written?

The infant Christian community demanded that oral tradition be rightly evaluated to avoid misunderstanding, in the knowledge that the original disciples would soon be dead and the Community faced with the need to have more or less fixed patterns for recalling God's redemptive act in Jesus. There were other factors at work, too. We know from the evidence of both archaeology and secular writers that conditions in Palestine after A.D. 60 were fraught with uncertainty and pending civil strife, and that in these years (even before the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70) thousands of people left the country. In such a situation, it is understandable that only Christians would feel the need to record and preserve the earliest oral memories of the ministry of Jesus and its culmination.²

Because of the nature of the Gospel proclamation, the original oral repetition of the story of Jesus and his teachings did not satisfy the early Christians for long. It was of the essence of the Gospel—supremely exemplified in Matthew and in Paul's teaching—that all Israel's experience had been gathered up, fulfilled, in Jesus. But how, and in what manner, had it all been fulfilled? If the earliest Christians had the Old Testament as scripture, and presumably followed the old synagogue pattern of reading and prayers, then it is obvious that the Gospel had to be put into a form in which it could be similarly used. We know from Paul's letters (cf. Col 4:16) that he was able to order his letters to be read aloud in his convert-congregations, and we may infer from this that during worship there was teaching by the apostles and elders. It is only logical to assume, therefore, that there was pressure to have on record an authentic account of what Jesus had said and done, and the better to show Christianity's roots in Israel.

It is possible to reconstruct the approximate process of transmission from oral to written form. There is a disproportionate amount of attention, from the standpoint of strict biographical interest, paid to the passion, death and resurrection of Jesus, which indicates the degree of importance attached to these saving events in preaching and teaching, and they must have been among the first parts of the Gospel written down. Matthew's use of OT quotations has led many to infer that the earliest written documents in the Christian tradition may have been collections of pieces from the Old Testament, and this view has been heavily reinforced by the discovery of just such collections (though not of course Christian ones) at Qumran.³ The manner in which the gospel material took final shape can be deduced from yet another characteristic of the finished product. Each pericope (a Greek word indicating a small block of material) in the gospels is self-contained, and is meant to convey some specific teaching, usually with no

chronological or topographical indication of its place in the scheme of the Lord's ministry. Thus, for example, it is possible that the story of the Syro-Phoenician woman (Mark 7:24 ff.) may have been recalled originally in answer to the question: "How did Jesus deal with those outside Judaism?"

It is not easy to determine whether the pericopae as we now have them are identical with those same small blocks of material as they existed in oral tradition. For example, Mark 2:13 ff. (=Matt 9:9 ff. and Luke 5:27 ff.) places the call of Matthew after a time of teaching, whereas Matthew and Luke both place it after a healing. Each evangelist tells the story differently, and we are in no position to determine which evangelist to follow here—but all three (Matt 9:10; Mark 2:15; and Luke 5:29) have the same note of location. On the other hand, the healing of the centurion's slave in Matt 8:5 and Luke 7:1 ff. takes place in different places in the two gospels. If we assume that the pericopae were self-contained originally and implied some lesson, or sought to convey a truth, then if a pericope could only be understood in the context of a whole passage, it is quite likely that some editing took place.

The spread of the Church's work among Gentiles also served to dictate the formation of the gospels. The *diatribē* was a well-known literary form (Luke's Acts has been thought by many to belong to this category). It is unfortunate that the word has such pejorative undertones in modern usage, for the [Gr. diatribē](#) meant "propaganda," or better, "essays to persuade." There were obviously urgent questions to be answered among Jews, such as, "If Jesus was the Messiah, then why did he suffer an ignominious death?" Greek converts would have to be shown why a divine figure, especially one called "God's Wisdom" (1 Cor 1:24), had allowed himself to undergo the torture and death normally reserved for criminals. The very length of the passion narratives in all four gospels has led many scholars to argue the existence at a very early stage of a kind of catechist's manual, which was used to provide tested and approved answers to such questions.

It has occasionally been said (notably by Papias as early as A.D. 130) that the gospels were committed to writing because the apostles had begun to die. This doesn't seem very plausible, however—the gospel of Luke was composed by a man who had not known the Lord at all, and his Acts suggests that he was writing in a time when most of the apostles were already dead. The suggestion has also been made that the writing of the gospel was encouraged as the expectation of an early *parousia* (a manifestation of the presence again in visible form of the Risen Lord) faded; hence the needs of posterity had to be considered. The expectation of the *parousia*, however drastically reinterpreted (as, for example, by Paul), never did fade completely, but it was to remain a part of the

faith of the writers.

In the light of the interpretations current in popular and semi-popular literature, it is of capital importance to note the appeal of the gospel to the educated classes. There is enough evidence from pagan classical writers to show that libraries were not uncommon among educated people. Luke's two-part work of gospel and Acts is plainly addressed to a man who did not need to have allusions spelled out for him. Evidently, Luke's material, addressed as a kind of "apologia" to a Greek patron, deals with the relationship of Christianity (of which his patron has heard) to Judaism.

It has been suggested that the pattern of the four gospels is in some sense dictated by liturgical considerations, or that the framework went back to an original pattern that either reflected the Jewish synagogue lections and the Jewish feasts, or was ordered according to the demands of early Christian worship. This theory further maintains that it is possible to determine, from the gospels themselves, the patterns of readings used by the primitive Church. However, we have no contemporary information about the lectionary patterns of the first-century synagogue, and Justin Martyr's record that the "memoirs" of the apostles were read at the Eucharist might equally well be applied to their letters.

It may be asked how far early Christian theology has either distorted, or been responsible for the arrangement of, the material which we now have, collected in the four gospels. Occasionally, the question is asked in a way which suggests that the inquirer is thinking of theology in terms of the developed Christology of the councils of Nicaea (A.D. 325) or of Chalcedon (A.D. 451). In any discussion of the gospels, one must remember that "faith" for the writers of the New Testament meant trust in the mighty acts of God through Jesus, with all that these acts implied about the intervention of God promised in the Old Testament. This kind of theological outlook has been provided by the Qumran discoveries with a good deal of control evidence bearing on the New Testament. Theology has indeed determined the framework of the four gospels, in the sense that there has been massive concentration on the central events: the passion and crucifixion.

The gospels have interpreted the material as well. For all the differences in precise chronology, John and the other three gospels agree that the passion must be seen in the light of the commemoration of God's deliverance of his people in the Passover rite. And we must read the gospels remembering the OT way of treating history. The books of the Old Testament view the escape of Israel from Egypt as a mighty act of God's intervention (cf. Exod 14–15; Pss 114–115), though the ascertainable facts might suggest only a disorganized and fearful group making its way by moonlight across the Sea of Reeds. So with the

crucifixion: to Roman soldiers it was a routine execution; to the priestly party an end to a sordid little disturbance; to Paul and the NT writers generally it was the instrument of man's freedom from bondage, an event that will have repercussions right into eternity. In United States history, the incident at Harpers Ferry centered around John Brown seemed minor at the time, but we have seen how its implications exploded; this is the case again and again in the Bible. It is important to beware of using the stick of "distortion" in order to beat the evangelists when no other evidence is available.

Occasionally, endings—and even beginnings—appear to have been lost, elided, or misplaced from many of the gospel stories. For example, Mark 1:29–31 has no apparent ending, and vs. 32 has been added to fit, while Mark 3:1–6 ends with an account of Jesus' enemies plotting against him—a circumstance which does not fit our notions of how the story should end (cf. 2:21–22, 11:23–24). When it is obvious that some of the stories have been rearranged or collected into blocks, with the original meanings perhaps lost in the change—or at any rate misplaced (cf. Matt 5:25 ff. and Luke 12:58 ff., and this commentary *ad loc.*)—it is well to remember that the writers' interest centered in the Lord's mighty works, and that teaching was secondary.

Though the use of OT text seems central to Matthew's concern—and we will have more to say about this below—it is important to note that in the final analysis no one reason governs the arrangement of Matthew's material. We can say only that Matthew appears to have been influenced most by the theological idea of fulfillment. Most important in the written gospels is the proclamation of God's declaration of himself and his will in his Messiah Jesus, crucified, risen, and glorified. Around such a proclamation, there is—as one should expect—a great deal of variation in emphasis. Mutual agreement in detail would be suspect; and this we do not have.

B

In view of the interest excited by the discovery of parts of a library at Nag Hammadi in Egypt, including what has come to be called the “Gospel of Thomas,” it is important to determine precisely what is, or is not, a canonical gospel. It is simplest to answer the question by means of a negative, and to delineate what is *not* a gospel. (At the same time, documents such as Thomas ought not to be rejected out of hand because they may conflict with what has already been declared to be canonical.)

As rooted in historical circumstance as the Apostles’ Creed shows the Christian faith to be (*sub Pontio Pilato*), we have every right to expect a written Christian source, with the oral sources embedded in it, to manifest an awareness of history, and to place Jesus both politically and religiously in the framework of the history and circumstances of his time. Any document, therefore, which claims to be a “gospel,” but which actually consists of teaching or exhortation which is wholly detached from the Jesus whom we know historically from the four canonical documents, is not a gospel in any recognized canonical sense.

In the light of what we know of developments after the recorded events of the four gospels and the Acts, it may be better to stress another very important and definitive matter, the passion of Jesus. Paul tells us plainly that the cross and all that it implied in the early preaching and teaching was abhorrent to Jew and Gentile alike (1 Cor 1:23–24). Many people who might have been regarded as promising material for the infant Church must for this reason have rejected Christianity, whether sophisticated Greek intellectuals or passionately nationalist Jews. The development of the Gnostic movements came to show very early that there were those who were offended by the concept of the deity trafficking with mortal flesh (cf. 1 John 4:1–7). Therefore a need arose to accommodate the scandal of incarnation and passion to some modes of dualist thought, and the whole of John’s first letter is witness to the fact that in spite of acute differences there was a common “proto-Gnostic” vocabulary in which debate could be conducted. We have already called attention to the very high proportion of the four gospels’ narrative devoted to the passion. Any Christian document (or any document purporting to be Christian) that, compared with the canonical documents, plays down the central element of the passion in Jesus’ life and ministry must be held suspect.

Paul stresses one theme more than any other in his letters: the supremacy of grace, that unmerited free relationship with God which he avows characterizes the man “in Christ.” Though Paul’s letters were written before the gospels, they nevertheless are theological interpreters of the oral tradition, and the apostle’s

emphasis on the supremacy of grace is echoed by its emphasis in the canonical gospels. We know from Paul's letters to Corinth and to Colassae—not to mention the evidence of John's letters to other parts of Asia Minor—that the early Christians often were tempted to consider other parts of Christian doctrine more important. Plainly, there was a good deal of exaltation of human progress, human reason, human achievement, all at the expense of the primacy of grace. No warnings in our gospel traditions are more frequently given, or more sharply worded, than those which condemn boasting, however "spiritual." This concern with grace, then, is yet another criterion by which to judge anything that comes to us as presumed teaching from the lips of Jesus and his apostles.

Matthew constantly stresses the element of "fulfillment" (which we shall examine in Part IV of this Introduction), and all four gospels in varying ways and degrees (followed later by Acts) emphasize the ministry of Jesus as the consummation of the prophecy of the Old Testament. That is to say, the four gospels indissolubly link the Old Testament and the revelation in Jesus. It was this relationship between the ministry of Jesus and the Old Testament that caused Marcion's teaching (second century) to founder and be condemned. His teaching, like that of many later "biblical" heresiarchs, was founded on a desire to make a clear repudiation of the "God of the Old Testament," variously presented as a cruel or a creator-God (as distinct from the true God), but in all the varying interpretations someone wholly other than the Father of Jesus. Many Gnostic systems, beginning with the followers of Simon Magus and Nicholas (cf. Acts 8:10; Rev 2:7) in one way or another sought to make the creation of matter itself the work of a lesser deity, with which the true God would have had no alliance. Hence, it was emphatically necessary, in any of these attempts to interpret the New Testament, that a decisive break be made with the Old Testament; and this break between New and Old Testaments was another negative criterion which the Church applied in assessing material laying claim to apostolic authorship or authority.

Closely connected with this concern for the Old Testament as necessary preparation for the acceptance of God in Jesus was the Church's consciousness of herself as the people of a "new covenant." A look at any concordance will show the New Testament's emphasis upon the adjective "new": following the ministry of Jesus, there is a new creation, a new man, a new life, a new age, a new covenant—in fact, the last book in the New Testament asserts that all things are being made new. But nowhere does the New Testament claim that there is a new Israel, a new people of God: rather, the Church is the inheritor of ancient promises, direct descendant of the people of ancient Israel, heir to the covenants made with the patriarchs. A new covenant is established in the blood of the

Messiah's cross, but all our documents (especially the tract called "the epistle to the Hebrews") insist that this new covenant, sealed in blood as was the Exodus covenant, is essentially one with the older history of Israel, a new covenant for which that older history was a preparation. For any understanding of the NT faith this insistence on "covenant" is vital; it also explains the exclusion of much material which the Church refused to recognize as canonical scripture. Thanks to the work first of G. E. Mendenhall, followed more recently by H. B. Huffmon, it is clear that "covenant" in the Old Testament (and, *pari passu*, in the New Testament) describes an arrangement in which a sovereign Lord lays down the conditions under which he is prepared to accept the vassalage of, and afford protection to, those who seek his aid and wish to enter his dominion. Moreover, as Huffmon has pointed out, the Hebrew word "to know" is often to be interpreted in this convenantal sense, as demonstrating that God acknowledged, or "recognized," Israel as his, and Israel acknowledged the sovereignty of her Lord. From man's side—that is, from Israel's side, in this context—no conditions could be attached to this acknowledgment, for all the conditions were laid down by her superior, the Lord.

In this concept of "covenant," we have another test for any material which seeks, or sought, to be an authentic "gospel" handed down by an apostle. Again and again the Pauline letters—themselves a commentary, in a very real sense, on the Gospel proclamation—emphasized that man is saved only through the sacrifice of Christ consummated in blood; anything seeking to make this basis for salvation conditional is false to the Gospel. According to Paul, faith, that humble acceptance of what God has done for man in Jesus, is itself a gift of God; any pretense that human wisdom or any other achievement can substitute for faith is founded simply on human pride and arrogance. There are many indications in Paul's letters to Corinth and Colossae, and in the first Johannine letter, that certain people claimed a kind of esoteric wisdom or access to divine secrets denied to the generality of Christians. No doubt this kind of pseudosophistication must have been very disruptive to the life of the Christian community, and at the same time threatening to that direct dependence upon God which "covenant" implies. Indeed, this kind of attitude to "lesser breeds without the law" could, and frequently did, lead to an assumption of superiority in the sphere of moral conduct too. The apostle Paul is our principal witness to this phenomenon in early Christian experience.

At this stage we must briefly examine the background of the Gospel of Thomas, and some of the reasons which led the Church to reject, almost instinctively, such material as at best speculative, at worst heretical. The library (for such it appears to have been) of manuscripts discovered at Nag Hammadi

(300 miles south of Cairo, 150 miles north of Aswan, near the ancient Greek monastery of Chenoboskion) included this “Gospel of Thomas.” Works that begin with some formula such as “These are the secret words which the living Jesus spoke” are usually late, and are associated with a specific kind of literature. But the Gospel of Thomas cannot be placed so neatly into such a category. It consists of 114 sayings attributed to Jesus, with very few dialogues, no narrative, and a bare minimum of incident. Furthermore, there are no links between the paragraphs. The discovery is important because collections of sayings (“logia”) are often thought to have existed before there was any attempt to set down a consistent gospel narrative. (We know, for example, from Acts 20:35, of at least one saying of Jesus that is not included in the four canonical gospels.) The age which produced Thomas is a little hard to determine, but the Coptic agrees with some third-century Greek fragments from Oxyrhynchus, which proves that the Gospel of Thomas goes back to the third century, and maybe earlier.

Opinions in the scholarly world about the document have varied. R. M. Grant (whose work is listed at the end of this part) dismisses Thomas as an example of how Gnostics understood, or rather misunderstood, Jesus and his Gospel. For Grant, the whole compilation witnesses to the very early perversion of the Christian proclamation. Professor G. Quispel, on the other hand, prefers to see in Thomas an independent and early gospel tradition, which even has traces of an Aramaic source-tradition lying behind it. Between these two positions, which might reasonably be described as the two poles of scholarly argument, Bertil Gärtner has it that Thomas does indeed contain some old material, but so overlaid with later material that it is hard to know how to define and limit it. If this section is not to become far too long and technical, we must content ourselves with merely giving some of the more significant links between Thomas and the canonical gospels, pointing out where the significant differences lie.

There is a good deal of material in Thomas that is very reminiscent of the canonical gospels; equally, there is material that is completely characteristic of Gnostic teaching, in its emphasis on salvation through knowledge, in its contempt for the body, and in its use of vocabulary with Gnostic shades of meaning (“light,” “unity,” “rest”).

Occasionally, there are passages in Thomas which are very close to the synoptic material, passages which could even be abridged versions of that material. There are parallel passages which are longer than their synoptic counterparts, and these might be expansions, or material from which the canonical material has been abridged. There can be no certainty on this point. In

addition, there are wholly new parables, along with some sayings which seem to be composed of a regrouping of canonical material. For example, the parable of the Sower (Thomas ix) has features which, Quispel argues, are primitive, while the parable of the Tares (Thomas lvii) looks very much like an imperfectly remembered version of Matt 13:24 ff. (the dialogue between the lord and the servants has been cut to one speech in Thomas).

There is one feature in Thomas which is interesting in that it bears out the contentions of C. H. Dodd, made as long ago as 1935 (*The Parables of the Kingdom*, London: Nisbet; New York: Scribner). This is Thomas lxxv, the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen (Mark 12:1 ff., and parallels). In the Thomas version, there are but two servants and a son—which was the original basis of the story, according to Dodd's theory. This kind of feature in Thomas argues for an early origin, and perhaps earlier than the tradition enshrined in our synoptic gospels. There is, of course, no proof of this, and we ought to beware of subscribing automatically to the suggestion that what is shorter must necessarily be more primitive.

Expansion of the parable material in the canonical gospels is a far more difficult consideration. Thomas lxiv (Matt 22:5 ff.) provides us with a moral ending far more concerned with good manners than with response to the eschatological hope of the early Church, in favor of more mundane considerations in a continuing community. But so stated this makes the gospel material far too static and rigid, incapable of adaptation to the changing needs of the community as it moved into and faced the challenges of a Greek environment. Jeremias has pointed out that within the synoptic gospels there was an observable movement from eschatology to other interpretations in the parables. The confrontation of Israel with Jesus' assertion that the times were fulfilled in him is the keynote of most of the parables as they were originally delivered, but this kind of confrontation would have to be reinterpreted for those who were outside the covenants when the Gospel first came to them.

At the same time, there are interpretations of synoptic parables in Thomas, or lessons read into them, which can only be described as pale and insignificant beside the accounts which the canonical gospels provide. Such, for instance, is the treatment accorded to Matthew's "Agree with your opponent quickly" (Matt 5:25): in Thomas this becomes an injunction not to go to law. Here again a note of caution is necessary. We have Paul on record as expressing surprise that Christians in Corinth found it possible to reconcile Christian faith with litigation against their fellows (1 Cor 6:1–8); and it is at least possible that what we have in Thomas is a simple statement which may owe more to Paul than to Matt 5:25.

There is material in Thomas which could be looking back to sayings from the

ministry of Jesus which have not otherwise been preserved—for example, the parables of the Lost Meal and the Attacker proving his strength (Thomas xcvi). The first of these may be genuine, as several scholars have argued; the second is far more uncertain, involving a man trying his strength against a fortified wall with no weapon but a sword. By and large, however, although we cannot with certainty say that the reinterpreted material in Thomas is Gnostic, there is reason to believe that his reinterpretation would have been acceptable to Christians who were in touch with Gnostic thinking. Thomas xlviii has a saying about two people agreeing together in one house, and then saying “Be moved” to a mountain: as a result of their agreement, the mountain is moved. Though this looks at first sight like a combination of two sayings (Matt 18:19 and Mark 11:23), the meaning provided by the combination in Thomas is radically different from that of the synoptic gospels. There *is* a saying about agreement between two people, but it results in our canonical sources in a promise of answered prayer, while the removal of a mountain (in Luke a sycamore tree) is the reward of faith, and has nothing to do with unity between two people. It would be hazardous to impose theological concepts on the material in Thomas, where we have as yet no controlling parallel evidence. Nevertheless, Thomas shows an interest in “unity”—a common Gnostic interest—and has nothing to say about faith nor of prayer.

There are inconsistencies in Thomas which suggest that it may have been written during the period when incipient Gnosticism was fast becoming consciously opposed to the Christian majority view, while still using large amounts of NT material. Knowledge is evidently for Thomas the one desirable goal, the one inestimable treasure. There are parables in our canonical sources which speak of the Kingdom as a treasure to be found: in Thomas (cf. cxi) the goal of search is self-knowledge. We must suppose that this was a major preoccupation of the writer (or compiler); the Kingdom is to be found in self-awareness (cf. xviii, xlix, l, lxvii, lxxxiv). If the writer is uninterested in the facts of Jesus’ life, it is rash to suggest that he is saying that salvation is merely to be possessed by knowing a secret, or that the significance of Jesus lies precisely in his being custodian of secrets now known to men. But it is true that this enigmatic collection of sayings seems to suggest that there is in all men the truth of their own being, which can be revealed by learning the meaning of the “secret words.” The life hidden within man must be sought, often at the cost of suffering and rejection, but the essential point to notice in Thomas is that this life is already in man—there is no marred image to be restored, no radical change in man’s being (repentance) necessary as a prerequisite for God’s action upon the soul. This life (variously described—cf. xxiv, l, lxi, lxxvii, xc and also iv, xii,

lxxiv, cviii) is dormant in man and must be sought (ii, xxiv, xcii, xciv), if necessary through suffering (lviii, lxviii, lxix) and rejection of the material world (lxxx). It is difficult to escape the conclusion that what we have here is a scheme of salvation which—to use the modern phrase—is a “do-it-yourself” challenge to human striving.

And if there is no interest in the life and ministry of Jesus, there is an equal lack of interest in a future Event at the end of Time. There is no future Kingdom, such as we find in Matthew; rather, for Thomas (iii) the kingdom is “within you, and it is without you: if you know yourselves, you will be known.” Similarly, the “rest” of the dead (li) has come already, but “you know it not.” Though there are two sayings in Thomas which suggest (xxi, ciii) a need for awareness of an approaching time of judgment, they must be balanced against sayings which declare (e.g., xviii, lxvii) that the Kingdom will not come as an act of God in the affairs of men, but may be discovered by self-knowledge, by self-discipline.

Another feature should be noticed here: the suggestion in Thomas is that the Old Covenant was a spurious revelation of God’s purposes. Circumcision is rejected (liii), prophecy is repudiated (lii), and Jesus is represented as attacking the threefold duty of prayer, fasting, and the giving of alms (vi, xiv, civ). It is just possible the Gospel of Thomas contains, along with all known Gnostic writings, elements of anti-Jewish polemic. Considering the New Testament’s unanimity about the continuity of the New Covenant from the Old, and in light, too, of the controversy which centered around Marcion’s editing of the New Testament scriptures, these negative elements in Thomas are very serious.

We do not intend to draw any particular conclusions about the origin, provenance, date, or purpose of Thomas, since we are at this stage without adequate parallel material or evidence. It might, however, be appropriate to give a brief list of the most commonly held views about the Gospel of Thomas:

(1) Thomas was composed by means of excision and conflation from two existing documents, a Jewish-Christian gospel (“according to the Hebrews”) which was known to Jerome and is now lost, and another, far more Gnostic document (“according to the Egyptians”) known to Clement of Alexandria and also lost.

(2) Thomas was a thoroughly polemical work, composed by a Gnostic, containing enough orthodox Christian material to secure an audience, but nevertheless written with a single religious and theological end—namely, the Gnostic one.

(3) It is possible to hold, as do some accomplished scholars in this field, that Thomas was compiled at a time when rigid distinctions had not yet been drawn between what was orthodox and what was specifically and undeniably Gnostic.

In this view, Thomas is a rather haphazard collection of sayings—some imperfectly remembered, some interpreted by homiletics, some deliberately gnosticizing, and some written with the aim of encouraging spiritual perfection.

There are features in Thomas which argue against its being a unified collection of sayings. In many places we have good reason to think that the author or compiler was in fact relying on oral tradition, however much this may have been colored by his own interpretations or embellished from sources already departing from strictly NT standards. Joseph A. Fitzmyer (whose important contribution to the study of Thomas is listed below) argues that Thomas' work can be correctly called a gospel on the grounds that a collection of sayings would have been accepted without question by the early Church as being a proclamation of the good news in some form. Fitzmyer's contention is a useful reminder that we often assume far too easily that Christian faith in the century following the apostolic period had been already so far codified that there was a fully recognizable, organized, and coherent body of teaching which could be called "orthodox"; and that, correspondingly, beyond the periphery of this body of teaching there was an equally recognizable Gnosticism. This assumption makes the development of Christian belief far too simple. Not only did oral tradition, with an attendant danger of speculative interpretation being added to it, last longer in some places than in others, but even the written sources themselves were in a fluid state. By the middle decades of the second century, men had begun to rally round the canonical gospels as we have them now, and the position of the episcopate as the guardian of that tradition was becoming established. In this early period there was a large area of controversy over the admissibility of parts of our present New Testament (especially the Apocalypse), and some material of pre-apostolic date was often used as though it was canonical Scripture. In such circumstances, it was comparatively easy for anyone with a cause to serve and a case to plead to utilize oral tradition, written sources, or homiletic material to further his own ends. We need not suppose that this was always done with evil intent: the asceticism of the Gospel of Thomas in regard to property, sexual morality, and worldly involvement has many parallels with the canonical NT, and it is perhaps no accident that the document came to light near a settlement of early Christian hermits.

Christology, and the later definitions of the councils, could not have become the momentous matters they were in the third and fourth centuries without the intervention of the technical terms of Greek philosophy. But the process of codification and definition was immeasurably helped by an awareness on the part of the Church of the need to determine what was canonical Scripture, and what was interpretation.

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II. MATTHEW IN RELATION TO THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

What has come to be known as the “synoptic problem,” studied with great determination during this century, concerns the relationships which may be found among the first three gospels, with the implied suggestion that it may be possible through such study to arrive at more or less firm conclusions about the temporal order of the three documents.

It is generally agreed that: (1) there was a period of oral transmission, in which stories about Jesus, incidents from his life and ministry, and collections of examples of his teaching were passed on by teachers to members of the community; and (2) it was the passion narrative that first took definite form as a result of constant repetition (though it is less generally held that this was the first part of our present gospels to have reached definitive form in writing). It is sometimes asserted, on the basis of what appear to have been collections of a similar character at Qumran, that the first Christians early developed a series of “testimonies” from Scripture (the Old Testament) which were thought to bear directly or indirectly on the life and ministry of Jesus the Messiah.

The commitment to writing of the sayings of Jesus and of reminiscences about his work may not have been urgent while the apostles were alive and Jesus’ early return was expected by many; but it was not long after this that the pressures for a permanent record began to grow. Conditions in Palestine in the middle years of the first century were marked by years of considerable crisis (to put it mildly), and large numbers of people (including Christians who were invaluable in keeping the memory of Christ alive) were already leaving the country. Simultaneously there was a rapid spread of false teaching about Jesus, his person and his work. Had Simon Magus been a minor figure, and his influence small, it is unlikely that Luke would have wasted so much time and costly writing material on setting the record straight. Apart from the testimony of the early Fathers about the malign influence of Simon, we have the witness of the Johannine letters to the emergence of a threat to the integrity of the Gospel—docetism, the claim that the Word of God, the Logos, in Jesus only *appeared* ([Gr. *dokein*](#), “to appear”) to be in human flesh. This clothing of the Logos in a make-believe body, in the (deceptive) person of Jesus, was not without its attraction to the Greek mind, whose Hellenistic gods were only too human and often smaller than life-size. Any serious-minded person might be forgiven for scoffing at yet another manifestation of divinity in human form, especially one disgracefully executed. Docetism, this denial that the Word of God had truly appeared in

human form, was also a theological refuge for many Jews who were attracted to Christianity, but to whom the notion of a crucified Messiah was abhorrent. In time, this teaching, along with many other features, was to find classic expression in what has come to be called “gnosticism.” Whatever may eventually prove to have generated the complex of movements and ideas that is loosely titled Gnosticism, it could never have become more than one minor field of speculation among many, had not the Gospel asserted that in Jesus a divine-human figure had entered the realm of man and the field of human history. The early Christian community’s awareness of the dangers inherent in movements like the one provoked by the religious genius of Simon Magus was enough to guarantee their careful attention to source material for a long time to come.

Oral Tradition

Though the role of oral tradition can be exaggerated, it seems generally true that the memory of words and stories is better in the ancient East than in the modern West. Yet even in the West today, anyone familiar with oral folklore and often-repeated rural tales in remote country villages will testify to the resistance of such stories to erosion or accretion. There are normally too many interested and informed auditors for embellishment to pass unnoticed. One of us was brought up in circumstances where the nightly retelling of old village stories, some more than two centuries old, was commonplace; he can testify to rigid controls on the intrusion of extraneous matter—“You’ve left that bit out ... you’ve no right to add that....” Jesus himself, like most early rabbis, relied on the tenacity of oral tradition, especially in the parables.⁴ Some of the differences in the gospel narrative are best understood as small—and normally unimportant—details which differed in the memories of those who passed on the stories. (For example, James and John’s *mother* asks a favor in Matt 20:20 ff., where Mark 10:35 ff. has the disciples themselves ask; Mark 11:33 is in direct discourse, in contrast with Matthew’s reported speech in 21:27.) There are, however, some details of agreement or difference which can best be understood as based on oral tradition: the gospels agree and disagree on points which we find unimportant, and differ where we expect unanimity; for example, in the accounts of the feeding of the multitudes, the texts differ about the kind of basket used to gather fragments, and, more seriously, the gospels do not agree about the nature of the resurrection-body of Jesus.

A Common Literary Source?

Matthew and Mark agree against Luke on several occasions, and Mark and Luke agree against Matthew on others. Either Matthew or Luke, it would appear, is following Mark on one occasion or another, in detail. The common order of events appears to be that of Mark, though Matthew deserts this order far more frequently than does Luke, in order to group his special material under subject headings. There is a common framework of incidents—John the Baptist, his preaching and mission, the baptism of Jesus, the temptations, the call of the twelve, the Galilean ministry, healings leading to controversy, Peter's confession, predictions of the passion, the final journey to Jerusalem, the passion and the resurrection—and this framework seems to come from Mark.

From this, it was possible for some early scholars to conclude that Mark was an abbreviation of Matthew (or Luke?), which was generally the view of the early Church, and especially of Augustine. In consequence of that view, Mark was seldom used in the early Church. It is now accepted by a great many NT scholars that Mark provided Matthew and Luke with a common source, to which they added their own special traditions, along with the traditions which they found (according to this theory) in another body of tradition ("Q," from the German *Quelle*, "source"). It cannot be too strongly emphasized that this theory is *not* the *assured* result of critical scholarship, and some recent critics have pleaded for the priority of Matthew's gospel or even Luke's, both in time and in source material. Moreover, it is only necessary (as some have suggested) to posit that Luke had read Matthew before compiling his gospel—and not the other way around—to dispense with the mysterious "Q" altogether. (A note appended to this section attempts to take a fresh look at the "Q" hypothesis.) Under the "four-document hypothesis," it has generally been assumed that Luke and Matthew both had independent access to the material found in the "Q" tradition and wrote independently of each other. This thesis was brilliantly criticized by Austin M. Farrer, in his contribution "On Dispensing with Q" to *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot*, ed. D. E. Nineham, Naperville, Ill.: A. R. Allenson / Oxford: Blackwell, 1955.

Mark has only about fifty verses that are unique: 1:13, 2:2, 3:20–21, 4:26–29, 5:3–6, 7:1–4, 31–37, 8:22–26, 9:49, 12:29, 14:51–52. It has been suggested that there was an "earlier edition of Mark," of which our present gospel is an expansion. The difficulty with this theory is that it is hard to separate expansions, or insertions, and there are unique details in Mark which have every indication of being a part of the original. (It is Mark, for example, who tells us that Jesus was asleep during the storm on the lake, who fixes the time of the feeding of the

five thousand by informing us that there was green grass—i.e., it was spring—and who provides us with the family background of Simon of Cyrene, presumably because *these men* were known to his readers.)

To complicate the precise relationship among the documents as we know them, there is what is termed the Great Omission in Luke (i.e., the narrative covered by Mark 6:45–8:26), which occupies Luke 9:51–18:14. In this material, Luke omits all the material covered by the Markan tradition, from the feeding of the five thousand to Peter’s confession. Furthermore, this Lukan material is set in a kind of travel diary recording a very odd route—a route so strange that it provides commentators with much occasion for debate. Jesus is seen as traveling outside Galilee, and the only Markan note to assist us here is the evangelist’s remark that Jesus left Galilee in order to be away from Herod Antipas, since the hour of decision had not yet been reached. All this raises questions: Did Luke omit this Markan material because the healings in Mark 6:45–8:26 were paralleled elsewhere in his own tradition? Or does Luke’s omission mean that he did not know the Markan tradition? Certainly it is simpler to assume the latter rather than to contend that, once Mark’s gospel had been written, it was a necessary vade mecum for the other two evangelists. Whatever may be the answer to this question, it is true that Matthew, unlike Luke, appears to follow the Markan framework at this point in his narrative.

Three commonly cited arguments in favor of Markan priority are: (1) the retention of three Aramaic expressions, as against only one in Matthew, (2) an almost unconscious change in the later gospels to a more reverential attitude toward Jesus, and (3) the fact that only once in Mark is Jesus addressed as “Lord.” None of these arguments is very strong, however, since the characteristics used in (1) and (3) might be accounted for by the audience to whom the gospel was addressed, and (2) might indicate (on the part of later writers) a more leisured composition of their material. Moreover, though the supply of eyewitnesses may have been small when the oral tradition was committed to writing, there was undoubtedly disagreement over details in the tradition, with all sides clamoring for pride of place: Markan priority does not solve the question of dependence—it merely makes an assertion about temporal priority. Care in the assessment of oral tradition, given a restricted number of reliable eyewitnesses, would almost certainly produce some degree of agreement, both with regard to chronology and to the way in which blocks of narrative were put down.

The more critically the material in the three synoptic gospels is examined, the harder it is to determine precisely what—if any—dependence there was of Matthew and Luke on Mark, or in what way—if at all—Matthew or Luke were

dependent on each other. There are, for example, twenty agreements of a verbal character between Matthew and Luke against Mark. Were Matthew and Luke working independently, and not using Mark, at these points? The word “agreements” is overdrawn, for there are variant readings between Matthew and Luke, even when they coincide against Mark. The tendency in copying is to assimilate—and it would be a bold man who went on record as preferring Matthew or Luke in a secondary role. (Some of the agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark: Matt 17:17 and Luke 9:41=Mark 9:19; Matt 13:10 and Luke 8:9=Mark 4:11; Matt 9:20 and Luke 8:44=Mark 5:27; Matt 14:1 and Luke 9:7=Mark 6:14; Matt 26:68 and Luke 22:63=Mark 14:65; Matt 27:40 and Luke 23:35= Mark 15:30.)

Both Matthew and Luke have material peculiar to themselves, notably the nativity narratives (where each is plainly independent of the other’s tradition). There are, however, sayings and incidents common to both evangelists but not found in Mark. It has been held by many that we have here a common “source,” Q (referred to above), which accounts for about two hundred verses common to Matthew and Luke. There is, however, no hard evidence for this assumption other than the literary desk-work of continental scholars who may (or may not) have been acquainted with the manner in which oral tradition, for all its diffusion among various groups, can effectively and consistently preserve a story. No doubt “Q” is a useful kind of symbol, provided we remember that it is only a symbol, and not the name of an exactly determined, homogeneous body of tradition. “Q” is useful, for example, in categorizing sayings of Jesus that exist in doublets in Luke, in one instance in a Markan context (e.g., Luke 11:33=Luke 8:16; Luke 12:8=Luke 9:23), and in the other in a non-Markan context but an argument for a single body of tradition drawn upon by both Matthew and Luke is difficult to sustain.

The two hundred verses which comprise the non-Markan material common to both Matthew and Luke consist of sayings of Jesus, short discourses, an account of John the Baptist’s mission and preaching, and the story of the baptism and temptations of Jesus. Scholars who have been most vigorous in their championship of “Q” are not agreed as to whether this material originally contained a passion narrative. This non-Markan material contains elements that may have been collected in convenient “testimony” form at an early stage, in order to answer specific questions Christians might be presumed to have asked. The only miracle contained in this material is, significantly, the healing of the centurion’s servant—which may indeed have provided a stock answer to questions about Jesus’ attitude to Gentiles. This “Q” material too has a good deal of information on John the Baptist, his preaching, and—again significantly—the

account of the messengers from John in prison, leading to Jesus' eulogy of John, which would have been of great interest to former followers of the Baptist.

But a far more important question is connected with this "Q" block of tradition than that of priority, or possible use by Matthew and Luke independently. What light does this material shed upon Jesus' own account of what he had come to do, upon his own understanding of his ministry? We know something from Acts of the content of the primitive Christian community's preaching, but was this an unwarranted series of inferences from poorly understood facts? The record of the sayings of Jesus in the "Q" material is clear: the primitive teaching begins with the ministry of John, whom Jesus (in this material) regards as standing at a mid-point in a crisis of the history of Israel—belonging to the old order, yet able to see the advent of a time of fulfillment. After John's ministry, there is something wholly new, but still conceived in OT terms: Jesus has a "baptism to be baptized with" before his mission to send fire upon the earth can be accomplished (Luke 12:49). Jesus has his death and passion already in view in this tradition, and it is interpreted as a "day of the Lord" (cf. Luke 16:16) and a day of the outpouring of the Spirit. Even allowing for the massive insights of Paul, there is no warrant for the once-popular liberalism intended to drive a wedge between the (alleged) simplicity of the teaching of Jesus and the (again alleged) later Greek sophistications of Paul.

Whatever may be the truth of the matter with regard to the Q-tradition, there are references in the New Testament to collections of sayings (cf. 1 Thess 4:5—Thessalonians may be the earliest Pauline letter—and 1 Cor 7, where Paul makes a careful distinction between the teaching of Jesus and other, non-canonical teaching). The "Q" theory as a source-hypothesis is not as popular now as it once was, and it is impossible to reconstruct "Q" as a document. There may well have been a number of "little gospels," using OT texts and allusions, as indeed there are certainly references and allusions to such texts in oral teaching in the time of the apostles. There may equally well have been fairly standardized collections of testimonies and stories, sayings and reminiscences, for purposes of missionary work. We know from Clement of Alexandria (ca. A.D. 200) that there was a good deal of fluidity in the state of the source material, even as late as the beginning of the second century. He quotes a saying as though it belonged to canonical Scripture, and on another occasion gives the same saying in a different form, attributing it to the "Gospel to the Hebrews" (the saying is now known to us from the Gospel of Thomas—lxxx 15–19—and the Oxyrhynchus papyri—Pap. Ox. 654b). On the other hand, there is the testimony of Irenaeus of Lyon (130?–?202) in his *Adversus Haereses* (I. 1. 15) that the Valentinians (a Gnostic sect) were guilty of conflating and even altering canonical material. Sayings, or

collections of sayings, may have flourished for some time, but our present four canonical gospels reached their present status very early and it was against these four documents that the authenticity of sayings was judged. The fact that only four gospels are known to us (as noted earlier, Jerome was acquainted with the Gospel to the Hebrews, but this is now lost to us) may emphasize the fact that conditions in first-century Palestine were such that firsthand witnesses were few.

The supposition of an original gospel in Hebrew or Aramaic makes the problem of the relations among the synoptic gospels far more susceptible to rational explanation. The suggestion has been made, and recently repeated, that such an Aramaic or Hebrew source lies behind *all our gospel* traditions. If such a theory turns out to be true, the entire discussion of who depended on whom will be irrelevant. What does appear to emerge from a fresh examination of the evidence, in the light of conditions known to have existed in Palestine and the Near East in the first century, is that the oral tradition became relatively fixed at a very early stage, while the chronology of Jesus' ministry was paid little mind.

With all this in view, we might turn to the words of Papias (bishop of Hierapolis, ca. 130) as they were recorded by Eusebius of Caesarea (bishop of that city, ca. 320) in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (III. 39). Papias is reported to have written:

The Elder used to say this also: Mark became the interpreter of Peter and he wrote down accurately, but not in order, as much as he (Peter) related of the sayings and doings of Christ. For he was not a hearer or a follower of the Lord, but afterwards, as I said, of Peter, who adapted his teachings to the needs of the moment and did not make an ordered exposition of the sayings of the Lord. And so Mark made no mistake when he thus wrote down some things as he related them; for he made it his special care to omit nothing of what he heard, and to make no false statement therein.... So then Matthew recorded the sayings [Gr. *logia*, which can mean "discourses"] in the Hebrew tongue, and each interpreted them to the best of his ability.

Papias, whom Eusebius first dismisses as a man of "weak intellect" and then later reconsiders, is reported by Eusebius to say that he took very great care to discover from those who had known the disciples, and especially from John the Elder⁵ precisely what each "living and abiding voice" had to say of the acts and words of Jesus. Perhaps bemused by Eusebius' first verdict on Papias, perhaps for other preferred reasons, NT scholars have dismissed the testimony of Papias nearly out of hand. Papias had, however, one inestimable benefit denied to his denigrators—he happened to live closer in time and place to centers of Christian missionary activity, to people who had heard the disciples, and to Jesus himself. It was fashionable at one time to qualify the testimony of Irenaeus of Lyon

against the Gnostics with the suggestion that he was too biased an observer to be heard uncritically; now the discoveries at Chenoboskion in Egypt have materially confirmed all that the good man said. Irenaeus, whom we now know to have been careful about his sources, evidently believed the work of Papias bore out his own received traditions—and Irenaeus had been a close follower of Ignatius of Antioch, who had known the Apostle John.

All in all, *if* we allow due weight to the testimony of Papias—and of those who came after him—and *if* also we posit an original block of Hebrew/Aramaic tradition, or even an original Aramaic collection of sayings and reminiscences about Jesus, then some problems regarding the sources of our gospels become at once clearer and simpler. Certainly Papias' description deals faithfully with the very disjointed and almost breathless character of Mark's gospel. The various episodes, often strung together with the Gr. *euthus* ("immediately"), seldom identified by chronological notes, do indeed give the impression of being self-contained homiletic notes, faithfully drawn from the oral tradition, with details which betray the hand of a participant in the events (for example, "green" grass at the feeding of the five thousand), but with little attempt to present the kind of consistent narrative we might have looked for in a biography. Readiness to admit the evidence of Papias agrees with C. C. Torrey's view that there is an Aramaic/Hebrew original behind both Matthew and Mark. Moreover, this view is consistent with Streeter's account of what Luke did with Mark—that is, throughout his gospel, Luke alternates large blocks of Markan and non-Markan material, careless about fitting his own tradition into a Markan framework or chronology (cf. B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* [London: Macmillan, 1924], pp. 165 ff.). However, this does not necessarily assume that Luke had access to Mark as he compiled his gospel, for Streeter's "alternate-block" thesis could allow for Luke's treating an Aramaic/Hebrew gospel just as easily.⁶

There is more to be said in favor of an original Aramaic/Hebrew gospel than this, however. Again we refer to Streeter: he described Mark's gospel as a "... shorthand account by an impromptu speaker, with all the repetitions, redundancies and digressions which are characteristic of living speech. And it seems to me most probable that his Gospel, like Paul's epistles, was taken down from rapid dictation by word of mouth" (p. 163). This is, in effect, no more and no less than was indicated by Papias.

But it is a wholly different matter to suggest that Mark's gospel lies behind Matthew—or Luke, for that matter. For this implies that a *Roman* gospel, mainly composed in the fashion indicated by Streeter, and largely homiletic in character, was the germ of wholly fresh Palestinian traditions. This we find wholly unacceptable, for it nearly compels the belief that, rumor having reached Jewish

Christians of a collected volume of sayings and deeds of Jesus, a reception committee made haste to meet the boats as they arrived from Italy, in the hope that Mark's work would finally enable them to write down the Palestinian oral tradition. Such a theory ignores the extreme tenacity of oral tradition in rural areas, which as we have seen exists even in twentieth-century America. (It was, after all, in *this* century that some descendants of Scottish immigrants in North Carolina were discovered to have preserved a pre-Reformation hymn to the Blessed Virgin Mary.) Whole phrases, or series of words, appear in Matthew and Luke to parallel exactly words and phrases in Mark; but this is not positive proof that Matthew and Luke depended on Mark—though it is more than likely that both evangelists were glad to have independent (and, at one remove, apostolic) confirmation of their own traditions.

It has sometimes been urged that the “sayings” which Papias asserts were compiled by Matthew in Hebrew are best understood as being related to the material which is commonly designated “Q.” It is not in the least necessary, we think, to suppose that there was a *single* block of material on which both Matthew and Luke drew. The vitality of oral tradition, the varying emphases cherished by various groups in the early Church, the care that was taken (to which the Johannine letters bear witness) to ascertain from reliable sources precisely what did happen in the public and private ministry of Jesus, the urgent need felt to preserve Christ's teachings in writing in the face of the difficult times—all these will have led to more than one tentative collection of oral material.

Far too much work on the synoptic problem has been done on the tacit assumption that the making and dissemination of books in the first century was almost akin to the limited, hand-set editions published by private presses in our own time. We may underrate the literacy of the first century—and most people do—but there is enough classical evidence to show that the dissemination of written material was a considerable project even if the author was fortunate enough to have a wealthy private patron. Luke's Theophilus may have been such a patron, and Mark may have been a middle-class Jew with property, but the early Church in general was not made up of wealthy men who could assist in publishing. In any case, if we are to assume (with most NT commentators) that Mark's gospel was written ca. 65, its date almost rules it out as a serious contender for being the basis of (at least two) other Palestinian gospels. Traditions, wherever and under whatever conditions they were collected and committed to writing, will have been most carefully husbanded. Simple explanations may yet prove correct, and Mark and Matthew may represent two quite separate collections of tradition; it is only a failure to take tradition itself

seriously that has driven many to assume the existence of almost a multitude of copies of written gospels on which the evangelists could exercise scissors and paste.⁷

III. THE “Q” MATERIAL IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

One of the difficulties facing a NT student is that of determining precisely how scholars use the term “Q” for the underlying source(s) of all material common to Matthew and Luke but not found in Mark. Some writers have concluded that this common material was at one time or another in a single document, which can be reconstructed with a fair degree of accuracy. Other writers use the term “Q” for this material without ever stating what kind of source(s) they suppose Matthew and Luke to have used. The hypothesis that Matthew and Luke drew their common non-Markan material from a single document seems far too narrow to us. All that can be said with any safety is that behind the “Q” material there appears to lie gospel material which may belong to many different traditions, written and oral. The material as it is found in our present gospels of Matthew and Luke overlaps, and verbal identity is not as common as the documentary hypothesis might lead us to think. There has been a good deal of rearrangement, regardless of whether Matthew or Luke was written first.

When Matthew and Luke are following the same historical framework as Mark, the degree of agreement between them is high, notably when they are reporting the words of Jesus. This near identification when reporting the sayings is what we would have expected, and in some cases the agreement is so close that we may reasonably posit a common source.

In some cases, however, the agreement is so slight that, though we may suppose Matthew and Luke to have had access to different versions of the same tradition, the visible modifications in the material are puzzling. Assuming the homogeneity of “Q,” the changes are anomalous and only cease to be odd when we rid our minds of the suggestion that “Q” is a single source. It is worth examining some of the “changes” in “Q,” if that is what they are.

(1) Luke 6:29 has a story of the theft of a coat, which Matthew changes (Matt 5:40) into a lawsuit. Is it not far easier to suggest an independent tradition of the saying rather than an alteration? Jesus, in common with all teachers, must often have used the same illustrations, and it would be unusual not to find in the gospels stories that were similar in wording, but different in meaning.

(2) In Luke 11:44 Jesus charges some with being like graves. The same charge is made in Matthew 23:27, but with different emphasis, and a totally different didactic purpose. Streeter (*The Four Gospels*, pp. 253 ff.) suggested that the form of these stories in Matthew has been conflated with Matthew’s own

peculiar material. But it is far simpler to say that both Matthew and Luke had independent and variant traditions here.

(3) In one of the longer “Q” sections (Luke 6:20–26), a collection of Beatitudes and Woes, we are faced with a major piece of editing on the part of Matthew—assuming, that is, that Matthew had seen Luke, and also had access to the same “Q” material as Luke. Luke’s collection of Beatitudes and Woes in his chapter 6 is an entity, but it is odd that Matthew (who on the “Q” theory made a whole chapter, 23, out of a few sayings of Luke against the Pharisees, Luke 11:37–46), apparently did not know *this* collection of woes.

(4) Protagonists of the “Q” theory assert that material about John the Baptist, and the sayings of Jesus concerning the Baptist, were to be found in this source. The sayings about John in Luke 16:16 and Matt 11:12 f. do not bear this out. Manifestly, they come from different sources.

(5) If Luke 13:23–24 is from the hypothetical “Q,” then Matthew 7:13 demonstrates minimal agreement at this point.

(6) There is striking dissimilarity to be found in the two accounts of rejection in the judgment. For Luke (13:25 ff.) those who are cast out are people who had heard Jesus and eaten with him. Matthew, however (7:21 ff.), makes of these people men who were so closely identified with the Messianic community as to have been prophets and exorcists. It is true that these two categories of people may overlap; nevertheless, there is far closer identification with Jesus in Matthew than in the so-called “Q” material in Luke. More likely, these represent two disparate traditions.

(7) Far from Matthew’s having made use of “Q” material, it is perhaps possible to find one place where he certainly did not. Matthew 16:2 is omitted by some good Greek manuscripts, and it is to be presumed that a later scribe, noticing the lacuna, supplied the missing material from Luke 12:54 f.

(8) If the common assumption holds, that Matthew not only had access to Mark but had also read Luke, then in a good many instances an equally good case can be made for Luke’s having read Matthew. Luke thus might be the editor, not—as is usually assumed—Matthew. For example, it would be hard to say which of the two was responsible for apparently emphasizing the soil and the seed in Matthew 13:1 ff. and Luke 8:4 ff., rather than the sower, as in Mark 4.

(9) If we admit that Matthew’s additional comment on the sign of Jonah (Matt 12:40) came from a source which he knew and Luke did not, then it is possible that Luke read Matthew’s version, recognized that the Matthean comment did not fit the context, or the original meaning of Jesus’ use of the sign, and omitted it.

In relation to this version, it may be said that many minor variants in the use

of the “Q” material between Matthew and Luke can be ascribed to varying translations of the original. But we must add that scholars are not agreed upon the degree of Aramaic, Hebrew, or Greek underlying our gospel sources. The examples given above are outstanding variants that must somehow be explained by any theory which postulates a “Q” source. It is, we contend, far simpler to suppose that both Matthew and Luke used their own sources than to assume that one evangelist saw the other’s work and proceeded to some radical editorial revision. Though recent discoveries about the melting pot, assimilative character of ancient Syria-Palestine have been a great help in attempting to unravel the various languages used to compose the gospels, the new discoveries have also increased the difficulty of asserting with conviction precisely which of three languages might have been used in any parts, or the whole, of original gospel fragments—Greek, Hebrew, or Aramaic.⁸

If “Q” (whether oral or written) was a source in the sense of being a block of recognizable, homogeneous gospel material, complete in outline, then something of the *order* of this source should have been found in Matthew and Luke. But this is not the case, as we can see by looking at a larger block of “Q” material.

About half of the verses in Matthew’s Great Instruction appear also in Luke—that is, “Q.” But of these fifty plus verses supposedly from “Q,” Luke includes a mere twenty-five in his “Sermon on the Plain.” Beyond this, sayings in one context in Luke are found in a wholly different context in Matthew, and the “Q” sayings in Matthew are widely scattered through Luke, between chapters 11. and 16. Matthew’s saying about coming to terms with an opponent are put by Luke in an apocalyptic context (Matt 5:25=Luke 12:57 f.). The Lord’s Prayer, put by Luke in his chapter 11—an apocalyptic context—is by Matthew placed in his great block of teaching material. If Matthew has edited and rearranged Mark and “Q,” and done this in the light of Luke, then his methods are at best unconventional. For if “Q” was a recognizable single entity, and Matthew also had access to Luke as well as to Mark, would he have separated the two verses of Luke 11:33–34, inserted them at different points in his own gospel, and in the process changed the meaning of the verses?

In very broad terms, the suggestion that Matthew knew and used “Q” together with Mark and Luke might stand. The accounts of John the Baptist, his ministry, and his baptism of Jesus (Luke 3:2–22=Matt 3:7–17), the temptation narrative (Luke 4:1–13=Matt 4:1–11), and the first instructions to disciples (Luke 6:20–49=Matt 5:1–7, 27)—all these come in the same historical order in Luke and have broad affiliation with each other. But when the story of the centurion’s servant has been told (Luke 7:1–10=Matt 8:5–13) the two gospels begin to diverge. Luke includes John’s questions to Jesus from prison, in 7:18–35, while

Matthew postpones them until 11:2–19. The same thing is true of other material which has commonly been attributed by derivation to “Q.” The questions on discipleship are found in Luke 9:57–10:24, and in Matthew in two places—8:19–22, 9:37–10:14; the discussion of “signs” comes in Luke 11:14–32, and in Matt 12:22–45. Matthew leaves the polemic against the Pharisees (Luke 11:39–52) to almost the end of the ministry. All these examples occur in quite different contexts and are arranged in different chronological order. In fact, as soon as Mark’s order is deserted, Luke and Matthew begin to diverge. As a single, ordered source, oral or written, “Q” will not stand.

Much of the trouble with “Q,” then, has been the confidence with which some scholars have sought to reconstruct it as a *single document*. But even when this has been done, the contents of this hypothetical source are much what any oral *tradition* might have been expected to contain, outside the passion narrative: John the Baptist, his ministry, and preaching, his baptism of Jesus and the subsequent temptation story; selected instructions by Jesus; John’s place in the divine purpose and his subsequent fate; questions on the meaning of discipleship, signs authenticating the ministry, the disclosure of Messiahship, and preparation for the last acts of the ministry, with warnings about persecution. All that an examination of the “Q” material in Matthew and Luke seems likely at this stage to produce is evidence that more than one source was employed by all three evangelists.

IV. THE OLD TESTAMENT BACKGROUND OF MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

There have been many hypotheses about how Matthew arranged his material, and the text of the gospel can be interpreted to justify most of them.⁹ However, nearly all hypotheses have failed to do justice to one feature of the gospel as it appears to us, and that is Matthew's apparent conflation of two originally distinct traditions: (1) a missionary's vade mecum, mostly narrative in form, with illustrative material drawn (where helpful) from (2) the bulk of the private teaching Jesus gave to his disciples. This feature of Matthew's gospel we propose to consider below in Part XIII, Authorship and Chronology.

A

As Matthew discovered the need to explain the person of Jesus in order to encourage the development of Christian awareness, it might be suggested that his Christology dictated the framework of his gospel. For the sake of completeness, such a Christological framework is given here. Although it is viable and does full justice to the conservative Jewish background of Matthew, based wholly on Scripture, we do not find it entirely satisfactory. The analysis offered further below has the advantage of taking full account of the hermeneutic background of the gospel; we suggest it is the framework chosen and used by the author. The Christological framework would develop in this fashion:

(1) Up to the Petrine confession, the covenant people is called to relive its OT experience. The prologue makes the Messiah the Son of David (1:6, 17) and the Emmanuel quotation (1:23=Isa 7:14) in the Isaian context promises such days for God's people as they have never known before. The Micah passage (2:6=Mic 5:2) comes from a whole context in which the future ruler is depicted feeding his flock like a shepherd. So, too, with the return from Egypt: Israel, *the* child of the Lord, is called again from the land of slavery (Hos 11:1; Exod 4:22).

(2) This broad theme of reliving the OT experience is marked again at the baptism and temptation narrative. The beloved of Isa 42:1 (Gr. *agapētos*, as in the Transfiguration narrative of Matt 17:5) is reminded of his vocation to fulfill all righteousness (Matt 3:17). The temptation narrative (which will be discussed in its context) is cast in terms of Israel's time of trial in the desert. Here the narrative *encapsulates* Israel in the person of Jesus, and subjects him to the testing of covenant-loyalty in Deuteronomic terms.

(3) The (miscalled) Sermon on the Mount, or Great Instruction—which was private instruction for the inner circle of the disciples—with its strong emphasis on the law underscores the unique character of Israel's law, represents Jesus as compelling the errant community to return to the fundamentals of all law. So far, conceding the degree of authority attributed to Jesus (7:28–29) and also incidental assertions of his relationship with God which close the instruction (7:21), there is nothing which marks off the ministry as being more than largely a recapitulation of Israel's history, though admittedly in high relief.

(4) The next part of the ministry significantly changes this, though it is possible to see this change in scriptural terms, too. Chapter 8 introduces the term “The Man” (vs. 20) for the first time *in a context of suffering*. This appears to be an old tradition, in which “The Man” who fulfills a destiny of suffering could only be introduced when the ground was properly prepared for him. The “Servant Songs” of Isaiah were used in 3:17, but this was in a far different role

from that indicated in 8:20.¹⁰ There is now an atmosphere of crisis about the ministry, almost as though history had suddenly leaped from the united people of I and II Samuel to the turbulence of Isaiah and Jeremiah. The Son of Man dispenses divine pardon (9:6 ff.) and excites charges of demonic alliance (9:34), meanwhile providing for his small community (10:5, 16, 23).

(5) The same picture carries through chapters 11 to 15, with The Man asserting his vocation and demanding allegiance to his message—and to his own person (11:19, 12:8, 15). This is heavily underlined in private to the disciples (10:16–42), while all the time those who may at first have expected Jesus to fulfill Messianic expectations of their own devising were driven to find explanations of his exorcisms in a conspiracy with Satan (12:22). The lines for and against his person and ministry are drawn harder and firmer, and the community of Israel, along with Jesus, begins to reach crisis point. At 12:32 Jesus heightens the prophetic insistence upon the validity of his message by asserting his familiarity with the inmost secrets of God's "council" (a well-known concept in the Old Testament). This had already been done privately (11:25 ff.), when the signs of the imminent reign of God had been apparently rejected.

(6) From 12:38, provoked by a demand for a sign, Jesus (in Matthew's tradition) reinterprets the covenant with Israel in a series of parables (13:1–51). The report of John's death causes him to withdraw. The die is now cast, and Jesus gives the crowds a foretaste of the Messianic banquet (14:13–21: there is apparently a repetition of this at 15:34–39, a sign of the great significance attached to this incident). Chapters 15 through 16:4 provide in miniature a summary of the mission of the Servant, wholly misunderstood (15:1–2, 12; cf. Isa 53:1), yet with a mission even beyond Israel (15:21–28; cf. Isa 49:6). Though the signs of the age to come are misunderstood, yet the disciples are put to the test, and 16:13–20 marks the watershed of the gospel. The Petrine confession is followed immediately in the present Matthean tradition by the first prediction of the passion (16:21–23), the call to believers to identify with The Man in suffering, and the transfiguration. From this point on, the gospel narrative is concerned with the inevitable movement toward the cross. The Petrine confession in Matthew (not, as in Mark and Luke, the transfiguration) marks the midpoint.

This sketch of the way in which Matthew treats the events prior to Caesarea Philippi seems to indicate a tradition that is (a) Galilean, (b) controlled exclusively by rigidly scriptural standards, and (c) wholly uninfluenced by speculative messianism from sectarian or other sources. The narrative which follows chapter 16, containing as it does the eschatological material, then

develops very differently. The combination of the two traditions in this gospel suggests an editor and compiler of great ability, and—considering the smoothness of the whole—of no small theological skill.

B

Another device—well known to Jewish rabbinical writings, and also found in Proverbs—derives from oral tradition, and is faithfully followed by Matthew: it involves the use of numbers in teaching.¹¹ This phenomenon has been observed before—notably by W. H. Allen (*The Gospel According to St. Matthew*, ICC, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark / New York: Scribner, 1907), and is listed here again [because it throws light on the processes of oral tradition and transmission.](#)

Two is a conveniently memorized number. In Matthew, we have two demoniacs (8:28), two blind men (9:27, 20:30), and two false witnesses (26:60). The number three is most frequent in Matthew, and always appears in blocks of material in which the proximity of the three integers is easy to recall. There are three temptations (4:1–11), three examples of righteousness (6:1–18), three prohibitions (6:19–7:6), three injunctions (7:7–20), three healings together (8:1–15), three miracles demonstrating the authority of Jesus (8:23–9:8), another three of restoration (9:18–34). There is a threefold “fear not” (10:26, 28, 31), and a threefold answer to questions on fasting, interwoven with the three complaints of the Pharisees (9:14–17, 9:1–17). The disciples are warned of three types of persons unworthy of Jesus (10:37–38), and there are three sayings about “little ones” together (18:6, 10, 14). There are three parables on sowing (13:1–32), three of warning (24:43–25:30), and three prophetic parables (21:28–22:14). The three questions in the Passion narrative (22:15–40) highlight the Messianic mission, and in a sense summarize the whole controversy about Jesus’ ministry in easily remembered form, whether they were all asked in one day or not. It is difficult to see any numerical contriving in the historical “threes” of the passion narrative (three prayers in Gethsemane, 26:39–44; three denials of Peter, 26:69–75; and the three questions of Pilate, 27:17, 21, 22–23) because that narrative would not demand such artificial memory aids as seem to have been applied to other material.

Five and seven are equally well known as mnemonics (the Talmudic *Ethics of the Fathers* has seven signs of a scholar and seven of a sluggard); in Matthew the number seven is well represented: seven demons (12:45), the sevenfold pardon (18:21–22), seven brethren (22:25), seven loaves (15:34), seven baskets (15:37), and seven “woes” (23:13–30). There seems little doubt that number schemes such as these were made an intentional part of the structure of the gospels to aid early evangelists in their teaching.

C

The attempts to find some structure in Matthew's gospel were for the most part made before the discoveries at Qumran. Now, however, we have a large corpus of material to illustrate at firsthand the methods of at least one kind of biblical interpretation in the first century B.C. This is pre-eminently the case with the Essene commentary on Habakkuk (1QpHab), which at first sight makes comments on the prophetic text that appear unrelated to the text itself. For example, Hab 1:11 reads: "The wind then sweeps on and passes: and they make of their strength their god." The Qumran commentary has this to say: "Interpreted (this concerns) the commanders of the Kittim, who, on the counsel of the guilty house, pass one in front of another; one after another their commanders come to lay waste the earth...." Despite the apparent discrepancy between prophetic text and sectarian commentary, principles of interpretation are involved. We give here the principles as seen by W. H. Brownlee ("Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls," [BA 14 \[1951\], 54–76](#)).

(1) Everything written by the ancient prophet had a hidden eschatological meaning.

(2) Since the prophet often wrote cryptically, the meaning may have to be ascertained through a forced or abnormal construction of the biblical text.

(3) The prophet's meaning may be discerned through the study of textual, or orthographic peculiarities in the text—that is, the meaning may turn upon special readings in the text.

(4) A textual variant may also assist interpretation.

(5) The application of a verse may be determined by analogous circumstances or allegorical propriety.

(6) For full understanding, more than one meaning may be attached to the prophet's words.

(7) Sometimes the prophet so concealed his meaning that recourse must be had to synonyms for the words used.

(8) Sometimes the hidden meaning may have to be discovered by a rearrangement of the letters the prophet actually used, or by substituting similar letters for one or more of those found in the text.

(9) Sometimes the prophet's meaning may be arrived at through dividing a word into two or more parts and expounding the parts, while at times the prophet may have concealed his meaning by abbreviation.

(10) Other passages of scripture may illuminate the prophet's original meaning.

Brownlee's survey was in 1951 an important contribution to our understanding of an interpretation of the Old Testament contemporary, or near contemporary, with the New Testament. But though Brownlee's study was quoted with some approval by Krister Stendahl (*The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* [Lund: Gleerup, 1954], especially pp. 143 ff.), such definitive statements about sectarian hermeneutics were then premature. Since 1954 we have seen the Qumran version of most texts of our present Old Testament. (Esther alone remains unrepresented.) With far more confidence than was possible ten years ago, we can assert that the idea of a *fixed* text of the Hebrew of the Old Testament is later than the NT period. The sectarians of Qumran did not deliberately change the received Hebrew text in accordance with their own preconceptions—far from it. In fact, the Greek text of the Old Testament ([LXX](#)) [derives from Hebrew originals which were often more reliable than the present Hebrew text \(MT\).](#) Further, since much written work was copied from memory or from dictation (as illustrated by manuscripts from Qumran), the possibilities of misunderstanding are great. Some obscurities in the present Hebrew text of the OT, in both words and meanings, have been illuminated by the Qumran remains. So far as Matthew's gospel is concerned, therefore, we should not rely too much upon variations from the LXX text in Matthew's quotations from the Old Testament. To this extent, points (2) to (4) in Brownlee's listing given above are of merely peripheral interest. But points (8) and (9) as we have given them above are capable of seriously misleading us in understanding hermeneutics in both Old and New Testaments: pursued to their logical conclusion, Brownlee's suggestions could lead to an interpretation of Scripture similar to the fanciful identification of various Elizabethan dramatists with William Shakespeare. It must be added, however, that Brownlee's final point is still very important: it might be used as a text for this section of our examination of the structure of Matthew.

In his *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950), Saul Lieberman comments: "The early Jewish interpreters of Scripture did not have to embark for Alexandria in order to learn there the rudimentary methods of linguistic research. Although they were not philologists in the modern sense of the word they nevertheless often adopted sound philological methods." Lieberman goes on in his chapter on "Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture" to outline the significant developments introduced into scriptural interpretation by Hillel the Elder. Interpretation of the Law had been a somewhat formless discipline before the first century of the Christian era, but the impact of systematic Alexandrian hermeneutics upon rabbinical study was profound. As Lieberman observes: "... it was the Greeks who systematized,

defined and gave definite form to the shapeless mass of interpretations” (p. 62). This interplay between Greek orderliness in interpretation, and the practice of Hillel the Elder and his school in the interpretation of secular legal documents, has been discussed by David Daube in a series of articles (cited by Lieberman). The somewhat vague conventions of allusion and analogy were given precise formulation by Hillel as follows: (1) inference from the lesser to the greater, (2) inference by analogy between equal propositions, (3) constructing a family of regulations from a single biblical instance, (4) a similar procedure to the former, but based on two instances, (5) argument from the particular to the general, and inferring the particular from the general, (6) interpretation by means of a similar passage, and (7) derivation of meaning from context.¹²

The New Testament contains interesting contrasts between the somewhat loose methods of *midrash* (exposition or homily) on the one hand, and the more precise methods of *halakah* (legal material with commentary) on the other. Midrash is the method of Matthew, while *halakah* is exemplified in Paul’s custom of applying precise norms of interpretation to words and phrases. Paul, especially when examining the central themes of the Gospel, was capable of using the older homiletic method of interpretation (cf. 1 Cor 10:1–5; 2 Cor 3:7–18), but in general his hermeneutical method follows Hillel, with precise attention to words and meanings (cf. 1 Cor 9:8–10, 10:23–30), particularly in the extended treatment of the Law in Romans and Galatians. There is no ground today, apart from a desire to dissociate Paul from Judaism, upon which to deny that he was a pupil of Gamaliel (Acts 5:34).

The OT quotations in Matthew are a vital key to understanding the author’s methods, and also his background and possible identity. Characterized by a framework of OT quotations, Matthew’s subject matter, considered in the context of those quotations, accords far better with the *pēsher* (commentary) models of Qumran than does the later interpretive method of Paul¹³ C. H. Dodd, in his *According to the Scriptures*, London: Nisbet, 1952; New York: Scribner, 1953, made a strong case for considering the OT quotations in their original context as a key to understanding the gospel author’s use of them. (Dodd’s work, however, met with a remarkably cool reception from critics and reviewers alike; that the work appeared too soon for proper evaluation of the Qumran material as it bears on the New Testament hardly justifies this neglect.)

To assert, as has been done more than once, that Matthew’s quotations must be assessed as “proof texts” is a waste of time.¹⁴ Verse divisions are a relatively modern device, of which both the Old and New Testaments were wholly devoid in the early Christian era. The notion of a “verse” was foreign to hermeneutics—Pauline, Matthean, or any other kind. “Proof texts,” with the ensuing barren

controversies they have engendered down the years, would consequently have puzzled any NT writer. Not only would the whole context of a cited passage have to be searched—if indeed a gospel author wished to discover what we call a “verse”—but the whole context would usually be known by heart. Contemporary Judaism shows innumerable instances of this in practice, and some writers on the New Testament might well have drawn warning and controlling evidence from it.

Here is the structure of Matthew’s narrative, as we came to examine it.

Prologue (Matt 1–3)

The evangelist's account of the annunciation to Mary is linked with the familiar formula "to fulfill what was written ..." Here it is Isa 7:14, and the most striking feature about the Emmanuel prophecy in Isaiah is the promise of the exercise of God's initiative in the face of the faithlessness and vacillation of men. For Isaiah, the promised child is a token of the end-time (Isa 7:17–25), a time of testing and also of calling to trust. The later uses of "sign" in this gospel are significant: one sign has been given—another will not be (cf. Matt 12:39, 16:4).

Closely allied with the thought of the birth of Jesus as a God-given sign is the quotation with which Herod's advisers in 2:5–6 reply to the king's question. Royal anxiety for a dynastic future, secular calculation—neither can stand against the whole prophetic context of Mic 5, with its promise of national upheaval until the birth of him who is to stand and feed his flock in the strength of the Lord. But this birth, and the promise of a future ingathering of the dispersed, followed by lasting peace, is to be accomplished at great cost: the denial of all the secular and religious aids (including sorcery) upon which Israel has hitherto relied. For God's people, as well as for their enemies, judgment is near.

The verse concerning the son in Hos 11:1 (Matt 2:15) carries with it the implications which we have seen at work (cf. Part I above) in Matthew's Christology: Jesus relives the spiritual experience of Israel in leaving the bondage of Egypt for freedom. All the emphasis in Hos 11 is on the close relationship which Israel, God's son (cf. Exod 4:22), enjoyed with God at that time. Jesus in his obedience is to relive, and reverse, Israel's dallying with temptation in the wilderness.

This thought of the Exodus, and of the grace which Israel might have found in the betrothal time of the desert wanderings, is not far removed from the ideal in the next quotation in Matthew (2:18=Jer 31:15). The testing and proving which inevitably follow God's initiatives also bring suffering, and the innocent are as likely to be struck down as the guilty. The whole of Jeremiah's chapter 31 is concerned with the hope of return held out to Israel by God's promise: those who have survived the sword will find grace and eternal love in the wilderness—a consideration which the evangelist cannot possibly have overlooked. Again there are references (as in the Micah passage) to God's shepherding of his scattered people. To Ephraim in the north (the prophet's own country) and to Judah in the south, the promise of healing and restoration is held out. God's sifting and judgment (Jer 31:28) will be followed by his planting and building. Above all,

there is at the end of Jer 31 the promise of the New Covenant. Considering the importance which the New Covenant has in no less than five texts of the New Testament (Matt 26:28; Mark 14:24; Luke 22:19—the longer text; 1 Cor 11:25; Heb 12:24), this circumstance, in the face of Matthew's knowledge and use of the Old Testament, cannot possibly be considered pure accident or coincidence.

Baptism and Temptation (Matt 3:1–4:11)

Matthew's quotations from Jeremiah come, as we have seen, from a chapter which spoke unequivocally of Israel's experience in the desert, and here in this section the theme is renewed.

Matthew links the ministry of John the Baptist with Isa 40, which opens with the promise of pardon and restoration near at hand (1–2), heralded by an unidentified messenger in the desert. Here there is a link with John's gospel, in which all that the Baptist claims to be is a voice (John 1:23; cf. Isa 40:3 and Matt 3:3). Second Isaiah's prophecy, from which Matthew draws his quotation, refers again, as does Jer 31, to the divine initiative (cf. Isa 40:10 ff.) and recalls the shepherd theme of Micah (Isa 40:11; cf. Mic 5:4). The whole chapter in the prophet emphatically asserts the unfailing will of God, who will brook no rivalry from idols. Perhaps Matthew's report of John's ax of judgment (3:10) is a reflection of the prophet's scorn for idolatry (Isa 40:18 ff.). Whether or not this is so, John's charge to those who come to him is wholly that of Isa 40:21–31: those who have come to hear the prophet have no excuse for ignorance, and the privilege of election-covenant avails nothing in the face of the call to repentance.

The baptism of Jesus pinpoints the total identification of Jesus with his own people—he must, as must Israel, fulfill all the demands God makes of his people (3:15). (It is significant that Matthew here represents Jesus as hearing of John's mission while still in Galilee; this may have some bearing on the author's origins.) The occasion of the baptism is marked by divine approval (3:17), again in OT terms. Like the quotations concerning the flight to Egypt, this refers to the “chosen” (“beloved”) status of God's son. There is here the ambivalence that characterizes the use of “the righteous” in Enoch xxxviii, moving as it does between “the Righteous (One)” and the “righteous (ones)” who are his followers. But the reference in 3:17 is not merely one of status concerning Israel, which Jesus represents, or of Jesus himself, but a direct hint from Isa 42 of the nature of the mission of the “chosen,” the “beloved” of Matt 3:17. The mission of the servant in Isa 42 is followed by the conditions which God's act demands in that mission (42:5–9). The servant, the chosen, is a covenant bearer, a light and release both to Israel and the Gentiles, and the harbinger of new things (cf. Isa 61, the first verse of which is quoted by Jesus in the synagogue sermon account at Luke 4:18). The concluding part of Isa 42 changes the meaning of servant from an individual to the whole people: God now gives his servant-people an opportunity (which they have hitherto not heeded) to repent and be restored to divine favor.

The temptations, which we shall discuss in the commentary proper, again look

to the spiritual history of Israel, and are seen primarily against the background of Israel's wilderness-testing. This has been brilliantly demonstrated by John A. T. Robinson, "The Temptations," in *Twelve New Testament Studies* (abbr. [TNTS](#)), [London: SCM, 1962](#).

The Ministry (Matt 4:12–25)

This short section provides the occasion for an OT statement of the meaning of the ministry, and is characterized by a quotation from a “messianic” context in Isaiah (9:1–2). Here again we notice Matthew’s interest in the north, in Galilee. Joy at the birth of the future ruler (Isa 9:6–7) is offset by the thought of the rebellious nature of those with whom God must deal, and part of the Isaianic text speaks—as does the gospel itself in the later discourses—of the sifting and choosing which God performs (Isa 9:13–16). For the evangelist, the rejection of the divine calling by those who ought first to have heeded it (Isa 9:15) must have been a poignant reminder of Jesus’ later controversies with Israel’s leaders. In the meantime, the work of building the new ruler’s kingdom (Isa 9:7) begins with the first selection of the immediate circle of disciples (Matt 4:18–22), in the restoration presaged in Jeremiah (Jer 4:23–31), and, most important, in the private instruction given to the disciples on the nature of the kingdom (Matt 5–7).

The Ministry (Matt 8–9—Healings and Questions)

It is significant that the whole complex of healings (8:1–22, 28–9:8) and the stilling of the storm (9:23–27) should center upon the quotation from Isaiah (Isa 53:4) and a reminiscence from that book (Isa 49:8–13), the first as commentary by Matthew, and the second implicit in Jesus' interpretation of his work. Isaiah 49 is concerned, as are so many of the OT texts that Matthew considers, with the restoration, national or spiritual, of Israel, while Isa 53 (which the evangelist uses as the keystone of the whole section) speaks of the means by which God will accomplish restoration. This is in full accord with what we have written below (Part X) on miracles: all disorder and chaos in God's creation is inimical to the divine purpose and must be overcome. This, at the most crucial point of all, will bring the beloved Son to the final trial of strength at the Passion. But at this stage of the ministry the Servant bears man's burdens by the work which he must do to confront the dominion of Satan. But the very signs which proclaim God's reign, and in which that reign is demonstrably embodied, bring only misunderstanding—a theme which Matthew records Jesus as illustrating in a quotation from Hosea (6:6—cf. Matt 9:13, 12:7). Both Jesus and Matthew were surely familiar with Hosea, the prophet who earnestly longed for Israel's return to God in penitence (6:1–3), but who also knew that the prophets had been ignored (6:4–5) and that the people had broken the covenant and dealt in treachery, despite God's judgment (6:7–10). When they have opportunity to learn and to repent, their only response is to lie. They are too blind to see their own wrong (7:9) and indeed oppose the work of restoration by accusing it of collusion with evil (Matt 9:34). Here is another significant link with John's gospel: the fourth evangelist is emphatic that this charge of collusion with evil (John 9) is the highwater mark of opposition to Jesus. But through all faithlessness, God's love is unchanging (Hos 6:1–3), and Jesus' mission is once more described in terms of his shepherding his people (Matt 9:35–37; cf. John 10; Mic 5).

In a real sense, Matthew's chapter 10, which is private instruction to the disciples, follows through the theme of Hos 7—the disciples must not expect any better treatment than has been, or will be, accorded to Israel's king.

The Baptist (Matt 11)

Jesus' identification of John as the promised messenger of God's act, as we now have that identification in Matthew's tradition, is periodically the subject of investigation by NT scholars, the more so in that Matthew's quotation of Malachi at 11:10 is not a quotation from the Septuagint—as it stands, it appears somewhat closer to Exod 23:20—and the declaration by Jesus that John was “Elijah” has increased the attention paid to the last two chapters of Malachi. Perhaps the most persuasive attempt in recent years to examine the whole idea of a “coming Elijah,” who was to prepare the way for a day of the Lord, has come from Robinson, whose book TNTS has already been mentioned. The article in that collection, “Elijah, John and Jesus: An Essay in Detection,” argues that John the Baptist had cast Jesus in the role of an *Elijah redivivus*, did not at any time see himself in that role (cf. John 1:21), and sent his message from prison because he was puzzled that Jesus did not seem to be playing the part John had anticipated. Moreover, Bishop Robinson contends, there is a clue which we miss in this incident, for the simple reason that we know the end of the story, and therefore accept without question the equation John=Elijah, and Jesus as the “Coming One.” This, the author contends, is mistaken, and John's question “Are you the Coming One?” was addressed to Jesus out of doubt that Jesus might not, after all, be the Elijah-who-was-to-come. Though we do not share his view, Robinson's article set us thinking again about the precise way in which the Malachi quotation did, or did not, fit into what we are convinced was Matthew's mode of composition.

There is no reference to Elijah in the Qumran literature so far discovered, where we might have expected it. More significantly, there is no suggestion in the extracanonical books of Enoch that there was any expectation of a coming Elijah to prepare for the Messiah. Granted that there was some such expectation in the time of Jesus (to which John 1:21 and Josephus bear witness), the lines were not so finely drawn as Robinson's article might suggest. Our research into the ancestry of “the Righteous One” of Acts 7:52 has convinced us that there were varied expectations, any two or more of which might coalesce. Moreover, there is good NT evidence that the Messiahship of Jesus, his Sonship, was declared after his resurrection (Acts 2:36; Rom 1:4); in that event, there is but *one* coming of the Messiah, The Man, and that is the coming *to* the Father in the sense of Dan 7:13.

There is one other factor to be reckoned with—the ending of Malachi (4:4–5). That ending appears to us to come under the heading that was once described as “euphemistic liturgical appendices,” and it (in spite of all absence of textual

variation) may not be more than a later appendage, even though it did give rise to the Elijah-expectation. (It should be noted that this ending is certainly older in the Hebrew than ca. 135 B.C., by which time the prophets had been translated into Greek, according to Sirach's grandson. It certainly appears in that translation.)

We came to the following conclusions: (1) John the Baptist's question in Matthew 11:3 might have referred to one of a number of "expected" personages, not excluding the prophet of Deut 18:15; (2) textual variation, when the text had not been finally fixed, is not as important as we might think at this remove of time, and the similarity of possessive personal pronouns between Matt 11:10 and Exod 23:20 does not alter the fact that the messenger of 11:10 does not *guard* (as he does in Exodus) but *prepares* the way: Matthew's quotation, however loose to modern eyes, is from Mal 3:1; (3) the whole context of what follows in Matt 11:11–24 is *pēsher* on Mal 3. In other words, there is no substantial difference between the way Matthew treats this OT quotation and the way the remaining quotations are treated. The whole context of Jesus' teaching about the Baptist must be seen in the light of the whole context of Mal 3–4. We gain the impression from this important passage in Matt 11:11–24 that a lot of discussion—public discussion—of the role of the Baptist occurred at this point. Matthew may have taken his Malachi quotation out of the context of a whole homiletic interlude on the precise place of John in the plan of salvation. If this is so, then Jesus' continued insistence on the manifestation of judgment in John's preaching, and in his own ministry, would have reminded his hearers of the Elijah passage at the end of Malachi. But Jesus dismisses the matter as inconsequential: syntactically, the Greek reads (in loose translation), "If you are interested in having someone fill the part of Elijah, if that kind of speculation interests you, then John is Elijah."

Controversy I (Matt 12)

So far as teaching, as distinct from self-declaration, is concerned, the visit of John's messengers marks an important step in the story of Jesus' ministry. It is as though the clarification of John's role left Jesus free to define more clearly his own ministry as well. Matthew's gathering of an unspecified total number of healings (12:9–14, 15–16, 22–23) and the subsequent controversy with the Pharisees around Isa 42:1–4 illustrates well the point we have already made—that the “fulfillment” texts must be seen in total context, both of the OT passages in question and also of the gospel. This quoted passage brings us once more to the “servant” theme of Second Isaiah. For all the opposition to his work and his message, the Servant will not be discouraged (Isa 42:4), still less will he cast aside as useless the apparently hopeless (42:3). The covenant-vocation of Israel itself is recalled (42:5–7) as that vocation was willed by God (42:8–9)—a vocation which Jesus personifies in his healing of the blind demoniac (Matt 12:22; cf. Isa 42:7). God will not concede his sovereignty, will not give his glory to another (Isa 42:9), and for that reason Jesus challenges his critics' ascription of his ministry to the Lord of Lies (Matt 12:24, 25–28). Those who should lead Israel are deaf and blind to God's call (Isa 42:18–20; cf. John 9:40–41), but the new things of God's act must be proclaimed, whether men understand or not (Matt 12:30–37; cf. Isa 42:9).

Parables (Matt 13)

The parables which Matthew records for us are concerned with man's response to the covenant-promises of God. The promises may directly concern the disciples in their preparation by Jesus for the advent of the Kingdom he proclaims, or they may concern the leaders of the Israel of the Old Covenant, face to face with the demands of that Kingdom. The parables themselves are discussed more fully in another part of this Introduction. But the disciples' questioning of this method of teaching brings another "fulfillment" passage; again from Isaiah (Matt 13:14–15; Isa 6:9–10; cf. Mark 8:18; John 12:39–40). In Matt 13 the parables are grouped around the theme of final judgment on the Messiah's community, Israel and the Church, and their import is intimately bound up with the prophetic question: "How long, O Lord?" (Isa 6:11–13), and with the promise in reply of a faithful remnant. So too, with the second "fulfillment" quotation in this chapter (13:34=Ps 78:2): the whole history of Israel, for all God's declaration of himself, has been one of rebellion and failure to hear, and the motif of refusal and rebellion suitably concludes the Matthean chapter (13:53–58). It is not without significance—in the light of what we have emphasized above—that Ps 78 ends with a reference to God's shepherding of his people.

Controversy II (Matt 15:1–20)

It is possible that the anti-Pharisaic tone of parts of Matthew's gospel may have much to tell us of the background of the author; this section of the gospel, however, in recording the dispute between Jesus and the Pharisees, does not use the "fulfillment" formula, but (like Mark 7:6) speaks of Jesus quoting from Isaiah (Matt 15:8–9=Isa 29:13). The section begins and ends on an anti-Pharisaic note, with a significant healing of a non-Israelite between the two passages. But we suggest that the quotations of Isaiah by Jesus, considering the nature of the material in Isa 29, may provide us with a clue to the way in which Jesus regarded his own mission; they may also indicate that some of Matthew's "fulfillment" quotations come not from the author, but from Jesus himself. The extensive use of Isaiah in Matthew, and the choice by Jesus of a passage from Isaiah for a synagogue sermon (Isa 61; cf. Luke 4:18–19)—of which there are echoes in Matt 11:5—is an indication which we think may be of importance.

Isa 29 deals, as does so much in the first part of that book, with the grim story of Israel's faithlessness, especially as it is manifest in those from whom faith was most of all demanded. The chapter begins with a lament over the capital of Judaism, and although promise is held out of God's visitation on behalf of Jerusalem, the main burden is of refusal to hear God's word (Isa 29:9–12; cf. Matt 15:1–6). In the last analysis, rebellion is precisely an attempt to make God an object to be manipulated (Isa 29:15–16), and this is Jesus' charge against his critics (Matt 15:12–14, 16:1–4). Between the two parts of the account of controversy are, first, incidents of healing which parallel the Isaianic prophecy (Isa 29:18–19) and secondly, the evangelist's second tradition of the proleptic Messianic banquet (Matt 15:32–39). If Isa 30 be included in the whole complex of the context, then the refusal of faithful allegiance to the Lord of the Covenant is even more heavily emphasized.

With the acknowledgment of Jesus' Messiahship by Peter at Caesarea Philippi, Matthew reaches the climax of the first part of the ministry, as we have noted. The necessity of being guided from this point on by the historical tradition dictates to the author a far less contrived arrangement of material. (Jesus' quotation of Gen 1:27 at Matt 19:5, which belongs at this point in the sequence of the gospel, will be discussed in the commentary.)

There are two points to be noticed: first, from this point onward, Matthew is far more free with his use of the term "The Man" (eighteen times, as compared to only nine before 16:20); second, the OT quotations draw on the Psalms for the first time—a Messianic psalm (quoted by Jesus) is used only when the issues are no longer in doubt.

The Passion Narrative (Matt 21–28)

The first quotation used in this second part of the gospel is from Isa 62:11 and Zech 9:9 (Matt 21:5). Here again, the passage from Isaiah must be read in total context. The salvation which God has appointed has been proclaimed, and prepared for (Isa 62:10–11). Redemption has been promised for a desolate people, but (continuing the context) Isa 63 speaks of the loneliness of the messenger of this salvation, and the unique character of God's saving love for his people. Zech 9:9, on the other hand, speaking of a triumphant and victorious king, of apocalyptic trumpets of joy, rests all confidence of victory and the release of prisoners on the blood of the covenant (Zech 11:11–12). This mention of the covenant recalls the previous quotation from Jer 31 at the outset of this gospel, and it looks also to Jesus' words at the Last Supper as recorded by the three synoptic gospels. Messianic salvation does not rest upon military strength (Zech 9:10), and while there is indeed freedom from captivity (Zech 9:11) it is from the captivity of sin that Jesus brings release. There would appear to us to be some grounds for thinking that it is upon these conflated contexts from Isaiah and Zechariah that Matthew hangs the whole passion narrative.

Matthew 21:13 has another quotation from Isaiah, again by Jesus. Bearing in mind what was said above about the total absence of verse divisions, Isa 56 is an enlightening commentary on Jesus' mission as he saw it himself. Reaching beyond the boundaries of Israel, God's act gathers not only the dispersed of Israel, but also "others not yet gathered." And the end of the chapter returns again to the shepherd theme, together with another constant prophetic theme—the failure of those whose responsibility it had been to provide for God's people (Isa 56:11–12). Later in the same chapter (Matt 21:16) Jesus cites Ps 8, and though the immediate context concerns the salutations of children, the whole psalm is concerned with the dignity of man's estate before God, and—by implication—the almost infinite degradation of man when he refuses or rebels against his God-given vocation. Again the Psalms are used in 21:42, and Jesus uses words which evidently became a *locus classicus* for the early Christians (Ps 118:22; cf. Acts 4:11 and 1 Peter 2:7). To read this psalm quotation is to be aware of the inevitability of such attention to Ps 118, concerned with celebrating God's acts of salvation. Linked with Isa 53 and 63 in vss. 5–13, it constantly repeats the emphasis on vocation in the Servant Songs, and all in all provides one of the best commentaries in the psalter on the Messianic vocation of Jesus. In the same way, the quotation by Jesus of Exod 3:6 (Matthew 22:32) focuses attention—in the context of that chapter of Exodus—upon God's saving act, the deliverance of Israel from Egypt. It is not necessary to labor the point that Paul

frequently uses Exodus themes in order to emphasize the greater, permanent salvation effected by God in Jesus.

Jesus' challenge to his critics in Matt 22:44, quoting from Ps 110 (vs. 1), appears at first sight to be an assertion of Davidic messiahship. (Plainly there was a strong tradition of Davidic origin in Jesus' family, and humanly speaking it must have contributed appreciably to the growth of his sense of vocation.) But it is difficult to sustain the view that Jesus was here asserting that Messianic claim—perhaps all along we have been unconsciously led to suppose that he was doing so by the presence of the legitimizing genealogies in Matthew and Luke, which insist upon Davidic descent. It seems far more likely that the tenor of this short exchange between Jesus and his opponents was that Jesus rejected mere Davidic messiahship as too confining: it was open to serious misunderstanding for one thing. And far more important, messiahship had been reinterpreted by Jesus in quite other directions. During the process of compiling the gospels as we know them, questioning of members of Jesus' family would reflect this kind of speculation: some Christians would accept, and others reject as irrelevant, the Davidic claim.

If there is, as our Bible margins suggest, an allusion to Gen 9:6 in Jesus' reply to Peter (Matt 26:52), then the context of Gen 9 emphasizes once again in this Matthean tradition the supreme importance of covenant, and the total obligation of man to fulfill the conditions of covenant. The final OT quotation from Jesus in Matt 27:46, his last words, is familiar; and Ps 22 as meditative commentary on the dereliction of the Passion is apposite.

Matt 27:9, compounded as it is of Jer 32:6–15 (cf. 18:2–3) and—more particularly—Zech 11:12–13, is not a fixing of geographical location of the field bought by the rewards of Judas' treachery, not a recollected coincidence of thirty silver pieces, so much as commentary upon the treachery of those who should have shepherded Israel. It throws into high relief the infamy of one who had been called to shepherd the new Messianic Community, and had failed his calling.

This part of our Introduction was completed too early to take fully into account the recent work of Robert H. Gundry (*The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel*, Novum Testamentum Supplement, XVIII, Leiden: Brill, 1967). The reader with technical competence in Hebrew and Greek is strongly recommended to use Gundry's work, since it provides the best recent study of the material. We would not subscribe, however, to some of the author's points of view. Notably, we dissent from his position that Matthew's use of quotations cannot be held to relate the evangelist to any particular tradition of interpretative method.

V. THE DISCIPLES

If we assume that Mark wrote his gospel soon after the middle of the first century, any evaluation we make of the other gospels, and of Mark himself, must take into account the state of affairs in Palestine in the years after A.D. 60. As previously pointed out, the extremely unstable social and political conditions of the times were causing Jews and Christians alike to flee the area.

It would be hard to exaggerate the sense of foreboding that overshadowed life in Palestine in the middle years of the first century of our era. The Nabataeans ceased to be a threat after A.D. 60, but up to that time, there was always the fear of border raids, some of them severe, with the inevitable ruthless Roman suppression and pacification. Strife among the quarreling sects of Judaism inevitably involved the Christians—they were, after all, suspected of being pacifists during the Jewish War, and provided warring sectarians with a common enemy. The archaeological evidence is plain enough from this period, and bears out the essential truth of Josephus' account in his *Jewish War*.

Not only was civil strife in the air long before the war of A.D. 66–70; we have also to take into account the sectarian interests that must have impinged upon the early Christian communities, either in sympathy or in enmity. Internecine warfare between the various sects was becoming common. The incident recorded by Luke (Acts 8:9–24) which centered around Simon Magus was clearly of interest to Luke and to his readers. What later came to be known as Gnosticism was already spreading,¹⁵ and Christians had to protect the gospel narrative against false testimony and false impressions. The ease and frequency of travel in the first century meant people were scattering; and the dispersal of Jerusalem Christians after the death of Stephen made much more difficult the task of correlating the apostles' information for written transmission. Acts records the death of James, John's brother, and the consequent search for Peter to subject him to a similar fate. James' death must have driven home the necessity of committing oral tradition to more permanent form before all firsthand witnesses died. In view of all this, we should perhaps avoid speaking of "sources" as though there was an unlimited supply of those who would be able to testify accurately to the events of the Lord's ministry and passion.

But how many people knew all the teaching of Jesus—was it confined to the Twelve, or did the crowds who followed him hear all of it? The answer we find to this question will color all our thinking about the manner in which our gospels were compiled. From the gospels themselves, we know that Jesus taught whole crowds on occasion. But to assume that all the teaching recorded in the gospels was so widely disseminated would mean that the same crowds had followed

Jesus on his journeyings, and that witnesses from them provided many sources of information. We have already drawn attention to the social factors after the early sixties, if not before, that would have made it very unlikely that such a large entourage could constantly accompany Jesus. And there is the additional factor that the gospels clearly distinguish between teaching given to a wide circle of hearers and that given to the restricted circle of the disciples. (That we shall have occasion to qualify this to some extent in the case of Luke's gospel in no way invalidates the distinction.)

The four gospels may thus have been composed in a far shorter period than has often been supposed, and the amount of reliable material to be drawn upon may not have been so great as has sometimes been thought.

With all this in mind, it has seemed worth while to look again at the use which is made in the New Testament of the term "disciple," with special reference to Matthew's gospel. The background of the word is clear enough, though it is well to remember that in Jewish and early Christian usage the term had much closer definition than it tends to have in modern English. Although the [Heb. *talmîd*](#) occurs but once in the Old Testament (1 Chron 25:8), it enjoys wide distribution in post-biblical Jewish literature. It is never used of a mere adherent (which the English *disciple* often tends to denote), but of a learner who constantly practices that which he learns. The Hebrew verb *lāmad* (from which *talmîd* is derived) is relatively common in the Old Testament. Another noun derived from it is used in an important connection in Isa 8:16; there the prophet, deserted by most of the people, entrusts his message to faithful disciples, urging them to make it effective. This meaning is important for the sense in which Jesus "makes disciples" and entrusts to them the proclamation of the Kingdom.

It is well to remember the finer definition of "disciple" not only in discussing the restricted use of the term in Matthew and Mark, but also in connection with those who are called "disciples of John" (cf. Mark 2:18 ff.; Luke 11:1; Matt 11:2; and Mark 6:29) and the "disciples of the Pharisees" (Mark 2:18; Matt 9:14 and 22:16). We know from the evidence of Acts that many continued to follow the Baptist's way of life, even though they were isolated from other "baptist" groups in Palestine, and the term "disciples of the Pharisees" would indicate those who were being instructed in, and who were assimilating, the teachings and practices of the Pharisees.

In Mark's gospel, the singular "disciple" is never used. The singular does occur in Matt 10:24 f. (=Luke 6:40), 10:42, with reference to the disciple as the emissary of his Lord. In Luke the singular is found at 14:26 f. (though not in the Matthean parallel 10:37 f.) and 14:33, again with reference to the disciple as in close relationship to Jesus. There is no reference to a particular disciple. In

John's gospel, the singular is used fifteen times, usually with reference to "the disciple whom Jesus loved." Both in Matthew and in Mark, the disciples are few enough to be gathered in a house, or in a fishing boat (cf. Mark 6:25, 9:28), and Mark carefully distinguishes between the crowd and the disciples. In Mark 8:34, immediately following a prediction of his passion, the Lord calls the crowds to him, with the disciples, and speaks to them about suffering as a certain consequence of discipleship, and about willing endurance as a prerequisite of discipleship. The whole context plainly indicates a situation in which Jesus outlines to his hearers the price that must be paid by those who would stand in the same intimate relationship with himself that was shared by the Twelve.

Similarly, common rumor might suggest (Mark 6:15) that John the Baptist was Elijah, or that Jesus was, but it is only in private, with the twelve disciples, that Jesus acknowledges the identification of John with the Elijah who was to come (Mark 9:11 f.). With the disciples there was no risk of misunderstanding, no fear of his own ministry being misinterpreted in terms of revolutionary strife.

We are not immediately concerned with the parables, but it is germane here to point out that it is only by a perversity of scholarship that Jesus can be represented as teaching about his Messiahship and his understanding of his own mission publicly and to large crowds. Only by treating Mark's repeated phrase "into the house," or "in a house" as a stylistic device is it possible to avoid the conclusion that Jesus reserved his innermost thoughts and his self-awareness for his chosen company, which journeyed with him throughout his ministry. Mark records occasions when Jesus withdrew into a house to explain matters privately to the Twelve (Mark 7:17, 9:28, 10:10), and the same writer preserves for us the tradition of Jesus interpreting his own parables in private (4:10, 33).

Matthew agrees with Mark's tradition in all this; Matt 9:10 indicates a small company at table in a house (cf. 9:19), and 10:10 ff. makes the explicit statement that Jesus spoke to his disciples "plainly." In 15:1–10 there is a crowd listening to Jesus, but in vs. 11 it is the disciples whom Jesus calls to him for further conversation of a private nature. The disciples alone are admitted in 16:21 to the secret of the forthcoming passion, and 23:1 makes the twelve disciples quite distinct from the crowd.

The use of a verb in Matt 27:57 to describe Joseph of Arimathea may indicate a slightly wider use of the noun "disciple," but it is also possible that the evangelist here used the verb form precisely in order to avoid a noun which for him had specialized meanings. In that case, the translation would be: "... a rich man of Arimathea, named Joseph, who had been taught by Jesus." In the same way, Matt 28:19 would have to be rendered "teach all nations," rather than "make disciples of all nations." The verbal form of Matt 13:52, bearing in mind

its context, might very properly be translated by a phrase which gave the narrower meaning of “disciple”: “the scribe who has been made a disciple of the kingdom ...”

It has sometimes been contended that there are two exceptions to Matthew’s precise delineation of “disciples” in terms of the Twelve—8:21 and 5:1. However, in 5:1 it is clear enough that Jesus, having seen the crowds, *withdrew* with the disciples. In 8:21, it is one of *the* disciples (the definite article is used), not simply “a disciple.”

If the usage of Mark and Matthew is clear, Luke’s interpretation of the term “disciple” is at first glance wider, more inclusive, and apparently much less precisely defined. However, we hope to demonstrate that Luke’s apparent divergence from the use of the other two synoptists is deliberate, and may have its origin in Acts rather than in his gospel. John likewise has other uses for the term than do Matthew and Mark.

It would appear from Acts 19:1, 4 that Luke uses the word “disciple” to indicate the half-instructed, which would not be faithful to the Hebrew sense of “well-instructed,” and might approach the common English meaning of “adherent.” But Luke is perfectly well aware that there was private instruction to the inner group of the Twelve—cf. 10:23, 12:1. If one examines all the occurrences of the word “disciples” in the Lukan passages which are said to be derived from “Q,” then not only do they manifestly not concur with Matthew in similar context, but they exhibit what appears to be a confusion of usage. Acts uses “disciples” as an equivalent for “believers” (6:1, 2, 7, 9:1, 11:26, 18:23, 19:1, 21:4, 16), while the derivative verb “to make disciples” is used in 14:21. Only once in Acts is the word used in a narrower sense—9:1, “the disciples of Jesus”—indicating that Luke has for purposes of his own changed the original meaning, or rather put it aside in favor of something far wider in scope.

The “Q” passages in Luke where “disciples” occurs are strikingly dissimilar from Matthew. In Luke 6:20, Jesus is apparently speaking to a crowd, while in Matthew this is private discourse with his twelve chosen ones. In Luke this is so public a sermon that in 10:23 the evangelist adds a note to the effect that Jesus turned to his disciples and spoke privately; in Matthew the whole discourse is of a private nature. Luke 12:1 begins what is presumably a private discourse—“to his disciples first”—but we have the crowd in 13:1–21, and then Luke finds it necessary to revert to the previous character of the teaching in vs. 22. Luke 14:25 ff. seems to suggest a separation between the crowds and the disciples, where the crowds are told of the conditions of discipleship. The warnings about the rich man in 16:1 are addressed to “the disciples,” but here it seems to be indicated that some Pharisees too heard this (16:14). Luke’s version of the

teaching about temptation (17:1) has the “apostles” asking (17:5) “Increase our faith”—Matthew has “the disciples” at this point. There is no ambiguity in Luke’s 18:5, where it is the Twelve who are indicated by the formula “the disciples.” However, Luke makes the crowd which greeted Jesus on his entry into Jerusalem a crowd of his disciples, much as Luke reports a great crowd of his disciples at 6:17. ([KJ at 7:11 mistranslates as “many of his disciples,”](#) where Luke plainly distinguishes between the crowd and the disciples.) When Luke comes to the passion narrative, his usage is governed by the tradition, and “disciples” in 20:45, 22:11, 39, 45 indicates the Twelve as distinct from the rest.

In John the same wide application of the term “disciples” that we have seen in Luke is to be found (cf. 4:1, 6:60 ff., 8:31). There is recognition in John, too, that the term mainly covered a smaller circle—13:5, 18:1, 20:19, 30. In any evaluation of the evidence which we have so far covered, full recognition must be given to the terms “the Twelve,” and “the twelve disciples,” which are widely distributed in the four gospels, with Mark using the term “the Twelve” more frequently than the others.

Luke’s use must be briefly examined here. It is clear that Luke (and John, too) was well aware that there was a whole area of teaching that was inaccessible to the crowds gathered around Jesus, at any rate during his ministry. Matthew agrees with Mark’s pattern, and carefully separates teaching given to the Twelve from public utterances of Jesus. It seems more than likely that Luke’s usage is dependent on that in Acts. If it is remembered that, for Luke, the central figure in Acts is the Apostle Paul, we may arrive at an explanation that will cover what we have seen. While Paul is the central figure in Acts, his mission to Gentiles is also a principal feature. But Paul, it will be remembered, had occasion to defend his claim to apostleship in his letter to Galatia, and based his claim on having seen the risen Lord. Yet if the qualifications outlined in Acts 1:21 ff. were to be valid, then the term used in the Markan tradition to describe those who had been privy to Jesus’ teaching all through his ministry (that is, “disciples”) could not easily be applied to Paul, except proleptically. (There is some recognition of this in Paul’s first letter to Corinth, where he affirms that he received the Church’s Eucharistic tradition “from the Lord,” which can only mean the rest of the apostles—1 Cor 12:23 ff.) It is therefore likely that Luke diverged from the Markan tradition, broadening “disciples” to embrace all believing Christians. If this interpretation is correct, then what we have in Luke 6:17, and above all in Luke 19:37, is the evangelist seeing the post-resurrection community in prolepsis—both listening to, and confessing faith in, Jesus as Lord and Messiah. This would be equally true of John’s use in 6:60 ff., where the heavenly origin of Jesus is questioned, which John recognizes as an even more serious offense to

docetic belief, in one of his letters (1 John 2:18 ff., 4:1–6).

Bearing in mind the unsettled situation in Palestine in the years after the events recorded in the gospels, coupled with the uncertainties attaching to the perhaps uneasy existence of the Church as an enclave within Judaism, and the realization that the original twelve disciples were growing older, we may be better able to re-evaluate the dates at which we assume the first oral traditions of the gospel to have been committed to writing. However much Luke and John may have extended the term “disciple” to include the early believers (an extension, incidentally, which the early Christian writers also followed), it is clear that few heard *all* the teaching of Jesus throughout his ministry. It was therefore imperative that all available material should be sifted and tested against known sources and parallel controls, that hearsay evidence from casual listeners be balanced against the testimony of the original disciples, and that interpretations from the known, tested evidence be balanced against the known traditions of the continuing community. It’s hardly surprising that as a result there are conflicts of dating, timing, and even topography. It is astonishing that with the prevailing conditions in Palestine known to be what they were, it has so often been assumed that Jesus did a great amount of public teaching of which only a selection survives; likewise that with the plain testimony of the first Johannine letter before us, some can still assume that the infant community felt no need to evaluate its records of the ministry of Jesus, and that dates as late as the end of the first century can still be suggested for any of the four gospels.

We shall have occasion to mention an important essay on “disciples” by Moses Aberbach in the course of the COMMENT on §82 (ch. 23).

VI. THE KINGDOM: THE MAN AND THE MESSIANIC COMMUNITY

Considerable controversy has attended discussion among NT scholars as to whether eschatology (consideration of the “last things,” or the “end of the age”) in the gospels and the epistles is “realized” (i.e., conceived as having already broken in upon men with the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus), or whether the end of the whole temporal process is yet to come, at a time determined only by God, not yet revealed. There is much material for both sides of the argument in the New Testament, and after some thirty years, there is still no real agreement among scholars as to how, if at all, the two views can be reconciled.

Matthew’s gospel is especially interesting for this discussion. The evangelist combines a very strong “futurist” eschatology on the one hand with stern notes of judgment arising from the ministry of Jesus on the other.

We shall not deal here with the parables except to note in passing that they, too, have Matthew’s characteristic conjunction of community-interest with eschatology.

It is not merely that Matthew’s work, in the Great Instruction, manifestly inspired a very early Christian document (*The Didache*) to provide a concept of what would be demanded of those who sought to enter the Kingdom (cf. the false prophets in Matt 7:15 ff. and 24:4 ff.). The whole discourse, from 5:3 to 7:21 ff., with its emphasis on the breaking in upon men of God’s act in inaugurating the Kingdom, still includes quite precise directions for the conduct of the continuing community which Matthew’s gospel assumes throughout; we may cite the sayings about prayer and fasting in Matt 6. The false prophets, to whom we have called attention already and who were a matter of much concern to Paul and the early Church, are gathered into the context of the Great Instruction, reappearing in an eschatological context in chapter 24.

In fact, Matthew’s combination of the eschatological with the ecclesiastical begins with the ministry of the Baptist. Here is none of the apparent hesitation with which the gospel of John treats John the Baptist, and it is noticeable that Matthew identifies John with the Christian community in a way which is not wholly true of the other gospels. Indeed, Matthew unites the Baptist’s proclamation with that of Jesus (3:2; cf. 4:17). The first proclamation (3:3) is bound up with an OT quotation which speaks of preparing the way for God’s act, but the second (4:15 f.) links the announcement of the Kingdom’s coming with OT citations which demand the notion of fulfillment. Again, John’s baptism is said by this gospel to be “for repentance” (3:11) and not “for the remission of

sin” (cf. Mark 1:4), which indirectly bears testimony to Matthew’s interest in reserving the privilege of baptismal *forgiveness* for the future Christian community. John’s strictures against those who come to him claiming a privileged status through the Chosen People (3:7 ff.) are found in similar form on the lips of Jesus in 7:15 ff.

In Mark’s gospel, the confession of Peter at Caesarea Philippi is a turning point, linked as it is with the first prediction of the passion (Mark 8:27 ff.). It is equally pivotal in Matthew, though for different reasons. In Matthew, the confession of Peter is linked with the saying about the Church, and Peter’s function in it (Matt 16:13–23). This is followed, as it is in Mark, by the first passion-prediction (Matt 16:21 ff.); by the private warning to the Twelve on the meaning of the discipleship to which they were called, and by the account of the transfiguration—all of which is equally true of Mark (Matt 16:24–17:8; cf. Mark 8:31–9:8). But after Matthew parallels Mark’s account of the meaning Jesus attaches to the ministry of John—and we have already seen that Matthew places John in the context of both the ministry of Jesus and the continuing community—the evangelist begins to develop interests of his own. The story of the epileptic boy (Matt 17:14 ff.) clearly, in the private saying to the disciples, anticipates a community beyond the resurrection. Whatever its original meaning, the story about the temple tax in 17:24 ff. betrays Matthew’s concern for, and interest in, institutions. (Incidentally, it may also hint at the provenance of this gospel.) But above all, it would seem that the Petrine confession in Matthew serves to introduce a whole section on the management of the affairs of the infant community (Matt 18).

A continuous thread runs through most of Matthew’s material—a thread of concern for the right ordering of the community founded by Jesus. Jesus gives injunctions as the disciples depart from him in 10:5–15. The rules laid down for missionary activity, which Matthew confines to Israel (10:5), are followed by precepts which could only apply in the time after Jesus’ ministry was ended (10:16–23). This wider application of missionary principles is placed by Mark at the very end of the ministry. Yet even here there is a combination of the theme of judgment, and the “last things,” with the other Matthean theme of the Church as the post-resurrection community (cf. Matt 10:28–33). A saying which Mark places in the context of the feeding of the five thousand (Mark 6:34) is in Matthew linked with missionary work (Mark 9:37–38; cf. Luke 10:2). There will be no “apostolate,” no workers “sent” into the field, until there has first been prayer for the harvest and the field workers (9:38–10:5). It must be remembered here that in the Old Testament, the theme of the harvest is familiar in pictures of the last judgment (cf. Isa 24:13; Joel 3:13; cf. Mark 4:29; Rev 14:15, 18–19), of

which perhaps the classic expression is to be found in Isa 63. The task which the missionary charge outlines in Matt 10:7–8 is to proclaim the kingdom, heal the sick, and raise the dead—charges which Luke significantly places in an eschatological context, and uses of Jesus himself (Luke 7:32). Matthew identifies the proclamation of Jesus with the proclamation of the disciples. The subordination of the disciple to the Lord (however much the disciple’s message may be identified with his Lord’s) belongs rather to the theme of the community than to signs of the “last times,” but here again Matthew combines his themes. The preaching of the Kingdom, which is the task of the community, will be authenticated by “signs” (10:8 ff.), yet these signs are themselves indications of “the end.”

It is indeed difficult to make any rigid distinction in Matthew between material that might be described as specifically eschatological, and material that is more concerned with ecclesiology. For example, the material which Matthew places at the end of his chapter 10 (vss. 40 ff.) follows sayings which spell out the price which must be paid by those who embrace the cause of Jesus, and in Matthew’s arrangement both sayings and ending equally well apply to signs of “the end” and to the post-resurrection community. The Markan equivalent of Matthew’s 10:40–42, however, is clearly in an eschatological context (Mark 9:37 ff.).

Matthew appears to say that the community of disciples (and, by anticipation, the Church; cf. 16:16 ff.) embodies all the marks of the proclamation of the Kingdom, with accompanying signs of verification, and also that the community must bear all the marks of living, here and now, in an “end-time” which in the present is not fully consummated. If this interpretation is correct, it is just what Paul urged upon the Corinthians, a doctrine which has passed into the vocabulary of Christian spirituality as “detachment” (cf. 1 Cor 7:17–31). This is in part borne out by Matthew’s use of the story about disputed precedence among the Twelve. Mark (9:34) links it with a prediction of the passion, but Matthew places it in the context of his material about the conduct of community affairs (18:1–4) and of a block of sayings about mutual pardon. But even here, the note of the “last things” is not absent, and the direct simplicity of the child, which must characterize the disciple, is linked with sayings about temptation (18:7–10).

In similar fashion, Matthew’s material skillfully links the discipline of the community with stories designed to emphasize that there is to be no claiming of privilege (20:1–16) and with the story about the question addressed by the mother of the two sons of Zebedee (20:20–27), which makes the same point. This story is followed, as it is in Mark, by the man who asked that his sight be

restored (Matt 20:29–34; cf. Mark 10:46–52), as though this was the one necessary lesson (cf. John 9:39–41). Israel often misunderstood her vocation as God's beloved people, which led her to think that she was immune from process before the divine tribunal. Matthew's use of material insists that the community of Jesus must not make similar mistaken claims (20:1–16; 21:33–41; 22:1–14).

We find similar interests at work in the Matthean woes against the Pharisees (23:1–36). The community seems not yet free of the ties which bind it to Judaism; to that extent the whole section is "dated and addressed," yet there is consideration given to the later community and its affairs (vss. 8–12). The chapter ends on a note of impending doom, with the final verse bearing witness to the difficulty of finally separating "realized" and "futurist" eschatology.

Further evidence that the Church was identified with a suffering Judaism is provided by chapter 24, and it is most likely that this state of affairs had come to pass by the middle of the first century A.D. when the community was beginning to break up. In addition to that, sectarian Judaism was gradually being removed from the main body, and it did not need great prescience to see signs of an approaching end to national and religious life as it was then conducted. There is no need to labor the fact that chapter 24 is thoroughly Jewish with its list of natural disasters on a cosmic scale, its false messiahs and false prophets, and the final salvation of the elect, culminating in the impending presence (parousia) of The Man. This consideration has been urged often before, and the already published material from Qumran amply illustrates it from near-contemporary sources—apart, that is, from the figure of The Man. But this is not a uniform picture in Matthew: rather, the evangelist once again combines material, in order that a purely eschatological discourse might also serve his interest in nourishing the Messianic community in the post-resurrection period. There are, for example, in chapter 24 injunctions to watchfulness (vss. 36, 42–44, 45–51), and the same warning is found at 25:13. The latter is set in a context which will serve equally well the interests of both futurist eschatology and a continuing community.

There is, then, in Matthew a close association of an expectation of the parousia with instructions for the disciples. We shall examine in the final section Matthew's treatment, and reinterpretation of, the judgment theme. We have already called attention to the insistence by Matthew that the call to discipleship, whether to the original number of the Twelve, or to the larger community of the Church, does not imply immunity from judgment. This is demonstrated in the attitudes which, in context, characterize two examples of delay in the advent of the Lord's presence. The disciple, whether one of the original number, or a member of the infant Christian community, may not use the privilege of election

to presume upon his Lord (24:48); and at the same time, any delay in the “end” is a test of the way in which the lessons of discipleship have been assimilated (25:1–3). Here are two interpretations of the “end,” or rather two ways of regarding a possible tardiness in the final decision of the “end”: in one, any lack of watchfulness on the part of the disciple is condemned; in the other, delay in the “end” is regarded as a trial of vigilance. The two attitudes or interpretations should not be regarded as mutually exclusive. From whatever tradition they may have come all are constantly under judgment.

The specifically Jewish strain in Matthew’s gospel is nowhere more clear than in his separation of the community of believers into the “elect” and the “many” or “the rest.” It is important here to keep in mind what has been said above about the necessity of vigilance, that the call to discipleship does not confer unquestioned privilege. Significantly, for Matthew the title “disciple” remains in force beyond the resurrection—the teacher-pupil relationship never ends. Matthew—and here he would appear to agree with Luke, who uses the term “disciples” for those who committed themselves to the infant community—identifies “the Kingdom” which Jesus proclaimed with the community. For that reason, those who are called “disciples” are the foundation of the Kingdom, and to them is given the authority of “binding and releasing” (cf. 16:19, 18:18). But at the End those who have been called will not necessarily be of the number of the “Elect.” “The righteous” who will shine like the sun (13:43) and who will be at the Father’s right hand (25:31, 37) will not automatically include all “the disciples.” It is the “elect” who will be called by angels on that “day” (24:31). For Mark, there is a separation already made between those who have accepted the ministry of the Messiah, and those who have rejected it (Mark 12:1 ff.), but Matthew very plainly makes this theme of election-rejection dependent on the End-time. There may well be here an element of conscious rejection of the separatism of such rigorist sects as Qumran, which were confident that the End would declare the sectaries to have been all along the chosen of God. Cf. NOTE on 20:28. Luke’s treatment of the parable of the wedding feast is well known (Luke 14:15–24); Matthew reopens the already established verdict of the story in terms of the Last Things (Matt 22:1–14). More than this: Matthew’s gospel asks the disciples whether they are in fact the people producing the fruits of the kingdom (Matt 22:11, 21:43).

There is in Matthew no facile identification of the Church with the elect. It is true that for the evangelist the community of believers, the Church, is the kingdom of The Man (cf. 13:36 ff.), but this by no means implies a complete identification with those who, as the elect, will enter the Kingdom of God at the last. Certainly there is a difference of theological emphasis, and it is important

that we see it for what it is. There is no tension between a “realized” eschatology and a “futurist” eschatology in Matthew’s treatment of his material. John emphasizes the element of the “realized,” in seeing the “last hour” supremely in the concluding acts of the ministry of Jesus (cf. John 12:23 ff., 13:31), and John—in common with Mark and Luke—presents the judgment largely in terms of the confrontation between the Messiah and those who by previous tradition had received the vocation to prepare for the Coming One. Matthew does stress this element (in 26:64 he heightens the Markan 14:62 to “... after this you will see The Man seated at the right hand of power”—cf. Luke 22:69). But for Matthew, identifying the Kingdom as he does with the community, judgment means God’s declaration at the End-time, since the decisions called for by the ministry of The Man have been made.

All these considerations are strikingly confirmed by the manner in which the evangelist converts secret instructions to a chosen few (Mark 13:1–4) into a body of teaching that is cosmic in scope (Matt 24, 25). The beginning of the “woes” of Mark 13:3–8 is not followed (as it is in Mark) with a warning of what the community must endure at the hands of the synagogue (Mark 13:9 ff.), but with a prophecy of what the community will endure at the hands of all peoples (Matt 24:9 ff.). Indeed, the evangelist sees in the community itself the signs of the End-time (24:10 ff.), though he adds the condition that the gospel of the Kingdom must first be preached throughout the world.

If there is, therefore, a very developed ecclesiology to be found in Matthew, it would be a gross disservice to the evangelist to see in his arrangement of material any suggestion that Matthew so identifies the Church with the Kingdom of The Man that all who enter that Kingdom are *ipso facto* numbered among the elect who will finally inherit the glories of the Father’s reign.

Allied with these considerations, there is the very large element of reward and punishment in Matthew that has often distressed Christians. It has been urged from time to time that the whole idea of rewards and punishments is far removed from the kind of disinterested service the ministry of Jesus emphasized. With this in mind, we have chosen to deal with this question elsewhere in the main body of the commentary. (Cf. NOTES on ch. 6, §§22–26.)

VII. THE KINGDOM: THE MAN AND THE FATHER

It is necessary to exercise a good deal of care at this point in fixing the limits of what may rightly be said about the term “Son of Man” in the time of Jesus. It is important not to read into the NT material a developed Christology which that material will not bear. The term itself, in Hebrew or Aramaic, is best understood as either “Man” in generality, or “The Man” as a representative of some kind (which latter is the use depicted in Ezekiel, for example). Plainly, a wealth of tradition, or speculation, had accrued to the term between Daniel and Enoch, but we do not now have material that would show us the lines of development. Jesus’ usage (in the Markan tradition) appears to indicate an identification of Jesus with mankind, first in humble approach to God, then as recipient of God’s gracious gift, and finally as standing between man and God in redemptive activity. Jesus’ use of the term provoked questioning; that is clear from John 12:23–24, and its omission from the New Testament outside the gospels apart from Acts 7:56—cf. Rev. 1:13 and 14:14—indicates a reluctance to use a term which, in the Judaism of the Dispersion, would not have had the same nuances it carried among the speculations of semisectarian Judaism in Palestine.

All the Markan sayings about the “Son of Man” are found in Matthew; in addition, both Matthew and Luke apparently used some sayings from a common tradition. Two such Son of Man sayings are found only in Matthew (10:23, 19:28); both appear to illuminate Matthew’s understanding of the term, and will be examined in due course.

Two interpretations of the “Son of Man” concept in Matthew (12:41, 25:31) are much expanded from the context in which they are found in Mark. In 13:41 Matthew adds apocalyptic material, coupled with the assertion by Jesus that The Man will send *his* angels and sift the wicked from *his* Kingdom. The Man is presented to us in Matthew as though Jesus were speaking of another person—yet we know that, for the evangelist, the coming Son of Man is identical with Jesus (cf. 13:37). Matthew, in his own tradition, never combines the two functions of Jesus and Son of Man. Jesus, who preaches on earth, and brings men into the Kingdom (“sowing the seed”), is Son of Man; at the same time, the coming Man who will be Judge in his own Kingdom is Jesus himself. The evangelist’s own special contribution is based on considerations other than those of Mark.

Not only, apart from the Markan material,¹⁶ is there no indication in Matthew of the concept of The-Man-in-his-humility; in this gospel The Man is taken to mean a sovereignty which is true even when the Son’s Kingdom is understood as a temporary institution awaiting the Kingdom of the Father. The sons of the Evil

One who have been planted in The Man's Kingdom have been planted by the Evil One himself—but the sons of the Kingdom have been planted there by Jesus himself as The Man (13:6 ff.). This is not all. Temporary though the Son's Kingdom is, The Man's judgment at the End, by which he will sift the children of the Kingdom from the children of evil, will be confirmed by the Father (13:41–43). The Father will then establish, by incorporating the sons of The Man's Kingdom into his own Kingdom, that Jesus always acted with full authority. We have in this interpreted parable of the landowner no longer the warnings of a landowner against an impatience which would ruin the crops (12:29), but warnings of the impending judgment of The Man against the time of the End. In effect, men are being asked whether, as members of the Kingdom of The Man, they will be numbered among the elect in the *Father's reign*. In this interpreted parable, Matthew seems to have made what he could out of two traditions (two parables?), spoken at different times, and made both serve a single end.

In Part VI on The Man and the Messianic Community we saw that the dominion of The Man is the community. The community's Lord, The Man, will send his angels to implement the findings of the judgment. In Matthew's handling of the sayings of Jesus, this is the only occasion on which Jesus is spoken of as judge. It is noteworthy that Paul appears to have taught this conception of a dual Kingdom also. In 1 Cor 15:24–28, we have a picture of the Son's Kingdom, after the destruction of all opposing earthly rule, being delivered up to the Father. Paul, in addition to Matthew, sets limits on the reign of the Son—"he must reign, until he has put all his enemies under his feet."

Matthew's treatment of the Sower in 13:18 ff., for all its apparent connection with 13:37, places the emphasis on the goodness and integrity of the seed rather than on the Sower. Yet, even when attention is drawn to this apparent inconsistency in the two passages, there is in both cases an emphatic assertion of The Man's universal dominion, both as teacher and judge.

In a slight, but not irrelevant, digression we might review some of the steps which in later ages of the Church led to the formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity. It is clear from what has been said that Matthew draws directly on the traditional ideas of The Man-to-come when he combines—albeit inconsistently—two functions of The Man, first as Sower with complete authority, and then as Judge-to-come. The Man is Lord also of the community on earth, a theme developed by Paul in his concept of the Church as the Body, with The Man its Head. He is Lord, too, in his function of removing from his dominion the sons of the Evil One. But though Lord, he is not conceived by Matthew as Ruler of the Church on earth—he is not, that is to say, the Lord acting *in* the Church. This is a

concept which Luke and John single out in their two gospels and in the Acts, in dealing with the Spirit. There are two poles in the material which Matthew treats—the time of the teaching ministry of Jesus, calling men and placing them in the Kingdom, and also the time of the coming judgment, a sifting which will deliver over the elect into the Father’s Kingdom. In Matthew’s gospel, the intermediate stage, though it is the subject of much teaching and provision for the future, is not represented as being the particular concern of The Man—he is Lord, but not Ruler. The Man’s Kingdom is one which asks its adherents to have faith in, and commitment to, both Jesus and his sayings. Those who hold fast to this faith and belief will be confirmed in their allegiance by The Man, and at the End will be taken into the Father’s Kingdom. Presumably, it was the role of The Man in the synoptic gospels, coupled with the role of the Messiah as seen in John and Luke’s conception of the Spirit-in-the-Church (which was John’s understanding too), that gave impetus to the formulations which were composed in the centuries after the apostolic age. (Certainly all these conceptions are present in our earliest liturgical texts.) Not until all four gospels, together with Paul’s letters, had become established would the application of Greek analytical methods to the transmitted material bring together into creedal formulation the reactions of the NT writers to the material which they had received.

It has been pointed out by Joachim Jeremias (*The Parables of Jesus* [London: SCM, 1963], p. 142) that there is a change from Matt 25:31 ff., where the evangelist deals with the judgment of The Man, to vss. 34–41, where the judge is named as “king,” and those summoned before him are represented as calling him “Lord.” Jeremias suggests that Matthew has adapted 25:30 as an introduction to the whole section, and this seems to be borne out by the interplay between 19:28, 16:27, and 25:31, all of which speak of The Man summoning to judgment. The judge declares in 25:31 ff. that he himself is either well- or ill-used in the persons of the least of his brethren, and so demonstrates the unity of The Man with the humblest. In Mark 8:38 and Luke 12:8 The Man acknowledges as his own those who have maintained allegiance to Jesus by word and deed. In the parallel account in Matthew this test of allegiance is absent, for the very good reason that it is Jesus who describes the judgment, who identifies the tests of judgment with the humility of his own Messianic work and ministry.

We now pass to an examination of the use which Matthew makes of the “Son of Man” material which he shares with Mark, and will proceed to suggest the possible ground for Matthew’s use of the Markan tradition.

On one occasion only does Mark (13:26 ff.) put a “Son of Man” saying in an apocalyptic context. In Matthew’s parallel version there is a subtle change (24:30

ff.): what is seen is the standard of The Man, certainly to be identified with The Man's cross. This sign is a judgment, not only (as in Mark) an ingathering of the elect. (The relation between Matt 24:30 ff., and Rev 1:7 and Dan 7:13 will be discussed in the commentary proper.) Furthermore, additionally emphasizing The Man's judicial function, Matthew alone has the Son of Man sending "his" angels (cf. Mark 13:27), and that with the apocalyptic trumpets (cf. Psalms of Solomon 11:1 and 1 Cor 15:52).

Matthew's tradition also modifies the crucial Mark 14:62. In Mark, the acknowledgment by Jesus of his claim to be Messiah and Son of God is followed by an assertion of the impending coming of The Man. Matthew, however (26:64), by the use of the particle *plēn* ("more than that") at the beginning of the sentence, makes a decisive break, and considerably modifies what follows: "More than that—from now on, you will see The Man seated at the right hand of power and coming on the clouds of heaven." Matthew uses the term "from now on" (*ap'arti*) at 23:39 and 26:29, and in neither case can the phrase have any other than the plain meaning "from now on." Here, then, the evangelist provides us with his understanding of the exaltation of the Son—a glorification which is closely in line with the Johannine identification of the glory of Jesus with his being lifted on the cross. In this fashion Matthew closes the ministry of Jesus: the time for choosing or rejecting that ministry is ended, and everything now looks to the eschatological coming of The Man. No longer are the titles Messiah or Son of God acknowledged; instead there is only the sovereignty of The Man.

There is a significant change from the Markan tradition (8:31) at Matthew's 16:21. Mark recalls the saying of Jesus that The Man must suffer. (The Greek here is important—*dei pathein*—and the English "must" is to be given its full import.) Matthew drops the title—in this context, the *Messiah* must suffer, but not The Man. Similarly—and significant in the light of what will be later said about Matthew's understanding of the tradition—Matthew has at 16:13, "Who do men say that The Man is?" (Cf. 16:15). Here again, The Man is a title of dominion.

Having used the saying in Mark 8:38, in another context, at 10:32 Matthew uses the last part of the saying just as Mark records it, but with a meaning which is governed by the preceding material. Mark's use acts as summary of a section on discipleship, while in Matthew it is the familiar pattern of the coming of The Man, conceived as pertaining to the judgment which the Son will execute upon his own dominion. The community, the Church, is established through the Petrine confession (16:18 ff.) and that community is immediately warned that all its members must prepare for suffering (16:24–26), but neither suffering, nor membership in the community, constitutes an indelible privilege: The Man will

judge men according to their deeds in and through the community (16:27). This, as we have already had occasion to emphasize in Part VI above, is wholly in keeping with the tradition which Matthew embodies in his gospel. Furthermore, Matthew's significant contribution to the complex concept of The Man is that he preserves elements in the teaching of Jesus which are closely allied to ideas expressed in the second part of the pre-Christian book of Enoch (probably second century B.C.).

It is assumed by A. Oepke (*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* [abbr. TWNT], eds. G. Kittel et al. [Stuttgart: Beck, 1933–], s.v. “parousia,” p. 865) that the Matthean use of “the parousia of the Son of Man” (24:27, 37, 39) is a technical Hellenistic term for which the primitive community had no equivalent. Parousia (“coming,” “appearance”), he assumes, denotes the appearance of Christ in Messianic glory and came into the Church from Pauline usage. This view assumes far too much. The apostle retained an Aramaic expression in 1 Cor 16:22, which suggests that other technical expressions may have been subsequently lost to us, including the background of parousia. (It is more than likely that the rather odd and mysterious *anathema* of 1 Cor 16:22, when compared with the variant reading of 1 Cor 12:3, could likewise do with more examination than it has had hitherto; cf. now W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann, “Two Texts in I Corinthians,” *NTS* 16 [1970], 271–76.) Now Matthew speaks in 24:3 of the parousia of Jesus, on the part of the disciples, where the question obviously looks beyond the present ministry: “What will be the sign of your coming and the end of the age?” The early Christian writers (Justin and Ignatius in the second century, and the anonymous author of the Gospel of Nicodemus) are all careful to speak of a *second* parousia, and we are therefore justified in asking why they thought it fit to use a qualifying adjective, and further to inquire what primitive understanding of parousia is preserved in Matthew. So far as the rest of the New Testament is concerned, the word is used with reference to the End (cf., e.g., 1 Thess 2:19, 3:13, 5:23; 2 Thess 2:1), and John A. T. Robinson has forcibly argued that the idea of a “second coming,” in the sense of a return of Jesus to earth in glory, was not stated by Jesus (cf. *Jesus and His Coming*, Nashville: Abingdon / London: SCM, 1957), and was in fact a total misunderstanding of what Jesus had said. Certainly such a thesis explains the use of the qualifying “second” in the instances noticed above.

Some indication of the tradition which Matthew preserves—important as being closely allied with intertestamental literature—is to be found in 10:32 ff. The Lukan parallel (Luke 12:8) uses the term “Son of Man” where Jesus speaks of his advocacy before the Father on behalf of those who have followed him. No problems are solved by suggesting that Matthew read Luke and “edited” his own

version in favor of his own preconceptions, but it is important to notice the absence in the Lukan text of any reference to The Man as judge—a crucial factor in the Matthean tradition.

The “regeneration” pictured in Matt 19:28 is a commonplace of Jewish eschatological thinking; it finds expression in Josephus and Philo, it is found in the Qumran Manual of Discipline ([1QS iv 25](#)), and is a notable motif in the [Book of Revelation](#). [It is one of Matthew’s peculiar contributions to our present tradition of the sayings of Jesus. This renewal of all things](#) in Jewish thought belonged to the time of the Messiah’s triumph. Here The Man is apparently not exercising any judicial function, yet Matthew’s recorded saying is verbally far more in keeping with Jewish thought than is Luke’s 22:28–30; Matthew’s version is in fact almost a direct quotation from Enoch lxii 5. By comparison, Luke’s version emerges as a conscious attempt to put into manageable form a partly-recalled oral tradition which the evangelist did not wholly understand.

One feature of the Matthean tradition must be noted here. In chapter 24, vss. 39, 42, 44 conclude three short sections, in the first and last of which we have The Man, and in the second, Lord. Apart from the well-known dislike of the evangelist for too much repetition, there is an identity of meaning here which must not be overlooked. In all three sections there is a summons to vigilance in the face of the coming judgment, and both The Man and Lord here alike indicate the future judge of the community. Here, too, we find echoes of the “Son of Man” theme as it is presented in Mark and Luke, for Matthew uses “Lord” to designate the healing and redemptive work of Jesus (cf. 7:2, 6, 9:28, 15:22, 25). The Man who is active in the ministry of Jesus is also Lord, and the coming judge of the End.

R. H. Charles (in his edition of the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* [Oxford University Press, 1913], II, p. 180) asserted that Enoch “has had more influence on the New Testament than has any other apocryphal or pseudepigraphic work.” At the time, it was possible to dissent from this kind of judgment, on the grounds of the dating of the material in Enoch, but since then fragments of the pre-Christian part of Enoch have been found at Qumran. These finds have placed the relevant parts of Enoch firmly in the intertestamental period and have established the use of parts of that work among a group known to have emphasized eschatology. Striking parallels between the Discourses of Enoch and the *Hôdayôt* (Thanksgiving Psalms) of Qumran now make it virtually certain that this part of Enoch—like the *Hôdayôt*—is of second-century B.C. date. Together with the “Son of Man” figure in Dan 7:13, this bears directly on our understanding of Matthew’s tradition.

In Enoch The Man is pre-existent (47:2), and as Messiah he is also Son of

God (105:2): he is a judicial figure, possessing righteousness, vindicating the righteous, and judging men according to their deeds (45:3, 46). The Messianic figure in Enoch—variously called The Man (principally), the Elect One, and the Righteous One (by implication, usually)—has been categorized by R. H. Charles, and his division of the material is the one followed here. (Incidentally, Charles shows that the demonstrative “this” preceding “Son of Man” in the Ethiopic, is clearly only to be translated by a definite article, and the Greek demonstrative itself was so used on many occasions. Hence, the NT phrase *ho huios tou anthropou* is no new construction, nor ill-derived from the original—cf. Enoch xlvi 4, xlvii 2, lxii 9, 14, lxiii 11, lxix 26, 27, lxx 1, lxxi 1). In the Enoch *mesâlê*, the Son of Man is first Judge, then Revealer, and third Champion and Ruler of the righteous. As Judge, he has righteousness (38:2, 39:6, 46:3, 53:6; cf. Pss 45:4–7, 71; Isa 11:3–5), wisdom (49:1, 3, 51:3), and power (49:3, 62:6). He illuminates the realms of sin and righteousness (46:3, 49:2, 4), raises the dead (51:1, 67:5) and will judge all men (51:2, 55:4, 61:8, 62:2, 3, 69:27). It is his function to vindicate and reward the righteous (39:7, 47:4, 7, 51:5, 52:6, 62:7, 8, 14, 15). Charles calls attention to the following significant parallels between Enoch and the Matthean tradition: Enoch lxii 5 (Matt 19:28), 40:9 (Matt 19:29), 54:4, 5 (Matt 25:41); and 38:2 (Matt 26:24)—all of them in various ways concerned with the dealings of the Son of Man with both the righteous and unrighteous.

But even apart from references (which are in all four cases almost verbally identical) the parallels in ideas between Enoch and Matthew are far too close to be dismissed. To be sure, we can assume (as does H. E. Tödt, *The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition*, tr. from the 2nd German ed. by D. M. Barton, Philadelphia: Westminster Press / London: SCM, 1965) that the Son of Man material is “prophecy after the event,” incorporated into the gospel material by the evangelists (from the community?) in the light of the passion and resurrection of Jesus, but this is a hazardous assumption at best. The sayings which incorporate the expression “Son of Man” in the synoptic gospels are firmly set in their contexts, and are therefore part of the tradition which belongs to possible early collections of the sayings of Jesus. Another factor has already been noted—a possible *removal* by Matthew of one such expression where it did not agree with the tradition which he knew. We can make excisions and emendations on the basis of our own theological preconceptions, or on our own evaluation of what Jesus could, or could not, have said—presumably, according to taste, either as a simple quasi-peasant itinerant Jewish preacher, or as the initiator of a somewhat odd amalgam of features of Judaism with semi-intellectual “Gnosticism.” But the picture of first-century Judaism now open to

us is far too involved, far too charged with theological awareness, for any such evaluation not to be slightly foolish.

Mark and Luke preserve for us a tradition of sayings from Jesus about The Man in the humility of an earthly ministry, consummated in a passion and death which the words of Jesus at the Last Supper interpreted as redemptive. Matthew's tradition presents another picture altogether. Many scholars have felt that the two pictures are contradictory, but in the face of present evidence, it is far more correct to say that the synoptic gospels are two sides of a single coin, and that the gospels provide us with a confluence of traditions fully articulate and widespread in the time of Jesus.

The notion of a semidivine figure coming to assist mankind in a quasi-redemptive role was known to the Babylonians as Atrakhasis the Man, before 1600 B.C. The Suffering Servant of Isaiah, whether an idealized figure, a collective for a group in Israel, or Israel itself, is seen not only as performing a redemptive function, but also (especially Isa 53) as sharing in the divine purposes, and as receiving honor from the hand of God. Similarly, all the "Son of Man" addresses in Ezekiel are used by the prophet almost as a title for one who represents God to Israel, and Israel to God. "Son of Man" in Daniel and Ezekiel are our principal written sources in Israel; what manner of apocalyptic speculation went to the making of the fully developed concept in Enoch, in the intervening period, we do not at the present time know. But that the synoptic gospels contain at one and the same time a cloud-rider after the fashion of Baal in the Canaanite epics, and also a redemptive figure marked out for suffering, should not surprise anyone familiar with the literature.

Our final suggestion in this examination of the material in Matthew could be expressed by saying that the real clue to the evangelist's tradition is to be found in Dan 7:13. We must note carefully that the cloud-rider ("on" the clouds, with [LXX, and not "with" the clouds, as in the extant Aramaic text](#)), [one who is truly](#) The Man, comes to the Ancient of Days.¹⁷ There is but *one* coming, and it was this coming which, misunderstood, first produced the vocabulary of a *second* parousia in the early post-NT writers. What we appear to have in Matthew is an understanding which proceeds *from* the ministry of Jesus (where the Markan material is intrusive), through resurrection-exaltation, looks to the kingdom of The Man as identified with the continuing community, and then bids men fix their gaze on that End when that kingdom (which The Man will summon to judgment) will be given up by the Son to the Father, whose kingdom will be for eternity. The Man's "coming" in Matthew is properly to be understood of that coming spoken of by Paul in 1 Cor 15, where The Man delivers up to the Father his own kingdom, which will indeed be the End, and the time of judgment.

With this consideration in mind, we pass in review the “Son of Man” sayings in Matthew. He reflects the Markan tradition of sayings, demonstrating the earthly ministry of Jesus, in 8:20, 11:29, 12:40 (doubtfully), 17:12, 22, 20:18, 28. At the same time, this Son of Man, in Matthew’s tradition, exercises authority and brings salvation (healing): 9:6 (especially), 12:8, 13:37, 18:11. He knows and reveals the things of God: 11:27, and in his passion is delivered over to the will of men: 17:22, 20:18, 26:2, 24, 45. But always, the Son of Man is master of events, and his own interpreter of his own share in those events, just as the Messiah is in John’s gospel (cf. Matt 20:28, 26:64). There is no “adoptionist” suggestion in Matthew saying that Jesus becomes Son of Man, for this he always is, *vide* 16:13, 17:9, even in the rejection and humility of the passion. But the definitive element in Matthew is that of the glory of the Son of Man, in his own kingdom, and the instances of its use (10:23, 12:32, 13:41, 16:27, 28, 24:27, 30, 37, 39, 44, 25:13, 31, 26:64) are all best understood of the Son’s coming to the Father. This, we suggest, is particularly the case with 10:23. We need not infer that the coming of the Son of Man will be so early as to limit the expectation of the End to the horizon of Israel: if this were so, the Gentile mission of 28:19 ff. would be nugatory, and contrary, too, to the material which Matthew drew upon from sources other than his own tradition. The saying comes in a context of provisions for a continuing community girded for persecution (10:17 f., 19 f., 21) and of incorporated apocalyptic sayings. The sayings look to a time—to predict which in those days required no particular prescience—when the end of the Jewish state would have taken place long before the Gospel had been extensively preached there. Long before the Son of Man’s presentation of his kingdom to the Father, evangelization of Jewry as then understood would be out of the question.

In sum, it would appear that in Matthew there is an understanding of the role of the Son of Man similar to that of the Messiah in John’s gospel, summoning men to take sides in the face of the proclamation of the Kingdom, and then bidding those men to look to future judgment as well as present decision. Secondly, we may find a possible explanation of Matthew’s dual-role Son of Man in his manifestly Jewish background. Mark and Luke may have found the Son of Man’s humility and his voluntary redemptive suffering so striking as to be difficult to accommodate with a tradition which spoke of the Son of Man’s glory. It is evident that Matthew found both ideas wholly congenial to patterns of thought with which he was familiar.

There is a very full discussion of recent writing on the subject of the “Son of Man” sayings in I. H. Marshall, “The Synoptic Son of Man Sayings in Recent Discussion,” NTS 12 (1965–66), 327–51.

VIII. THE KINGDOM: THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN

Matthew's understanding of the reign of The Man must be carefully distinguished from his interpretation of material which deals with the reign of the Father (see Parts VI and VII above). We have had occasion to emphasize that in Matthew there will be two judgments in the End-time: that which The Man will execute upon the continuing community, the Church, which is properly The Man's Kingdom, and is in Matthew conceived of as temporary, and the judgment which the Father will execute upon all men, accepting The Man's judgment upon his own Kingdom. We have also seen that Matthew's tradition is rightly understood against a specifically Jewish background which looks to the Son of Man imagery of Enoch and Daniel. In that imagery, we suggested that it was of prime importance to take seriously the *one* "coming" of the Son of Man to the Father; allied with this consideration there were important links between the Matthean tradition and the Johannine concept of the Messianic reign being inaugurated through the passion, crucifixion and resurrection. (There appears to be an important link here, too, with Pauline thought, as expressed in Rom 1:1–4, where the "Sonship" is said to be declared by the resurrection.)

Matthew's use of his sources is very clearly exhibited in the care with which he uses the word "kingdom" and its qualifying possessive genitives. Before examining the material Matthew preserves for us, we suggest that no problems are solved by the mere assertion that whoever cast our present gospel of Matthew in its final form resorted to "editing" in favor of clarifying or emphasizing some theory of his own, or some theory of a group to which he may have belonged. We are not in possession of any certain information about such a group, and any assumption of "editing" is based in the last analysis upon nothing more solid than a priori assumptions of our own. What, to the contrary, we *do* have (and in this respect we are far more richly blessed than our predecessors) is a large amount of solid information about first-century Judaism. The more carefully the present information about that Judaism is studied, the more foolish appear many of the assertions made by an earlier generation about what Jesus and his apostles "could" or "could not" have said. The manifold variety of Messianic speculation in the century before Jesus and contemporary with him is sufficient to let the commentator allow the material to speak for itself.

Consistently, Matthew's gospel uses the phrase "Kingdom of the heavens" (or, as it is in most translations, "Kingdom of heaven"). The care with which Matthew differentiates the "Kingdom of heaven" from the "Kingdom of the Father" wherever it is found in his tradition suggests that we approach this distinctive Matthean use cautiously. In only one instance does Matthew concur

with Markan tradition—at 4:17 (Mark 1:15); elsewhere, the evangelist makes use of his own tradition. We shall later suggest that if Matthew did have access to Mark (which is impossible to prove), then he deliberately changed the Markan use in favor of his own tradition, *precisely because he believed his own tradition to be superior and closer to the sense in which Jesus had spoken of the Kingdom.*

There are other examples in Matthew of “Kingdom” phrases: *the Kingdom* (4:23, 9:35, 13:19) in cases where the meaning is unlikely to be misunderstood; *his Kingdom*, or *The Man’s Kingdom* (6:33, 13:41, 16:28); the Kingdom of the Father (6:10, 13:43, 26:29). “Kingdom of God” occurs in Matthew only five times, at 4:17—cf. “Kingdom of heaven” at 3:2–12:28, 19:24, 21:31, 21:43. Matt 18:6–9 has no reference at all to the Kingdom, where Mark 9:47 does have it, and at 14:25 Matthew apparently knew of no Markan tradition of references to the Kingdom at the Last Supper, for he does not incorporate the Markan material at this point.

Matthew’s gospel begins—so far as public proclamation is concerned—with John’s call, and then Jesus’, to repentance, “for the kingdom of heaven is almost here.” This, as background to the remainder of this section, is of paramount importance: at hand, invested with an air of great urgency, is not the Father’s Kingdom of the End, but *The Man’s Kingdom*. Whether Matthew has deliberately changed John the Baptist’s proclamation here is uncertain, the preaching of Jesus as represented by the evangelist is completely in line with all the other ways in which he asserts the distinction between the two Kingdoms.

Matthew’s treatment of the way in which men are to enter *The Man’s Kingdom* betrays the same care in arrangement of material, the same meticulous differentiation of vocabulary, that characterizes his “Son of Man” material. The Beatitudes—which, as Joachim Jeremias has pointed out, are “gospel” applying to members of the community, and not a universal ethic—twice (5:3, 10) declare the conditions under which men in the Kingdom (of *The Man*) are to live. Matthew’s strong ecclesiological interest, his care to record all that he knew of the sayings of Jesus about the continuing community, his interest in what Jesus came to fulfill—all these are found in his pericope about the Law in 5:19–20. *The Man’s Kingdom*, the “Kingdom of heaven,” will have little attraction for those who in libertarian notions of freedom, or in antinomian reaction against their own past, throw aside all restraint. (The Apostle Paul had much to say of this to his converts.)

The Pauline teaching which is normally designated as “justification by faith,” that childlike acceptance of God’s gracious gift, undeserved and incapable of being merited, is found in Matthew, too. Men cannot enter into the Kingdom of heaven, into *The Man’s realm*, by mere assertions of allegiance (7:21): it is only

the child—and the childlike—who can accept as wholly unmerited what is offered as a gift (17:1, 3, 4, 19:14). Those who would enter the Kingdom of heaven must have a faith that knows it can merit nothing, and must also be prepared to renounce quite legitimate human aspirations (19:12). The call to sacrifice and the certainty of persecution both make the possession of wealth a positive obstacle in the path of the would-be neophyte (19:23–24).

The comparisons the parables make between the twin worlds of nature and men on the one hand, and the Kingdom on the other, emphasize the miraculous growth of that Kingdom (13:31), The Man's dominion over it (13:24), the cost of discipleship (13:44), and 13:45 perhaps is intended to demonstrate the costliness of the Kingdom's inauguration to The Man. This Kingdom, which awaits the judgment of The Man, is not the Kingdom of the righteous—it contains both bad and good (13:47) and will so remain until the judgment of the End (18:23 ff., 25:1 ff.). Those who are trained and commissioned to preach the message of this Kingdom (10:7 ff.) know the mind of its Lord (13:11), and, instructed as they are, produce for the household of God all manner of treasure (13:52).

Two figures intimately connected with The Man's "Kingdom of heaven," one as forerunner and the other as its leader, are subjects of comment. John the Baptist, great though he was, suffered and was martyred before the inauguration of the Kingdom. In that sense, not having witnessed God's gracious act in The Man, he is less than the latest neophyte in that Kingdom (11:12). In the main body of the commentary we will discuss the difference between Matt 11:12–15 and Luke 16:16, but an editorial comment ("from the time of John the Baptist to this moment") seems to appear, followed by Jesus' words on impending and inevitable persecution: the Kingdom will suffer violence at the hands of men, who will seek to quell the dominion of The Man. Peter, whose confession of the Messiahship of Jesus gave the community strength at the crisis-point of the ministry, is given the care of this continuing community (16:19)—a tradition which also finds expression in another form in John (21:20 ff.).

The continuity of the Kingdom of heaven with the previous history of Israel (a theme heavily emphasized in Paul's letter to the Romans) is pointed out in the sayings of Matt 8:5 ff. Those who bow their necks to the yoke of the service of this Kingdom, whether Jew or Gentile, will inherit the promises to the patriarchs (8:11); those who refuse, not willing to accept God's gracious gift, will be cast out, even though professed allegiance counted them among the sons of the Kingdom (8:12). Similarly, the continuity of the community, the Kingdom of The Man, with the community of Israel does not confer upon the Jew any privilege or preeminence (20:1 ff., 22:2 ff.); those who, late or early, enter that Kingdom are equal recipients of God's gift. Of more than passing interest, in the

light of what has so far been said here and in Part VII on the “Son of Man,” is the fact that the first condemnation of the Pharisees and scribes in 23:13 is based on their inability to comprehend what Jesus offers to all men: rejecting the Kingdom of The Man, they fight against it, too.

The remaining instances of Matthew’s use of “kingdom,” with its varying qualifying genitives, support these contentions. We have the same emphatic separation of the two Kingdoms in 13:43, the recognition of another Kingdom (that of the Father) in 26:29, while 4:23, 9:35, and 13:19 have no need of any qualification—what is under discussion is the Son’s Kingdom, just as men are bidden to pray for the advent of the Father’s reign in 6:10 (i.e., are to look to the End-time as goal). For Israel, acceptance of the message proclaimed by Jesus must understandably have been a matter of great difficulty, as the teaching that the Son’s Kingdom was open to all meant an end to what they imagined was their privileged relationship with God. Rejection of Jesus’ proclamation, however, was heinous; we ought not to miss the significance of Matthew’s careful record in 12:28. Failure to recognize that the focus of Jesus’ ministry was the battle against evil, with all its attendant redemptive implications, was to bring upon oneself the final judgment of God’s Kingdom, the judgment of the Father—for along with rejection of the ministry of Jesus went rejection of his Kingdom. In 21:31 the evangelist has “Kingdom of God” where we might have expected “Kingdom of heaven.” But—cf. commentary below—the use here is consistent with the evangelist’s purpose. The question is not that of entrance into the Messianic Community on the part of those who are still unbelievers, but of entrance into the Father’s Kingdom.

Matthew’s use of the word “kingdom” elsewhere in the Gospel can be handled more easily. That there was very early some doubt as to the differences between Matthew and Mark is evidenced by the variations at 6:33, though it is plain even in the manuscript variations that it is the Father’s Kingdom which men are to seek as the goal of their lives. The *finality* of the Father’s Kingdom, as distinct from that of the Son of Man, has been stressed above.

There is one final reference to be noted—Matt 16:28. This occurs in a context which marks out the path of suffering and denial of self which is the lot of the disciple. Though 16:27 gives us the familiar pattern of The Man’s future judgment upon his own people, this is followed by the saying that there are “men standing here who will not taste death before they see The Man enter upon his reign.” Mark 9:1 has “before they see the kingdom of God come with power” (RSV). [The distinct use which Matthew makes of the Kingdom of The Man here had](#) prompted some to ask whether the evangelist, or his source, expected an early end to the world order, in the lifetime of some who heard this saying. Some

have asked whether, granted that the saying is authentic, Jesus was himself a mistaken visionary (which was the view of Albert Schweitzer). It is not necessary to return an affirmative to either alternative. (To “taste death” was a common Jewish expression [cf. John 8:52; Heb 2:9], and hence we are dealing with a saying which is part of Jewish life in the time of Jesus—the saying need not be denied to Jesus solely on grounds of dating.) Matthew’s use of his sources here shows some interesting divergence from the Markan tradition. To begin with, Matthew does not have Mark’s “and he said to them,” which prefaces the Markan version; instead, he firmly links this saying with what has gone before—that is, with the saying about judgment in The Man’s Kingdom. Furthermore, Matthew uses the Greek participle *erchomemon*, “coming,” for Mark’s *elēluthian*; in Mark it is the *Kingdom of God* which men will see, while in Matthew it is *The Man* coming in his Kingdom. We have contended elsewhere (fn. 17) that Daniel 7:13 is the clue to Matthew’s tradition about the “coming of The Man,” and it is possible to see the same concept at work here. In the trial scene of Matthew’s passion narrative, Jesus declares that the bystanders will see The Man coming on the clouds, already in the seat of power. This can only rightly be understood—as we have seen—in the light of the Johannine tradition that Jesus spoke of his passion and his resurrection as his glorification, his enthronement; the numerous occasions on which Jesus (in John’s gospel) speaks of his “coming” to the Father can only refer to the glory of his resurrection-exaltation. To this must be added the further Johannine tradition that the community was established in the Spirit immediately following the resurrection (a tradition which, incidentally, Luke’s account in Acts 2 in no way contradicts). It seems reasonable to suggest, therefore, that Matthew here records a saying which anticipates the Son’s coming to the Father, with a Kingdom, a community, already in being at the time of the resurrection.

This analysis may firmly place Matthew in a first-century Jewish tradition that understood the sayings of Jesus far more clearly than did Mark or Luke—an understanding which the evangelist shares with John. If so, some very interesting questions are raised about the precise relationship between Matthew’s tradition and that of John, and a very fruitful field of inquiry is suggested in the exploration of common elements of thought in Matthew, John, and Paul.

IX. JESUS AND THE LAW

No other NT document represents Jesus upholding the Law so extensively as the gospel of Matthew. Jesus confirms the Law in 5:17–19, 23:1 ff. If this were all—and some writers on the New Testament have apparently been persuaded of this—then we would expect the Judge in the End-time in Matthew’s gospel to hold court on the basis of the Law (cf. 25:31 ff.); his granting or withholding mercy on the basis of the Law would be sufficient ground for acquittal or condemnation.

A massive concentration on the theme of Law in Matthew, however, seriously disturbs the whole balance of the work, and would succeed in removing Jesus’ discussion of the Law from the context of the Kingdom he proclaimed. Whatever prominence the Law holds in this gospel, the concern of the Kingdom in all the gospels is soteriological, and interest in the Law is subordinate to this overriding consideration of salvation effected by Jesus.

The element of the soteriological apart, it is right to call attention to one vital concern shared by the Israel of the Sinai Covenant and the Messianic Community which Jesus proclaimed: the relationship of the individual to the community, whether of Israel or of the Church. For Israel under the Old Covenant, as for the Church under the New, the paramount concern was not whether Israel or the Kingdom was a vaguely identifiable disposition of mind or heart, but whether men did or did not belong to Israel or the Kingdom. Individuals may have been aware of being members of Israel or of a proclaimed Kingdom, but it is the people, the community, who stand under the Covenant and the judgment of God. The individual in either community attains the salvation of God as a member of a covenant-community. The attitude of Jesus to the Mosaic Law must be seen against the background of the Covenant; likewise, discussions of the ethical demands of the NT writings are pointless without reference to the community in which those demands are to be met.

It is necessary to emphasize here, too, the element of “fulfillment” in Matthew’s gospel, for it has a direct bearing on our subject. The evangelist combines his concept of Jesus establishing the Law with his understanding of the person of Jesus. The teaching of Jesus given to the inner circle of his disciples is supplemented by references to the Law, to its foundation in the purposes of God at creation (cf. 19:4, 8), but he himself fulfills the purposes of the Law (5:17, 23:23). To follow mercy, righteousness, and faith is precisely that total *lack* of concern for the things of self which exceeds the righteousness of scribes and Pharisees (cf. 5:20): the righteousness demanded by Jesus is based on allegiance to the principles on which the Law was based, and also (and vitally) on

allegiance to his own ministry and person.

The very terms in which Jesus proclaimed the Kingdom's advent—OT terms, intimately bound up with the whole concept of covenant-obligation—carried with them the implication of an organization through which the new Covenant-community expressed its allegiance. (The unfortunate and inaccurate contrast often drawn between the idea of a community on one side, and a “religion of the spirit” on the other, is examined carefully in B. C. Butler's *Spirit and Institution in the New Testament*, London: Mowbray, 1961.) Given the need for some means of identifying the membership of a community, there is a corresponding necessity to legislate for that community's life: the Corinthian letters of Paul together with the Johannine letters eloquently testify to this need. The gates of the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse, it has been pointed out, are always open but that same Jerusalem also has walls. It is quite misleading to imply that the freedom secured for men by Jesus (according to the Apostle Paul) was meant to issue in an undifferentiated enthusiasm, free of all restraint by common discipline.

Matthew's gospel clearly demonstrates that Jesus' life also points out the path of discipleship. Mercy—“covenant-loyalty”—which Jesus teaches as the very heart of the Law (9:13, 12:7), which he commends to the disciples (5:7, 18:33), and by which standard the world will be judged (25:31 ff.), is what Jesus himself demonstrates in his dealings with men, even the most insignificant of his brethren (11:28–30). Allegiance to one who acts in such a way demands similar conduct from anyone who professes that allegiance: the disciple must exhibit the humility that characterizes his Master. There is no new Law, but neither is there simply a reiteration of the old Law's precepts; Matthew's gospel presents a new frame of reference—allegiance to the interpreter of the Law, whom Jesus claims to be, an allegiance in covenant-loyalty and faith. But allegiance proves nothing (cf. 25:40), the imperative is the conduct which allegiance implies.

More than one commentary has suggested that the misnamed “Sermon on the Mount,” particularly that part of it known as “The Beatitudes” (10:3–12), was deliberately meant by Jesus to be a superior declaration of the divine will in contrast with an (implied) “lower” revelation under Moses. Such interpretations are more suggestive of outworn theories of “degrees of inspiration” than of serious scholarship. Without the Law there would have been no Gospel: *ex nihilo nihil fit* is valid today as it was in the Middle Ages: without the Covenant of Sinai and the election of Israel there is no understanding of the Gospel. We can say with considerable emphasis that Jesus' attitude to the Law was positive, that he accepted the rightful place of those who taught the Law as God-given (23:3), even in one instance accepting the extension of the law of tithe (23:23). But

while affirming the validity of the Law up to the time of its “fulfillment,” he rejected the proliferating oral tradition, increasingly fostered by the Pharisees and eagerly seized upon by the scribes.

Matt 5:17 records Jesus as saying that he came to “establish,” “fulfill,” “sum up” (*plērousaí*) the Law. David Daube (*The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, The Jordan Lectures, 1952 [London: Athlone Press, 1956], pp. 60 ff.) gives the meaning as “uphold,” translating the [Heb. *qiyyem*](#). But the Syriac and the Aramaic would be far more faithfully rendered by “establish” in the sense of “give firm foundation to,” while “uphold” in the context would provide the unhappy sense of “defend.” The Aramaic can also tolerate the meaning of “resurrect.”

In discussing specific examples of Jesus’ treatment of the Law in Matthew three things must be borne in mind:

(1) Jesus conceived of his own mission in terms of Israel alone (15:24–26; the parallel Mark 7:27 is no different), regardless of whatever exceptions might be made in particular cases of healing, or in directions to disciples as to their own missions. It is true that the abrogation by God of exclusive privileges of election is plainly indicated by the sense of some of the parables, but the keeping (or not) of the Law was not a burning issue until the mission to the Gentiles was begun in earnest.

(2) Jesus’ appeal to the Law and his understanding of the demands of God upon the covenant-people is cast, significantly, in terms taken from Deuteronomy (cf. the temptation narrative, and see also Mark 12:29 and parallels, Deut 6:4). That book is not only Law and commentary on Law, it also sharply and frequently emphasizes the compassionate love of God both in the choice of Israel and also in qualifying that choice’s provisions for maintaining Israel’s unique inheritance.

(3) Whatever lessons the parables may carry about the overconfident reliance of Israel on the mere privilege of choice, Jesus’ appeal both in the parables and in his teaching on the Law is to the divine initiative which formed Israel, which act gave the Law its sanctions. As such, the teaching of Jesus is cast in a prophetic mold.

To take up the last point, we are guilty of an alarming simplicity with respect to the evidence of rabbinic form if we suppose that the Matthean formula “It was said by the ancients ... but I tell you ...” is tantamount to an abrogation of the Mosaic Law. Cast though it may be in a prophetic and not in an academic/rabbinic mold, it was nevertheless a well-known interpretative device. Daube (*New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, p. 58) calls attention to the rabbinic formula “I might hear (understand) ...” (i.e., literally) “but you must

say ...” (i.e., “the essential meaning is ...”). This formula—as Daube points out—is certainly as old as the New Testament. It was a well-established convention in the time of Rabbi Ishmael (first part of the second century A.D.) and therefore had a far longer oral history. (The whole of Daube’s chapter 7 is extremely useful in illuminating this point.)

Jesus’ attitude to the Law has run a whole gamut of comment, some of it theological (and having to do with his Messianic dignity, or even consciousness of divinity), some of it frankly reminiscent of nineteenth-century liberal humanitarianism. Nearly all the commentaries ignore the salient fact of the background and upbringing of Jesus as a loyal and devoted son of Israel. His appeal was not to any new interpretation of the Law, still less to an interpretation propounded by himself, any more than the strictures of Amos, Micah, or Jeremiah can be held to urge any new interpretation of the Law. Jesus’ appeal is firmly against new interpretations, in particular those proliferating from the oral tradition of the Pharisees, and arising from the new application of Greek hermeneutics to Jewish law. Jesus’ appeal is always to real meanings, real interpretations, to foundations. The whole force of the discussion about duty to parents in Matt 15 is directed against new interpretations imposed by legislation. Similarly, in the celebrated passage about divorce (19:4), the significant phrase is *ap’ archēs*,—19:4, 8: “from the beginning, at the foundation of things.” Moses is not being condemned for his legislative work; on the contrary, it is *Israel* which stands condemned for having wrung from the lawgiver a concession which was rooted in human sin.

It is appropriate to consider here Paul’s understanding of the “law,” as one trained in the rabbinic tradition of Hillel by Gamaliel.¹⁸ The apostle does use *nomos* (=law) in a sense which any Greek would have understood, in the sense of a principle of life itself—that is, natural law. This sense, which we might translate as “the foundation of all good order,” is used by Paul at Rom 7:23 and 8:2, and there are certainly instances where *nomos* in his writings would do violence as an equivalent of the Heb. *tôrah* (cf. Rom 3:27, 7:23, 25; 8:2). H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash* (abbr. [StB](#)), 5 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1922–55), [ad loc.](#), maintain that the whole argument of Rom 2:14–15 is foreign to rabbinic Judaism. All this is simply to say that for Paul the Jew, the *primary* meaning of *nomos* would always be *tôrah*, yet once LXX had used the word *nomos* (=the law of a community; cf. Eph 2:15), then Paul could use expressions which covered whole areas of ideas that *tôrah* could not easily sustain. By what steps he came to find in *nomos* a wider sense for *tôrah*, which contained “commandments put out as decrees” (Eph 2:15) we are not told; attention has already been called to the way

in which Jesus appealed to the Law as an expression of underlying purpose, sustaining principle. It may be that Paul grasped the flexibility of this concept and in his penetrating way saw its implications for his own theological writings. At the same time he is aware of the way in which “law” had come to mean interpretations which were not commandments. In Rom 3:10–18 he provides us with a combination of quotations from Isaiah and Psalms, adding that “whatever the Law says it addresses to those who are subject to it.” A quotation from Isa 27:11 he designates as “written in the Law” (1 Cor 14:21). Obviously, both examples are outside the legal material of the Old Testament, but the point to be made is that rabbinic usage specifically sanctioned such an extension of the meaning of *tôrah* (cf. StB, on John 10:34; Rom 3:19; 1 Cor 14:21).

Granted such an extension of *tôrah* did include the prophetic writings, it is important to see just how the process began, and eventually came to include oral case law discussion which in turn hardened into positive precept. It is a truism of social and psychological processes that the more consciously a battle is taken up against influence and environment, the more likely it is that such influence and environmental factors will be assimilated—a phenomenon known to psychology as the “law of reversed effort.” Some interesting illustrations of this tendency can be seen in the history of Judaism in the NT period, both orthodox and sectarian. The Essene Manual of Discipline (1QS) for example, contains the nearest approach in early Judaism to a creed. Presumably, even when consciously warring against Greek influence in the second century B.C., the Essenes unconsciously assimilated some of the Hellenistic concern for such statements. The climate of the times was heavily in favor of such Greek fondness for abstract generalizations.

Similarly, in orthodox Judaism the influence of Hellenism was deep and lasting even when that influence was being most fiercely contested. So far as we know at present, the Essene material at Qumran contains not a single Greek loan word; the Mishnah is full of them (cf. Liebermann, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*). No doubt the process was gradual, but in the field of hermeneutics the change can be seen in the NT material itself. The Qumran commentaries and Matthew’s gospel are midrashic, using a sermon-style of exposition and explanation. The method was known to Paul, and he used it (e.g., 1 Cor 10:1–5; 2 Cor 3:4–18); but his own training had been at the hands of those deeply influenced by the exacting discipline of Greek hermeneutics, and his concern is in the main with the precise meaning of words and phrases. Philo found it possible to allegorize the Law (though this was a wholly Greek phenomenon), and Jews in the Dispersion lived in the midst of city-societies that had been open to Stoic and mid-Platonic thinking for generations. Even Galilee, nearer to the

center of orthodox Judaism, was surrounded by Greek cities and was thoroughly cosmopolitan.

We should bear all of this in mind as we examine the passage in which Jesus is commonly thought to have been most sweeping in his condemnation of those concerned for the Law. Some have maintained that the passage implies a wholesale condemnation of the Law in favor of something to be promulgated by himself.

In this connection nothing is more important than the condemnation of the scribes and Pharisees in Matt 23:13. Though various translations have been offered for the phrase which opens each particular condemnation, the [KJ will serve to give the general sense rendered by most translators: “Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!”](#) “Hypocrites” is simply the Gr. *hupocritēs*, and such has been the influence of translation that two results have followed: (1) the assumption that the Greek precisely denotes one self-consciously playing a part, an actor, whose whole way of life and even convictions may be at variance with the role in which he is cast, or in which he has cast himself; and (2) that the “hypocrisy” or play acting of the scribes and Pharisees so castigated casts a doubt on the continued validity of the Law in the mind and teaching of Jesus. We have rejected the translation “hypocrite” in this commentary because it is merely the Greek word, and its primary meaning in Greek is not “actor.” (The linguistic evidence from the remainder of the New Testament is set out in an appendix, below.)

According to context, our translations of *hupocrisis* (Matt 23:28, RSV “hypocrisy”) and *hupocritēs*, *hupocritai* (Matt 6:2, etc., RSV “hypocrite,” “hypocrites”) are varied, but as the appended note demonstrates, all are based on an understanding of the words as denoting an overscrupulous, pettifogging concern with the minutiae of law.

An interesting link with LXX usage is found at Matt 23:28—the equation of *hupocrisis* (the only example of this word in Matthew) with lawlessness (*anomia*). It is not necessary to be well acquainted with moral or ascetical theology to be aware that scrupulosity is rightly condemned as sin, and also that what is ostensibly concerned with a punctilious observance of law inevitably becomes *self*-concerned. In this way the function of law is lost, or at best hopelessly obscured as the ego overcomes social concern. Furthermore, as Paul indicated, law as an end in itself, divorced from the relationships with God and man which are its real concern, becomes an intolerable burden. Doubtless “hard cases make bad law,” but an overweening legalism which fails to take proper cognizance of particular circumstances, time, and persons, infallibly produces the attitude of mind which Jesus condemned in the Pharisee lawyers.

Far and away the most prevalent form of *hupocritēs* to be found in Matthew is *hupocritai*. We have in chapter 6 rendered the plural by “overscrupulous” (6:2, 5, 16). The exact, punctilious observance of every possible legal prescription and custom, written and unwritten, in the realms of prayer, fasting and almsgiving would tend to produce (and, Jesus charges, did produce), not an offering of self to God, but an exhibition of legal rectitude to those who saw it. At 7:5 the translation is “Casuist!” We realize that casuistry is important in any system of moral theology. It is emphatically no prerogative of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Jesuits, still less of the Roman Catholic Church, but in popular estimation it almost always bears a pejorative meaning similar to that now enjoyed by the adjective “apocryphal.” Here at 7:5 there is enough of the pejorative sense to indicate Jesus’ impatience with the legalism which is aware only of failure of observance in others. At 15:7 we have elected to use the colloquialism “Shysters!” which connotes a total disregard for the purpose of the Law while ostensibly paying reverence to it. The incident which provoked Jesus’ exclamation in 22:18 seemed again to demand “You casuists!” for here the aim of a supposedly harmless question was to bring a charge of lawlessness against him.

Matthew 23, which contains no fewer than seven passages where *hupocritai* is used (vss. 13, 14, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29), ought to demonstrate to the thoughtful the reverence in which Jesus held the Law of his fathers. Not infrequently, and especially in homiletics, critics have not seen this, and have instead depicted Jesus as condemning the Mosaic Law. We have already called attention to the manner in which Jesus protested against later oral glosses and interpretations imposed on the Law, and chapter 23 underlines that contention. In this chapter we have translated the familiar opening words of the “seven woes” (vs. 14) by “Away with you, you pettifogging Pharisee lawyers!” Jesus’ criticism is not directed against the Law, or against case law and casuistry as such—John 8:1–11, whatever its historical background, does represent Jesus as dealing with a particular “case”—but against that willful disregard for the purpose of the Law, against that misuse of law which supposes that all human experience is ultimately capable of being subject to legislation. The fate of the slave in 24:51, whose final destiny lies with the “timeservers” (our translation), is fitting end to the career of one who judged that he could take the law into his own hands.

Here we must pay some attention to conflicting legal approaches to the observance of the Law in the time of Jesus. The differing outlooks of the two great legalists Shammai and Hillel had in the course of half a century hardened into schools of interpretation, often in violent opposition to each other. Both schools had followers among the lawyers, and both gave rise to large amounts of

oral law and legal tradition which the “scribes” (lawyers) were only too anxious to write into precise legislation. Despite the more humanitarian attitude of Hillel and his followers, the increasing application of Greek hermeneutics among them gave impetus to a heightened awareness of words and meanings. For both schools the continued existence of the secular state and a sacrificial cultus centered in Jerusalem provided a field in which the possibilities for the growth of legalism were almost unlimited.

We have called attention to the prophetic tradition in which Jesus stood. Standing in that tradition revering the Law and the Covenant enshrined by that tradition, Jesus could be moved to anger at manipulations of the Law. The OT prophetic record is too well known to need recapitulation. When Jesus protested that the Sabbath was God’s gracious gift to man, and not an institution intended to dominate man’s life (Mark 2:27), he spoke from the prophetic tradition, from conviction that men under the Covenant should be free from self-concern to serve God. While it is true that there is a saying similar in character to Mark 2:27 attributed to Rabbi Simeon (“To you the Sabbath is given over, and you are not given over to the Sabbath”), R. Simeon speaks toward the close of the second century A.D., and it may be doubted whether the saying of either Jesus or R. Simeon would have been acceptable in the inflamed state of opinion before A.D. 70.

For Paul, Jesus as Messiah was the “end,” the goal, of the Law (Rom 10:4) and Jesus himself regarded the Sabbath as peculiarly appropriate to God’s gracious acts performed through himself. A new community was being forged and a Kingdom proclaimed, and therefore the true function of the Law was being declared. So far from being abolished by the proclamation of the Kingdom, it was being championed. But the Law was also to bring men to the Messiah (Gal 3:24). What the Mosaic Law could become when regarded as not merely custodian but father, mother, family and even life itself, Paul the ex-Pharisee testifies eloquently in both his Roman and Galatian letters.

The Mosaic Law, and the demands of the Gospel, apply only to those whose allegiance is claimed either by circumcision or baptism. No doubt Christianity, through its periodic missionary activity, has manifested a greater awareness of responsibility to those beyond its borders than has Judaism. But nothing in Christian history has been more reprehensible than attempts by Christians of *all* persuasions to impose a universal code of ethics supposedly derived from the Christian faith. In this respect the champions of “situation ethics” are no better than proponents of the Roman Inquisition or European and American Puritanism. By the use of the “parable” from case law, coupled with a use of “love” in a non-covenantal sense, the more vocal members of the “situation

ethics” school are doing no more—and emphatically no less—than did the Reformers, Catholic and Protestant alike, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Christian morality may be based on a longer historical experience than were—say—the ethical systems of Confucius or Aristotle, but to attempt to impose Christian standards in a desperate attempt to prove their “relevance” is precisely the kind of unscrupulous behavior castigated by Jesus.

N.B. A recent article (Kenzo Tagawa, “People and Community in the Gospel of Matthew,” NTS 16 (1970), 149–63, is of considerable importance for the discussion above, in its examination of the position of the Gentile in Matthew’s gospel.

APPENDIX

Hupokrisis, Hupokritēs, Hupokrinesthai

This appendix is the result of the study of possible translations of the Greek term *hupokritēs* (pl. *hupokritai*) in Matthew, with the implications of such translations for study of Jesus' attitude to the Law (see above). This appendix is intended to present the evidence on which the study was based.

The English translation (or rather, transliteration) *hypocrite*, and the associated *hypocrisy*, carry a minatory meaning which most users of the word think that they fully understand. It is assumed that a "hypocrite" is one who consciously plays a part, an actor, one who may (out of whatever motives) adopt an attitude which is at variance with his own convictions. In short, it is taken for granted that the later Greek sense of "actor" for *hupokritēs* is the sole meaning in the New Testament, indicating (in this view) that Jesus intended to execrate the Pharisees in general as "two-faced," saying one thing but meaning (for themselves) something quite different. While this sense of the word prevails in popular (and academic) circles, Jews can justifiably complain that the gospels consistently misrepresent the Pharisees.

We contend that the Greek verb *krinein* and its derivatives (especially *hupokrinesthai*) are all primarily concerned with interpretation. It was in later Greece, when interpretation became more and more identified with the stage, that *hupokritēs* meant "actor." It would seem that both *apokrinesthai* and *hupokrinesthai* have a basic common meaning, both concerned with correct recitation, but with a slight shift in meaning in Attic Greek for *apokrinesthai* in the direction of "answer," and in Ionic toward the meaning of "recite actor's lines." However, this latter meaning could not be solely concerned with a correct text, since a variation in text almost invariably carries with it a change of emphasis or even interpretation.

The verb *krinesthai* originally meant—in Homer—"to interpret (dreams)" (*Odyssey* 19. 535, 555) and it is only in later times that it came to mean "playing an actor's part." The intermediate sense, through which the later meaning developed, was that of reciting, interpreting, answering (dialogue). It is true that such recitation, interpretation, and answering of questions initially had to do with the epic poetry of Greece, but it is important to remember that "to play a part" was a derived, not a primary meaning. (References are too numerous for the scope of this commentary, but they may easily be consulted in H. G. Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th rev. ed. by H. S. Jones and others, Oxford University Press, 1940, and in the relevant article of [TWNT \[Vol. VI, ed. Gerhard Friedrich, 1969\].](#)) [Something of the initial meaning of the word](#)

[may be discerned in the confusion](#) attending *hupokrinesthai* and *apokrinesthai*, partly because of a similarity of prefixes: in the New Testament *apokritheis eipen* is common for “he answered,” following the Attic Greek *apokrinesthai*, where it is normal in this sense.

However much we may have succumbed to pejorative connotations in our English transliteration of *hupokritēs*, we are still accustomed to using the English word “critical” and its congeners in a more or less neutral sense. The [Gr. kritikos](#) is similarly neutral, implying a capacity for discernment. We may even carry the sense a step further and speak of someone as “hypercritical,” intending to convey the idea that a person is given to fine, hairsplitting distinctions, but we do not at the same time accuse such a person of “being a hypocrite” in our modern sense. We suggest only that his faculty of discernment is carried too far for ordinary purposes. The Gr. *krinein* hardly needs comment here: it meant “to judge, to evaluate”—normal activities of one who undertook to interpret Greek epic poetry, whether this had to do with individual words, or with allegorical meanings attached to various passages.

Thus *hupokritēs* came to mean one who declaimed or recited Greek poetry or drama, especially Homer. In this sense *hupokritēs* occupied somewhat the same position as the reciter of epics, saga, and folk tales in Scandinavian and Celtic cultures, not to mention the Greek rhapsodist or the Arab *rāwī* (cf. Plato *Timaeus* 72B; Lucian *Somnium* 17 et al.). But the reciter of the Homeric poems, which were sacred literature to the ancient Greeks, also had to be an interpreter (cf., e.g., *Timaeus Sophista*). Only in a secondary sense did *hupokritēs* stress that the interpreter was also an actor or was consciously playing a part (cf., e.g., Plato *Republic* 373B.) So also the adjective *hyperkritikos*, though not found in [LXX or New Testament, also designates a skilled declaimer, or one with good natural diction](#) (cf. Aristotle *Rhetoric* 3. 1. 7; *Poetics* 19. 7, 27. 6). The metaphorical use—as of one pretending to be something other than he is—cannot be documented before the second century A.D.

With this material as background we now turn to the use of the words in question in NT, with such material from LXX as serves to illuminate NT use.

First there is *hupokrinesthai*. An interesting case is to be found in R. H. Charles’s treatment in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* of Ecclus 1:29. Accepting the original Hebrew reading of *penê* (“in the presence of”) instead of *pî* (“in the mouth of”), we have “do not be overcritical in the presence of men, but be careful what thou sayest.” There are examples of the verb in 2 Macc 5:25, 6:21, 24. Apollonius in 5:25 fills the role of a “man of peace,” and this is the nearest we come in biblical material to *hupokrinesthai* as “playing a part.” Far more instructive are the examples of 6:21, 24. Eleazar, an aged scribe, is asked to

interpret, to demonstrate, a fine point of law. He is asked to provide meat of his own choice, to consume it as though it were pork, thus seeming to render obedience to the royal decree and at the same time save himself and his people. It is *not* that (6:21) the old man is asked to play a part—though that would follow as a result of his action—but that being skilled in the Law, he might satisfy the letter of the Law while at the same time satisfying the legal demands of his interrogators. Evidently they were well assured that however hairsplitting the interpretation might be, Eleazar’s compliance would produce the maximum satisfaction for both sides. It is the kind of hairsplitting legal scrupulosity (*hupokrisis*) which the old man rejects in 6:24–25. It is not “deceit” ([NEB](#)) or “dissimulation.” [That](#) *hupokritēs* and allied forms have to do with this kind of legal interpretation is clear from Ecclus 32:15 and 33:2: the man who truly seeks the Law, who does not hate it, will find it a strength and support. But the *hupokritēs*, the man whose keeping of the Law is characterized by scrupulosity, is in a wholly different case. Using the Law for his own purposes, he becomes enmeshed in its provisions, stumbles over it (32:15), and in the end is as unstable in his opinions as a ship in a storm (32:2). These examples from the Greek Ben Sira are of considerable importance, since they date from the late second century B.C. (Unhappily, the Hebrew text of the passages in question is obscure.)

In two versions of LXX we have examples of *hupokrisis* in addition to II Maccabees. Aquila and Theodotion, as well as Symmachus, use the word in Isa 32:6, where the fool plots *hupokrisis*. Interestingly, the received text of LXX reads “iniquity,” or “lawlessness.” Nothing breeds disrespect for law more easily than a suggestion that it can be manipulated to serve a number of varying or even contradictory ends. One version of LXX provides us with *hupokritai* instead of the received “robbers” in Hos 6:9. The suggestion is presumably that Israel’s religion had become so corrupt that manipulations of its Law were tantamount to robbery.

Job provides some interesting examples. Elihu’s speech in 34:30 speaks of the dangers lying in wait when a ruler is *hupokritēs* ([Heb. ḥānēf](#), translated “godless” in [RSV](#), and “impious” by Marvin H. Pope in [Job](#), [AB](#), vol. 15). [Under such a ruler, all respect for law would come to an end. The same speaker, in further developing the theme](#) of the lawless ruler, uses *hupokritēs* again. in 36:13.

The Heb. *ḥānēf* seems to be a particularly poor foundation upon which to build. *Ḥānēf*, “blasphemous, wicked,” also appears in the Dead Sea Manual of Discipline ([1QS](#)) with synonymous words; it is rendered by *hupokrisis* in three Greek versions (Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion) at Isa 32:6, and the word appears to carry moral rather than legal implications. The word does appear in a

specifically legal context in Dan 11:32 (early second century B.C.) in speaking of the enemy who seduces, persuades to apostasy, those who violate the Covenant. The use made of both noun and verb in Jeremiah is normal in character and has to do with covenant law only in context. Daniel 11:32, when speaking of the “godlessness” (*hanûphāh*) in the land, equates the state of affairs with treachery. Jer 3:9 and 23:11 (where the word *hānēf* is used) argue that the wickedness of the land is a result of the flagrant pursuit of heathen rites.

We may also here adduce the evidence from Arabic and Syriac. The [Syr. *nāsēbai b-appei*](#), a “respector of persons,” used as a translation of *hupokritēs* in the New Testament, is the lawyer or judge who manipulates the law for a person. Prima facie, the Arabic is less tolerant of this kind of interpretation, and *ḥanîf* (a loanword from Hebrew through Aramaic) denotes the true believer, the truly orthodox Muslim. It is certainly true that the scrupulously orthodox can on occasion be capable of some impressive legal hairsplitting. Unless the Heb. *hānēf* at a later stage carried with it some such concern for scrupulous observance it is hard to see how the Arabic derivative could have achieved its meaning. The statement in Winckler’s article (TWNT, VI, p. 563, n. 25) that *ḥanîf* means “heathen” in Arabic is contrary to all Muslim belief and usage from the Quran (Koran) onwards, and is based on a misunderstanding of the Arabic Muslim meaning. It would make Abraham—described as *ḥanîf* in the Quran—into a heathen, whereas to Muslim Arabs Abraham was the friend of God, the ancestor of all Arabs, as well as the first true believer. Other usages of words from the trilateral stem are loan words from Syriac, where the words are used of pagans.

We now turn to NT evidence outside Matthew’s gospel. Conveniently, we may begin with Paul. His charge against Peter in Gal 2:3 is that Peter’s vacillating conduct arose simply from casuistry (*hupokrisis*), a casuistry which was not called into play until the situation in Antioch was complicated by the arrival of Jewish Christians from Jerusalem. The apostolic condemnation in 1 Tim 4:2 deals with the sort of casuistry (*hupokrisis*, RSV “pretensions”) which attempts to make universal rules out of occasional or voluntary ascetical practices. Two other examples of *hupokrisis* outside the gospels deal with the same theme. James 5:12 is in fact an example of the word divided into its two elements; the warning against surrounding plain statements with a mass of qualifications and oaths is paralleled in Matt 5:37. The letter adds the warning “lest you fall into casuistry,” or “lest you fall under judgment”—the words will tolerate either sense. 1 Peter 2:1 links *hupokrisis* with malice and guile. The RSV translation here is “insincerity,” which in the context is just barely possible.

The uses of *hupokrisis* in the gospels are revealing. Mark 12:15 represents

Jesus, in the dispute about the poll tax, as being wholly aware of the casuistry which would fasten for polemical purposes on any statement he made. (The parallel in Matt 22:18 uses “malice” of his questioner’s attitude, and we have translated *hupokritai* by “You casuists!”) The Lukan version speaks of his questioners’ “craftiness”—frequently, indeed, the mark of the casuist. Luke 12:1 speaks of Jesus warning his disciples against the hyper-legalism of the Pharisees, though the parallels in Matthew and Mark do not have the word *hupokrisis*. In Matt 23:28 Jesus emphatically links the casuistry of the scribes and Pharisees with lack of respect for the Law—a usage to which we have already called attention.

In the gospels there is one example of *hupokrinesithai*. In Luke 20:20, Jesus’ critics sent spies who represented themselves as men simply concerned for a declaration of his attitude on a point of law, but in reality casuists ready to manipulate his reply in order to provide an opportunity for persecution.

We now turn to the familiar *hupokritēs* (plural *hupokritai*). As a transliteration of the Greek, “hypocrite” was known in English at least as early as the *Ancren Riwe* (“Rule for Anchoresses”) of the thirteenth century, where it means a dissembler; “the false ancess is an hypocrite” answers to our modern usage. The only use of “hypocrite” in English throughout the Middle Ages was ecclesiastical, and we have no evidence for its use *before* the thirteenth century. “Hypocritical” is apparently sixteenth century: the example which comes nearest to the translation we defend comes from an Act of Parliament of Henry VIII, mentioning “the hypocritical and superstitious religions among us.” A letter of 1711 also speaks of one who “in King Edward’s time hypocris’d and comply’d with the Reformations.”

All in all, the direct transcription of the Gr. *hupokritēs* has obscured the real attitude of Jesus to the religion of his own time, and has at the same time been responsible for great misunderstandings of the Pharisees.

Mark has but one example of *hupokritēs*, 7:6 (=Matt 15:7) and the translation “You casuists!” precisely fits the context. Luke 6:42 (=Matt 7:5) comes as the conclusion of warning that there is a casuistry so concerned with rectitude in others that it cannot see its own shortcomings. Luke 12:56 is in a similar category: the casuists castigated there are so busily engaged in quite minor “cases” (which are here the indications of fair or foul weather) that the really dramatic signs of the times wholly escape them. They cannot see the wood for the trees. In the final example (Luke 13:15), we have rendered the parallel in Matt 15:7 “shysters”; this sense is equally demanded by the Markan parallel (7:6). Here again we have an example of case law which has been allowed to run riot, and in so doing has obscured the very nature of law itself.

If all that we have tried to demonstrate is true, then granted the “Jewishness” of Matthew’s gospel, it is no surprise that the word *hupokritēs* should be so frequently used in that gospel. One example of *hupokritai*, the plural, in Matthew (6:2, 5, 16) is very near the Greek of “those who demonstrate or interpret.” To charge those who are condemned in this chapter with being “hypocrites” in the usual English sense is to miss the point. It was not that these people were consciously acting a part which did not correspond to their own inner convictions, but that they were parading their own scrupulousness in public. This is the reverse side of casuistry: not merely an attempt to legislate for all possible contingencies, but setting up a self-conscious example, and thus bringing the service of God into contempt.

In Part X of the Introduction we hope we have established Jesus’ reverence for the Law of Moses as a declaration of the will of God, and that he demanded of his disciples—Jews like himself—that they pay reverence to those charged with the duty of teaching that Law (Matt 23:2). This is followed in the same chapter with the most stringent denunciations against misuse of that duty, and (coupled with examples from case law) the most numerous occurrences of *hupokritai*. (Matt 23:13–32). In this instance we have translated the word by “you pettifogging Pharisee lawyers,” since the phrase “Pharisee lawyers” throughout the seven “woes” includes both scribes and Pharisees. It is abundantly clear from the context that Jesus is impatient with the disciples of both Hillel *and* Shammai. In spite of the greater flexibility of interpretation associated with the name Hillel, the advent of Greek hermeneutical methods could often mean that the school of Hillel was every bit as exacting in the requirements of the Law as that of Shammai. The *middôt* (to which reference has been made in Part IV above) provided a logical foundation upon which legal speculation could, and did, proliferate. No matter that the schools of Shammai and Hillel were often opposed to each other: both could, and did, provide an atmosphere in which legal hairsplitting made the Law less and less an expression of man’s responsive loyalty to God and God’s gracious gift to his people, but at the same time more and more a matter of uncertainty. The agricultural peasant, dealing every day with all forms of nature, organic and inorganic, was driven to exasperated near-contempt for the legal directives that interfered with his livelihood. The city dweller, too, in daily contact with those from outside the borders of Israel, must often have developed scorn for a discipline which made finer and finer distinctions of observance so long as the national state and sacrificial cultus remained intact. The final example of *hupokritai* in Matthew (24:51) we have translated by “timeservers.” Those who manipulated law brought it into contempt and deserved to be numbered with the ungodly.

Outside the gospels, but of outstanding importance as evidence for our position in this appendix, is the *Didache* (Teaching of the Twelve Apostles), which—following J.-P. Audet in his 1958 edition and commentary (*La Didaché*, Études Bibliques, Paris: Gabalda)—we date about the third quarter of the first century A.D.

The words *hupokrisis*, *hupokritai* occur in various contexts, and—as Audet observes in his study of the work—the words do not carry condemnation on moral grounds. *Didache* viii 1 refers to *hupokritai* who diverged from the traditional days of fasting (Wednesday and Friday) in favor of other days (Monday and Thursday), while viii 2 simply repeats the injunction of Jesus in Matt 6:5. *Didache* ii 6, in a discussion of the “way of life,” forbids *hupokrisis* along with other sins of self-seeking, sins which display a flagrant disregard for the rights of others. So too in *Didache* iv 12: the believer must disdain all *hupokrisis* and everything else which is displeasing to the Lord. There is inherent improbability in Winckler’s suggestion (TWNT, VI, p. 569) that the *hupokritai* in *Didache* are Jews. It seems plain that the author or compiler of *Didache* was calling attention to the dangers inherent in a situation where some Christians were trying to demonstrate their spiritual superiority by using extraordinary fast days. We seem to be in the presence of a controversy over calendrical usage, such as characterized the dispute of the Essenes with orthodox Judaism about the dates of feasts (implications of which can be found in the New Testament), or the later controversy in the Church about the date of Easter. The dissidents are not being accused of “hypocrisy” or moral turpitude in our modern sense. Their self-conscious rectitude, whether or not it was derived from sectarian practice, plainly constituted a threat to the unity of the Christian community. This seems to be the burden of the injunctions of *Didache* ii 6 and iv 12. Once more we are in the presence of a legalism which can find some justification for its interpretation of law or custom, and in the process of doing so adopt—albeit unconsciously—an attitude of superiority.

Our treatment of the words which head this appendix was done independently of Winckler’s work in the TWNT, but we have checked some points from it, as we have indicated. It is necessary to indicate our disagreement with some of the conclusions which Winckler draws from the rabbinic writings. His assertion (TWNT, VI, p. 563, n. 26) that Rabbi Eleazar used *ḥānēf* in the sense of “heretic” must be contested: it is the legal oppressor, not the heretic, who is compared with a menstruous woman. Similarly with Rabbi Benjamin in the same note: what is under discussion by that rabbi is the legal casuist who oppresses people. Although Winckler—in our view—correctly estimates the evidence from the classical and Hellenistic sources, he quite fails to assess the

contribution made by the Jewish concept of law when dealing with LXX.

X. MIRACLES IN MATTHEW

The Old Testament proclaims, without argument (since it knew nothing of Greek logic), what has come to be called “theism.” This is most often expressed in such terms as “the living God,” the personal, active, overruling Lord of heaven and earth. Throughout the Bible, Old Testament and New, God is conceived as the only and original source of power, from whom all authority is derived. In the biblical view, there are no limitations to God’s power; with him all things are possible. Here, however, it is necessary to insist that one of the marks which distinguished the Hebrews from the rest of mankind was the assumption—and in the face of national corruption, the insistence—that God’s power is not arbitrary or a matter of whim like that of Poseidon, for example, but is always a declaration of a will that can never be anything but holy and righteous. The God of Israel was also unique in another way. While there was nothing particularly distinctive about seeing God as the Lord of nature—most divinities in the Middle East were nature gods, some of them crudely so—it was a unique insight to see God as the sole Lord of history. (It is important to remember at this point that for all the emphasis on God’s rule over the events of human history, Israel came to understand this crucial concept through her own experiences during the Exodus from Egypt, an event which for all succeeding generations left an indelible mark on the biblical record.) In the Old Testament there was never any question as to whether or not the Lord of nature and of history could perform “mighty wonders”; the Exodus alone was sufficient proof. For the New Testament, which inherited Israel’s faith, the outward sign of the delivering power of God was the raising of Jesus from the dead. In both cases, Exodus and Resurrection, God acted from outside human history, and yet within its framework. The Exodus was not simply an event in history—it was enshrined in the Passover Feast, itself no mere commemoration but a pledge for the present and the explanation of the future. Similarly the Resurrection, commemorated at Easter and on each Sunday, was not merely a past event in history—it was the well-spring of all Christian faith and hope.

It is only with this understanding of the God of Israel as an active, all-powerful God of history that we can go on to discuss the miracles with any meaning. For the biblical writers, miracles are interventions by divine power in the affairs of men, especially when considered as the means by which God declared himself and his purposes to men. In biblical times, the absence of any such concept as “the laws of nature” (as developed by Francis Bacon and his successors) made it necessary to use some such term as “sign” to denote extraordinary happenings beyond ordinary human experience.

Far too much attention has been focused on the miracle narratives by exponents of the “form criticism” school. Bultmann maintains that the stories were told to emphasize the superior status of Jesus as a wonder-worker, a thaumaturge; he finds the origin of the stories in the quite common Hellenistic miracle stories (cf. Rudolf Bultmann, *Study of the Synoptic Gospels*, in *Form Criticism*, ed. and tr. F. C. Grant [London, 1934], pp. 36 ff., and Chicago: Willett, 1934). One difficulty with this view is the exaggerated form in which the similarity is usually stated. Another is that the Hellenistic wonder-workers in question are, so far as we know, post-Christian in date. Still another difficulty comes from the assumption that Greek religion and mythology were already being accepted by Jews en masse during the late pre-Christian and early Christian periods.

In his *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, 2d ed. (Tübingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1931), pp. 236 ff. and 247 ff.), Bultmann recommends that we consider that both Greek and Jewish “wonder stories” arose in the same atmosphere, and so *pari passu* did the gospel miracle narratives. Bultmann holds that faith, as Jesus demanded it, was not faith in him as a person (though Bultmann prefers to speak of a “faithful adherence to the preaching of Jesus”), but simply trust in him as a wonder-worker. The writers of our gospels, and the oral tradition underlying them, according to Bultmann, were simply concerned to demonstrate the proofs of Jesus’ supernatural powers.

To accept such an interpretation, it would be necessary to find an explanation for the total absence of any appeal in the rest of the New Testament to the factor of miracle in any *explanation* of the person of Jesus. And how to account for the way in which the evangelists play down the element of wonder in the stories? The NT writers never use the words *teras*, *terata* (wonder, wonders) alone to describe the miracles of Jesus and the apostles: they always qualify the words with *semeion*, *semeia* (sign, signs), and indeed in John, only the word “sign” is admissible.

Substantially, Bultmann’s position is also that of Martin Dibelius (*From Tradition to Gospel*, tr. from the rev. 2d ed. of *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* by the author and B. L. Woolf [London: Nicholson, 1934], pp. 70 ff.; New York: Scribner; 1934). Dibelius has it that the miracle narratives in the New Testament belong to a class he calls *Novellen* and not only assumes that these stories belonged to a well-known genre, but also provides us with a totally unattested class of “storytellers” in the primitive Church whose function it was to collect from Jewish and Gentile sources stories of heroes and gods whose exploits could be assimilated into the story of Jesus, in order to improve his public image (p. 96).

Neither Dibelius nor Bultmann seem able to agree on *which* miracle stories are intended merely as “wonder-tales” and which are “paradigms” (narratives with an important “pronouncement” embodied in them). Before accepting their conjectures, the reader should note that there is a total lack of historical evidence for the motives imputed to the NT writers, and should consider several other vital factors as well.

(1) One of the few things that is certain about the universe as we now know it is the total *uncertainty* of any firm statement of invariable cause and effect. It is not even certain how far we are justified in speaking of “invariable sequence.” Only the most unsophisticated among us can any longer pretend that miracles, in whatever sense understood, “cannot happen.”

(2) Perhaps far more serious—from the standpoint of the biblical student—is the downgrading of the Old Testament which the view of Bultmann and Dibelius involves. Dibelius is certain that the miracle stories were simply “tales” and not intended for incorporation into sermons on salvation. But the Old Testament is abundantly clear that what our English Bibles call God’s “mighty acts” are in the majority of cases a declaration of his overruling providence in caring for his elect people—individuals are seldom the object of miracles in the Old Testament. The Hebrew words commonly translated by *teras* (wonder) and later by the Latin *miraculum* (hence the English “miracle”) do not have the kind of connotation commonly evoked by the word “miracle” in modern English. Generally speaking, the OT words designate “signs,” in the same sense in which the prophets used symbolic acts designed to effect what they portrayed (cf. 2 Kings 13:14–19; Jer 27–28). In no case are these signs used for self-aggrandizement, but always as manifestations of the overruling purposes of God.

(3) A premise underlying much modern writing on miracles holds that because there is nothing which cannot ultimately be proved or disproved by rational understanding, then miracles in the sense of God’s overruling of the natural order *cannot* happen. Conservative Christians may well have brought this attitude upon themselves by relying too heavily on the value of miracles as proof of, for example, the divinity of Jesus. The result has been, in much Christian apologetic, a disastrous cleavage between the preaching of the kingdom by Jesus on the one hand, and the necessity of dealing with the gospel miracle stories on the other. The evidential emphasis on miracles has been much used since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it belongs essentially with belief in the fixity of the natural order, and belief in a doctrine of immutability in the so-called laws of nature. This emphasis had no place in the minds of the NT writers, for whom miracles might be expected daily, and for whom miracles were no necessary sign of divinity. Paul can attribute miracles to the forces of evil (2

Thess 2:9), in the gospels the Pharisee community can be represented as casting out devils (Matt 12:27; cf. Luke 11:19), and the disciples of Jesus are puzzled by their own inability to exorcise a demon (Mark 9:28; Matt 17:20). Jesus himself emphatically rejects the view that miracles are needed as evidence of his own status (Mark 8:11–12 and parallels).

(4) Both Bultmann and Dibelius suggest that the whole framework for the miracle stories is such that they exactly fit the formal pattern of Hellenistic wonder-stories, and are therefore like them in lack of credibility. This framework is said to be (a) a description of the condition of the patient, with attendant detail; (b) a description of the cure together with the words (if any) of the wonder-worker; (c) the admiring comments of the bystanders together with the behavior of the former sufferer. In view of the nature of stories of healing, similarity in form is to be expected. But such comparisons offer little or no basis for the evaluation of the content of the story itself. Parallels are not hard to find in the claims made for patent medicines during the past century.

The task of interpreting the miracles is of supreme importance in view of the fact that they loom so large in the gospels. John records only seven, but in the majority of cases they are the points upon which important blocks of teaching are built (cf. especially John 6). The miracle narratives should not just be accepted as they stand and then “spiritualized” away. For all the service that Alan Richardson’s *Miracle-Stories of the Gospels* (New York: Harper / London: SCM, 1941) rendered, it must be agreed with James Kallas (*The Significance of the Synoptic Miracles*, London: SPCK, 1961) that Richardson is so intent on discovering homiletic and religious meaning in the narratives that one is left wondering precisely how far the *events* recorded any longer have validity. As Kallas (p. 4) rightly observes, Richardson so allegorizes Mark’s two feeding stories that the events are of small moment. The blind man at Bethsaida is summarized in the words “whether [he] was a historical person or not is a secondary question” (Richardson, p. 86). Richardson has on many occasions done great service to NT scholarship, particularly in exposing the frequent pretensions of some whose hold on historical evidence is slender at best; but we are unlikely to find satisfactory explanations in his work for the integral connection which the gospels make between Jesus’ proclamation of the reign of God and the signs by which that preaching was accompanied.

Raymond E. Brown points out that “the miracle was not primarily an external guarantee of the coming of the kingdom; it was one of the means by which the kingdom came” (*New Testament Essays* [Milwaukee: Bruce, 1965], p. 171). It is important to see miracles in the gospel narrative in the setting of Jesus’ proclamation of the Kingdom: miracle is not an appendage, a verifying

afterthought; it is, on the plain statement of Jesus himself, bound up with the announcement of the reign of God (cf. Matt 12:22–30; Luke 11:14–23). For Jesus, the characteristic of his healings was the manifestation of the warfare between God and Satan, good and evil, light and darkness.

This concern with the conflict between God and Satan is important, as there is perhaps nothing which has fascinated men more than the problem of the origin of evil. To deny the existence of evil in men is consummate folly, but when we have said that all the faculties of man's being are shot through with potentialities for evil we are no nearer solving the question of its origin. It may be that we are not likely to arrive at anything which is better for popular use than the personalized and concrete "Satan."

The task of understanding the miracles is not made easier by taking a superior attitude toward the (supposed) simplicity of a first-century belief in a personalized, concrete evil. It is true that the figure of Satan was a latecomer in Jewish thinking, but by the dawn of the NT era that figure had come to occupy a very important position. The NT picture of sharply divided dominions (cf. especially 1 John 5:19), epitomized by the teaching and practice of Jesus himself (cf. Mark 3:22 ff. and also Mark 1:24), is a faithful mirror of the kind of language which is now so familiar to us from the Dead Sea scrolls. For Jesus, the casting out of devils was an essential part of his ministry, which had itself begun with Jesus throwing down the gauntlet in OT terms in the temptation narrative. This narrative will be discussed in its proper place. Here it is sufficient to point out that where the Old Testament sees God's "mighty acts" as primarily focused on and conveyed through a people, the gospels see them as initially channeled through one person, Jesus. For Jesus, the exorcisms and healings were a direct indication of the assertion of the reign of God (Matt 12:28), even though after a ministry of such signs (Luke 13:32) it must have seemed that the victory lay temporarily with the enemy (Luke 22:53).

The OT writers do not divide man into body, soul, and mind; "salvation" in the OT is the "saving" of the whole man—deliverance from evil, of whatever kind. Healing, casting out of devils is an assertion of order against chaos, the reign of God over the dominion of darkness. Kallas (*Significance of the Synoptic Miracles*, p. 64), and Arthur Gabriel Hebert (*The Throne of David: A Study of the Fulfilment of the Old Testament in Jesus Christ and His Church* [London: Faber, 1941], pp. 143 ff.; New York: Morehouse, 1941) before him, emphasize the eschatological character of the healings which Jesus performed on the Sabbath, asserting the creative character of God's work.

What have often been called the "nature miracles" (such as the stilling of the storm in Mark 4:37 ff.) can equally be seen as a demonstration of the order of

God's dominion against the disorder and chaos which can and does threaten men. As Raymond Brown points out (*New Testament Essays*, pp. 175–76), the restoration of order to God's creation is a constant theme of OT prophecy, especially in the Isaianic collection.

It is possible that some of the miracles as now recorded may originally have been parables. The incident of the coin in the fish's mouth (Matt 17:24–27) is perhaps easier to understand if this was originally a parable which changed its form in the course of transmission, its meaning now lost. There is certainly no suggestion that Peter did catch a fish with a coin in its mouth.

Attention has already been directed to what OT scholars have labeled "prophetic symbolism." To this category would appear to belong the miraculous catch of fish (Luke 5:10 emphatically does give this meaning), the blasting of the fig tree (Mark 11:12 ff. and 20 ff.), and possibly also the walking on the water (Matt 14:22–33; cf. Gen 1:2). If indeed the nature miracles, or some of them, were prophetic signs, then they share with similar signs in the Old Testament the purpose of proclaiming to men the gracious will of God and the sovereignty of his rule.

Some mention must be made of the element of faith, which finds so prominent a place in the narratives. If in the past miracles have been stressed in order to lead men to faith in God, this concern is not paramount in the gospels. There, it is man's faith which causes God to respond with his saving act (cf. Matt 15:28; Mark 9:24; Luke 5:20; etc.), because such trust in God is witness to a humility which accepts God's sovereign rule. Lack of faith can put obstacles in the way of open declaration of that rule (cf. Matt 17:19–20). Jesus declares that wholeness, "salvation," has been brought to the sufferer through that sufferer's faith (cf. Luke 8:48, 17:19, 18:42).

It is worth while to add one comment at this stage. We are still accustomed in common speech to refer to the extraordinary as "miraculous" and our vocabulary is full of such phrases as "miracle of endurance," "miracle of modern surgery," or we speak of the "miraculous mind of a Newton" (or whomsoever we choose). Yet there are those who assert that miracles came to an end at the close of the apostolic period—this in spite of John 14:12 and the accounts of signs performed by the apostles in the early days of the Church (Acts 3:1–10). Either the understanding of miracle shared by the authors of this commentary differs radically from that held by those who make the assertion, or those who make it are holding to views about the physical world which cannot be sustained by the present evidence. Much will in any case depend upon the share which we are prepared to allow to human apprehension and understanding in our appreciation of the extraordinary.

Note. This part, X, has intentionally not considered the terms which John's gospel uses in dealing with miracle. It seems better to leave all such considerations to the author of the commentaries on the Johannine books, and confine attention here to the synoptic gospels. The reader is referred to Raymond Brown's Introduction in his first volume of *The Gospel According to John*, i–xii, AB, vol. 29, New York: Doubleday, 1966. When reference was made to Brown's excellent study of miracles in his *New Testament Essays*, we discovered that the treatment given to miracle there not only closely resembled our own approach, but there was even what might appear to the reader to be verbal similarity. However, our first inclination to rewrite this section was more than outweighed by our satisfaction that three commentators of different confessions had found common ground on this sensitive question.

XI. PARABLES IN MATTHEW

One popular definition of parable describes it as “an earthly story with a heavenly meaning.” This is a woefully thin description for a form of teaching that angered Jesus’ critics so. However well adapted to modern homiletic concerns, the parables in the gospels were directed to asking fundamental questions about spiritual issues in the time of Jesus.

We have used the phrase “the parables in the gospels” advisedly. In order to recognize the importance of the parable as a tool of instruction, it is essential to know something of the history of this device. So far as we know at present, Jesus was the first person to use this method of teaching extensively. The form had already been established; what Jesus did was to take it and make such wide and varied use of it that he gave the parable as a method of teaching renewed vitality. In fact, he perfected the form so well that Christians were reluctant to use it thereafter, knowing they could never be as effective as he was. In addition to hesitation about using a form brought to such perfection by Jesus, the influence of Paul—who did not use the device—was probably important. Paul was more familiar with exposition that examined the precise meanings of words and phrases. Whatever the experience of his earlier life, it seems unlikely that the homiletic exposition of law would have appealed to him. This older homiletic method of exposition continued to be used by the rabbis, especially by Rabbi Aqiba (ca. A.D. 80–130).

The parables of Jesus have manifested an astonishing viability in interpretation. In a wide variety of homiletic circumstances, they have stood the test of constant reapplication and reinterpretation in the light of changing religious and social conditions. Sometimes, a parable causes difficulty because of the dissimilarity between the common assumptions shared by the parable and its inaugural audience and the social customs of its later readers. Most of the difficulty, for example, which is felt about the story of the unjust steward (Luke 16:1–8) arises from twentieth-century ignorance of the laws which governed trading practice at that time.

The parable is found as a form in the Old Testament, but it is not used very extensively. Nevertheless, its use and the manner of its use—together with some consideration of the persons represented as using it—prompted us to certain conclusions. The first genuine parable in the Old Testament is the hypothetical case presented by Nathan to David (2 Sam 12:1–6), and is sharply distinguished from allegory or fable. Fables are usually animal stories that point up a moral, and are primitive in form and content, however well adapted for continuing use. Allegory—essentially a Greek device—is generally rooted in mythology; the

identification between an idea or object and its symbol is easy. The rise of allegory was the concomitant of the development of philosophical thinking in the Greek intellectual revolution of the seventh-fourth centuries B.C. 2 Sam 12:1–6, wholly unlike the fable of the trees in Judg 9:7–15, presents a hypothetical legal case, with a possible issue of guilty or not guilty. David understood it as a specific legal issue which was being presented to him, and his reaction was to set the appropriate penalty. The high incidence of what has been called “covenant lawsuit” in the prophets has been examined carefully by a number of first-class scholars, following the lead of G. E. Mendenhall (*Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, Pittsburgh: The Biblical Colloquium, 1955). But it now seems clear from present evidence that the Israelite prophets may well have been what can loosely be called “jurists”: men concerned with, versed in, and consulted upon, aspects of civil law, as distinct from ceremonial law, which was the concern of the priests.

The expression “civil law” demands careful explanation and limitation, in the face of the division of our own law into categories of law which deal with civil, criminal, property, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the like. The function of the prophets, we believe, was to look after the moral and social behavior of the covenant-people of Israel, comprehending all the facets of law which we divide into separate departments. Leaving to priests matters of ceremonial and cultic law, what did concern the prophets was what may with justice be called “prophetic covenant-law”—a pragmatic, empirical approach to the day-to-day living of Israel, as a people and as individuals, living by God’s will. It was a homiletic exposition of law, composed of official case law and later custom, embracing every facet of life lived under the Old Covenant. Civil case law, apodictic moral law, criminal law, commercial law, land tenure—all came under the purview of these men whom hitherto we have mainly regarded as simply vehicles of God’s revelation. Yet the clues were at hand, had we looked for them, and one of them is to be found in H. W. Fowler’s *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* (2d ed., revised by Ernest Gowers [Oxford University Press, 1965], p. 558). Fowler wrote: “*Allegory* (uttering things otherwise) and *parable* (putting side by side) are almost exchangeable terms. The object of each is, at least ostensibly, to enlighten the hearer by submitting to him a case in which he has apparently no direct concern, and upon which therefore a disinterested judgement may be elicited from him, as Nathan submitted to David the story of the poor man’s ewe lamb. Such judgement given, the question will remain for the hearer whether Thou art the man: whether the conclusion to which the dry light of disinterestedness has helped him holds also for his own concerns.”

The prophets claimed an intimate acquaintance with the previous decisions of

God (cf. Amos 3:7; Jer 23:18, 22, and see also 1 Kings 22:19 ff.; Job 1:6 ff.), and it is at least possible that their apparently easy access to the royal courts of Judah and Israel—and even before that in the united monarchy—indicates a highly privileged place in the national structure. Something of this nature is necessary to explain the immunity of, for example, Micaiah ben Imlah (1 Kings 22.) in spite of his disdain for royal authority; of Elijah, whose persecution was largely instigated by Jezebel, (with Ahab's reluctant acquiescence); and of Jeremiah, when the nobility hesitated to dispatch him out of hand because of his unpatriotic preaching. As early in the prophetic history as Samuel, the prophet (although raised in cultic circles in Shiloh) seriously contended for the superiority of the prophetic office, and also apparently made serious attempts to elevate that office to the total exclusion of the priesthood. (For the importance of Samuel in the history and development of prophecy, cf. W. F. Albright, *Archaeology, Historical Analogy, and Early Biblical Tradition*, The Rockwell Lectures, 1962 [Louisiana State University Press, 1966], pp. 42 ff.) Even after the Babylonian Exile, and before apocalyptic had sharply illuminated the conflict felt between the overt and the hidden in the will of God, the prophets Haggai and Zechariah used their office to chide the returned exiles for not rebuilding the temple. They plainly felt that molding responsible opinion was part of their prerogative.

The emergence of men professionally trained in law, who did not depend for their effectiveness on homiletics to emphasize the demands of covenant-law, meant the gradual disappearance of the prophetic order from Israelite society. It is worth noticing, however, that the fate of the desecrated altar stones in 1 Macc 4:46 still apparently depended on possible future prophetic advice. The ascendancy of professional teachers of the Law—the beginnings of the process can be seen in Ezra—meant that by the time of the ministry of Jesus the teachers of law had abandoned the parable as a means of instruction.

Two final references from the Old Testament will suffice here. A parable illustrative of the use of case law or legal process can be seen in Isaiah 5, which is cast in poetic form. It points a case, presented at the beginning in metaphorical terms, concerning the rights of an owner to dispose as he sees fit of an unproductive vineyard. From vs. 8 onwards, the hypothetical case is changed to a formal charge, and the figurative illustration is made concrete: Israel is guilty of covenant disloyalty, both toward God and man, and the penalty is exile. Psalm 78 rehearses Israelite history as “parable” (vs. 2, Heb. *māshāl*); the tenor of the psalm is an indictment of Israelite rebellion against covenant-law.

This study will confine its remarks on textual and allied problems in the parables as recounted by Matthew to comparisons with parallel material in Mark

and Luke. One difference in the way in which transmitted material is handled by two of the evangelists can be usefully demonstrated from Matt 5:25 ff. In the Matthean context, the passage occurs in that part of the Great Instruction which deals with the Law, whereas in Luke (12:58 ff.) it appears in a section concerned with the crisis produced by the coming of The Man. In Luke we have a warning about the urgency of the situation in which Israel finds herself—one in which time is short, and the decision to accept or reject a “day of the Lord” (epitomized in Jesus) must be made quickly. The context in Luke reinforces the sense of urgency. Jesus’ opponents are castigated for failure to read the signs of the times (12:54–56), they have been warned that the delay in the householder’s coming to cast up his accounts is apparent only (12:41–48). The saying is significantly followed by the warning that the fate of the Galileans may be theirs as well (13:1–5), like that of the unproductive tree (13:6–9). So far this is straightforward; the man called to account is God’s Israel, about to be put to the test for failure to understand the nature of the challenge which is posed by the ministry of Jesus. It must be said that in the context of Luke chapters 12 and 13, this parable makes very good sense. Yet this is not quite as neat and ordered, and not quite so obvious, as perhaps our summary has made it. Assuming the above interpretation to be correct, not only does Luke’s version cast Jesus in the role of accuser (which is explicitly denied in John 5:45), but the language employed is—to say the least—violent, and the accuser is depicted as dragging the defendant by the scruff of the neck. If we add to this the close relationship between Jesus and the Father which is assumed all through the synoptic gospels, then we have the odd circumstances of accuser and judge being in league together.

Matthew’s version puts the saying in a wholly different context. In Matthew, the language is not only less forceful, but the exhortation appears to be designed as reinforcement of the lesson of charity emphasized in 5:21–24, and no amount of manipulation will produce anything like the Lukan confrontation between Jesus and Israel. It appears that we have, in Matthew, the *ending* of a parable, the substance of which has been lost, but which was remembered as being important enough to be cited frequently. It is probable that the original parable, of which only the ending remains, was some kind of story with the “accuser” as a Satan-figure after the manner of Job, or Rev 12:10. The Greek words employed by Matthew and Luke, and by the Apocalypse, all indicate such a figure—a “prosecutor” or “adversary.” We are in this instance uncertain of the aetiological motif of the saying, but the use which Jesus made of the parable as a teaching form was so perfect that we can almost with certainty rule out any question of expansion of the original materials—contraction is far more likely.

We have spent some time on this example because it illustrates three things.

First, it emphasizes the care taken to preserve the oral tradition, though different strands of the tradition might be found at variance as to the precise origin of an individual item in that tradition. Secondly, it underlines the possibility that we are employing an altogether too modern technique by positing another source to explain seeming documentary dependence for material common to Matthew and Luke, but not found in Mark. Thirdly, not only do similar items of the tradition appear in different contexts in the synoptic gospels, but the wording is often so markedly different as to demand—on the “documentary” theory—an almost unlimited number of hypothetical sources.

THE PARABLE AUDIENCE

Jeremias, in his *Parables of Jesus* (pp. 33 ff.), calls attention to the changes which one finds in the synoptic gospels from one kind of audience to another. For the detailed examination which Jeremias gives, the reader must be referred to his invaluable work. In the scope of this Introduction, we can only hope to indicate some of the ways in which we find the change of audience significant.

As we have already seen (in Part V, above), the word “disciple” in Luke’s tradition refers to the life of the continuing community, and no sharp distinction is drawn in the use of the word in Luke between the inner circle of the disciples and the crowds who followed Jesus on some occasions. Accordingly, where the Matthean tradition ascribes the parable of the lost sheep to the private instruction of the inner circle of disciples (Matt 18:1), in Luke (15:3–7) the parable is addressed to Jesus’ opponents. (Mark agrees with Matthew in making a distinction between public and private teaching. In Mark the saying about salt—9:50—is addressed to the disciples, while in Luke—14:25—it is a “public” saying.) It should be noted in passing that the Johannine tradition attributes “shepherd” sayings to the opponents of Jesus (John 9:40, 10:6, 16 ff.). If we are correct in assuming the quasi-legal background of “parable,” then the interpretation of “covenant” was common ground to friends and foes alike.

In this particular instance the “lost sheep” *may* be an errant member of the community of the New Covenant or (in the Lukan context) the Gentile for whom under the Old Covenant little concern was shown. Which interpretation came first we have at present no certain means of knowing. Jesus may himself have used the parable in different contexts; but the possibility ought not to be ruled out that Jesus told the story and invited comment and interpretation from his audience—a method of eliciting response which was introduced by Socrates. Some such explanation may underlie Mark 4:10 describing the parables of vss. 21–32 as addressed to the disciples, while later stating (vss. 33–34) that they were addressed to a general audience. Matthew (13:34 f.) is in agreement with the second of the Markan statements.

Something of the “audience-history” of the parables may be historically preserved in the Gospel of Thomas (xxxiv) where the saying about the blind leading the blind stands alone. In Matthew (15:14) it is directed against the Pharisees, whereas in Luke (6:39) it is a solemn warning to a general audience. In Matt 15:12–14 the saying appears in some private questioning by the disciples about ritual cleanliness, and arises out of the opposition of the Pharisees, a context where Mark is without the saying. Luke places it (6:39 ff.) in his version of the Great Instruction.

No amount of attempted harmonization will dispel the uncertainties attaching to other sayings in the category of parable, where two different audiences are envisaged for the same saying. Such is the case in Matt 7:16–20, where the lessons to be derived from the tree and its fruit are expounded to the crowd as well as to the disciples, and in another instance to the Pharisees (12:33–37; cf. Luke 8:16, 11:13—the lamp on its stand). It must be said, however, that in the case of sayings of a non-legal and metaphorical character, we are not dealing with the more extensive material of parable proper. Illustrative sayings are far more likely than parables to have been used on more than one occasion.

The assumption by Jeremias (among others¹⁹) that a process is discernible by which parables originally addressed to the crowds were later attributed to private teaching begs all manner of questions. First, the Lukan use of the word “disciple,” to which attention has already been called, makes any Lukan evidence very hard to apply to this issue. Secondly, allowing that the evangelists felt free to choose material from accessible traditions, such choice would certainly have influenced them in the placing of this highly versatile parable material in what appear to us to be wholly disparate settings. Once again, if we are correct in seeing parable as a quasi-legal device, then the appearance of the same kind of “case” in more than one situation ought to be no matter for surprise. Thirdly, it is difficult to know what exactly Jeremias means when he states (of the parable of the lost sheep) that it “had lost its original *Sitz im Leben*, and had been transformed by the Church into hortatory material, a phenomenon of frequent occurrence” (*Parables of Jesus*, p. 43). Of what persons did the Church consist in this statement? Are the evangelists being considered innocent victims of later editors who were more preoccupied with congregational disputes than with the Kingdom of God? Was, or was not, Matthew (or any other evangelist, for that matter) a member of the “Church” under discussion? If for Jeremias the “Church” under consideration is held to be later than the milieu depicted in the NT books, then when did this transformation of parable from “proclamation” to “sermon” take place? There seems to be some Hegelian analysis at work here: (a) *thesis*, a parable of direct kerygmatic content, addressed either to a public or private audience; (b) *antithesis*, the same material, with some or all of its original meaning eroded by being placed in a different context by another writer; (c) *synthesis*, later ecclesiastical tradition which not only accepts (b), but transforms both it and (a) by making of them a community sermon.²⁰

Having established that the parable was primarily a literary form arising from case law, we should point out that any legal statement or judgment, particularly of a constitutional character, is liable to appear and to be quoted in a multitude of

situations and at different periods. In that case, statements as to the temporal priority of one gospel over another, based simply on parable material, do not really have much meaning.

In the light of our discussion of “parable” as quasi-legal in origin, the word “rabbi” as applied to Jesus is obviously important. The rabbi was and is still in conservative circles, an expositor and interpreter of case law. It has periodically been stated that the title “rabbi” in the gospels is an anachronism, that it came into use only after the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70, and some have gone so far as to argue that the title was actually unknown at the time of Jesus. However, the term is applied to Jesus no fewer than fourteen times in Matthew, Mark, and John, and both Mark and John preserve the even more honorific *rabbouni*, transliterated into English as “rabboni.” (The term is caritative, rather in the tradition of calling the Czar of Russia “Little Father” before 1917.) While it is odd that the gospels should have gone out of their way to preserve a Jewish title at a time when missionary enterprise was already directed toward Gentiles, archaeology has disproved the claim that the title was anachronistic. The late E. L. Sukenik (“A Jewish Tomb on the Mount of Olives,” *Tarbiz* 1 [1930], 140–41) reported the finding of an ossuary, quite certainly Jewish, on which the name of the deceased was matched by the description of him as *didaskalos* (Greek for “teacher,” and the word used by Matthew and Mark to render the Hebrew “rabbi”). The question was examined later by Herschel Shanks (“Is the Title ‘Rabbi’ Anachronistic in the Gospels?” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 53 [1963], 337–45).

THE MATTHEAN TRADITION

Matthew's arrangement of parable material falls into three sections. The first deals with the Kingdom in broad outline; the second becomes more detailed, making application of the covenant principles; the third reflects Jesus' decision to go to Jerusalem for the last time. The parable material begins in Matthew at a significant point in his tradition. It first appears at the end of a period of instruction for the Twelve, at a point where Jesus' ministry has been questioned by John, and follows directly upon a charge against Jesus of collaboration with the powers of evil. With Jesus' demand to know who was genuinely of his community (12:46 ff.), there appears to be a break with the synagogue, and the stage is set for decisive proclamation of the nature of the Kingdom. It is unlikely that John was the only one with questions, and so Matthew 8 begins with a public statement of the characteristics of the Kingdom.

The Nature of the Kingdom (Matt 13:1–52)

Verses 3–8: *The Parable of the Sower* (Mark 4:3–8; Luke 8:5–8). This parable is noteworthy in that it occurs also in the Gospel of Thomas (9), where it is embroidered with extra detail (e.g., a worm which destroys crops). The story of the sower fittingly opens this section on the kingdom, for the “case” which it presents looks to the End-time, to the harvest (a common eschatological motif). In spite of an interpretation offered later in the chapter (vss. 18–23), the story does not indicate whether the Sower is the Father or The Man. The primary emphasis is on the harvest itself, the miraculous end (in an age innocent of knowledge of plant biology) of the laborious task of sowing. It is impossible to determine with certainty whether in its first use Jesus intended in this parable to equate the harvest with his own preaching, and thus the winnowing-time with Israel’s long history, or whether he saw this apparently misunderstood and ill-rewarded preaching as merely the sowing, with the harvest identified with a future judgment.

NT scholarship has emphasized the folly of allegorizing the parables, of attempting to see in each detail some identifiable feature of Christian proclamation, or some equation of this person or that with the Father or The Man. Such allegorizing, it is suggested, is the work of the primitive Christian community (as, e.g., in the interpretation offered in Matt 13:18–23, 37–43) and was quite foreign to the mind of Jesus. This kind of supposition, based as it is on an ignorance of the allegorizing of detail in intertestamental Jewish literature, has been assailed by Raymond Brown in his perceptive “Parable and Allegory Reconsidered” (in *New Testament Essays*, pp. 259 ff.).

Too frequently, commentators of various allegiances, having nothing in common but form criticism, assume without further argument that varying interpretations of parables in one gospel or another (or in different contexts in the same gospel) are the work of “the Church,” or “the community,” conceived as a body almost inimical to the pristine purity of the proclamation of Jesus. Some go so far as to determine which was the original interpretation of Jesus and which the result of later ecclesiastical thought. In this respect, the “Sower” parable is a *locus classicus* for all such commentators. If what we have said above on the nature of parables is correct, then the very flexibility of “case law” is sufficient to account for the use by Jesus of the same basic “case” or parable in different contexts, and with varying interpretations.

Verses 10–13: *Why Parables?* (cf. Mark 4:10–12; Luke 8:9–10). The parable of the sower having ended, the question posed by the disciples in vss. 10 ff. is natural enough. But a clearer answer is demanded than that commonly assumed

—that Jesus deliberately veiled his teaching about the Kingdom in obscure allusions. Certainly in the political climate of his own time the unqualified use of the word “kingdom” would have been an invitation to armed revolt, with all the mundane entanglements which Jesus’ own utterances explicitly excluded (cf. John 18:36). We make the following two suggestions:

(1) Our examination of the distinction made in Matthew’s tradition between private and public teaching is reinforced by Jesus’ reply at this juncture. Direct, and even extended, teaching about the nature of the Kingdom can be given to the disciples, because they have been trained in their association with Jesus to examine afresh all their preconceptions about that Kingdom. Even here, however, Jesus employed “cases” in parables, easily remembered, so that the implications would not later be missed (cf. here J. Vincent, “Did Jesus Teach his Disciples to Learn by Heart?,” [StEv, III, No. 2 \[1964\], pp. 105–20](#)). [For those who came to Jesus expecting or demanding either a revolutionary or a wonder-worker](#), a different approach was necessary. Such people had to be given the opportunity to examine *their* preconceptions by means of “cases,” parables, and encouraged to draw their own conclusions from them. It is worth noting that the important saying of Jesus at Matt 13:11 has been preserved by all three synoptic gospels. Small wonder, too, that the Pharisees (15:12) were angered by a use of case law which put them in the wrong.

(2) The disciples were given access to the prior decisions of the Father (13:11, 16–17); they were able to learn a great deal about the nature of the Kingdom from the parables because their faith was strong. But for those coming to Jesus who were unbelievers, often hostile or curious, the parables were a testing ground. For them the parables either obscured the Kingdom—in which event it was at least not misunderstood—or they provided an opportunity for opposition to the reign of God to declare itself openly. For some, the parables gave pause in which hesitation might change to faith. It is clear that in the Matthew tradition parables have a decisive function similar to that of the signs and the discourses in the Johannine tradition.

Verses 24–30: *The Weeds in the Field* (cf. Mark 4:26–29). Bearing in mind the functional distinction between the “Kingdom of Heaven” as the Messianic Community and the “Kingdom of the Father” as future event in Matthew, this parable discusses the proclamation of the Kingdom by Jesus.²¹ If parable in the Old Testament began as case law connected with the Covenant, and both the rabbis and Jesus continued that use, then we are right in looking for an explanation of the Covenant in this parable, seen against the background of Jesus’ proclamation. The first parable describes the sower sowing in good soil on the one hand, and indifferent and poor soil on the other; the second also sees the

seed as good, but when growing, inextricably mixed with weeds sown by an enemy. Between the two parables comes the private reply to the disciples' question. Both the weeds in the second parable, and the indifferent and poor soil in the first, are to be seen as the opposition to Jesus' proclamation, an opposition which is in the end infidelity to the Covenant which all his teaching implies or assumes. That the second parable is capable of being used, and later was perhaps almost exclusively used (cf. 1 Cor 5:4) as warning against overhasty judgment, or overzealous disciplinary action, in no way militates against this interpretation. It is entirely possible that *both* interpretations derive from Jesus. A comparison of this passage with Mark 4:26–29 will illustrate the great flexibility of the parable form. In spite of a similarity of wording with this Matthean example, Mark stresses the miraculous growth of the proclaimed Kingdom.

Verses 31–32: *The Mustard Seed* (Mark 4:30–32). The emphasis is not on the future size of the Kingdom compared with its insignificant beginnings, but on the purpose of God which assures its growth. The thought is echoed in Acts 13:41, quoting Hab 1:5: The scoffers and the opponents are reduced to silence before the miracle of divine intervention.

Verse 33: *The Leaven* (Luke 13:20–21). Again we have a concentration on the overruling purpose of God, similar to that found in the preceding example.

Attention has already been called to the quotation from Ps 78, which is here inserted by the evangelist to explain Jesus' teaching methods. The parables are concerned, as is the psalm, with God's choice of Israel, and with the extension of that Israel into the Kingdom which Jesus proclaimed. In these days which led up to the inauguration of the New Covenant as in the time of the Sinai Covenant, there are the faithless who cannot see the purpose of God. For them, the "cases" embodied in the parables are a hindrance to understanding just as they are valuable assistance to the faithful who see, and who therefore understand (cf. Mark 13:51, and also—for links between this theme and John's gospel—G. L. Phillips, "Faith and Vision in the Fourth Gospel," in *Studies in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. F. L. Cross, London: Mowbray, 1957. For an examination of Phillips' theme, cf. Brown, *John*, i–xii, Appendix I [3]).

Verses 44–46: *The Treasure in the Field*. Whether this saying expresses God's mercy and condescension in seeking man (cf. John 3:16), or—more probably—the joy of the disciples in having found the secret of the Kingdom, hidden from the faithless, either interpretation demonstrates the costliness of the Kingdom. Jesus must give himself completely and the disciples no less: the disciple must match his teacher's effort. The "fine pearl" of vss. 45–46 makes the same point. For Jesus and for the disciples, the claims of the Kingdom are absolute.

Verses 47–50: *The Net*. This parable fittingly closes the chapter, for it

anticipates the End-time, the harvest, the gathering in of all kinds, good and bad, Jew and Gentile, when final judgment will be made. The saying also had an immediate meaning regarding the circumstances under which it was told: criticism of those admitted to the fellowship of the Kingdom, to discipleship, is an encroachment upon the prerogatives of the Lord of the harvest.

The Community (Matt 18:12–14, 23–35)

The second grouping of parable material follows a significant part of the narrative (13:53–17:27), in which Matthew deals with an increasing tension between Jesus and his critics. Jesus runs into disbelief in his own countryside (13:53–58), the execution of John the Baptist compels his withdrawal, and he faces the challenge to faith and understanding in the rehearsal of the Messianic Banquet (14:13–21). The circle of disciples draws closer to him in the face of increasing opposition on the part of the lawyers (15:1–20), and in response to the demand for a sign (16:1–4), Jesus warns against the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees (16:5–12).

The confession of Jesus' Messiahship by Peter (16:13–20) is a decisive point in the Matthean record. It is immediately followed by the first intimation of the coming Passion and death of the Master, and a plain warning to the disciples of the cost of their allegiance.

The vision on the mountain (17:1–9) completes a narrative in which Jesus has made clear statements and Peter, speaking for the rest, has acknowledged his mission. Jesus here begins, in Matthew's scheme, to outline some of the "cases" with which the infant community must soon be concerned.

Verses 12–14: *The Lost Sheep* (Luke 15:3 ff.) In the Matthean tradition, the case of the lost sheep appears to follow directly from Jesus' statement about the care members of the covenant-community must have for each other. The Lukan version places the parable more firmly in the context of the community which grows out of the Israel of the Old Covenant. The following parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15:11–32) may be interpreted as dealing with the duty of reconciliation within the Kingdom of the Messianic community. It seems to apply to the need, crucial in the infant Church, to bring together the adherents of the Sinai Covenant who had never strayed from the Father on the one hand, with Gentiles, who seek pardon and reconciliation along with Jews, on the other, in the community of the New Covenant.

It is hoped that the discussion of parables below will illustrate our central contention—that the parable was a literary device which grew out of interpretation of covenant-law. We do not dispute the legitimacy of parable-interpretation in the later Church, and we have no wish to minimize the flexibility of the parables of Jesus, especially in homiletic context. Very plainly, when Jewish Christianity had all but disappeared, and tension between Gentile and Jew in the Church was a thing of the past, the interpretation of parables would undergo considerable change. We are concerned, however, to point out that the movement of the church into an *exclusively* Gentile milieu was not so

early as often supposed. (For example, the first Corinthian letter, with its Semitisms and OT allusions, ought to give pause to any assertion that most of Paul's converts were already Gentile.)

We believe that many commentators on the parables bring to their study an unconscious background of homiletic interpretation which belongs to the post-Jewish history of the Church. In doing so they tend to find a development in the material which may not in fact be there. We suggest that the parable material, whether dealing with relations between individuals or with ethnic groups, is best understood *in the New Testament context* as concerned wholly with the impact which the community of a new covenant must make on the thinking of those to whom Jesus first addressed the parables.

Verses 23–35: *The Unmerciful Servant*. This parable is found only in Matthew, and pursues the theme of forbearance and forgiveness in the community of the Kingdom. Whatever remission the disciples have received will be canceled in the End-time if they do not exercise the same mercy that has been bestowed upon them.

The Covenant (Matt 20:1–16, 21:28–41, 22:1–14, 24:45–51; 25:1–13, 14–30). Knowing well the implications of his decision to go to Jerusalem for the last time, Jesus—in Matthew’s arrangement—can be more specific about the meaning of his teaching. However reinterpreted in later commentary and homiletic, the parables in this section are crisis parables, reflecting the compulsion under which both Jesus and his opponents acted, from their conflicting understanding of the Covenant.

20:1–16: *The Workers in the Vineyard*. Israel could claim, with justice, that she had borne the burden of God's revelation to the world for many centuries, with all the obligations of a Law associated with the Covenant. (For the Law as "burden," cf. Acts 15:28.) While from time to time Israel had by conquest and assimilation added other groups to the people, long before the ministry of Jesus Israel was a highly self-conscious ethnic entity, proud of its separation, expectant of privileged treatment by God for having been the keeper of his word. But the proclamation of Jesus, though addressed to the people of the Covenant, did not exclude the Gentile world. (Cf. here the important monograph of Joachim Jeremias, *Jesu Verheissung für die Völker*, the Franz Delitzsch Lectures for 1953 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1956) in the English translation by S. H. Hooke, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations*, London: SCM / Naperville, Ill.: Allenson, 1958). In Matthew's version Jesus clarifies his point by speaking of a vineyard—substitute for Israel in the prophetic literature and in the Psalms. Moreover, the phrase "Kingdom of heaven," used to denote the Messianic community of Jesus, clearly indicates that he is talking about the admission of those who have not borne the burden; they will be judged equally with those who have.

20:28–32: *The Two Sons*. This parable is prompted by the question of the chief priests and elders about Jesus' authority, which Jesus counters with a searching question of his own about the authority of John. Jesus demands a plain commitment, for or against the authenticity of John's calling. His questioners refuse and so Jesus recounts this parable and the next, the two being closely linked. "Son," as an appellation of Israel, is common in the Old Testament; this is the sense here. Those who would be most zealous in claiming the title of "son" were the most culpable in their lack of response to John: the outsiders, the "non-observants," had repented.

Verses 33–41: *The Vineyard* (Mark 12:1–9). Here again we have the familiar figure of the vineyard for Israel. The accusation and verdict in the parable is that Israel has failed in its commitment to the Covenant, and in the death of Jesus would fail even more grievously. Accusation and verdict are followed by a judgment that the Kingdom will henceforward be given to others. This parable illustrates very strikingly what has aptly been called the "covenant lawsuit in the prophets" (cf. article of that title by H. B. Huffmon, [JBL 78 1959](#)), [285–95. Undoubtedly this parable looks to the inauguration of a new Covenant](#).

22:1–10: *The Wedding Invitations* (cf. also Matt 25:10; Rev 19:7 ff.) This parable reinforces the point of the last one, and again emphasizes God's freedom of action. God's choice of Israel in no way bound him permanently; faithlessness on Israel's part, her rejection of a summons by God, would lead to repudiation.

This is no more than OT prophetic teaching; but linked here with controversial questions about John's authority and Jesus' own proclamation of the Kingdom, such a consideration would have been hidden from his critics by the blindness of their own opposition.

It is necessary here to add that nothing which has been said above is meant to imply a permanent rejection by God of his ancient people, still less that the judgments pronounced by Jesus against his critics and opponents are to be taken (as they have been, unhappily, in the past) as valid judgments against the entire institution of Judaism. Paul's statement should be recalled here: "Has God cast off his people? By no means!" (Rom 11:1). The apostle readily admitted his error in persecuting the Church, after his conversion, and saw that it was sin. But at no time did he say that his actions had been insincere, motivated by a perverse disregard of truth or desire of gain. Many of Jesus' critics were pious men, and continued to be devoted servants of the Law, and of the Giver of that Law, long after the events of the passion, death and resurrection of Jesus. We are not entitled to question their sincerity, even though Christian belief in Jesus as Messiah would compel us to hold that they were mistaken about Jesus and his message.

Verses 11–14: *The Wedding Garment*. This is in all probability an incomplete parable, for which no parallel exists in the other gospels. Its ending is perhaps unsatisfactory to us because we have no precise knowledge of the social customs pertaining to weddings in the time of Jesus, or of the garments which guests were expected to wear. (A rabbinic parallel does exist for this parable, however, on which cf. Jeremias, *Parables of Jesus*, pp. 131, 187. Here a king sent invitations to a wedding, but did not specify the time. The wise dressed themselves for the wedding, while the foolish went on working, and when the summons finally came the foolish ones were not admitted. This rabbinic parable comes almost certainly from Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai about A.D. 80, and may have had a long oral tradition before being committed to writing.) As it stands in the gospel, the parable carries the clear warning that mere knowledge of the Kingdom's advent is not enough—there must also be response to the proclamation, and people must prepare themselves.

24:45–51: *The Slave Set Over the Household* (Luke 12:42–46). The homiletic flexibility of the parable in later circumstances must not distract our attention from its proper place in Matthew's framework. (In somewhat different circumstances, it has the same function in Luke's account.) Jesus anticipates his "coming," which particularly in the Matthean context is likely to mean his passion and death, when he enters the Father's glory. Worth underlining here is the connection with the Johannine vocabulary of the passion: the "day," the

“hour,” the “knowledge” reserved to the Father, all familiar to us from John, are to be found preceding this parable in vss. 36–44. This parable is a challenge to his hearers, to the Israel of his time: his people must be on their guard lest they miss the significance of the “coming.” In other words, it underlines and emphasizes the warning to “this generation” in vs. 34, and looks forward to the “from now on” of 26:64. All the “signs” demanded of him have already been given, if men had but looked. There remains only the hour, the time of his coming to the Father in death, and the Father’s acceptance of that death in the resurrection. It is Jesus’ hearers who will be on trial, not Jesus. Those who have been set over the Lord’s household are indeed in a perilous position.

25:1–13: *The Waiting Maidens*. This is clearly another parable of warning, again with the motif of a wedding celebration. Israel’s role as the Lord’s bride is a commonplace of OT thought. This parable is concerned with the impending inauguration of the New Covenant, and the sealing of it in blood: the new community will then be espoused to its Lord. Some will be ready and waiting for the sign of the bridegroom’s coming, but judgment awaits those who—though summoned—fall asleep when the time of the espousals has arrived. No excuses can help an Israel that has been taught to read the signs of his coming, and then fails to recognize them.

Vss. 14–30: *Faithful and Unfaithful Slaves* (Luke 19:12–27). This parable fittingly closes the Matthean cycle. At the end of the parable Jesus makes abundantly clear his own role as the Father’s deputy in judgment. The parable states the basis of that judgment—use or misuse of the gifts of God. In varying degrees, all members of the Covenant-community of Israel had been richly endowed by God (cf. Rom 3:1–4), and since the endowment is of God’s free gift, failure to respond to God’s calling is without excuse. Those who fail to respond will find themselves stripped even of their first endowment (cf. 5:29, and also 21:43, 24:1–2).

It should be evident that the parables of Jesus are not the simple and artless teaching forms they have commonly been assumed to be. They are neither simple instructions to an infant Messianic Community nor merely concerned with the controversies between Jesus and his opponents (conceived of as sections or factions of Judaism). If we are to appreciate and understand the parables fully, it is imperative that we set aside our own traditional homiletic interpretations *and* Jesus’ immediate controversies, and see the parables in the context of a living tradition of case law.

Two final comments should be made.

(1) Given a heightened awareness of the centrality of “covenant” in OT thought, resulting from the attention paid to the prophets (especially Jeremiah) in

the intertestamental period, it ought to be no surprise to discover the principle of case law applied by Jesus to life under covenant. Jesus' use of case law was not so new that his critics did not recognize its force; it was the directness and simplicity of Jesus' method which made it so distinctive.

(2) Any consideration of the role of "covenant" in the teaching of Jesus, whether implicitly through the form of parable, or explicitly at the Last Supper, must raise again in acute form the long discussion about just how aware Jesus was of his own mission and authority. It seems likely that any reflection on covenant by Jesus would mean he had considered the implied claim that any "New" Covenant must have God as author, and the OT requirement that it be sealed in blood. If this contention is valid, then Jesus must have known the inevitable cost of his own ministry at the very outset of his public teaching.

XII. THE MESSIAH IN MATTHEW

It would be wholly out of keeping with what we have seen of the nature of a “gospel” to find in it a fully developed Christology. There is nothing in the New Testament approaching “ontology”—that which is concerned with the being, essence, or nature of a person or thing. Even the Pauline letters, interpretative and reflective though they are, are not systematic theological works. The person of Jesus in Paul’s letters is not so much discussed as implied, and the meaning of his mission and works is never discussed over-all, but rather applied only on an individual case basis.

There was a tendency in the years before 1945 to discuss NT Christology in a mathematical fashion, and to talk of a “high” and “low” Christology depending on the precise elements of a divinity of Jesus thought to be ascertainable in every part of the New Testament. This was understandable in an age which assumed that Messianic expectation was comparatively simple in character in the period before Jesus. The discoveries at Qumran have changed all that, though, and we now have valuable control evidence on Messianism in the century before the birth of Jesus. It is now clear that the ancestral lines of the Messianic titles of the New Testament are widely diverse, with disparities and similarities existing side by side with contradictions in emphasis. Indeed, it is only now that one such title, known to us hitherto from Acts 7:52 (and one doubtful additional use in Matthew)—*ho dikaios*, the Righteous One—is beginning to disclose its line of development. It is in fact doubtful whether Christology would ever have made much progress before the end of the NT period, had not Paul used the phrase: “Jesus is Lord.”

It is possible to find some rough guidelines to Christology in the gospels, but we should remember that any scheme which we construct in order to examine the NT material is a scheme which we impose on the material, and not necessarily a conscious production of the NT writers. With that caution in mind, it is fair to look at the gospels in the light of what they have to say about Jesus’ involvement in God’s act of deliverance. In precisely what way is Jesus involved—as central figure, or as herald in a more immediate sense than was true of John the Baptist; and if he was the central character in the proclamation, was this centrality that of a major prophet (i.e., as *interpreter* of the will of God in major events) or was Jesus the one and only *agent* of God in the acts themselves? Here we find some variation in the NT material.

For example, Mark’s account of the transfiguration (Mark 9:2–13) leaves room for question, in spite of “This is my Son, the Beloved One.” We have to wait for Matthew’s account of the entry into Jerusalem to have the

transfiguration account put into perspective. This Jesus is indeed Messianic King (Matt 21:1–9), and Matthew sees all this in the light of Israel’s expectation, even if this King is about to suffer and die. Similarly, Mark raises the question of authority in the matter of Jesus’ treatment of the Sabbath, but Matthew closes the question with an assertion of Jesus’ dominion over the Sabbath (cf. Mark 2:23–28, Matt 12:1–8); and Matthew’s tradition omits Mark’s saying that the Sabbath is made for man. Here there is no doubt as to the centrality of Jesus in God’s act, God’s declaration of himself. Mark’s use of the term “Son of Man” received further definition in Matthew’s tradition. Mark does not identify, or appears not to identify, Jesus with the Son of Man in 8:38, but the parallel Matthaean version (Matt 10:32–33) does. This occurs in a context of judgment. Judgment, in the Old Testament, is God’s prerogative, and the prophets are interpreters or heralds of his judgment; Matthew makes it plain that Jesus himself claims the prerogative, and is not merely its herald or interpreter. So, too, with the healing of the paralytic in Matt 9:1–8: here, Jesus acts not as judge but as restorer, as the *agent* of salvation, and God’s saving act is declared through Jesus as its principal, and not as its herald. Matthew either omits, or does not know, Mark’s question about who is able to forgive.

The nearest approach to philosophical analysis in Matthew’s treatment of the person of Jesus is his account of an incident which Mark covers in 10:17–18. In Mark, the questioner is told by Jesus to explain his use of the term “good” as a description of Jesus. Matthew poses the question quite differently: “Why question me about what is good?...” In Matthew, the adjective “good” is omitted before the word “Teacher” (19:16–17).

There may be other clues to Matthew’s Christology in his treatment of the continuing Messianic Community, the Church. Matthew’s understanding of the person of Jesus is bound up, and springs from, the understanding which the Twelve—and later the community—had of their relationship to Jesus. Some of this was examined in our section on the Church and the End (Introduction, Parts I–III), but it is germane to our discussion to remark that Matthew emphasizes the continuing presence of Jesus with his people in the matter of future rewards (Matt 10:40, 18:5, 20, 28:20). If so, the relationship of Jesus to the community, conceived as permanent, must inevitably raise questions about the relationship of Jesus to the Father. If we bear in mind the identification of the Son of Man with Jesus in Matthew, we shall be in a better position to appreciate what he is saying when he places Jesus in the center of the picture of judgment in 10:32–33 and 16:27 (where the angels are *his*; cf. Mark 8:38).

We can now examine the use the evangelist makes of the Messianic titles which he applies to Jesus. Their justification, to Matthew, lies in the usage of the

Old Testament, but it must not be supposed that the OT evidence is either uniform or simple. Moreover, for Matthew the Church embodies the proclamation of the Kingdom after the resurrection, and it is this interest in the community of believers that shapes the evangelist's understanding of Jesus as Inaugurated of the Kingdom.

Matthew's gospel alone describes the community of the Messiah as Church, *ekklēsia*, the *qahal Yīsrā'el* or *qahal Adonai* of the Old Testament (Matt 16:18, 18:17). Incidentally, in the Greek, the use of *ekklēsia* does justice, too, to the notion of the Church as the assembly of the freeborn (cf. Matt 17:26). This community, which is the Son of Man's kingdom (13:41) and to whose members (through the Twelve) he has entrusted the secrets of that Kingdom (13:11), whose members have already seen and heard what the Old Testament looked in vain to see and hear (12:16–17), is described by various metaphors to show its importance (5:13–16). But the relationship of the community to the Founder chiefly occupies Matthew's attention; this relationship is used occasionally to introduce Messianic titles. Although the Messiahship and function of Jesus is seen in OT terms, and the Twelve are known by a name that echoes OT and rabbinic usage (see "Disciples," in Part V above), there is enough flexibility in Matthew to have made his work the preferred gospel of the primitive Church. Jesus is the King-Messiah, sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (15:24); yet he is also, as raised from the dead, the one who has all authority in heaven and earth, through his disciples summoning all to discipleship (28:19). As the Son of Man coming to the Father (25:31 ff.; cf. Dan 7:13–14), he will judge all men (25:31 ff.).

Matthew's Christology has undertones which may be missed unless examined carefully. Part V of this Introduction dealt with "Disciples" as a technical term, and as a term which reveals something of the sources of the gospels. In Judaism, the disciple might hope to attain to the status of teacher (and, in later Judaism, to be ordained to that title and function), but Matthew makes it clear that those who come to Jesus remain in the status of disciples (23:8 ff.), as men called to sacrificial service. Similarly, Jesus' disciples may ask questions, but there is no discussion; any such give-and-take relationship is out of the question, and discussion in our gospels is represented as taking place only between Jesus and his enemies. The disciples are witnesses to a Person, not guardians of a tradition (cf. Isa 43:10, 12), and the fact that Matthew can use the word "disciple" after the resurrection testifies to the status of the Twelve in relation to the Lord (Matt 28:19). In Luke's Acts it is clear that the term "disciple" is applied to the generality of believers, and no longer to the inner circle of Jesus' followers. Matthew's continued use of the word after the resurrection heavily underlines

the complete dependence of the inner circle on Jesus for their mission to Israel and beyond it. In Matthew, the calling and commission of the disciples (4:18 ff.) precedes the teaching of Jesus, which emphasizes that the Twelve are witnesses to a proclaimed Kingdom (10:7) and to the Herald and Agent of that Kingdom (cf. John 15:16). With this preface we may now turn to the use which Matthew makes of the specifically messianic titles.

The [Gr.](#) *kurios*, which can with equal accuracy, according to context, be translated “Lord” or “Sir,” is indeed ambivalent in Greek, but Matthew’s use of it is clear. The relationship of disciple to Master underlies his use of *kurios*: the slave is not above (or superior to) his lord (10:24), and in his own household, in his own community, Jesus is Master, is Lord. It is significant that Matthew does not allow the disciples to use the term “Teacher,” or “Rabbi,” presumably because he felt it to be too familiar, though he allows it to the Pharisees and to strangers. Mark uses “Teacher” in the addresses of the disciples (cf. Mark 4:38, 9:5, 38, 10:35, 13:1). Luke does the same, though he changes Mark’s term to a Greek one which is more readily understood by Greek readers (Luke 5:5, 8:24, 45, 9:33, 49, 17:13). Matthew’s tradition is consistently “Lord” (cf. Matt 8:25 and Mark 4:38; Matt 17:4 and Mark 9:5; Matt 20:33 and Mark 10:51). It is necessary to be cautious here. We have already seen that *kurios* is ambivalent in meaning, and can be employed both as an address to deity or to royal authority, but also as polite address to equals or superiors. It is true that there is the solitary use of “the Lord” (*ho kurios*) which Matthew (21:3) uses of Jesus alone (cf. Mark 11:3). But it must be added that *kurios* is used of master and lord in respect of slaves and property, of superior and inferior (cf. Matt 13:27, 21:30, 25:11, 20, 22, 24). One might plead that all Matthew has done is to make uniform the varied usages of Mark. But it is hard to escape the conclusion that Matthew deliberately meant his use of *kurios* to indicate a term of majesty, if not divinity.

Matthew has two principal uses of the term “Lord” (*kurios*).

(1) It is used of Jesus in his activity toward men in various situations, especially in healing—i.e., “salvation”: 8:2, 6, 8, 25, 9:28, 14:30, 15:22, 25, 16:22, 17:4, 15, 18:21, 20:30, 33, 26:22. We should take care not to concentrate on the “healing” aspect of those restored to health to the point of forgetting that for those who witnessed such events, the healing was only part of the “salvation” of the whole man.

(2) More importantly *kurios* is applied to Jesus as the Judge of the time to come: 7:21 ff., 25:11, 37, 44.

There is no better illustration of the way in which *kurios* is used of majesty than in the story (Matt 24:45 ff.) about the landowner who delays his return; a story which is an illustration of the saying: “Watch [for] you do not know on

what day your Lord is coming” (24:42).

By itself, the name “Jesus” ([Heb.](#) *Yēshū*‘ for older *Yōshū*‘) has no known Messianic meaning, and the name was very common at the beginning of our era. But in the Old Testament, Moses’ successor is the agent of God in leading his people into the Promised Land, and it is this connection with God’s saving activity that Matthew would appear to emphasize. The first verse of Matthew’s gospel seems to lay stress on the unique claim of this particular “Jesus” to bear the name, for the reason that he alone will save God’s people—from sin (1:21).

Jesus uses the title “prophet” of himself (12:41, 13:57), and popular sentiment accords him the title (16:14). Like the prophets Jesus speaks with authority (7:28, 21:11, 46). This fits in with our original contention, that under this kind of title Jesus is regarded as central to God’s saving activity and is here on earth as its major herald. There is nothing in the term “prophet” to indicate by itself a highly developed Christology. In the thought of the time, there was often no clear distinction between the Messianic figure and his forerunner.

It might have been expected that Matthew, with his interest in OT fulfillment in Jesus, would have laid greater emphasis on the Isaian “Suffering Servant” motif. (The sheer quantity of material written on this topic in technical and semitechnical works on the Old Testament is by now nearly overwhelming, and there seems to be no clear way in which the “Servant Songs” of Isaiah can be categorized as applying to an ideal Israel, or a representative of Israel. At times, both ideas appear to be present.) In fact, though there is only one quotation from Isa 53 in Matthew (8:17), and though the title “Servant” occurs but once, at Matt 12:18, it is probably safe to say that many of the “Son of Man” sayings in Matthew can be read with the figure of the Suffering Servant in mind. In Matthew, as in the other gospels, only Jesus uses the title “Son of Man.” John 12:34 is the only exception. The possible shades of meaning in the Servant Songs are matched by those which attach to “Son of Man” in OT and subsequent usage. Various, “Son of Man” in Hebrew and Aramaic can be used to designate “a man,” “the man,” “Man” (in general), or (as in Daniel and Enoch) “The Representative Man.” This last use parallels Paul’s use of the figure of First and Second Man in 1 Cor 15. Even where usage would appear to dictate a single interpretation, the result is inconclusive. For example, the term “Son of Man” occurs nearly eighty times in Ezekiel, and can well bear the vocative meaning “O man,” yet in the contexts where it is most often employed, it is addressed to a prophet standing in close relationship to God as herald of God’s purpose for Israel. It appears, therefore, to have possessed an honorific meaning, or even to have been a title of dignity. At the same time, it bears testimony to the subordinate role of the prophet in relation to the Lord whose message he

proclaims. For Jesus himself, in Matthew's gospel, the designation combines both the humility of the ministry—and thus far the subordination of the Son to the Father—and the majesty of the Son of Man in judgment (cf. Matt 8:20 and 25:31). This title is the subject of our Introduction, Part VII, above.

"Son of David" (rejected as a title in Matt 22:41 ff.) is used as a title of honor and dignity in the genealogy (1:1), through the ministry (9:27, 12:23, 15:22, 20:30, 31, 21:9, 15), but always by others. The evangelists all reject the title, save for Matthew's first use of it in his prologue. Some believed the Coming One would be of the lineage of David, but Matthew's treatment of Jesus-Messiah cannot be summarized in a single line of thought or development. In Israel's midst is "something greater" than the temple (12:6), than Jonah or Solomon (12:41 f.), something greater than king, prophet, or priest. It is in this greater sense that we must examine Matthew's use of the title "king": "King of the Jews" (2:2, 27:11, 29, 37), "King of Israel" (27:42), "your King" (21:5) and "the King" (25:34, 40), and "his kingdom" (16:28) all have a forward-looking, eschatological sense, reaching beyond the ministry and the Passion.

The title of "Messiah" (Gr. *Christos*) as "king" is in fact far more common in John's gospel and in the Pauline letters than it is in the synoptic gospels. And as the faith spread into a more and more Hellenized world, it ceased to be a title and became a proper name, "Christ." In Matthew, apart from 1:1, all the uses of "Christos" are with the definite article—"the Messiah." It is used most after the confession of Peter in chapter 16, where—with the predictions of the Passion—the crisis in the Messiahship of Jesus can be said to have finally broken. The picture is not simple; from material in the Dead Sea scrolls, we know that the lines of speculation and development around Messianic expectation were very diverse.

We have seen so far that Matthew presents a varied picture of Jesus. This much, however, is clear: according to our present evidence, the Messiah in Israel had normally been considered purely human, though with very marked qualities and attributes.

We must now consider Matthew's use of the title "Son." In the Psalms, the anointed king (the "Messiah") is spoken of as God's son in an adoptive sense (e.g., Pss 2:7, 89:26–27), but in Matthew the idea of Jesus as a son is so intimate that it marks him off from his contemporaries completely. Jesus is "God's Son" in the mouth of the tempter, (4:3, 6) "Son of the living God" in Peter's confession (16:16), "my Son, the Beloved One" at the baptism and the transfiguration (3:17, 17:5), or "my son" simply, in the words of scripture (Pss 2:7, 90; Hos 11:1) as meaning that he embodies Israel. The use of "Son" in the Psalms would suggest a Messianic title, but taken in conjunction with Matthew's

use of “Lord,” “Son” suggests far more than a leader of great moral and dynamic qualities. The accusations that Jesus is usurping and exercising divine authority (9:3, 26:65) are assumed to be true in 11:25–30. Here a relationship with the Father, a “Christology,” is assumed which far outstrips any known Messianic expectation. Whatever may be the origin of the baptismal formula in 28:19, it depends on an intimacy of relationship with God which is already foreshadowed in 11:25 ff. It appears inescapable that the Jews rightly interpreted many of the sayings of Jesus as carrying an implication that God was his Father, in a manner not shared by others—in fact in a manner unique to Jesus. A study of the implications of the sayings of Jesus, especially of those in which he speaks of his Father, leaves the reader of the New Testament with precisely the same impression that Jesus’ opponents had; it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Jesus meant to convey the fact of a unique relationship which he had with God, a relationship moreover which implied deity. John’s tradition states the clear implication of Matthew’s gospel in the words “I and the Father are one (John 10:30).” It is worth examining all the passages in which Jesus refers to the Father, either with reference to the disciples or to himself. We see that there is always a careful separation made between the two relationships, to which again the gospel of John bears testimony.*

The predictions of the passion, and the New Covenant inaugurated on the eve of the passion, will be discussed in their proper context in the commentary. But attention is called to them here because a mere examination of titles, Messianic or quasi-Messianic, is of little value unless they are seen against the scriptural background, interpreted at the time of the acts of the one to whom the titles are applied.

There is a very good examination of the difficulties attendant on any discussion of messianic hope in the time of Jesus by M. de Jonge (“The Use of the Word ‘Anointed’ in the Time of Jesus,” [NovT 8 \[1966\], 132–48](#)). It is recommended to the reader with some knowledge of Hebrew and Greek. See also J. C. O’Neill, “The Silence of Jesus,” [NTS 15 \(1969\), 153–67, with special reference to the “Messianic secret.”](#)

XIII. AUTHORSHIP AND CHRONOLOGY

A

Not only are there clear differences between John and the synoptists as to the length of the ministry of Jesus, together with puzzling discrepancies in the chronology of the final week of that ministry (assuming uniform calendrical usage): there are also striking difficulties in setting up a chronology which relies wholly on the synoptic gospels. The manner in which Matthew groups his material in whole blocks of teaching, together with the way in which Luke's "travel diary" is employed to introduce teaching, makes any attempt to outline a chronology of Jesus' ministry almost impossible. Such considerations, together with a paucity of detail in other directions, make anything like a "life" of Jesus, in a modern biographical sense, impossible.

It is commonly supposed that the lack of any but fragmentary information about the early life of Jesus is due to the lateness of the gospels, written down after almost all information about his early life had by that time disappeared. It is often suggested that nothing had happened; Jesus is supposed to have lived as an apprentice and assistant carpenter with a life so quiet that there was nothing to record until the vacuum was filled by the miracles of the non-canonical gospels. Below it will be pointed out how drastically the almost complete break in the continuity of Christian life in Palestine affected the tradition. Nearly all the relatives and contemporaries of Jesus had died, so that it may have proved impossible to describe his early life meaningfully. But this is still an inadequate explanation. In our opinion, the only satisfactory alternative is that Jesus was so completely absorbed by his sense of mission that he seldom said anything about his childhood and youth, even to close associates.

Other features in our gospels are hard to accommodate to modern biographical ideas. Not only is there complete silence about Jesus' life between his birth and the beginning of the ministry (except for one incident recorded by Luke), but both Mark and John begin their accounts with the ministry—John after a theological prologue, Mark after a brief announcement of great theological significance. This is not all. The passion narratives in all four gospels, from a purely biographical standpoint, are out of all proportion to the rest of the material (Mark's passion is about a third of the whole work). This can be understood only when we realize that the purpose of the writers was chiefly theological—that is, to lead up to the passion of Jesus and in the process make clear what was the purpose of that passion, and its consequences for the Messianic Community.

The differences between John and the synoptists in the traditions they record

are not confined to the chronology of the final week of the ministry. The synoptists record a ministry mainly in Galilee, of a duration impossible to determine, whereas John's record says little of Galilee, emphasizes Samaria, and records a ministry in Judea which the others do not. That Matthew knew of a ministry in Samaria seems plain from 10:5 (on which see our NOTE in the commentary), and Luke refers to Jesus as expecting to be received in Samaria (Luke 9:51–52). Acts records the missionary activity of the early Jerusalem community among the Samaritans. Evidently there are whole areas of ministry in the life of Jesus of which we read almost nothing in our present gospels.

The baptismal ministry of John, together with the words which he employed to carry out and to further that ministry, make almost inevitable the conclusion that John spent his early and formative years among Essenes, and in all probability at Qumran. (Cf. here Jean Daniélou, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Primitive Christianity*, tr. from the French by Salvator Attanasio, Baltimore: Helicon, 1958; W. H. Brownlee, "John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, ed. Krister Stendahl, New York: Harper, 1957; London: SCM, 1958; Robinson, "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Community," in [TNTS; et al.\) To this we must add the fact that Jesus was, at a crucial point in the ministry](#), little known in Nazareth, previously described as his home. Nazareth was then a mere village; no building remains of this period have yet been found, and it is nowhere mentioned by Josephus. From Luke 4:22 and John 6:42 we learn that only comparatively few of the people of Nazareth knew Jesus by sight. In the former passage the Greek clearly means, "Isn't this the son of Joseph?" In the latter we read, "Isn't this Jesus, the son of Joseph?" (Translation of Brown, in his commentary *John*, i–xii, §24.) In view of the implied statement in Matthew, Luke and John (see commentary below on Matt 13:55), it seems that he had been away for a relatively long time.

The three synoptic gospels all mention a stay of forty days in the wilderness while he was undergoing severe temptations from the devil. It may safely be inferred that he was well acquainted with the desert and had spent a good part of his early manhood in the Dead Sea Valley and Arabia (which at that time meant the land of the Nabataeans). We have interesting parallels which do not prove, but certainly suggest, that he spent much more time in the desert than we are told. When Paul spent three years in Arabia (Gal 1:17–18) (including Damascus, which at that time was also under the Nabataeans), we can scarcely separate his stay there from a desire to walk in the Master's footsteps. Taken alone, this phase of Paul's life might be purely coincidental, but as has been pointed out by a number of recent writers (especially Daniélou, cf. above), John the Baptist grew up in the desert, presumably with the Essenes (cf. COMMENT on §7, 3:1–12).

This was probably a fairly widespread practice among pious Jews who were not too happy about the temptations of the city. Josephus, who came from a noble Jewish family closely associated with the Hasmonean priest-kings and who, like Jesus, had received a good legal education before he was fifteen, spent three years in the desert according to his own statement in the *Life*. Part of this period was spent with the Essenes, but most of it was spent with an ascetic named Bannus, probably an ex-Essene. His description of the latter's mode of life in the desert reminds one very closely of the manner of life of John the Baptist, who also dressed in skins and lived on whatever he could find. Unfortunately Josephus does not tell us just what Bannus' teachings were, but we may safely suppose that they were not too remote from those of the somewhat earlier John the Baptist. It is true that Josephus was a little younger than Paul and at least thirty years younger than Jesus, but it is clear that his stay with Bannus did not influence him against John the Baptist, whom he mentions favorably in *Antiquities* XVIII.v.2. Among the points which Bannus had in common with the Essenes was his practice of frequent ablutions with cold water; like John he lived on what he could find in the desert. This practice was doubtless much more frequent than the cases mentioned might suggest. The tradition of spiritual purification by living in the desert was very old in Israel. It is, for example, found especially in the traditions of Moses and Elijah, both of whom went into the desert to commune directly with God.

We must then ask what contact Jesus had with John in his early years for both to be represented in Matthew as presenting the same proclamation (cf. Matt 3:2, 4:17). From that point, we must also ask what John the Baptist assumed Jesus had in common with himself when sending messengers from prison with his bewildered questionings. In the light of the teaching of Jesus as that teaching is preserved for us in the gospel according to John, it seems hard to avoid the conclusion that both John the Baptist and Jesus had spent some part of their adult years in close contact with the Essenes, and presumably at Qumran. It is plain that by the time John began his ministry he had abandoned the somewhat vague messianic expectations of the Essenes for the emphatic pronouncement that the Kingdom was at hand.

The duration of the ministry of Jesus—not to mention that of John the Baptist—is impossible to determine from our gospels. A range of dates is provided for the birth of Jesus both by Matthew (2:2, 22) and more exactly, though without independent verification, by Luke (2:1–2). Those who may wish to pursue the very vexed questions about possible dates for the birth of Jesus may with considerable profit refer to Jack Finegan's *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* (Princeton University Press, 1964), especially pp. 215 ff. It is Luke who dates

the beginning of John's ministry and then goes on to say that Jesus was "about thirty years old" when he began *his* ministry. In effect, all we have is a range of dates from the birth in the days of Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.) and Augustus (31 B.C.–A.D. 14) to a *terminus ad quem* in the time of Pontius Pilate, prefect and later procurator of Judea (A.D. 26–36). On the gospel evidence, therefore, Jesus at the end of his ministry could have been anywhere from thirty-six to forty years old, accepting the controlling dates of Archelaus the Tetrarch (4 B.C.–A.D. 6) and the high priesthood of Caiaphas (A.D. 18–36). The duration of the public ministry of Jesus appears to cover little more than a year in the synoptic gospels, whereas the Johannine tradition has three celebrations of Passover in the course of the ministry. Early church tradition (Eusebius, Epiphanius, etc.) assumes a ministry of two or three years.

The gospels were not intended to be biography in any sense in which we understand the term, and it is impossible to reconstruct the ministry with anything approaching precision. Apart from the fact that each evangelist arranged his material so as to suit his particular method of presentation, we are dealing with material which combines private instruction to the inner circle with public preaching and teaching, along with other activities such as traveling and healing. The disciples came from very different backgrounds, and it is clear that some came from sectarian circles (John, disciple of John the Baptist, Simon the Zealot, and Matthew the Pharisee). In this latter case, if the ministry was not to be wholly compromised, then there was need for sustained teaching and understanding. Not only so, but the careful distinctions made in Matthew and Mark, and also in John, between private instruction and public teaching are often obscured by critical NT scholars. There are many reasons for this, not least of which is the manner in which the universal availability of the gospels to us, in every language, has obscured their necessarily limited availability in the period when the traditions were first committed to writing.

There are other considerations, too. The first, and perhaps the most important, is the extremely compact character of much of the material which we now have. We assume far too readily that in some sense the gospels were intentionally compiled not only for the continuing Messianic Community but also for remote posterity. Aside from any possible limits on such an enterprise which may have been dictated by convictions in some circles that Jesus would soon return in glory, many of the allusions in the gospels are only now becoming clear to us. For example, with the sectarian material already available (most manuscripts are still unpublished) we are now far nearer to an understanding of such terms as "Son of Man" than has been the case for many centuries. Yet we must assume that such expressions were used by the evangelists without explanation on the

simple ground that those who made use of their work were perfectly familiar with the theological content and interpretation of the terms. The second consideration concerns the extent to which we assume our gospels to have been addressed to Gentile Christians. (Note in this connection the knowledge of Judaism which Paul obviously expected of his converts in Corinth.) It is not simply that recent research and archaeological discovery have called attention to the relative size and importance of Jewish colonies in the Dispersion (e.g., at Sardis)—we must re-examine the assumption commonly made that the Pauline letters (to use but one example) were addressed to congregations which were mainly, if not wholly, Gentile.

Enough evidence exists (which we are publishing elsewhere)²² to demonstrate that passages such as the Aramaic in 1 Cor 16:22 were at quite an early date seriously misunderstood in the process of transmission in the Greek text. Equally serious has been the fate of such passages as Matt 10:5, 34, 40–41. These particular examples are discussed in the commentary proper, but it is interesting to note when, and how, during the transmission (or translation), such misunderstandings arose. It is also of the highest importance to emphasize that in their original form they would have been quite clear to one familiar with the Jewish speech and milieu in which the sayings were first uttered.

What we appear to have in Matthew's gospel is a kind of teacher's guide, a collection of blocks of material from the private instruction of Jesus to the inner circle, together with other material from public teaching, and the whole assembled in a rather loose chronological framework. It is here that our difficulties multiply. How long were the periods of private teaching, as compared with those of public preaching? Our own suggestion is that after the ministry of John and the baptism of Jesus (where, on the Johannine evidence, some of the future disciples first met Jesus), there was an extended period of private itinerant teaching and instruction with the inner circle. But it is plain that this period was interspersed with occasional sermons, times of withdrawal, and isolated acts of healing. That this period gave rise to questioning, prompted either by enthusiastic indiscretion of some disciple, or by sheer curiosity among the hearers of Jesus, may account for much of the growing hostility during the ministry. The sermon at Capernaum recorded in Luke 4:16–22 reads in context like Jesus' response to a challenge.

In the synoptic gospels the confession of Peter and the transfiguration together represent a watershed in the ministry. We may not be too far wrong in supposing that it was there that the large-scale public ministry began. The opposition to Jesus which had already been aroused by occasional acts of healing, and the claims implicit in them (cf. Mark 2:1–12), together with trenchant criticism of

abuses in interpreting the Law, now had opportunity to crystallize. From the transfiguration onwards the gospel narrative is one of increasing tension and of progression to what Jesus regarded as the inevitable end of his ministry.

If this is so, and the evangelists shaped their material in such a way that we are easily led into finding a quasi-biographical framework which never existed in the period of oral transmission, then how reliable are the recorded traditions, and what chronological indications are there of dating in our sources? Except in Scandinavia, it is doubtful whether systematic analysis of the oral tradition in the New Testament has been taken with anything approaching adequate seriousness by NT scholars. The importance of that tradition has been repeatedly stressed by Harald Riesenfeld (cf. "The Gospel Tradition and Its Beginnings," in *The Gospels Reconsidered*, New York: Humanities Press / Oxford: Blackwell, 1960); by Anton Friedrichsen (cf. "Jesus, St. John and St. Paul" in *The Root of the Vine*, ed. A. G. Hebert, London: Dacre Press, 1953), and by Stendahl (cf. *The School of St. Matthew*). There can be no doubt at all that the tenacity of oral tradition in the interpretation of Jewish law was extremely great, and recent discoveries have emphasized its antiquity (see Solomon Gandz, *The Dawn of Literature, Osiris IV*, Bruges, 1939; and W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process*, 2d ed. [Johns Hopkins Press, 1957], pp. 64 ff.). We now know, thanks to the work of such scholars as Louis Finkelstein, J. Weingreen, Manfred Lehmann, and many others (much of whose work has not yet been published) that oral tradition in pre-Talmudic Jewish sources, are often extraordinarily accurate even as far back as the Exilic period or earlier. The data contained in our rabbinic sources of the second century A.D. and later are proving to be reliable for earlier times than generally believed. The sayings of the leading Jewish teachers of the intertestamental and NT periods were preserved with remarkable tenacity for centuries after their original date. It has been shown again and again that the methods of teaching employed by Jesus are extremely close in their character to those of the early rabbis. It has also been shown that mnemotechnic devices—for instance, the arrangement of sayings of Jesus according to key words—were well known in rabbinic times and go back to high antiquity. The structure underlying many of the NT *logia* can be paralleled most closely in *Pirqê Abôth* (*Sayings of the Fathers*).

Archaeological research confirms the statements of Josephus and others as to the widespread devastation of Jewish Palestine during the prolonged struggle which began about A.D. 66 and ended in A.D. 73 with the fall of Masada. Not a single synagogue is known to have survived, though synagogues were rebuilt on the same or a neighboring site, as at Capernaum and especially at the Hot

Springs of Tiberias (*Hammātā d'Tiberia*). The Jewish population of Palestine was greatly reduced by pagan massacres, internecine fighting, and slaughter by the Roman armies. Very large numbers of Jews were carried off as slaves. Christians were regarded as traitors by Jews and as Jews by pagans. The result was an almost complete interruption of Christian life in Palestine for a generation, if not longer. According to the well-known tradition preserved by Eusebius (whose accuracy has been strikingly vindicated by Ugarit and Chenoboskion), the Christians fled from Jerusalem to Pella in the eastern Jordan Valley. Pella was in an exposed location, open to pagan and Jewish reprisals, so it is in the highest degree improbable that it was more than a temporary refugee camp for fugitives who were planning to move on to safer places in Syria and Mesopotamia. The great break in the continuity of Palestinian tradition about A.D. 66–73 was stressed by W. F. Albright in *The Archaeology of Palestine* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1949), pp. 240 ff., and in *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology: Studies in Honour of Charles Harold Dodd*, eds. W. D. Davies and David Daube (Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 155 ff.

It thus seems clear that the period of relative calm envisaged by so many NT scholars for the production of the four gospels during the last third of the first century A.D. never existed—least of all among the refugees from Palestine. We may reasonably assume that some Jewish Christians fleeing from Palestine took with them fixed oral traditions, especially those underlying the so-called “Q” source, which we believe to have been orally transmitted before it was included in our gospels of Matthew and Luke. Once outside of Palestine, and scattered in all directions, the refugees found it necessary, for the preservation of the oral tradition, to put it into writing and publish it as fast as possible. Where the four gospels were written becomes a matter of relative indifference, as long as we recognize that they must have been composed in substantially their extant written form no earlier than the late 60s and no later than the 70s or early 80s.

We do have, as it happens, an important and almost entirely neglected body of evidence for the tenacity with which the oral tradition about Jesus was preserved during this extremely difficult period of almost complete discontinuity in the life of Palestinian Christians. This consists of the proper names, including both personal and place names, found in the four gospels and preserved in the Syriac version. The Syriac tradition has been strangely disregarded; it was generally rejected even by such authorities as Dalman and Lagrange. If we examine the Syriac recensions of the gospels carefully, we find that the most important recensions—the Vetus Syra (second or third century), the Peshitta (about fourth century), and the Syro-Palestinian lectionaries (about fifth century)—agree

almost throughout in the form of proper names. This agreement does not hold, however, in a few obscure place names which have not yet been identified with certainty by modern scholars.

That proper names are of exceptional importance for the relation of oral and written tradition, especially in cognate dialects, has been stressed particularly by E. Y. Kutscher, in a German article on Mishnaic Hebrew in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 26 (1964), 33–48, on the great value of proper names in fixing the relations between recensions in different Aramaic dialects. The only other way in which we can explain some of the phenomena which we list here is by the incredible supposition that native scholars were somehow trained in modern philological method and sent from Syro-Mesopotamian monasteries on fact-collecting expeditions to Palestine. Since no such notion is conceivable, our only other solution is to suppose that the names were carried from Palestine, embedded in pre-gospel tradition by Aramaic-speaking Christians who found refuge in Syria and Mesopotamia.

In some cases, of course, no problem is involved, since names like *Yôḥanān* (John), *Shim'ôn* (Simon), *Maryam* (Mary), *Martā* (Martha) could not have been forgotten. There is a striking parallel between the names found on Jewish ossuaries in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, dating from the last century of the Second Temple (30 B.C.—A.D. 70), and the names occurring in the gospels. We find roughly the same proportion of Greek and Hebrew names among them as in the gospels: not only such names as John, Simon, Mary, and Martha, but also such names as *Shalôm* (Salome)—all very common in this period. However, there are also names which are not so obvious. For instance, Bartholomew has not generally been recognized as containing the patronymic which is well attested as *Tlmy*, the normal transcription of Greek Ptolemy, in Nabataean and South Arabic inscriptions, as well as in rabbinic sources (see commentary on 10:3). Since we already have so many Greek names among the disciples of Jesus, such as *Andreas*, *Philippos*, and *Kleopas* (for the very common Greek name *Kleopatros*), there is nothing surprising about this. But we also have names such as *La'zar* (Lazarus), which appears in the same spelling in the ossuary inscriptions as a shortened form of “Eleazar.” It is not self-evident that Alphaeus, which looks superficially like Greek *Alpheus* (with which it used to be connected) should appear in Syriac as *Ḥalfay*, also the short name of Rabbi Ḥalaftā (who flourished toward the end of the first century). This Jewish name meant “compensation.” An epithet like *Boanergēs* is correctly transmitted in Syriac as *benay regesh* (*rigshā*), “sons of noise.” One suspects that the curious Greek form is a corruption, resulting from confusion with some such word as Doric *boa*, Attic *boē*, “loud cry.”

The place names are, however, more significant than the personal names, since place names seldom wander as personal names do so easily. Here we have such clear cases as Bethsaida “house of fishing/hunting” spelled with *ṣade*, and Capernaum, which is well known from Jewish sources as *Kephar Naḥūm* (village of Nahum). Bethany appears in the Syriac recensions as *Beth-‘anyā*, which (as pointed out by Albright in the *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 4 [1924], 158–160) is a shortened form (with haplography) of older *Beth-‘ananyah*, mentioned as Ananiah (‘*Ananyah*) in Neh 11:32. An equally obvious case is Bethesda, which is spelled in all Syriac recensions *Beth-ḥisdā* or *-ḥasdā*. This is a normal transcription from Aramaic into Greek, and the name was common in later times, usually in the alternative form *Ḥisdai/Ḥasdai*, short for biblical *Ḥasadyahu*. This obviously correct identification, which shows that Aramaic tradition had accurately preserved the name of the long-since destroyed Pool of Bethesda, has been abandoned by some scholars since the publication of the copper strips from Qumran, where a name *Beth-esdatain* was erroneously read in the official publication by J. T. Milik with M. Baillet and R. de Vaux of *Les ‘Petites Grottes’ de Qumran*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan, III (Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 297. *Beth-esdatain* was promptly identified by Milik with Bethesda, though the word itself is otherwise wholly unknown and fails completely to yield a satisfactory meaning. Besides, the context was completely misunderstood by Milik; we must read with J. M. Allegro (*The Treasure of the Copper Scroll* [New York: Doubleday, 1960], p. 53) and D. N. Freedman, *Beth-ashwahayn*, “the house of the two reservoirs.” In our opinion there can be no doubt whatever about the correctness of this reading, though a few obscurities remain in the following lines. The word for “underground reservoir” which occurs in Hebrew inscriptions and texts from the ninth century B.C. to the second century A.D., was pronounced *ashwah*, later *ashôah*; it appears in the name of the town *Shôḥîn* of the Talmud (*Asochis* of Josephus) in central Galilee. In this case the poor hand of the carver is responsible for the mistake, but the editor’s poor paleography and philology have served us ill. Where the place itself was located we do not know, probably in Jerusalem. In any event, this cannot possibly be the *Bethesda* of the gospel of John, the only plausible form of whose Aramaic name has been correctly transmitted by all the Syriac recensions.

One of the most stubborn of all place names in the gospels is *Gethsēmane*. Because of its great importance in the passion narrative, which was almost certainly the first part of the gospels to be written down, there can be no reasonable doubt that the form of the name would be correctly transmitted in Syriac. The Greek form *Gethsēmane*, spelled at the end variously with *epsilon*-

iota, *iota*, or *ēta*, was almost certainly influenced by the Greek verbal form *sēmanēi*, meaning “he will show” or “he/it will show/mean.” But the Syriac recensions have *Gedsīmān* (*Gessēmānīn* in the Syro-Palestinian lectionaries) and *Gessēmani* in some Greek manuscripts). G. Dalman, *Orte und Wege Jesu* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1924), p. 340, gave up his earlier explanation of the name as “oil press,” following long-standing conventional ideas, and preferred to render “wine press of signs” or “wine press of omens.” But we cannot disregard the Syriac recensions, because *Gedsīmān*, etc., makes no sense at all as a corruption of an original *Gethsīmān*. More important, however, is the fact that there is no real evidence at all for the supposed meaning “oil press” for the name in question, since *gath* is nowhere used in the Bible or in Aramaic literature in the sense of oil press, if we except two very doubtful rabbinic passages alluded to as possibilities by Dalman. On the other hand, the word *gad*, *gaddā*, “good luck,” is exceedingly common in Aramaic as well as in Hebrew-Phoenician in the same sense. It must originally have been the personal name of the owner of the place, in which case he would bear a name of pagan origin which could well be borne by a Jew; “The (astrological) omen(s) is/are (my) good luck.” There are many parallels; a good one is the Aramaic name *Naḥash-ṭāb*, which appears in Aramaic and South Arabic, and in Greek transcription (second century A.D.) as *Naastabos*, meaning “good luck,” or “(my) luck is good.” Note in connection with pagan *Naḥash-ṭāb* that *sīmān ṭōb* is synonymous with *mazzāl ṭōb*, “good (astrological) omen” in later Hebrew.

It is most improbable that the words for wine press and oil press ever coincided in Hebrew and Aramaic, since the presses are entirely different in appearance and the processes of extracting oil and wine are as different as possible. Furthermore, wine presses were generally hewn out of solid rock outside a town or village, whereas oil presses were generally found in a town.

It is also noteworthy that the few cases which remain stubborn and from which we cannot learn anything appear only accidentally in the gospels. For instance, Aenon and Salim are mentioned in John 3:23 as places where John the Baptist baptized (probably in Samaria; see *Harvard Theological Review* 17 [1924], 193 f.). Though the places still exist as ‘Ainûn and Sâlim, early Christian tradition shifted them both to the middle Jordan Valley, south of Scythopolis, which was swampy and more accessible, though there are no satisfactory sites or names to be found there. In a case like this, where Jesus was not involved at all (only John baptized there), it would not be strange to find the tradition forgotten. In the gospel of John we have memories transmitted through a former disciple of John the Baptist. In any case, there would be no reason why mention of towns connected only with John the Baptist would be remembered in traditions

concerned with Jesus.

The case of Gergesa, which also appears as Gadara and Gerasa (see commentary on Matt 8:28), is inscrutable. We have followed the Syriac Gadara, for reasons given in the commentary. How the name became corrupted from *Gergesa* is a mystery. Perhaps the most plausible suggestion is that the original name was *Gergesa*, belonging to a village in Gadarene territory, and later confused in some Greek texts with *Gerasa*, whereas the Aramaic tradition remembered that it was in Gadarene country, since Gadara overlooked the Sea of Galilee directly from the southeast but at a greater distance than the putative Gergesa. In earlier times *Grgš* appears as a personal name in Syria and as an ethnic name in Palestine.

One of the most striking cases is, at first sight, extremely simple. Arimathea appears in the Peshitta as *Rāmethā* (though there may be some doubt as to exact vocalization). The Syro-Palestinian lectionary recension offers instead, as pointed out by M. J. Lagrange in [RB 34 \(1925\), 489 f.](#), *Remtīs*, which today is pronounced *Rentīs* by the local population. The spelling *Remtīs* is in agreement with the Greek *Remphthis* of Eusebius, underlying Jerome's *Remfthis*. On the various forms of the name, see the commentary on Matt 27:57. The Peshitta reading is most significant, since it sounds quite different from the Greek and could not possibly have been based on direct translation or transliteration from Greek. It must, therefore, go back to the original tradition as transmitted orally.

In view of the material accumulated in these illustrations, it becomes probable that there are many key Aramaic words and phrases which were preserved by the Syriac recensions in substantially their original form. To be sure, there were undoubtedly dialectal variations, but they were seldom significant about the Christian era. Even centuries later, differences between the Aramaic of Edessa and Dura, on the one hand, and of southern Syria and Palestine, on the other, were seldom serious bars to communication. From the Jewish ossuaries and inscriptions we know that Jewish Aramaic was not divided into really fixed dialects, though there were, of course, differences in the speech of the Aramaic-speaking population in different parts of the continuum Syria-Palestine-Mesopotamia.

We may therefore reasonably suppose that Jewish Christians fleeing from Palestine took with them firmly fixed oral traditions, especially those underlying the so-called “Q” material, and put them into Greek as soon as they could, realizing that they might otherwise be lost.

The contention that Mark was a Roman gospel, compiled around the teaching and reminiscences of Peter, has almost everything to commend it, and it is nowadays generally accepted. But to proceed from there to argue that Mark is

the basis, not only of the framework of Matthew and Luke, but also of considerable quantities of material in both, is to carry a historical hypothesis too far. Under the conditions prevailing in Palestine at the generally accepted date of Mark (ca. A.D. 65), it is hard to imagine that Christians in Palestine were waiting for a gospel tradition from Rome in order to begin writing down their own oral tradition.

Later church speculations about the missionary spheres of the eleven disciples may well reflect traditions about the circumstances of their departure from Palestine. For all the “finished” appearance of the gospels, we must reckon with the serious gaps which they present. There was no information, apparently, from Jesus himself about his early life—presumably reflecting either the death or the dispersal of those few who might have had access to such information. All that we have is a tantalizing glimpse of a visit to Jerusalem recorded by Luke (who seems to have made strenuous efforts to recover what he could). The account of Jesus’ reception in Nazareth must raise serious doubts as to how long he remained there after the return from Egypt. There is, besides, the probability that, as a young builder, he had become familiar with much of Palestine and neighboring areas. The Johannine tradition certainly gives the impression that the author knew a great deal more than he recorded, but along with that impression goes the obvious fact that this tradition was far more concerned with preserving knowledge of Jesus’ teaching.

There is further confirmation of this when we look more closely at the account of the election of Matthias in Acts 1. Examples of choice by lot carried out with inscribed potsherds have been found at Arad and Masada. (On choosing by lot, cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, “Jewish Christianity in Acts in the Light of the Qumran Scrolls,” in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert*, eds. L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn [Nashville: Abingdon, 1966], pp. 250 ff.) We have generally assumed that the Greek text of Acts 1:21–22 has been transmitted accurately, and that the number of the apostolic band was being made up by including one who had been with Jesus all along. But there is a serious flaw in this interpretation. It is explicitly stated—in the common interpretation—that the proposed candidate should be “one of the men who have accompanied us ... *beginning from the baptism of John ...*” (Acts 1:22, italics ours). Not only is there possible confusion of names in the lists of the Twelve as we have them (we shall have something to say of this below), but it is clearly stated in our gospels that some of the disciples were called in Galilee after the baptism by John. By the time of the events recorded in Acts 1:21–22, there can have been very few who not only had accompanied Jesus right through his ministry, but who also had firsthand knowledge of the ministry of John. We suggest that the Greek of

this important section in Acts should read: *oudeis oun²³ tōn sunelthontōn hēmin andrōn en panti chronō hō eisēlthen kai exēlthen....* Considering what follows (*martura tēs anastaseōs autou sun hēmin genesthai hena toutōn*) with its emphasis on *hena toutōn*, “one of these,” the confusion between *oudeis oun*, “no one, therefore,” and *dei oun*, “it is therefore necessary,” is easily explained. On our supposition, Peter is represented as saying that there was no one left who had, like Judas, accompanied the inner circle all the way through Jesus’ ministry. So the traditional number of twelve (as at Qumran) was restored from “one of these”—i.e., from the company described in 1:15. What was required was a witness to the resurrection, *not* someone who had been witness to the whole ministry. If our reconstruction of this reading is correct, then not only is it clear that Paul (who obviously does not fulfill the conditions of 1:21 on the usual interpretation) was able to claim apostleship without continued protest from Jerusalem, but it also makes clear how the extension of the term “apostle” to Barnabas could so easily be accomplished.

We have spent some time on this, partly as demonstrating that the number of firsthand witnesses to the ministry of Jesus was not so limitless as is commonly assumed, and partly also as an indication that the conventional number of “the Twelve” probably did not become fixed until the final stages of the ministry. Indeed, it is possible that the number of the inner circle achieved fixed form as a consequence of the saying recorded in Matt 19:28. Students of the Old Testament are familiar with the varying traditions in the OT sources as to the names of the groups subsumed under the title “the twelve tribes.” We may assume that some, though by no means all, of the apparent confusion in the list of the Twelve in the gospels and Acts derives from our own assumption that the inner circle must always have consisted of the same persons throughout the ministry.

In any assessment of chronology, authorship, and reliability in the gospels, we are faced with (1) a relatively small number of people who had access to the facts of Jesus’ ministry, (2) the early disappearance from the scene of some of the witnesses, and (3) the apparent dismissal by Jesus himself of any recollection of his early years as unimportant. Correspondingly, we must reckon with the desire to record the oral tradition at a comparatively early date, not only on account of a steadily worsening political climate, but also—and more especially—on account of the removal to other spheres of action of many who could provide valuable information. We have no reason to call in question the essential veracity of Luke’s statements in the preface to his gospel.

Before we look at these considerations as they may apply to Matthew’s gospel, let us pay some attention to a common tendency among many NT

scholars. This is the assumption on the part of many writers on NT subjects that there was at some early time a uniform Greek text, which might be reconstructed from the standard recensions, from which all manner of conclusions might be drawn, and upon which all kinds of structural edifices might be erected.²⁴ Along with this is the tendency on the part of some (often the same) scholars to postulate relatively—in some cases ludicrously—late dates for much NT material. To make these assumptions is to overlook entirely the salient fact that the Hebrew Bible did not become a fixed text until after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, a fact to which the Dead Sea scrolls are eloquent witness. (Cf. Jan de Waard, *A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*, Leiden: Brill, 1965; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966.) There are some examples in our present gospel of Matthew to which we have called attention in the body of the commentary, where a zealous attachment to a so-called fixed text has often completely obscured, or even changed, the original sense (cf., for example, 10:34). In the course of writing this commentary it has become increasingly clear to us that we may well be dealing with material which had been transmitted in Aramaic and occasionally in Hebrew. This is a situation which would be much more likely in the third quarter of the first century than at any time earlier or later.

A very strong argument for the originality of the material handed down in Matthew, as well as in the other gospels, is the archaic Jewish-Aramaic in which it was originally composed—whether in oral or written form does not really matter. Thanks to the discovery of so much early post-biblical Hebrew and especially of late pre-Christian Palestinian Aramaic among the manuscripts of Qumran, it is possible to reconstruct the original Aramaic of many passages with a close approximation to accuracy in syntax, morphology, and vocabulary—see especially J. A. Fitzmyer, *The “Genesis Apocryphon” of Qumran Cave I*, Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966), and [CBQ 30 \(1968\), 417–28. The value of this criterion will become clear in the pages of our commentary, in which we deal](#) with obscurities in the present Greek text which can probably be traced back to Aramaic (or Hebrew). We must not forget that the current Hebrew used in the scribal schools of Palestine in the early first century A.D. was of the type illustrated by the numerous quotations from the early rabbis preserved in the Mishnaic tractate *Pirqê Abôth*, which can now usually be put back into Aramaic of the same period without difficulty. This is naturally also true in reverse: much Jewish Aramaic can be traced back to the late Hebrew of this period. A careful analysis of the proper names in the Syriac recensions of the gospels has also proved very fruitful, and we can now expect some key words and expressions in the utterances of Jesus to be preserved in Syriac (see above).

B

We propose now to examine briefly some of the characteristics of this gospel. Our principal conclusions as to its framework were indicated in Part IV of this Introduction, and will not be repeated here.

The evangelist's use of the Old Testament is not only important in providing him with a biblical framework within which to set the ministry of Jesus, it also gives us some indication of his theological attitudes. The evangelist's eschatology is of the traditional orthodox Jewish type represented especially by the Pharisees. It is important to remember that the evangelist gives new life to traditional concepts such as The Man ("Son of Man") represented in Daniel and Enoch, by seeing them in the light of the ministry of Jesus. If we contend (as we have already done in Part IV above) that Matthew sees the ministry of Jesus in almost exclusively biblical terms, we must at the same time remind the reader that when this gospel was being written there was no agreement as to the exact extent of Scripture beyond the Law and the Prophets (the latter including the earlier historical books and the major and minor prophets). The evangelist shows little interest in any specifically sectarian vocabulary, though he was certainly well aware of it, and not infrequently uses phraseology of the Qumran type. For all the wealth of Christological titles such as "The Righteous One"—and the high estimate placed on the Messianic Community as "Kingdom of heaven"—there is no proliferation of community titles such as one finds at Qumran. Nowhere, for example, is the Community referred to as "the Restored Israel" or "the community of the New Covenant." It is not too much to say that this gospel represents conscious return to Scripture. To that extent, we may be correct in describing the evangelist as in all probability a Galilean, aware of but not inclined toward sectarian theological speculation, and rather "old-fashioned" in his approach to Scripture. As we pointed out in Part IV, the evangelist's *pēsher* method of commentary was in process of being superseded by the Greek hermeneutical methods which had been introduced by Hillel the Elder in the late first century B.C.

C

Traditionally, this gospel was written by Matthew, the tax collector described in 9:9 and 10:3, and further identified with the Levi of Mark 2:14 and Luke 5:27 (properly, as we shall see, “the Levite”). There are some uncertainties in the NT lists of the Twelve, but the difficulty found in the Levi of Mark 2:14 as a son of Alphaeus, along with a James similarly described in Matt 10:3, is more apparent than real. Two sets of brothers are known to us from the lists of disciples, and there is no reason why two sons of Alphaeus should not also have joined Jesus in his ministry, just as there were two Judases and two Simons.

None of this carries us very far, for the main controversy has always centered around the identification of Matthew with Levi in our present texts. (Perhaps the best modern study in short compass is that of Barnabas Lindars, “Matthew, Levi, Lebbaeus and the Value of the Western Text,” [NTS 4 \[1958\], 226–32; cf. also Rudolph Pesch, “Levi-Matthäus \[Mc 2.14/Mt 9.9; 10.3\] ein Beitrag zur Lösung eines alten Problems,” ZNW 59 \[1968\], 15–23.](#)) [There is a simple solution to the difficulty, and one which we believe](#) has the merit of doing justice to all available facts. It is that Levi is not (as usually held) a personal name, but the tribal designation of the man who was called by Jesus from his tax collecting. That is to say, the person under discussion is “Matthew the Levite,” [Gr. *Matthias ho levitēs*](#). We have called attention in the commentary to the widespread disuse of the definite article in Aramaic in the NT period. It would therefore not be surprising if a translator/scribe, faced with *Levi* in his original, came to the conclusion that this was a personal name—it was, after all, common at this period—and therefore rendered it as such in Greek.

Everything which we judge to be characteristic of this gospel—its conservatism, its interest in the traditional oral law, in lawyers and Pharisees, its traditional eschatology—all this fits admirably into the background of an author who was a Levite. The struggle of the Levites as an order for a firm and lasting place in the ecclesiastical framework of Judaism after worship was centralized at Jerusalem (but especially after the return from Exile) need not detain us here. There are excellent summaries both in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia* and in Kittel’s [TWNT, ad loc. A Levite of the time of Jesus would normally have been a Pharisee, educated, and from an orthodox \(i.e., not sectarian\) background. With lower status than the Jerusalem-centered priesthood, more numerous](#) than the temple cult could readily absorb, most Levites would be compelled to seek a livelihood apart from the worship of the temple. If Matthew the Levite found a living as a tax collector for the political authorities—and his education would certainly fit him for such responsibility—then his rejection by his fellow

Pharisees would follow inevitably. So too would inevitably follow carefully collected reminiscences of Jesus' attitude to the Law and to those who made their living by oral interpretation of that Law. (It is worthy of mention here that Stendahl, in his *School of St. Matthew* [mentioned above], pp. 30–31, quotes von Dobschütz as suggesting that Matthew was a converted rabbi. However, it is by no means clear what he had in mind in using the term “rabbi,” since there were as yet no *ordained* rabbis.

Apart from the fact that church tradition ascribes this gospel to Matthew, what indications are there of anything which may be called certainty in the ascription? It must be said at once that there is no single feature to which we can point and say without equivocation, “This demands that we ascribe this present work, or the larger part of it, to Matthew the Levite, called by Jesus from his work as tax collector, and who accompanied Jesus throughout his ministry.” All that we can establish, and that largely by inference, has been stated in the preceding paragraphs.

We are now at the point where we can examine the strength and weakness of the early church tradition as to Matthean authorship. Our earliest testimony as to the author or compiler of the gospel is Papias, in a quotation by Eusebius, and referred to also by Irenaeus—again in a quotation in Eusebius. While this sort of evidence is somewhat indirect, it would be unwise to dismiss it out of hand. Though early church historians such as Eusebius have often been disregarded by some modern NT scholars as being inaccurate, the recent discoveries of Gnostic and gnosticizing literature at Nag Hammadi (Chenoboskion)—discoveries which certainly vindicate the accuracy of the descriptions of Gnosticism by Irenaeus and Hippolytus—give new credibility to these early writers.

It is with such Church Fathers that we must now deal. Eusebius (ca. A.D. 270–340) quotes Papias (ca. A.D. 130) as saying that “Matthew compiled (*sunetaxe*) the oracles (or “sayings”—*ta logia*) in the Hebrew language (*Hebraïdi dialektō*), but everyone interpreted them (or “translated them”—*hermēneusen d’auta*) as he was able” (Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* III. 39. 16). Similarly, Irenaeus is quoted by Eusebius as follows: “Matthew published a gospel in writing also, among the Hebrews in their own language (*en tois Hebraïois tō idia autōn dialektō*) while Peter and Paul in Rome were preaching the Gospel and founding the Church” (Eusebius V. 8. 2). That Eusebius himself shared the view that Matthew evangelized Jews and compiled his gospel in “his native tongue” is clear from III. 24. 5–6. The same writer quotes Clement of Rome (d. about 101) as stating that the first of the four gospels which are alone unquestionable (*tas anantirrētous graphas*) was compiled by Matthew, who was “once a tax collector but afterwards an apostle.” There is no necessity whatever to suppose

that Irenaeus was dependent on Papias for his information—Irenaeus, on his own showing, was near enough to the same authorities as those used by Papias himself.

It is not here that the difficulty lies, but in another quotation from Papias, also found in Eusebius. Irenaeus declares Papias to have been a hearer (*akoustēs*) of John, and a companion of Polycarp (the word translated “companion” is *hetairos*). It is worth mentioning here that whenever Eusebius’ quotations can be checked from other sources, he is found to be accurate. In the case of Irenaeus, there is a later Latin translation of his *Adversus Haereses* alongside which Eusebius’ quotation from V. 33. 4 may be measured. Now Irenaeus declares Papias to have been a man of ancient times (*archaios anēr*), but a recent article takes issue with what it considers to be an attempt to deny Papias dealings with first-generation Christians. C. Stewart Petrie (“The Authorship of ‘The Gospel according to Matthew’: A Reconsideration of the External Evidence,” NTS 14 [1967], 15–32), suggests that Eusebius wished to deny that Papias had contact with first-generation Christians, because Papias was a millenarian (chiliasm)—a theological approach which Eusebius deplored—and also because Eusebius was anxious not to have the Apocalypse credited to the apostle John. For all the care which the article takes, we do not think that its author has really disposed of “the elder John,” or “John the Elder” as easily as he assumes (NTS 14 (1967), 19 ff.). What is of considerable importance here is the careful distinction which Eusebius represents Papias as making. Papias (Eusebius III. 49. 3–4) declares: “But when someone turned up who had been closely associated with the ancient worthies” (Petrie’s translation of *presbuteroi*) “I would enquire about the sayings” (or “discourses”) “of the ancient worthies, what Andrew or what Peter had said (*eipen*) or what Philip or what Thomas or James, or what John or Matthew, or any other of the Lord’s disciples had said, and also the things which Aristion and the ancient worthy John, disciples of the Lord, were saying.” Of interest here is the fact that Papias represents the second John as being still available when he writes, since he is (according to Eusebius) careful to make a distinction between those who *had said*, and those who at the time of writing *were saying*.

We appear to have an important testimony from Papias, through Eusebius, that he was in touch with men who had known the apostle John, and could collect reminiscences as to what the first-generation Christians had had to say about our earliest gospel sources. (See Appendix A.) A careful choice of words is imperative here. Papias’ recorded words—that Matthew compiled *ta logia* in Hebrew, and everyone translated as he was able—do not necessarily mean that our present gospel of Matthew must be taken as a mere translation of a whole

gospel readily available in Hebrew. So far as we know, several (if not many) honest attempts at translating *ta logia* may have been made, and the phrase is by no means free from considerable ambiguity. It has been taken as a collection of the sayings of Jesus by some, by others as a source which might be roughly equivalent to the elusive “Q,” and by yet others to be a kind of collection of OT *testimonia*, or a collection of Matthew’s OT quotations. The last may be ruled out, now that we are in possession of whole bodies of *pēsher* (commentary) material from Qumran, which we have found to be represented with such skill in Matthew’s gospel.

Much depends on precisely what interpretation we give to Papias’ use of *ta logia*, and here the evidence from [LXX and other](#) sources is not always clear as to what influences were at work in the New Testament, and therefore (at another remove) in the minds of early Christian authors. Certainly Irenaeus seems to use the phrase *ta logia* as meaning the whole message of the Gospel, and not merely sayings of Jesus. It is interesting that the verdict of Kittel, in the article which appears above his name in TWNT, rejects the notion that Papias’ use of the word *logia* ought properly to be confined to sayings, or collections of sayings, of Jesus. Here again, the translation of *hermēneusen* is of interest. There has been (as we saw in Part XI on Parables) an almost inexhaustible variety of interpretations offered of the parables in the light of changing social and religious conditions of Christendom through the ages. But this is strictly a matter of interpretation, however complex the hermeneutic problems may be. Granted that with the movement of the Messianic community from a Jewish milieu into the Gentile, Greek-speaking world, there were certainly problems of translating shades of meaning, it is hard to suppose that what Papias had in mind was a situation where those who first had access to Matthew’s work *Hebraïdi dialektō* were left without authoritative interpretation of the message of the Kingdom. It seems to fit the natural sense of the passage from Papias far more easily if we assume that he declares Matthew’s gospel to have been *translated* as men were able.

D

Before we attempt to summarize what we have so far said, there is one further puzzle to be investigated—that of the otherwise unknown Matthias, elected to fill the place of Judas (Acts 1:15–26). Papyrus and parchment were not in such abundant supply, or so inexpensive, in the first century A.D. as to warrant careless use, and a repeated story or narrative must therefore be treated as being of considerable importance to the writer or compiler. This, we suggest, explains for the repeated account of the conversion of Saul of Tarsus, and of the feeding of the multitude in the gospels. Now, even granted that the writer of Acts considered it necessary to record the election of a man to fill the place of Judas in the Twelve, it must yet be asked why Luke told the story at length, instead of contenting himself with a mere record that the election was duly made. Here we can only conjecture, and it is well to bear in mind that what is being said at this point has only the merit of conjecture and nothing more. Gr. *Matthaios* ([Aram. Mattay](#)) and Gr. *Matthias* (pronounced *Matyā* in Syriac) are alternative shortened forms of the same Hebrew original *Mattatyahu*, and are also both common names in the period under discussion. It is a possibility to be reckoned with that Luke records the election at some length as being that of a man known to have had some connection with our present gospel of Matthew, whether as compiler of oral tradition, or (being in possession of intimate knowledge of the ministry of Jesus) as supplier of some of the historical framework of the gospel.

Papias' statement that Matthew compiled *ta logia* in Hebrew, and that each translated them as he was able, does not commend our present Greek text as a firsthand translation—indeed, there are indications that by the time our present Greek text took shape there were already serious misunderstandings of the original. It will be recalled that Streeter posited an “M” source as laying the foundation of our present gospel of Matthew, a Jewish-Christian source used by Matthew and then applied later to the finished work which bears his name. (Streeter, *The Four Gospels*. The references to the “M” source are widely scattered through the book, and it is not possible to detail them here.)

The reader has already been warned that there are no firm conclusions to be drawn as to the authorship of our present gospel of Matthew. But there are some things which can rightly be said by way of summary, which may serve to indicate that whatever might be made of Papias' *ta logia*, there is some substance to the supposition that this gospel owes something to Matthew, a Levite, a former tax collector turned disciple of Jesus. We present the summary findings as follows:

1. The author was a conservative-minded Jew, aware of but not inclined to

sectarian views.

2. The gospel as we have it preserves material which details Messianic titles (the Prophet, the Righteous One) already archaic in the time of Jesus.

3. The interest of the gospel in the Law, in ecclesiastical matters, in oral interpretation of law and custom, would come most readily from a man trained in the legal disciplines, or from one who had been in constant touch with men so trained.

4. The preservation of sayings of Jesus about the Law, and about some of its interpreters, would be precisely the kind of interest we might expect from a Levite.

5. We do not find Matthew—in spite of much pleading by some commentators—engaging in an attempt to represent Jesus as a “new Moses.” To the contrary, we find that the author’s interest lies in carefully preserving sayings of Jesus which re-establish the true principles of the Mosaic Law.

6. However interpreted later, Matthew’s collection of parables reflects his consuming interest in the spiritual history of Israel as a chosen people. The ministry of Jesus required him to re-examine the theological implications of God’s choice of his ancient people.

7. We do not regard Markan priority either in time or as a necessary source, historical or otherwise, of either Matthew or Luke as being in any sense proved.

8. It is too often assumed that traditions grow from nothing, and this unwarranted assumption is often made about the traditional ascription of this gospel to Matthew.

9. If Mark’s gospel is accepted as having been written in Rome, around the year A.D. 65, and if it is equally accepted that our present gospel of Matthew is substantially dependent on Mark, then our knowledge of conditions in Syria-Palestine after that date demands not only that Matthew was written far away from a Palestinian milieu—which may well have been the case—but also that the Matthean Palestinian tradition was dependent on a Palestinian tradition from overseas.

10. Archaic expressions, interest in ecclesiastical matters, carefully recorded statements of Jesus about the Law, a conservative type of eschatology, together with an already dying method of commentary, all serve to convince us that we are dealing with an author or compiler, or both, thoroughly versed in legal commentary, who would have had nothing apart from antiquarianism to inform him if his work was written or compiled at the end of the first century.

The Levite Matthew fulfills the conditions for an author which we have outlined above far better than any other candidate known to us from the New Testament. That there is no certainty to this hypothesis, we readily concede. But

it has the merit of taking Papias and those who cite him seriously, and of accepting historical and archaeological evidence of chaotic conditions in Palestine between A.D. 60 and 75. It also saves us from the inherent absurdity of supposing that Palestinian Christians—Jewish Christians at that—would have based the first Palestinian gospel on a recent arrival from Rome. It is very doubtful whether in the thoroughly confused situation which must have immediately preceded the flights of Jewish Christians from Palestine, there would have been time or encouragement for composition of a Palestinian gospel. But the traditions were there, the need of putting them down and translating them into Greek was becoming more obvious every day, so that it can scarcely have taken more than a very short time after the main emigration before our Greek gospel of Matthew emerged from the Aramaic oral and written traditions which had been carried with them by the refugees. Recent suggestions that Matthew was composed in Antioch are not unreasonable in themselves, but cannot be proved.

Precisely what place the Matthias of Acts 1 had in all this, we may never know. We have merely suggested above that the account of his election in Acts is evidently of some significance in Luke's mind apart from his simply filling the place of Judas.

We have already stated, in the earlier parts of this Introduction, that we do not find it necessary to accept the notion of dependence of Matthew on Mark. And (as has more than once been pointed out by others) it is much simpler to suppose that Luke was in some sense dependent on Matthew, or had access to the same Palestinian traditions as those employed by Matthew, than it is to have recourse to written sources such as the hypothetical "Q." It is perhaps only our own unwillingness to treat oral tradition seriously which has impeded an adequate assessment of Matthew as an independent Palestinian check on the accuracy of Mark's Petrine reminiscences.

One of the most extraordinary historical aberrations is the notion—straight from the German Romantics of the eighteenth century—that Jesus must have been an extremely simple, unlearned man without formal education and inexperienced in the ways of the world. The principal roots of its contemporary manifestations are, first, misplaced emphasis on the Pauline *kenōsis* (from *kenōō*, "to empty out"), according to which Jesus abdicated his divinity so that he could live the life of a mortal. This inevitably led to exaggerated emphasis on his humanity, to the point of denying him any exceptional ability to learn by study or experience. According to this point of view, he lived as a carpenter's son in Nazareth nearly all his life, doing only the humblest jobs open to a carpenter, and then suddenly becoming completely superhuman toward the end

of his life. The other, and opposite, point of view, which led to surprisingly similar conclusions, is illustrated by Gerhart Hauptmann's famous novel *Der Narr in Christo, Emanuel Quint* (1910), where we have an account of the short career of a mentally retarded carpenter's son whose one ambition was to live the life of Jesus. He is represented as being capable of imitating Jesus to the extent of his ability, trying to do only good and resisting temptation of all kinds in order to pursue his chosen path. When evil emerged around him it came in spite of his efforts, and the final collapse of his mission was inevitable.

The picture of Jesus that emerges from the four evangelists—properly focused—is quite different. Here we have an exceptionally able man who traveled and studied, one whose range of interest and experience was much greater than that of any of his disciples. This young man was familiar from his own school years, supplemented by further study and wide experience, with the teachings of the Pharisees, as well as with those of his near relative, John the Baptist. Matthew, the ex-Pharisee, was particularly interested in the use by Jesus of early rabbinic case law, corrected when too legalistic by application of the Torah and the ethical teachings of the Prophets. In Matthew we have a systematic effort to collect this material, often without too much attention to context or absolute consistency. In John we have the apostle's recollections of his first leader, John the Baptist, as well as of his second leader, Jesus. They were bound together into sermons whose warp was the common teaching of John the Baptist and Jesus. The resulting theology is that of Jesus, but in terms of the largely Essene vocabulary of John the Baptist. (See Appendix B.) There is no reason to doubt that Jesus used the same vocabulary on occasion, but in the gospel it is too consistently Essene in verbiage to be exclusively the very words of Jesus. There is no means of knowing exactly what words we owe to direct translation of Jesus' vocabulary, what to the Evangelist, and what to the "Elder." (See Appendix A.)

APPENDIX A

The Presbyter John

The article by C. Stewart Petrie, mentioned in Part XIII above, is valuable as further rehabilitation of Papias as a reliable source of information. However, it seems to us that in his anxiety to see justice done to Papias, he has gone beyond the evidence in suggesting that Eusebius was wrong, or even deliberately misleading, in his judgment of Papias. Eusebius affirms that Papias knew John the Elder, and that he was not an eyewitness of the apostles (*Historia Ecclesiastica* III. 39. 2). Irenaeus certainly claims that Papias was a hearer of the apostle John, but there is in reality no conflict between Irenaeus and Eusebius at this point. For Papias' present tense in "what Aristion and John the Elder were saying" must be taken at its face value. Papias may have been a hearer of John the Apostle, but for purposes of his statement, he says only that he was recording what Aristion and the Elder were saying when he began collecting his reminiscences.

Some observations are in order here about Papias' statement. It runs in our present text: ... *ha te Aristion kai ho presbuteros Ioannēs tou kuriou mathētai legousin*, "the things which Aristion and John the Elder, disciples of the Lord, were saying." But Aristion is totally unknown to us as a disciple, and had he been one for any length of time (such as to make him a definitive witness to the tradition), it is hard to imagine what circumstances could have kept him out of the record. However, if the Greek of Papias originally read ... *ho presbuteros Ioannēs <ou> tou kuriou mathētēs*, "... John the Elder <not> the disciple of the Lord," then we suggest that the whole context in Papias makes much more adequate sense. (Cf. in this connection John 14:22, *Ioudas ouch ho Iskariōtēs*, "Judas [not Iscariot].") The incidence of two *ou* endings in the two words preceding *mathētai* in our present text would more than account for the omission of *ou* (a third one), and once that omission had been made it would be necessary to make *mathētēs* a plural. If it is being said that John and Aristion were disciples of the Lord, it is odd (to say the least) that the unknown Aristion takes precedence over the apostle.

It is worth noting here that *Pirqê Abôth* has a chain of transmission of the Law similar to that outlined by Papias. *Pirqê Abôth* assumes that Josh 24:31 and Judg 2:7, in speaking of the elders who outlived Joshua and carried on the Mosaic tradition, are, so to speak, the third link in the chain Moses-Joshua-the elders. *Pirqê Abôth* describes the chain as Moses-Joshua-the elders-the prophets-the men of the Great Synagogue. Similarly, we appear to have in Papias, Jesus-the disciples-the elders.

John the Presbyter (or the Elder) is introduced to us in the salutation as author of II and III John, and it may well be that it was he of whom Papias speaks. For a discussion of this John, cf. Brown, *John*, i–xii, pp. LXXXVIII ff., and especially p. XCI.

APPENDIX B

The Gospel of John and Hermetic Literature

In 1953 Professor C. H. Dodd in his book, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge University Press, 1954), pp. 10–54, considered it possible that the gospel of John had been somewhat influenced by the Hermetic Corpus. This suggestion was carried further by Professor W. D. Davies in his *Invitation to the New Testament* (New York: Doubleday, 1966). At the time when Dodd wrote, he followed G. R. Driver's first view that the Dead Sea scrolls were very late and historically worthless, as he remarked in the Introduction to his book. He can scarcely be blamed for holding this view, since the late H. H. Rowley was then almost alone among British scholars in accepting their early date. (This was before Cecil Roth and Driver came to the conclusion that the Scrolls were actually much earlier—though they were still too late in their date, as subsequent discoveries have demonstrated.) Dodd later changed his opinion (briefly?) in private correspondence, but Davies followed his teacher in hesitating to connect the phraseology of John with the almost identical phraseology of the Qumran scrolls. (On this, see Brown, *John*, i–xii, pp. LVIII f.)

Two decades ago the Hermetic Corpus, even though extant almost entirely in late mediaeval and even later manuscripts, was believed to be early, and the earlier parts were dated by the leading recent authority, André Festugière, in the second-third centuries A.D., with a possibility that parts were even earlier. The vaguely similar atmosphere of some theological concepts of the Corpus Hermeticum and the gospel of John was exaggerated by both Dodd and Davies. Actually, the Hermetic writings were somewhat influenced by post-Johannine Gnostic writings, such as “The Apocryphon of John” (to be published by Martin Krause), which may have been composed as early as the late first or the early second century A.D.

Besides the mediaeval Corpus Hermeticum (André Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, 4 vols., 1949–54; text edited by A. D. Nock and André Festugière, 1946 [Paris: Libraire Lecoffre, 1955]), there is a Latin treatise of similar character (the *Asclepius*) preserved among the alleged books of Apuleius (second century A.D.), but the attribution to him is not accepted by contemporary scholars. (On the Hermetic treatises from Chenoboskion, see the survey by Jean Doresse, *Les livres secrets des Gnostiques de l'Égypte* [Paris: Librairie Plon, 1958], pp. 256–63, 279–80, and *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, tr. by Philip Mairé [New York: Viking, 1960], pp. 241–48; London: Hollis & Carter, 1960.) (A definitive edition of the new Hermetic material is expected at any moment from the expert hand of Martin Krause.)

The mediaeval Corpus contains a prayer which was called *Tabula Smaragdina*, rendered traditionally “Emerald Table,” but properly (green) jasper plaque. A very early form of this prayer is found in Treatise 25 of Chenoboskion. The Coptic treatise, which is related in part to the *Asclepius* (see above), says that the text of the prayer is to be written on plaques of jasper, defended by eight guardians, four with heads of frogs and four with heads of cats. The reference to the eight animal-headed figures naturally refers to the Ogdoad of Thoth at Hermopolis Magna. Nothing is said about these animal-headed divinities from Egyptian mythology in later Hermetic literature. In our earliest Egyptian sources there were eight divinities which together formed the Ogdoad, divided into two groups of creatures with frogs’ heads and serpents’ heads. Many centuries later, in the Nineteenth Dynasty, they appear in Egyptian syncretism as four male and four female baboons (cf., for instance, the tomb of Sethos I at Thebes). Apparently the cats’ heads were a misunderstanding of the “dog-heads,” Egyptian baboons (*Papio cynocephalus*). For the symbolism in question see the material collected by R. T. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames, 1959), p. 55 and *passim*; New York: Grove, 1960. It is perfectly clear that the description of the jasper plaque in the Chenoboskion papyri is itself very late, probably fourth century A.D., when there was no longer an accurate memory of the details of Egyptian mythological iconography. Furthermore, there are too many references in the Hermetic treatises from Chenoboskion to permit any doubt that in the Ogdoad and Ennead there are authentic survivals from Egyptian mythology (confused with the astrological Hebdomad), but that little precise information was available when the Hermetic treatises of Chenoboskion were composed. Since the documents are written on papyrus in fourth-century A.D. book hand, they must have been copied in that century. The surprising lack of exact information about Egyptian religion makes it highly unlikely that their composition was any earlier than that same fourth century A.D. But the treatises of the Corpus Hermeticum do not mention these Egyptian mythological representations at all, and they also contain even less reference to pagan Egyptian ideas as well as to Gnostic speculations than we find in the new papyrus codices. In fact, the mediaeval Corpus Hermeticum is permeated with Neoplatonic and specifically Christian ideas (especially post-Johannine). It follows that there is no longer any solid basis for dating any of the previously known Corpus Hermeticum as early as the second or third century A.D., at least in its preserved form. This fits in extremely well with the fact, known to later Greek compilers of bibliographic data, that among the leading writers on alchemy (to which the Corpus Hermeticum was increasingly devoted) were such figures as Synesius and Zosimus. There has been a general tendency

in recent decades to distinguish the “alchemists” Synesius and Zosimus from the well-known polymath, bishop of Cyrene and pupil of Hypatia, and the eminent historian (the first half of the fifth century for Zosimus, and 360[?]-414 for Synesius).

When we bear in mind that Bishop Synesius was himself a Neoplatonist who emphasized the unity of nature like the alchemists and wrote treatises on oneiromancy, astronomy, etc., it should become rather evident that the partly demythologized and neo-platonized Corpus Hermeticum has a later background than the pseudo-Egyptian gnosticizing hermeticism of the new codices.

As for Zosimus, “the Theban,” there is no good reason why he cannot be identified with the Egyptian-born historian who was so well informed about the wars of Emperor Aurelian with Palmyra. Zosimus finished his “Decline of Rome” after A.D. 425; the later treatises on the letters *Omega*, *Kappa* and *Iota* are often attributed to a “Pseudo-Zosimus,” or “Zosimus Alchemista.” They show an extraordinary mixture of pagan, Jewish and Gnostic names and myths (cf. Doresse, *Secret Books of Egyptian Gnostics*, pp. 99–101, 278, Eng. ed.). It must again be emphasized that there is no good reason to distinguish him from the historian—after all, the greatest scientific genius of modern times, Sir Isaac Newton, hoped to end his career by salvaging as much alchemy as possible. Our attestation of the earliest compositions in the mediaeval Corpus is really no earlier than the fifth century A.D., and the less said about dependence of the gospel of John upon them, the better.

In short, we may safely dismiss modern “critical” scholarly judgments about the figures in question and may date the development of the later Corpus Hermeticum well after the fourth century A.D., when the codices of Chenoboskion were copied. It then becomes impossible to explain anything in John’s gospel as derived from the Corpus Hermeticum.

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This bibliography represents an attempt to provide suitable material for general readers and does not claim to be exhaustive.

In the course of the last thirty years attention has been paid to Luke-Acts and to John, with continuing work on Mark, to the almost total neglect of Matthew. The search to discover some kind of *Sitz im Leben* for Luke-Acts has been relentlessly pursued, and all kinds of suggestions, probable and improbable, have been made on the basis of the Lukan material. Some of this has been valuable, but none of it has so far faced the outstanding (and in some ways fundamental) question: Why were gospels written at all? To answer it by pointing to an expected early *parousia* (a coming of Jesus in glory, in contrast to the humility of the ministry) does not meet the case at all. For if the early Christian community was anxiously awaiting a return of Jesus to this earth, and this time in recognizable glory and at a very early date, then it is hard to see what motives can have led evangelists to commit the record of the ministry to writing. Similarly, suggestions that the character of our gospel material was dictated by the demands of a lectionary (of a type still unknown outside the gospels) goes far beyond what evidence we have. The primary purpose of narration in the gospels was theological. That is to say, our gospels were compiled around accepted oral tradition concerning the advent of Israel's expected Messiah. The variety of messianic expectation in the time of Jesus, and in the century immediately preceding his ministry, provided enough reason to make the record as accurate as possible in the face of possible misrepresentation and even manipulation. That this latter danger was only too real can be readily seen in later gnosticizing works and in the apocryphal gospels.

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Neill, Stephen C. *The Interpretation of the New Testament, 1861–1961*. Oxford University Press, 1964. This is invaluable for the reader who wishes to know the way in which NT scholarship has developed in the century under review.

II. THE NEW TESTAMENT SOURCES

- Knox, W. L. *The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels*, ed. H. Chadwick. 2 vols. Cambridge University Press, 1953, 1957. Knox will be remembered by all NT scholars for his painstaking work on the early Church as seen in Acts and the Pauline letters. It is no disparagement of the author's great learning to indicate here that recent archaeological research, together with continuing work on the material from Qumran and elsewhere, has called many of his conclusions in question.
- Kümmel, W. G., ed. *Introduction to the New Testament*, 14th rev. ed. of Paul Feine and Johannes Behm, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Heidelberg; Quelle & Meyer, 1965) tr. by A. J. Mattill, Jr. London: SCM / New York and Nashville: Abingdon, 1966. The great value of this book lies in the very full bibliography, and although the authors of this commentary would wish to dissent from many of the views in Kümmel's work, it is an outstanding work of source material for the student of the New Testament.
- Moule, C. F. D. *The Birth of the New Testament*, 2d ed. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1965. This book, for all its comparative brevity, is exemplary in its caution and in its treatment of historical evidence. It is marked by a precision on one hand, and a lack of guesswork on the other, which set it apart from a good deal of current NT writing.
- *The Phenomenon of the New Testament*. London: SCM, 1967. This short work will give the general reader an insight into what prompted the early Christians to give expression to their faith in the form which we now know as the New Testament.
- Sanders, E. P. *The Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition*. Cambridge University Press, 1969. It is doubtful if what has come to be called "the Synoptic Problem" will ever be fully resolved. This work will be found especially useful to the student of the NT who wishes to be kept informed of some of the current debates on the question.
- Stendahl, Krister, ed. *The Scrolls and the New Testament*. New York: Harper, 1957; London: SCM, 1958. The quantity of literature on the Dead Sea scrolls proliferates at an almost alarming rate. It is a tribute to the authors of the articles in this volume that the work still stands as one of the best summaries available of the links between the Qumran scrolls and the New Testament.
- Streeter, B. H. *The Four Gospels*. London: Macmillan, 1924, rev. ed., 1930. In spite of the fact that much has been written since Streeter's book, it is fair to say that hardly any book on NT sources can be found which does not at some point refer to it. But cf.

Aland, Kurt, "The Significance of the Papyri for Progress in New Testament Research," in *The Bible in Modern Scholarship*, ed. James Philip Hyatt (New York and Nashville: Abingdon, 1965), pp. 337 ff.

Taylor, Vincent. *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition*. London: Macmillan, 1933. It is still possible, after all these years, to commend Taylor's book as being the most easily understood scholarly statement of the way in which our gospels may have achieved their present form.

It is necessary to indicate here that what has come to be called "the Synoptic Problem" is matter for almost endless debate among NT scholars. No attempt will be made here to guide the reader through what has become a veritable jungle of speculation. All that we can usefully do here is to refer the general reader to the indispensable

Synopsis of the First Three Gospels, 9th ed., eds. Albert Huck and Hans Lietzmann, in conjunction for the Eng. ed. with F. L. Cross. Oxford University Press, 1957. To this we add two books which tackle the problem from quite different angles:

Farmer, W. R. *The Synoptic Problem*. New York: Macmillan, 1964. de Solages, Bruno. *A Greek Synopsis of the Gospels*, translated from the French by J. Baissus. Leiden: Brill, 1959.

For readers with a knowledge of German and NT Greek, there are two indispensable works in dealing with the New Testament generally and (for our purposes) Matthew in particular. They are:

Kittel, Gerhard et al., eds. *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (abbr. TWNT). Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933–. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley as *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–. For the serious student of the New Testament, Kittel's work is of capital importance. However, not infrequently the theological predilections (not to mention the confessional positions) of the individual contributors are allowed to color what should be an unbiased philological analysis. It is further regrettable that the progress of knowledge since 1933 has not been reflected by publishing supplementary studies bringing the contents up to date.

Strack, H. L., and P. Billerbeck. *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (abbr. StB). Six volumes. Munich: Beck, 1922–61. It is necessary to exercise some caution in using rabbinic parallels to gospel material as presented in [StB](#), [since the reader must often discover for himself that the parallels quoted](#) sometimes belong to Jewish sources long posterior to the New Testament.

III. ON MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

This bibliography has already called attention to the comparative dearth of recent work on Matthew. We list here only a few books specifically on this gospel.

Allen, W. H. *The Gospel According to St. Matthew*, International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner, 1907. Although this work is dated, the student of the New Testament comes back to it time and again, impressed with the author's erudition, caution, and (for his time) perspicacity as to NT sources and tradition. It remains the most valuable commentary on this gospel in English which we possess.

Butler, B. C. *The Originality of St. Matthew: A Critique of the Two-Document Hypothesis*. Cambridge University Press, 1951. The learned author has more than once been accused of special pleading. It must be said, however, that whatever its defects, the book does effectively challenge the common views as to the priority of Mark.

Kilpatrick, G. D. *The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew*. Oxford University Press, 1946. We include this book because it represents an imaginative attempt, before the discovery of the Dead Sea scrolls, to give some account of the way in which this gospel might be thought to have taken shape.

Stendahl, Krister. *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament*. Lund: Gleerup, 1954. It is doubtful whether this work has ever received the recognition which it rightly deserves. The author has not only put us in his debt with a very rich bibliography, but has also set Matthew firmly against the background of Jewish life and thought in the mid-first century A.D.

Since it is often asked where a good one-volume commentary on the whole Bible may be found, we suggest two:

Brown, Raymond E., Joseph A. Fitzmeyer, and Roland E. Murphy, *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968.

Lowther Clarke, W. K. *One Volume [U. S., Concise] Bible Commentary*. London: SPCK, 1952; New York: Macmillan, 1953. The first has taken full account of recent work on the Dead Sea scrolls; the second has the merit of being the work of one author throughout.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS WORKS ON PARTICULAR THEMES

It will be obvious that much of the content of our Introduction, Parts VI–VIII, is sympathetic to the views expressed by Günther Bornkamm in *Überlieferung und Auslegung im Matthäusevangelium* (Neukirchen, 1960), tr. by Peter Scott as *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, eds. Günther Bornkamm, Gerhard Barth, and H. J. Held. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963; London: SCM, 1964.

Moore, A. L. *The Parousia in the New Testament*. Leiden: Brill, 1966. The whole theme of the “coming” of Jesus (*parousia*) is so interwoven throughout the New Testament that it is not possible to do justice to the books of the New Testament without treating it very seriously indeed. Moore’s work is one of the latest dealing with this subject. It has the merit of a very full bibliography. It will be plain from the commentary that the authors of this present work would dissent from many of Moore’s conclusions.

There is currently much interest in Jesus’ own understanding of himself and his ministry. Two recent studies are valuable here:

Brown, Raymond E., “How Much Did Jesus Know?” [CBQ 29](#) (1967), 315–45, and in *Jesus: God and Man*. Milwaukee: Bruce, 1967.

Fuller, Reginald H., “The Clue to Jesus’ Self-Understanding,” in [StEv, III, No. 2 \(1964\), pp. 58–67](#).

Material on the Kingdom in Matthew is almost without limit. We here call attention to a recent article to demonstrate that there is still room for a good deal of argument about Matthew’s understanding of the Kingdom:

Walker, William O., Jr., “The Kingdom of the Son of Man and the Kingdom of the Father in Matthew,” *CBQ* 30 (1968), 573–79.

Works on the miracle stories continue to proliferate. There is now available a massive study of the miracle narratives which examines the narratives from every angle, including the medical and the psychological. Among these is van der Loos, H. *The Miracles of Jesus*. Leiden: Brill, 1968.

No bibliography would be complete without referring to two works of Joachim Jeremias which have bearing on this gospel:

The Parables of Jesus, tr. by S. H. Hooke from the German 6th ed. of *Die Gleichnisse Jesu*, Göttingen, 1962. New York: Scribner / London: SCM, 1963.

The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, tr. by Norman Perrin from the German 3d ed. rev. of *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu*, Göttingen, 1964. New York: Scribner / London: SCM, 1965.

Nothing illustrates better the contrast between the skepticism of some scholars

and the objectivity of others than the current debate about the term “Son of Man.” For example:

Tödt, H. E. *Der Menschensohn in der synoptischen Überlieferung*, 2d ed. (Gütersloh, 1963), tr. by D. M. Barton as *The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition*. London: SCM / Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965. This work is characterized by an almost complete skepticism as to the genuineness of sayings of Jesus about the “Son of Man.” With it, compare:

Jeremias, Joachim, “Die älteste Schicht der Menschensohn-Logien,” [ZNW 58 \(1967\), 159–72](#).

Maddox, Robert. “The Function of the Son of Man according to the Synoptic Gospels,” [NTS 15 \(1968\), 65–69](#). [This is a refreshing contrast to much study on this topic, in that the author is prepared to see the](#) title as being functional, and is therefore quite open to the suggestion that Jesus himself could well have used the term in a variety of ways, all of which are reflected in our sources.

Fitzmyer, J., *The “Genesis Apocryphon” of Qumran Cave I*. Rome, Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966. Our indebtedness to this work, by an outstanding scholar in the field of Qumran Studies, will be plain both in the Introduction and in the course of the commentary.

The following may be unreservedly commended to the general reader:

Avi-Yonah, Michael. *Illustrated World of the Bible Library*, Vol. V, *The New Testament*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961.

——— and Emil Kraeling. *Our Living Bible*. London: Olbourne Press, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.

Considering the volume of recent publication in German, or in translation from the German, some surprise may be expressed that so little of it is mentioned here or in the body of the commentary. The fact is that during the past fifty years a steadily increasing proportion of German NT scholarship has been devoted to “existentialist” and related types of exegesis, which almost wholly disregard the canons of historical judgment accepted as a matter of course in other historical fields.

A most useful summary of source material for the study of Matthew will be found in

Martin, Ralph P., “St. Matthew’s Gospel in Recent Study,” [ET 80 \(1969\), 132–35](#).

There are references to other books and articles throughout the commentary. It is hoped that what has been provided will stimulate the interested reader of the New Testament to make his own way through the bibliographies provided in the works we have mentioned.

V. GREEK TEXTS

Three principal Greek texts were employed in the preparation of the commentary:

The Greek New Testament: Being the Text Translated in the New English Bible, 1961, ed. by R. V. G. Tasker. London and New York: Oxford and Cambridge University Presses, 1964.

The Greek New Testament: (Edition of the American Bible Society) ed. by Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Bruce M. Metzger, and Allen Wikgren. New York, 1965.

Novum Testamentum graece, ed. Alexander Souter, 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947.

MATTHEW

1. THE GENEALOGY OF JESUS

(1:1–17)[†]

1 ¹ The list of the ancestry of Jesus-Messiah, son of David, son of Abraham.

² Abraham was the father of Isaac, Isaac of Jacob, and Jacob was father of Judah and his brothers. ³ Judah was the father of Perez and Zerah (by Tamar) and Perez fathered Hezron, who was the father of Ram. ⁴ Ram was father of Amminadab, Amminadab of Nahshon, while Nahshon was father of Salmon. ⁵ Salmon fathered Boaz (by Rahab), Boaz was father of Obed (by Ruth), Obed was the father of Jesse, who was the father of King David.

⁶ David was father of Solomon, by the wife of Uriah, ⁷ and Solomon fathered Rehoboam. Rehoboam was the father of Abijah, who was father of Asa. ⁸ Asa was the father of Jehoshaphat, Jehoshaphat of Joram, Joram being father of Uzziah. ⁹ Uzziah was the father of Jotham, Jotham of Ahaz, and Ahaz was the father of Hezekiah. ¹⁰ Hezekiah was father of Manasseh, Manasseh fathered Amon, who was the father of Josiah. ¹¹ Josiah was the father of Jechoniah and his brothers, at the time of the deportation to Babylon.

¹² After the deportation to Babylon, Jechoniah fathered Shealtiel, who was father of Zerubbabel. ¹³ Zerubbabel was the father of Abiud, who was father of Eliakim, and Eliakim was the father of Azor. ¹⁴ Azor fathered Zadok, who was the father of Achim, who in turn was father of

Eliud; ¹⁵ Eliud was the father of Eleazar, Eleazar of Matthan, and Matthan of Jacob. ¹⁶ Jacob was the father of Joseph, husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus who is called Messiah, ¹⁷ So there were in all fourteen generations from Abraham to David, fourteen from David to the Babylonian Exile, and fourteen from the Babylonian Exile to the Messiah.

NOTES

1:1 (Mark 1:1).

1:1. The Greek words *biblos geneseōs* can carry a number of possible translations, and our own “genealogy” is but one. As it stands, it occurs in [LXX](#) at [Gen 2:4, 5:1](#), while *geneseis* is frequently employed to denote “descendants” in Genesis. But for the first readers of Matthew, it called attention also to the birth (*genesis*) not only of Jesus, but of the whole new order to which that birth gave rise.

Jesus. The word is the Greek rendering of a well-known Hebrew name. It was *Yahōshû* first, then by inner Hebrew phonetic change it became *Yōshûa*, and by a still later northern dialectal shift, *Yeshûa*. The first element, *Yāhū* (=Yahweh) means “the Lord,” while the second comes from *shûa* ‘ “To help, save.” The most probable meaning is “O Lord, save.”

Messiah. By the time of the later Pauline letters, the [Gr](#) *Christos* (=The Anointed One) was on the way to becoming a proper name instead of a title; it meant little, as a title, to those without a Jewish background. We have consistently translated the word as “Messiah.” In this instance we have hyphenated the phrase as *Jesus-Messiah*. In this period the [Aram](#) *mešīhā* could equally well mean “a Messiah” or “the Messiah,” since the affixed definite article *ā* came to be used for both definite and indefinite nouns. See Fitzmyer, *The “Genesis Apocryphon” of Qumran Cave 1*, p. 200, concerning the varying usage of the Aramaic article just before the time of Christ.

son of David. G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1930), pp. 319 ff., may also be consulted on this. It was suggested by Yehezkel Kaufmann (“The Messianic Idea: The Real and the Hidden Son of David,” *El Ha’ayin* 5 [1961]), that after the Babylonian Exile the tradition grew that messiahs were sons-of-David “not because they were descended from David, but were sons-of-David because they were messiahs.” The same author goes on to suggest that the revelation of a messiah would carry with it a revelation also of lost genealogical information. But Kaufmann’s view was developed before the Dead Sea scrolls were adequately assimilated by scholars, and in the light of the Qumran material his view must be regarded as merely speculative. There would, moreover, be many families of Davidic descent in first-century Judea wholly unaware of their lineage, though others would have clung tenaciously to the tradition.

son of Abraham. Apart from the emphasis given in the Testament of Levi 8 to the descent of the Messiah from Abraham, the appellation has further significance. For all the stress in Matthew on the mission of Jesus to Israel, it was through Abraham that *all* the families of the earth were to be blessed ([Gen 12:3](#)), an idea which finds expression in [28:19](#). It was developed extensively by Paul ([Rom 4–11](#); [Gal 3–4](#)) in defending the status of Gentile Christians as fellow heirs of God’s promises.

The genealogy makes use of the OT insofar as that served:

vs. 2 = [1 Chron 1:34; 2:1](#)

vs. 3 = [1 Chron 2:4, 5, 9](#)

vss. 4–6 = [1 Chron 2:10–13, 3:5, 10–15](#)

vs. 12 = (i.e., down to Zerubbabel) [1 Chron 3:17–19](#)

vss. 13–16 contain names otherwise not known to us in Scripture, but they are names well enough known from Jewish sources of the Hellenistic period, including an increasing number of Aramaic documents. The names are intermediate in character, and in part resemble names in the Edfu papyri (third century B.C.), the names of the translators of the [LXX](#) in the Letter of Aristeas, Josephus, Aramaic papyri, and ossuary inscriptions of the first century A.D.

Whatever may have been the original language of Matthew as it was first committed to writing, quotations from the OT in the Greek of the [LXX](#) occur. It would seem, however, on the basis of fragments (still mostly unpublished) from the Dead Sea, that what we mainly have in biblical quotations in Matthew is an old Palestinian recension related to the Lucianic text (cf. F. M. Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran* [New York: Doubleday, 1958], pp. 124 ff.).

1. 2–6 ([Luke 3:31–34](#)).

2. *Jacob*. The Hebrew of 1 Chron 1:34 has *Israel*.

3. The mention of *Zerah* (in its LXX form of *Zara*) and *Tamar*, names which have no function in the genealogy, suggests that the author, or an editor, had the LXX in front of him. LXX forms are used for *Hezron* (*Hesrōm*) and *Ram* (*Haram*, 1 Chron 2:9).

4. LXX forms (*Naassōn* and *Aminadab* from 1 Chron 2:10–11) are used for *Nahshon* and *Amminadab*.

5. *Rahab* is given as *Rachab* by Matthew, which is not an LXX form, but which does occur in Josephus (*Antiquities*, V. 8, 11, 15) as *hē Rachabē* or *Raabē*, indicating the change of pronunciation which was beginning in the time of Josephus. LXX forms are used, however, for *Obed* and *Jesse* (*Iobēd* and *Iessai*).

6–7. LXX forms occur here for *Solomon* (*Solomōn*), *Uriah* (*Ouriou*), and *Rehoboam* (*Roboam*).

8–9. *Joram being father of Uzziah*.... It is sometimes said by commentators that Matthew omits three kings (*Ahaziah*, *Joash*, and *Amaziah*) for the purpose of tidying up his pattern of three “fourteens.” This is not so, however. The evangelist here follows the LXX I Chronicles, which declares (3:11) that *Joram* was the father of *Uzziah*. Matthew continues, *Uzziah was the father of Jotham*, and the LXX has *Joash his son*, *Amaziah his son*, *Azariah his son*, *Jotham his son*. As a result, Matthew has omitted *not* *Ahaziah* (=LXX *Ozeias*), but *Joash*, *Amaziah*, and *Azariah* (=Uzziah). The reason for this can be found in the LXX, 1 Chron 3:11, where the son of *Joram* is called *Ozeia*. Generally, the LXX has *Ochozeias* (in Hebrew, *Ahaziah*), and *Ozeia*=Uzziah (cf. 2 Chron 26:3 ff.). If, therefore, *Ozeia* in 1 Chron 3:11 is a mistake, it would be natural enough in copying the text to assume that *Ozeia*=Uzziah and so pass on to Uzziah’s son *Jotham*, thus omitting three intervening kings by a familiar scribal error known as *homoiooteleuton*. It is more than likely that this present genealogy in Greek, with its notes on “fourteen generations,” belongs to an editor assimilating Matthew’s list to the LXX record.

11. *and his brothers* seems to have been recorded here in line with the list of *Jehoiakim*’s brothers in 1 Chron 3:15. As it stands, however, the verse is clearly impossible, because *Jehoiakim* (1 Chron 3:15) has been omitted, and it means that in the third division there are but thirteen names, beginning with *Shealtiel*. It can only be presumed that *Jechoniah* (1 Chron 3:16) is here an alternative for king *Jehoiakim*, and—as we have suggested—and *his brothers* is due to assimilation from 1 Chron 3:15, where the names of *Jehoiakim*’s brothers are given.

12. =1 Chron 3:17.

How dependent the present form of the genealogy is on the LXX can be demonstrated here. The Hebrew text has *Zerubbabel* as the son of *Pedaiah* (1 Chron 3:19), whereas the LXX has him as son of *Shealtiel*. *Zerubbabel* has apparently been confused with his cousin.

13–15. For the names included in this section, the author was dependent on sources which we do not possess. See NOTE on vs. 1. We have ten names covering over five hundred years, so it is only a fragmentary report. There must have been roughly twice as many names. The names themselves have probably been transmitted correctly; the first six names for the early post-Exilic period are names otherwise attested for that time, and the last four names are characteristic names of the last two centuries B.C. Since there is no trace of the usual *papponymy* (naming of a son after his grandfather), it follows that some such names may have been dropped from the list in oral transmission. The name *Azor* belongs to a common type of shortened form (*hypocoristicon*) of a name like *Eleazar* or *Azariah*. *Achim* is still obscure.

16–17. The genealogy comes to its climax with the birth of *Jesus*. Modern attempts to find deliberate traces of numerology in the compilation of this ancestry list, in addition to those of the editor in vs. 17, are often ingenious and frequently interesting. They are not, however, susceptible of proof, even when one goes so far as to point to the consonantal value of *David*’s name in Hebrew being fourteen as supporting evidence. Pleas for “six weeks of generations” and the like belong to what has been called the “desk mind” rather than to verifiable historical research. Equally unconvincing is the suggestion that the genealogy can be viewed as reaching one climax in *David*, declining to the *Babylonian Exile*, and then climbing to its highest ascent in *Jesus the Messiah*.

COMMENT

In the first section Matthew's purpose is to demonstrate who Jesus is: the Messiah, God's anointed representative, the expected King. He is also son of David, of the royal house of Judah by descent. Finally, he is son of Abraham, through whom God had promised that he would bless all the families of the earth (Gen 12:3). Beginning with vs. 18 (our §2), Matthew goes on to declare that Jesus was miraculously conceived in the womb of Mary through the agency of the Holy Spirit.

We have no good reason to doubt that this genealogy was transmitted in good faith. There are certainly considerable gaps in its scheme, and there are names which are not known to us from the OT record (vss. 13–15). But the genealogy begins with Abraham, the father of the Jewish people, and the evangelist uses the OT material insofar as this assists his tradition. The inclusion of four women, however, at least three of whom were considered to be Gentiles, and who might otherwise be excluded from such a genealogy (Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Uriah's wife), indicates that what we have is no mere conventional genealogy, but one which a Jewish Christian would only have used because tradition compelled him to do so. Such inclusions may also indicate that the evangelist's tradition saw these women (in their capacity as instruments of God's providence) as forerunners of Mary.

What we read in this genealogy is what the evangelist's tradition told him about Jesus, a tradition seen in the light of Israel's history. What precise historical basis there was for this genealogy is not open to our inspection; but it would be rash to dismiss lightly genealogies of the probable period in which Matthew's gospel was written.

Any extensive treatment of the genealogy in Luke's gospel (Luke 3:23–38) belongs to a commentary on that gospel, but some attention must be paid to it here. Both Matthew and Luke claim Davidic descent for Jesus through Joseph, while both at the same time affirm that the conception and birth of Jesus were virginal and miraculous. Equally, both claim that this Jesus is to be equated with a pre-existent "Son of Man" and also with the child born at Bethlehem. There are divergencies, however. Matthew (1:6) derives the Davidic ancestry through Solomon the king, son of David, while Luke's genealogy traces the ancestry through Nathan—also son of David. The two genealogies coincide again with Shealtiel and Zerubbabel (Matt 1:12, 13; cf. Luke 3:27, 28). Luke also has more names from the period of the Exile onwards, and so provides a more probable number of generations than does Matthew's genealogy for this period of time. The OT material in Luke from Terah onwards (Luke 3:35–38) is not used by

Matthew.

What is being established in both genealogies is a claim to legitimate Davidic ancestry, even though later Jesus himself is represented as dismissing the Davidic ancestry as of little moment (cf. Matt 22:41–46 in COMMENT on our §81). That there is *formal* inconsistency here is not to be doubted: both evangelists claiming Davidic descent through Joseph, while at the same time giving us a tradition of virginal conception and birth. To make charges of dishonesty or to impugn the motives of the writers is—at this remove of time—perilous. Allowing for the very tenacious traditions with respect to ancestry among Jews at the time of Jesus, we are certainly entitled to say that both evangelists were faithfully recording the traditions which they had received, whatever the inconsistencies.

2. THE BIRTH OF JESUS

(1:18–25)[†]

1 ¹⁸The birth of Jesus-Messiah happened like this: When his mother Mary had been betrothed to Joseph, and before they came together, she was found to be pregnant by the Holy Spirit. ¹⁹ Joseph her husband, being a man of character, and unwilling to shame her, wished to divorce her secretly. ²⁰ But as he agonized about this, a divine messenger appeared to him in a dream, and said: “Joseph, son of David, do not be afraid to take Mary as your wife, for what is conceived in her is through the Holy Spirit ²¹ She will bear a son, and you shall call his name Jesus, because he will save his people from their sins.”²² All this happened so as to fulfill what the Lord had said through the prophet:

²³ See, the virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel (which means, God is with us). ²⁴ When Joseph had awakened from sleep he did the messenger’s bidding and took his wife. ²⁵ However, he had no marital relations with her until she had borne a son. He named him Jesus.

NOTES

1:18. Some late manuscripts and patristic sources omit *Jesus* before *the Messiah*. All early manuscripts and church fathers keep it.

betrothed to Joseph. In the Law (Deut 22:13 ff.) betrothal was a far more binding step than is our custom of engagement before marriage, and the penalty for fornication with one person while betrothed to another was death for both guilty parties. Cf. vs. 19, where Joseph is described as *her husband*, and vs. 20, where the Greek can be translated “Do not be afraid to take Mary your wife”—i.e., into your home.

(*the*) *Holy Spirit* (cf. also vs. 20). In Aramaic at this time there was no differentiation between the definite and the indefinite article. The absence of the definite article in Greek at this point is therefore not significant. The Spirit as the agent of God’s creative act is the explanation which Matthew gives here of Mary’s pregnancy (cf. Gen 1:2; Psalm 104:30), and which Joseph understands in his dream (vs. 20).

19. Joseph’s dedication to the Law is indicated in his description as *dikaïos*. Contemporary usage in Josephus shows that the Greek means “one obedient to the commands of God, an upright man, a man of character.” He decides to divorce Mary secretly—i.e., in the presence of chosen witnesses, without public scandal. *Deigmatizai* (to shame, or disgrace) occurs in the NT only here and at Col 2:15.

20. Only direct revelation, here in a dream, will indicate what is hidden in the purpose of God. Cf. 11:27, 16:7. For further examples of acts of revelation through dreams in Matthew, cf. 2:12, 13, 19, 22, 27:19.

divine messenger. Unless there is plain and inescapable evidence of a visitation by a heavenly being, an “angel,” we have translated the Gr. *angelos* by “messenger,” which is of course the actual meaning of the Greek. It is worth bearing in mind that in the majority of the cases in which “angels” have appeared to men in the Bible, they have been assumed by the beholders to be human beings.

do not be afraid.... According to Jewish law, the betrothal and the taking of the bride to the bridegroom’s house were the two parts, the beginning and the ending, of the legal process of marriage.

the Holy Spirit. See NOTE on vs. 18.

Jesus, ... from their sins. See NOTE on vs. 1.

22.... *so as to fulfill*. This is the first instance of Matthew’s fulfillment formula, *hina plērōthē*. On its importance, see Part IV of the Introduction. The formula, in varying words, occurs nine times in Matthew: 2:15, 17, 23, 4:14, 8:17, 12:17, 13:35, 21:4 (cf. 26:56), 27:9.

23. *the virgin*. The quotation is from Isa 7:14 and is given in the Greek of the LXX, with the substitution of *they shall call for you* (singular) *shall call*. The Greek is (uniquely) *parthenos*, “virgin,” for the Hebrew *‘almah*, “girl.” It is possible on some views that Isaiah was using mythological terms current in his own time to demonstrate an expected deliverer’s birth. The LXX translators would appear to have so understood the passage, and only later did Greek translations of the Hebrew appear with the word one would expect, *neanis*, “young maiden” instead of *parthenos*.

Emmanuel ... God is with us. The sense is of God’s active vindication of his people (cf. Ps 46:7, 11). The theme of “recapitulation” in Matthew (see Part IV of the Introduction) finds its proper commentary on this verse at Matt 28:20.

24. *awakened from sleep* (Gk. *egertheis*, literally “raised up”). On this word, as a Semitic usage, see Dalman, *Words*, pp. 23, 36.

25. *However, he had no marital relations with her*. The Greek imperfect *eginōsken* (literally “did not know her”) would appear to militate against the tradition of Mary’s perpetual virginity. The verse is commonly cited by Protestants to indicate that Mary had other children, by Joseph. It has been common tradition in both Eastern and Western Christendom since at least the fourth century that Mary was virgin both before and after the birth of Jesus.

One factor is worth mentioning here. One of the men named as a brother of Jesus (Matt 13:56) is called Joseph. While it was certainly not unknown for sons to be named after their fathers, it was at the same time uncommon. There may thus be some grounds for the view that those described as “brothers and sisters” of Jesus were near relatives (cousins, according to Jerome) and not the children of Joseph and Mary.

COMMENT

The author, from his genealogy linking Abraham and David with the Messiah, has led his readers to expect an unusual birth narrative, and this he proceeds to give. The evangelist's tradition had two elements in it: (a) Jesus was the Messiah, and so he was son of David; (b) Jesus was conceived and born in a wholly miraculous manner, being conceived and born of a virgin without human intervention. Matthew gives expression to the facts as he found them in his tradition, and makes no attempt to reconcile them.

The first part, (a), has been briefly examined already. The second is not open to historical investigation, and we are not called upon to enter realms of faith or theology in a commentary of this nature. Some comment is, however, inescapable.

(a) All through the genealogy, *egennēsen* denotes legal inheritance and descent, not physical. The evangelist could only deal with his material by assuming that Mary's husband was the *legal* father of Jesus.

(b) The tradition of the virgin birth was known to Luke, and also—on one legitimate reading of the Greek—to John (John 1:13). It was well known as a polemical battleground in the time of Origen, ca. A.D. 185?–?254 (*Contra Celsum* ii 28, 32, 33, 39), and was also so known to Justin Martyr (106?–?165). Ignatius of Antioch (ca. 112) took the tradition for granted, as did Aristides, (ca. 140). Rendel Harris, in his edition of the *Apology* of Aristides, remarks that "... at that period the virginity of Mary was a part of formulated Christian belief." Additional evidence is also to be found in the *Didache* but there is considerable dispute as to the date and importance of this document; we ourselves can only say that we are convinced the work is almost certainly to be dated in the second half of the first century.

(c) The genealogy is certainly no proof that there is an attempt being made by the evangelist to exalt to quasi-divine status the naturally born son of Joseph and Mary. There is not the slightest indication that the genealogy was ever a separate document apart from the gospel; indeed, that genealogy paves the way for vss. 18–25 by informing us that Mary was betrothed to the Joseph of vs. 16.

(d) A Jewish Christian such as Matthew could only deal faithfully with his traditions and set them down as he knew them. If this procedure tells us nothing of the validity of the traditions, it at least tells us something significant about the honesty of an evangelist dealing with what he knew would cause speculation and scandal.

(e) The description of Jesus as "Son of Mary" in Mark 6:3 is possible evidence for a custom known to rabbinic sources of a man being named as "of

his mother” when the father was unknown (cf. [TB](#) *Yebamoth* iv 13, which speaks of this custom as applied to “the natural son of a wedded wife”).

There is a good short discussion of the whole question of the place of the virgin birth in Christian tradition in Reginald H. Fuller’s “The Virgin Birth: Historical Fact or Kerygmatic Truth?” *Biblical Research* 1 (1957), 1–8. The reader is warned, however, that the literature on the subject is legion and covers every possible angle. The search on the part of some NT scholars for real or supposed Hellenistic parallels to the tradition of a supernatural birth can be set alongside the sobriety of David Daube’s investigation of a similar Jewish legend about Moses (cf. his *New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, pp. 5 ff.).

3. THE VISIT OF THE MAGI (2:1–12)

2 ¹ When Jesus was born at Bethlehem of Judah in the time of King Herod, magi came from the east to Jerusalem. ² “Where,” they asked, “is the one who has been born as king of the Jews? For we have seen his star at its rising and we have come to pay him homage.”

³ When King Herod heard this he was disturbed, and the whole of Jerusalem with him. ⁴ Having assembled all the chief priests and the scribes of the people, he asked them, “Where is the Messiah to be born?” ⁵ They replied to him, “In Bethlehem of Judah. For it is so written by the prophet:

⁶ ‘And you, Bethlehem, in the country of Judah, are by no means least among the rulers of Judah; for out of you shall come a ruler who will govern my people Israel.’ ”

⁷ Then Herod secretly summoned the magi and established from them the time of the appearing of the star. He sent them to Bethlehem with the words ⁸ “Go and search very carefully for the child. When you have found him, tell me, so that I too may come and pay him homage.” ⁹ Having listened to the king, they went on their way. The star which they had seen at its rising went before them until it came to rest over the place where the little child was. ¹⁰ Seeing this star, they were joyful with great gladness. ¹¹ On coming into the house they saw the little child with Mary his mother, and prostrating

themselves they paid him homage. They opened their treasures and presented gifts to him—gold, incense, and myrrh. ¹² Having been warned in a dream not to return to Herod, they left for their own country by another way.

NOTES

2:1. When Jesus was born at Bethlehem. The actual birth of Jesus is dealt with in this gospel by a simple Greek construction of two words, the genitive absolute, a participial phrase. *Bethlehem* is designated of *Judah* because there was another Bethlehem in Zebulun. Luke's account ([Luke 2:1–7](#)) tells how Jesus came to be born in Bethlehem, though subsequently brought up in Nazareth.

in the time of King Herod. Herod reigned from 37–4 B.C. Perhaps the best book on Herod for the general reader is Stewart Perowne's *The Life and Times of Herod the Great*, London: Hodder, 1956.

magi. The [RSV](#) perpetuates the unhappy translation of “wise men,” where the [NEB](#) has “astrologers.” We have consistently referred to the visitors as “magi,” as being less liable to misunderstanding. It is nowhere said that the magi were three in number, still less that they were kings, and certainly there is no indication that they were Gentiles.

2. To state, as do some commentators, that Jews would not have used the phrase “king of the Jews” is to be ignorant of first-century usage. The phrase was certainly used by the orthodox King Aristobulus I (104–103 B.C.), and in any case “Hebrews” and “Israel” were largely the pre-empted badges of Samaritans and Jewish sectarians respectively. (Cf. Abram Spiro, “Stephen's Samaritan Background,” Appendix V, in Johannes Munck, *The Acts of the Apostles*, [AB](#), vol. 31.)

at its rising. Only with difficulty can the Greek mean “in the east”; and it is unlikely that the magi would have said “in the east” rather than something like “in our own land.” What we appear to have is a technical expression referring to the beginning of the phenomenon observed by the magi. There is no possessive pronoun (“its”) in the Greek, presumably because a copyist at some stage misunderstood the word *rising* ([Gr. anatolē](#)), assumed the Greek to mean “east,” and so omitted *its* ([Gr. autou](#)) before *rising*. The Greek word refers in pre-Christian literature to the rising of the sun and other stars. All the information which has been thought to be relevant to celestial phenomena in the presumed time of the birth of Jesus is listed in Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*, pp. 238 ff.

pay him homage. The word used here and again in vs. **11** (*proskunēsai*) is common in Matthew (thirteen times as against two in Mark and three in Luke). It is a useful indication of style, emphasis, and the homogeneity of a work.

3. disturbed (or “frightened”—cf. [14:26](#)). The same word, with the same meaning of deep agitation, is found at [14:26](#) (there used of the disciples). In both instances the fear results from a lack of faith.

5. In Bethlehem. On the expectation of a ruler from Bethlehem, cf. [John 7:41 ff](#).

it is so written ([Gr. gegraptai](#)) = “the inspired text runs,” a common device in the rabbinic literature.

6. The quotation, from [Mic 5:1, 3](#), does not follow the [LXX](#) text, and is an independent rendering of the Hebrew. The final clause *who will govern* (literally, be shepherd of) appears to have been assimilated to the form of [2 Sam 5:2](#).

7. Then ([Gr. tote](#)) is a favorite word of Matthew. He uses it, in all, ninety times.

11. gold, incense, and myrrh. All manner of symbolic meanings have been attached to these offerings, under the influence of [Isa 60:6](#) and [Ps 72:10, 11, 15](#). Justin Martyr is the first commentator whom we know to have seen the connection between the passages. There is no such connection made in Matthew (but see COMMENT below). Myrrh was certainly suitable for a king, and was used at his anointing (cf. [Ps 45:8](#)). But the gifts were also part of the common stock-in-trade of magi, and magical charms were written with myrrh-ink (cf. K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graeci Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, Vol. I [Leipzig and Berlin: B. A. Tuebner, 1928], pp. 8, 16, 22, etc.). Regarded as the tools of a trade, offerings of the magi would not be gifts of homage, but a declaration of dissociation from former practices.

12. they left ([Gr. withdrew](#)) is a frequent word in Matthew (ten times), and later in Christian literature provided the word *anchorite*, one who withdrew from the society of men to follow the contemplative life. The same word has an interesting secular history, being used in the Roman period to indicate a “flight to the suburbs” to avoid city taxation.

by another way. This same feature—departure by another route—also occurs in Dio Cassius' account of

the visit to Nero by Tiridates (*Roman History* LXIII 7).

COMMENT

This account of the visit of the magi to Bethlehem has on the face of it all the elements of historical probability, and yet at the same time elements which appear to belong more plausibly to parable.

It is, for example, well known that not only among Jews was there expectation of a semidivine hero-ruler. “Messianic” hopes were expressed in Virgil’s famous fourth Eclogue, and the emperor Augustus was described in inscriptions at Halicarnassus and Priene as the salvation of a new race of men, and as bringing peace on sea and land. The magos Tiridates and some followers came to Naples, and the story of their reception by Nero, and the attendant religious ceremonies, is fascinating. (There are details in Dio Cassius *Roman History* LXIII 1, 7; Suetonius *Life of Nero* 13.) Tiridates was moved to address Nero as “god.”

Astrology and the prevalence of magi as a professional class are both very well attested in the contemporary literature. Those Stoics whose works we know were enthusiastic supporters of astrology. Astrology developed early in the Mediterranean, rose to a quasiscience in the Achaemenian period—the earliest Babylonian horoscopes so far known are fourth-century B.C., of the time of Alexander—and was transformed in Egypt into the astrology which we know today. The results of this systematizing are found all over the Middle East, in cuneiform tablets of the Seleucid and Parthian periods, in demotic papyri of the Roman era, and in Greek and Arabic astrological literature. Some astrological texts had a very long life, being preserved in Byzantine Zoroastrian material.

In spite of the frequent condemnation of astrology in the OT, in the intertestamental literature and in the rabbinic writings, Judaism was deeply affected by the phenomenon, as has been demonstrated by Cumont and Bidez.* [Josephus](#) (*Jewish War* V. 214) is authority for the statement that the veil of the temple was adorned with stars, and many excavated synagogues in Rome and in Palestine have been found to have the signs of the zodiac depicted in them. Aramaic fragments have been found in Cave IV at Qumran which contain remains of an astrological treatise closely related to a work which circulated in Byzantine times under the name of Zoroaster. The Aramaic fragments may be late first century B.C. or early first century A.D. (cf. David Pingree, *Isis* 54 (1963), for further information).

In the minds of the people at that time, it was inconceivable that the birth of an important personage should go unattended by a stellar harbinger, and such a star is reported to have greeted the birth of Mithridates (ca. 131–63 B.C.). A late Jewish legend ascribes such a star to the birth of Abraham. But for Judaism there was another consideration, and that was the prophetic oracle of Balaam (Num

24:17). The promise is that of a “star coming from Jacob”; not only would this oracle be well known, but in circles which studied the prophets to find interpretations of the contemporary scene (such as the Essenes) such an oracle could not in the nature of the case have been without fulfillment. A messiah’s advent *must* be hailed by a star. (The leader of the patriots in the second Jewish War, A.D. 130–135, Bar Kosba, changed his resistance name, which probably meant “son of a young ram,” to Bar Kokhba, “son of a star.” This is known from the recently published Murabba‘at letters.)

So much by way of background. The historicity of the narrative in ch. 2 as it stands is not quite so easily elucidated, and commentators have ranged from dismissing the episode as astrological myth on the one hand to attempting on the other to pinpoint the exact comet or planetary conjunction which first appeared in the assumed year of the birth of Jesus (ca. 9–4 B.C.).

It must be said that the absence of the Matthean clause “that it might be fulfilled” (*hina plērōthē*) in the narrative, either in connection with Num 24, or—even more strikingly—Isa 60 and Ps 72, has to be taken very seriously indeed in any evaluation of the narrative as historical. The absence of the formula would be notable enough if, *pace* some commentators, Matthew’s quotations were mere proof texts. If, as we have maintained, his quotations are to be seen in context, then the omission of the formula is striking as casting doubt on how far the evangelist regarded the account as historical.

Historically, there is nothing in the least improbable about magi traveling from Babylon west, or indeed anywhere else in the Mediterranean world. They would find welcome audiences anywhere, from royal courts to market places. Consultation of magi by kings and prominent persons is well attested. With “messianism” of one kind and another in the air almost everywhere—and Herod cannot possibly have been ignorant of the hopes being entertained at Qumran—then the news of magi coming to seek a king would guarantee Herod’s calling for them. Herod was constantly concerned with real or imagined usurpers.

It is possible to maintain that Matthew’s story was intended as polemic directed against astrology (cf. C. S. Mann, “Wise Men or Charlatans?” *Theology* 61 [1958], 443–47 and 495–500, and later “The Historicity of the Birth Narratives,” in *History and Chronology in the New Testament*, London: SPCK, 1965; also W. K. Lowther Clarke, *Divine Humanity*, London: SPCK / New York: Macmillan, 1936). This may have been the view of Ignatius of Antioch (*Letter to Ephesus* xix. 3) at the beginning of the second century. What seems to us to be wholly inadmissible is the suggestion that Matthew was so anxious to represent Jesus as a new Moses, leading a new Exodus from Egypt (2:13–15, our §4) into the promised land (i.e., the kingdom—2:19–23, our §6), that the evangelist has

constructed an allegory which includes Gentiles (the magi). There is, however, no indication in the story that we were meant to identify the magi as Gentiles.

If we assume genuine historical reminiscence in the account of the magi, then the omission of the “fulfillment formula,” *hina plērōthē*, must also be explained by some means which is valid in historical literary criticism. (E.g., why did the evangelist not quote Ps. 72:10, 11 or Isa 60:3, 6, 14?) The one suggestion which appears to carry any weight is as follows: The threat of Gnosticism was very soon felt by the church, as is evidenced by the Johannine letters and by Paul’s letter to Colossae. (Cf. also “Simon Magus as ‘The Great Power of God,’ ” by W. F. Albright, Appendix VII in Munck, *The Acts of the Apostles*.) It is probable, therefore, on this thesis that in the midst of the Gnostic struggle within the church or on its periphery a scribe or editor deliberately removed the Matthean formula. Any suggestion that Jesus, through the evangelist’s record, even appeared to acknowledge the legitimacy of astrology would have been avidly seized upon by the Gnostics. Plainly, we have no evidence for such editorial or scribal excision, but this suggestion does have the merit of preserving the narrative as broadly historical, and at the same time explaining an otherwise totally inexplicable omission by Matthew.

4. THE FLIGHT TO EGYPT (2:13–15)

2 ¹³ When they had made their departure, a divine messenger appeared to Joseph in a dream: “Get up,” he said, “take the young child and his mother and flee to Egypt. Stay there until I tell you, for Herod is about to search for the young child to kill him.” ¹⁴ He got up and took the child and his mother by night and withdrew to Egypt, ¹⁵ remaining there until Herod’s death. This was to fulfill the Lord’s saying through the prophet:
“I have called my son out of Egypt.”

NOTES

2:14. *withdrew*. See first NOTE on vs. 12 (§3).

15. On this quotation from [Hosea 11:1](#) (which is not from the Greek of the [LXX](#)), cf. Introduction, Part IV.

COMMENT

Whatever may be the case with the story of the magi, there is no reason to doubt the historicity of the story of the family's flight into Egypt. The OT abounds in references to individuals and families taking refuge in Egypt, in flight either from persecution or revenge, or in the face of economic pressure. Even though Matthew does in fact make the connection, the story of the sojourn in Egypt does not depend necessarily on the reactions of Herod to a consultation with the magi. If we accept the substantial historicity of the Lukan birth narrative, then even a rumor of the events detailed in Luke 2:1–39 would have called forth predictably violent reactions from Herod.

It is certainly not necessary to see in this episode a second Moses fleeing the wrath of another king, preserved against a future Exodus from Egypt. We hope that the Introduction has made it clear that Matthew's OT quotations see Jesus as living, in himself, through the spiritual experience of a whole people, and not as an individual who becomes another Moses.

5. THE SLAUGHTER OF THE CHILDREN (2:16–18)

2 ¹⁶ Then Herod, when he realized that he had been outwitted by the magi, was furiously angry, and sent men to kill all the children in Bethlehem and its environs who were two years old or less, in accordance with the time which he had learned from the magi. ¹⁷ So was fulfilled the saying of the prophet Jeremiah:

¹⁸ “A voice was heard in Ramah,
crying and loud lament;
Rachel weeping for her children,
and she refused to be comforted, because they were no
more.”

NOTES

2:17–18. The quotation from Jer 31:15 is not from the Greek of the LXX, but represents a translation of the Hebrew. For example, the LXX does not have *her children (ta tekna autēs)*, though two versions of the LXX have *epi tōn huiōn autēs (about her sons)*.

COMMENT

The slaughter of infants two years old or less in a town of the size of Bethlehem (population ca. 300) at this time would not only have been a comparatively minor incident, and so probably unknown to Josephus, but also completely in line with Herod's known character.

The evangelist sees the episode as yet another facet of Israel's whole spiritual experience, summed up in Jesus, and seen against the context of Jer 31. Cf. Introduction, Part IV.

6. RETURN FROM EGYPT (2:19–23)

2 ¹⁹ When Herod died, however, a divine messenger appeared in a dream to Joseph in Egypt. ²⁰ “Get up,” he said, “take the young child and his mother and return to the land of Israel, for those who sought the young child’s life are dead.” ²¹ So he got up, took the child and his mother and came into the country of Israel. ²² But having heard that Archelaus reigned in Judea in the place of his father Herod, he was afraid to go there. Being warned in a dream he withdrew into Galilean territory ²³ and went to live in a town called Nazareth. So was fulfilled what was spoken through the prophet:
“He shall be called a Nazorean.”

NOTES

2:23. *He shall be called a Nazorean (Nazōraios).* There have been many suggestions as to the possible origin of this saying. Some have seen in this evidence that early in his life Jesus was pledged to the life of a Nazirite. But not only is the Greek for Nazirite *Naziraios*—apart from [Judg 13:5](#) there is no clear OT source from which Matthew might have derived his quotation. If the quotation were simply a “proof-text,” then there would be some slight justification for suggesting that what we have here is a text attesting to yet another wonderful birth, somewhat similar to that of Samson. But if the quotation is to be seen in total context, then another and more likely source must be found. The standard Syriac text (Peshitta) of this verse, which follows an earlier and more authentic tradition of Semitic place names, almost everywhere reads *Naṣath* and *Nāṣrāyā*, while the later, more Greek-influenced Christian Palestinian Aramaic has *Nazrath* and *Nazōrāyā*. (Both gentilics are well attested; see W. F. Albright, “The Names ‘Nazareth’ and ‘Nazorean,’ ” [JBL](#) 65 (1946), 397–401. See also J. A. Sanders, “ΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ in Matt. 2²³,” [JBL](#) 84 (1965), 169–72.)

We looked for a passage in the prophets where a form of the Hebrew consonants *nṣr* appeared, but where also the meaning had been lost or obscured, both in the Hebrew Masoretic text (MT) and in the Greek of the [LXX](#). [Jeremiah 31:6](#) not only appears to be the only such example, but it also provides the necessary context against which the incidents of vss. 19–23 can be measured. The Hebrew MT cannot be correctly vocalized at this point, for it is not grammatically coherent; but with slight modifications in vocalization, the verse could be read: “For there is a day (in which) the guards ([Heb.](#) *nōṣrīm*) on Mount Ephraim will call.” The [LXX](#) probably means, “For there is a day when those who defend (the faith) will proclaim on the mountains of Ephraim.” It is clear that the verse in Matthew does not fully conform either to the [LXX](#) or the MT; it presumably rests upon a lost “Old Palestinian” recension of a type not infrequent in the NT (see NOTE on 1:1), and which may have been vocalized as passive ([Heb.](#) *yiqqār^eū*) to mean: “There is a day when the defenders will be called on Mount Ephraim.” Nor was it even necessary for the passive form to appear in the text, since in rabbinic exegesis we frequently have biblical passages interpreted through slightly different grammatical forms, different from anything found in our known texts. Such changes were introduced in the Talmud by the formula: “Do not read ..., but read ...” Rabbi Grossfeld (formerly a student in Near Eastern Studies of Johns Hopkins University) has kindly called our attention to Aaron Heimann’s Hebrew work, *Treasury of Words of the Wise* (Tel Aviv), pp. 62–65, illustrating this device.

Matthew once more calls our attention, against the context of [Jer 31](#), to the role of Jesus and/or his family in the history of the whole people.

This quotation, together with hints and allusions elsewhere in the gospels, may provide us with some indications about Jesus’ early life. The Jeremiah context explicitly mentions Mount Ephraim, and there is solid ground for asserting that in the pre-Christian Essene literature (e.g., the Nahum Commentary) the inhabitants of Ephraim were identified in the commentators’ own day as Samaritans. (The credit for this discovery is due to the late Abram Spiro, with whom one of us worked through the fragments while in Detroit.) [John 8:48](#) records the hostile supposition that Jesus was in fact a Samaritan, and the burden of the assertion in [John 8:33](#) seems to be that those talking with Jesus were hinting that while they were free-born, and their lineage never in question, he may have come from a people of mixed Assyro-Babylonian lineage, from a line of heretical Jews (cf. also [John 8:39, 41](#)). Similarly, [Matt 17:26](#) has a reference by Jesus to the free-born sons. All this, coupled with the manifest interest in Samaritans not only on the part of Jesus and his disciples (cf. NOTE on 10:5), but also on the part of the early Jerusalem church (cf. [Acts 8](#)) has to be explained.

Joseph is described as a *tektōn* in our sources ([Matt 13:55](#); [Mark 6:3](#)), which certainly indicates a builder and perhaps even a contractor (cf. NOTE on 13:55). Equally, our sources agree that his family was Judean, as was that of John the Baptist. The probability is that in the fashion of Mediterranean antiquity Joseph traveled a good deal in the pursuit of his calling, and more than one stay in Samaria is highly likely.

Whether Jesus traveled as a child with Mary and Joseph we do not know, apart from the incidents recorded in [Matt 2:13–15](#) and [Luke 2:41–51](#), but it is clear that when Jesus visited his own home territory (cf. [Matt 13:53–58](#) and parallels) he had been away so long that he was almost unknown. [John 7:5](#) represents members of his own family as being hostile to him.

Jesus' home during all the years before the active ministry remains unknown to us. All that we can say with any certainty is that Jesus and John the Baptist must have spent a considerable amount of time together.

It is possible that the evangelists are silent about the early years of Jesus not only out of respect for a tradition about his birth which might give rise to scandal, but also for reasons which can loosely be termed "spiritual." If the passion and resurrection of Jesus were to have validity outside the confines of Judaism (a matter of pressing urgency in the Pauline ministry), then the Messiah must essentially be identified with all races and peoples and not with any one in particular. Such an explanation may account for the careful hints of doubt and uncertainty about Jesus' origins in the gospels. See also Introduction, Part XIII A.

Richard H. Gundry, whose important book *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel* is referred to in Part IV of the Introduction, has a different interpretation. Gundry (pp. 97 ff.) thinks that a connection is necessary not only with Nazareth, but also with the humility and lowliness of Jesus in this quotation. He therefore dismisses the connection between Matthew and Jeremiah, which we think to be essential. A short note by Eugenio Zolli ("Nazarenus Vocabitur," [ZNW](#) 49 [1958], 135 f.) came to our notice too late to be discussed in detail, but so far as we are aware it is the first article which deals with the Hebrew of [Jer 31:6](#) in connection with the Matthean quotation.

COMMENT

Herod died in 4 B.C. This is a useful dateline in Matthew's gospel, not as elaborate as that given in Luke 3:1–3 (which incidentally has complications unsuspected by the ordinary reader), but one which inevitably puzzles the reader who discovers that Herod's death was "B.C." Unfortunately, the system of dating events in the Christian era which we have inherited was constructed by one Dionysius Exiguus at the beginning of the sixth century. He assumed—wrongly—that the date of Jesus' birth was 753 A.U.C. (*ab urbe condita*), i.e., 753 years after the founding of the city of Rome. Herod died four years before that, in 749 A.U.C., hence we say he died in 4 B.C. Actually, if we assume the accuracy of the events described in vs. 16 above, then the *latest* date for the birth of Jesus must be 4 B.C. (the year Herod died), and it may well have been as early as 9 B.C.

Archelaus ruled over Judea from 4 B.C. to A.D. 6, and Herod Antipas over Galilee from 4 B.C. to A.D. 39.

The whole chronology of the early NT period is beset with difficulty, especially in the light of Luke 3:1–3. For the reader wishing to familiarize himself with the problems involved, there is Jack Finegan's *Handbook*, to which reference has already been made in Part XIII of the Introduction and the third NOTE on 2:2, in which an effort is made to take account of all the available material, biblical and otherwise.

There is interesting, though indirect, evidence for a tradition of the sojourn of Joseph and his family in Egypt. Celsus, an opponent of the early Christian theologian Origen (early third century) was aware of a Jewish tradition that Jesus had worked in Egypt, had there learned the magic arts, and had used them to further a claim to divinity when he returned to Palestine (Origen *Contra Celsum* i 28, 38).

7. JOHN THE BAPTIST

(3:1–12)[†]

3 ¹In those days John the Baptist came proclaiming this in the Judean desert: ²“Repent—for the kingdom of heaven is fast approaching.” ³This indeed is he who was spoken of by the prophet Isaiah:

“A voice crying: ‘In the desert make ready the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.’ ”

⁴ This John wore a garment of camel’s hair, with a leather belt around his waist. He ate locusts and wild honey. ⁵ To him there went out Jerusalem, all Judea, and all the territory around the Jordan, ⁶ and they were baptized by him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins.

⁷ When, however, he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming for baptism, he said to them, “You viper’s brood! Who warned you to flee from the coming wrath? ⁸ Bear fruit that befits repentance, ⁹ and do not presume to say ‘Abraham is our father,’ for I tell you that God is able to raise up children for Abraham from these stones. ¹⁰ Even now, the ax is laid against the root of the trees. Therefore, every tree which does not bear good fruit will be felled and thrown into the fire. ¹¹ I indeed baptize you with water, looking to repentance. There is one coming after me, who is greater than I am, and I am not fit to carry his sandals. He will baptize you with the

fire of the Holy Spirit. ¹² His winnowing fork is in his hand; he will clear his threshing floor and gather the wheat into his granary. The chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire.”

NOTES

3:2. *Repent*. In contemporary Jewish thinking the place of repentance as a necessary preliminary to the Messianic Age is well documented. Cf. Adolf Büchler, *Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century*, reprinted New York: Ktav, 1967.

fast approaching. Our translation attempts to capture the urgency of the [Gr. éggiken](#), which is lost in such English translations as the “at hand” of the [KJ](#).

3. *the prophet Isaiah*. On the “fulfillment” theme, see Part IV of the Introduction.

“A voice crying: ‘In the desert ...’” This is not the customary punctuation of translation from the Hebrew, but it follows Jewish tradition—as pointed out by Dr. Moses Aberbach—and the punctuation has been adopted already by John L. McKenzie in *Second Isaiah*, [AB](#), vol. 20 (New York: Doubleday, 1968), §3.

4. *John wore*. The connection between John and Elijah (cf. [17:10–13](#)) is here alluded to only by a description of John’s clothing (cf. [2 Kings 1:8](#)). See also [Mal 4:5](#); [Ecclus 48:10](#).

locusts. A common item of diet among Arabs in the Near and Middle East to this day. The vitamin content of the insect is high. There is no basis for the identification of the word with “carob,” the pods of the carob tree, known sometimes as “St. John’s bread.” Epiphanius (*Heresies* 30. 13) tells us that the Ebionites of his own time (315?–403) changed the word to “cakes” in the interests of vegetarianism, and Tatian (second century) had earlier changed the word to “milk” in the same interests.

5. The great popularity of John is also recorded by Josephus.

6. *were baptized*. There seems no question that John took over the practice of baptism, including the emphasis on repentance, from the Essenes, but gave it a far more profound meaning. There is no certain evidence for the Jewish baptism of proselytes until the end of the first century of the Christian era. Even then, the emphasis was not so much on repentance as on acceptance into a religious heritage. Christian baptism, from the evidence of the Pauline letters, was from the first a twofold rite. It incorporated a man or woman into the covenant people of the Messiah, conceived as one with the Israel of the Old Covenant, and at the same time it was a token of repentance and instrument of pardon. It was interpreted by Paul in terms of the work of the Messiah, as a death to the old life of sin, and a new birth, a rising again, to righteousness. J. A. T. Robinson (“The One Baptism,” in [TNTS](#)) has argued persuasively that the once-and-for-all character of Christian baptism derives from the once-and-for-all fact of the passion and death of Jesus. Certainly Qumran’s lustrations were regularly repeated as normal ritual, but for the Essenes baptism was a sign of a spiritual state already attained, and there is no indication that they endowed their (self-administered) baptism with sacramental efficacy. John’s baptisms may well have been repeated, and there is no indication in the NT material that his baptism was a once-and-for-all rite. It may here be significant that the one still-existing Gnostic sect which consistently traces its origin back to John the Baptist (i.e., the Mandaean sect of the lower Tigris Valley) does repeat baptism as a continuously efficacious rite with quasi-sacramental intention. (Cf. Lady Drower’s [E. S. Stevens’] *Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*, Leiden, 1937 / New York, 1962; and *Canonical Prayer Book of the Mandaeans*, Berlin, 1959 / New York, 1965.)

7. *Pharisees and Sadducees*. In Matthew’s account of the ministry, these groups are rather consistently representative of disbelief and opposition to Jesus. It is important for us to be scrupulously fair to these two bodies. (Cf. Introduction, Part IX.) The attitude of this gospel is certainly explained if our suppositions about its authorship are substantially correct.

viper’s brood. Jesus uses the same expression in [12:34](#) and [23:33](#). This was evidently an expression in common use, indicating malice (cf. [Gen 3:1 ff.](#)).

the coming wrath. It is important not to equate the wrath of God with the emotion of anger. God’s wrath in the Bible denotes the ineluctable condemnation by the all-holy and all-loving God of any sin which defiles his creation and which destroys the dignity of man as part of that creation. The wrath of God therefore always brings judgment in its train, and this is the sense here. Cf. [Wisd of Sol 5:20](#); [Enoch xc 18, 91:7](#); [Rom 1:18, 2:5](#); [1 Thess 1:10](#).

9. *Abraham is our father*. John’s denunciation of relying upon the privilege of God’s choice of Israel is

fully in line with the OT prophetic tradition (cf. [Rom 2:17–29](#)). In Hebrew the words for *children* (*bānîm*) and *stones* (*abānîm*) are similar and they are here used in a play on words.

10. Cf. [Luke 3:7–9](#). Matthew has the Baptist’s words addressed to Pharisees and Sadducees, Luke to the crowds.

11. Baptism, as administered by John, is here contrasted with the forthcoming baptism by the Messiah. John’s baptism is symbolized “with water,” and “looks to” repentance, is preparatory—i.e., his baptism accepted those who were repentant and desired pardon for their sins.

with the fire of the Holy Spirit. Most English versions translate the Greek as though *fire* and *Holy Spirit* were either antithetical or even exclusive of each other. However, the evidence from the Dead Sea literature makes it perfectly clear that this is a hendiadys (cf. Robinson, “The Baptism of John and the Qumran Community,” in [TNTS](#)). The imagery is eschatological, looking to the fulfilling of all things in the Messiah. For the Messiah’s gift of the Spirit, the intertestamental writings are important; cf. Enoch xlix 3, lxii 2; [Ps Sol 17:42](#). See also [Isa 11:2](#).

12. This verse emphasizes the role of the Messiah in judgment when he comes with his baptism. Cf. Enoch lxii 2, lxix 27. With these final words quoted from John’s ministry, compare the last recorded words of Jesus’ ministry in [25:46](#).

There is superficial identity between Matthew’s and Luke’s versions in this account. But there are variations in Matthew at [3:3](#) (=Luke 3:8), [3:11a](#) (Luke omits *looking to repentance*), [3:11b](#) (=Luke 3:16b), [3:12](#) (=Luke 3:17) as compared with the version in Luke, and the variations argue against a common written tradition for both.

COMMENT

This section provides a necessary introduction to the ministry of Jesus. It is an interesting example of the—to us—surprising lack of external biographical interest or detail which we might have hoped to find in the gospels. Luke provides us with a good deal of information about John the Baptist's early life and his background. Matthew, like Mark and John, introduces the Baptist almost without explanation. All interest is centered on the ministry and teaching of Jesus, and the other material is included only when it is connected with, or is directly illustrative of, that ministry.

There would seem to be no reason to doubt that John grew up in Qumran. Luke emphasizes the advanced age of his parents. Qumran was probably not more than a long day's walk from his parents' home, and we know that the Essenes were in the habit of rearing boys in their community. We do not know precisely where the home of John's parents was, but it is stated explicitly in Luke 1:39 to have been "in the hill country ... in a town of *Iouda*." This is almost certainly the same word as [Heb. Yūdāh](#), name of the tribe, from which the later name of the larger political entity *Judaia* (Judea) was derived. The long-accepted identification of this *Iouda* with the town of *Yaṭṭa*, (not *Yuṭṭa*, as often spelled) is linguistically impossible and historically improbable, since this place was south of the Edomite capital at Hebron and would, therefore, be in the interior of Idumaea, not in Judea. A late tradition fixes the birthplace of John the Baptist at Ein Kerem, just southwest of Jerusalem. This is quite possible, though there is no early evidence for it.

Far more important, however, is John's choice of words, and the emphasis laid upon an imminent Messianic Kingdom has somehow to be explained. That he learned his Messianism from the Essenes is a thesis advanced and defended by many distinguished scholars, and detailed evidence for this theory may be found in C. H. H. Scobie's *John the Baptist* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press / London: SCM, 1964). There is no evidence whatever for baptistic types of Jewish sectarian activity before the time of John, and the Essenes are the only sectarians we know who practiced ritual lustration. Later on there were many such baptistic sects, including the Gnostics and the Mandaeans. It is possible that John's preaching and ministry arose from an awareness that what he had learned of messianic expectation among the Essenes was nearer to fulfillment than his teachers and associates believed, and that he left the community partly on that account. To this consideration would have to be added the fact that John's language nowhere reflects the absolute predestinarianism of the Essenes. (Cf. here Daniélou, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Primitive Christianity*, pp. 16 ff., and

Brownlee, "John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, ed. Krister Stendahl.)

There is roughly a generation between chapters 2 and 3, and Luke has a solitary story belonging to those years (Luke 2:41–52). What contact John had with Jesus during those years we cannot know. But here again there are phenomena to be explained, not the least being the vocabulary which John's gospel employs in the discourses of Jesus. There are links with Qumran's sharply contrasting pairs of opposites (e.g., light and darkness, truth and falsehood, etc.), which are not to be explained in terms of later Hermetic writings. Cf. Introduction, Part XIII, Appendix B. Two points of emphasis in Matthew's account should not be overlooked:

(1) This section on John begins with a phrase "Repent—for the kingdom of heaven is fast approaching," which is used to close the whole section at 4:17 with identical words on the lips of Jesus.

(2) The high incidence of the word *anachōrein* (to withdraw) and its congeners in this gospel suggests an awareness on the part of the evangelist of a "withdrawal" into the desert by Jesus in his early years. See Introduction, Part XIII A.

8. THE BAPTISM OF JESUS

(3:13–17)[†]

3 ¹³ Then Jesus came from Galilee to the Jordan, to John, to be baptized by him. ¹⁴ But John stopped him, saying: “I need to be baptized by you, and do you come to me?” ¹⁵ Jesus, however, answered him: “Permit it for now; for thus it is fitting for us to fulfill all righteousness.” Thereupon he [John] allowed him [to be baptized]. ¹⁶ When Jesus had been baptized he went up immediately out of the water, and—see—the heavens opened and he saw the Spirit of God coming down like a dove and alighting on him. ¹⁷ Then came a voice from heaven saying, “This is my Son, the Beloved One, with whom I am well pleased.”

NOTES

3:13. What is stated in the COMMENT below is emphasized by the Greek construction here. Instead of Mark's *and was baptized* (Mark 1:9), Matthew uses *tou* with the infinitive, expressing purpose, this being one of seven such uses of the construction in this gospel. Cf. 4:1 with Mark 1:13.

16. *the heavens opened*. Cf. Isa 64:1; Ezek 1:1, where the Greek verb of the LXX is used in the same sense as Matthew's verb, of heaven opening to reveal God's purpose.

the Spirit of God. Cf. Isa 42:1. The dove is a symbol of Israel in Hos 7:11, 11:11, and extensively of the bride in the Song of Songs. Rabbi Jose (ca. A.D. 150) on entering one of Jerusalem's ruins to pray recorded that he heard a "divine voice, cooing like a dove" (TB Berakhoth 3a).

17. *my Son, the Beloved One*. According to Mark's account of this incident, the voice is addressed directly to Jesus (Mark 1:11); in Matthew, the proclamation is public. *the Beloved One* is not an attributive adjective of *my Son*, but is a separate title, in apposition. Isaac is so described in Gen 22:2, and the Servant of Isa 42:1 is *the Beloved*. The first part of the proclamation of sonship appears to be reminiscent of Ps 2:7, speaking of the Messiah. Israel in the OT is described as God's son (cf. Exod 4:22; Hos 11:1). We shall not wholly grasp the full meaning of Matthew's material unless we bear in mind that Jesus in this tradition is at once the chosen, the anointed personal Messiah, and at the same time represents the people of the Old Covenant. On this widespread OT usage, which provided him with the phrase "corporate personality," cf. H. Wheeler Robinson, "The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality," in *Werden und Wesen des Alten Testaments*, ed. J. Hempel, *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Berlin, 1936. Paul uses other figures to the same end, variously describing Jesus as the new man and the second Adam (cf. Rom 5:14; 1 Cor 15:45, etc.).

COMMENT

The baptism of Jesus by John frequently gives rise to some misunderstanding, the more so when those who seek to understand or explain the event are looking at the incident against a background of Christian baptism. In this connection the words of John to Jesus in vs. 14 tend to reinforce the difficulty. Actually, the difficulty is more apparent than real. It is not necessary to see in the dialogue of vss. 14–15 an attempt by an embarrassed evangelist, still less an embarrassed Church, to provide explanations for an awkward occurrence. If the Baptist's description of himself and his mission in John 1:19–28 with its insistent "I am not" is historically accurate, then certainly John would be startled to find the Messiah coming to him for baptism.

The key to the understanding of the incident is in Jesus' reply in vs. 15. "Righteousness" must be seen as the whole purpose of God for his people, and not (as is so often the case in homiletics) as a moral quality only. Ps 119 frequently describes the commandments and ordinances of God as "righteous," and the same sense underlies Jesus' reply. "To fulfill all righteousness" must therefore be seen as meaning the fulfillment not only of the demands of God upon his people, but also the fulfillment of those Scriptures in which those demands are set out—law, prophets, writings. In any event, the baptism administered by John was a direct response to the will of God, and so the Messiah must submit to it. With this in mind, we can understand Matthew's interest in preserving the saying—not, as has occasionally been suggested, in inventing it. First, it was wholly fitting that the Messiah should be completely identified with his people, which is a point constantly made in the NT, however separate from sinners the Messiah might be. Secondly, Matthew's interest in fulfillment can be seen in his emphasis (which he shares with Mark) as Jesus "went up out of the water." We have already called attention in the Introduction (Part IV) to the evangelist's interest in the Servant Songs of Isaiah. Here again we have a key passage to be seen in context: "When you pass through the waters I will be with you" (Isa 43:2). The narrative both of John's preaching and Jesus' baptism must be seen against the context of Isa 43. Not only is there considerable ambivalence as to whether the Servant is singular or plural; the privileged position of the Servant is emphasized, as is also his mission and the new event which God is about to inaugurate.

9. THE TEMPTATIONS

(4:1–11)[†]

4 ¹ Then Jesus was led into the desert by the Spirit, to be tempted by the devil, ² and after fasting for forty days and nights he was hungry. ³ On coming to him, the tempter said, “If you are God’s Son, command these stones to become bread.” ⁴ He answered, “It is written:

‘Not by bread alone shall man live,
but by every utterance from God’s mouth.’ ”

⁵ Then the devil took him into the holy city and set him on the pinnacle of the temple and said to him: ⁶ “If you are God’s Son, throw yourself down. For it is written:

‘He will give his angels charge of you’
and

‘They will bear you on their arms,
lest perchance you strike your foot against a stone.’ ”

⁷ Jesus answered him, “It is also written:

‘You shall not test the Lord your God.’ ”

⁸ Again, the devil took him to a very high mountain and pointed out to him all the kingdoms of the world and their grandeur. ⁹ He said to him, “I will give you all these things if you will prostrate yourself and pay me homage.”

¹⁰ Then Jesus said, “Away, Satan! For it is written:

‘You shall pay homage to the Lord your God,
and him alone shall you worship.’ ”

¹¹ Then the devil left him, and angels came and served him.

NOTES

4:1. *to be tempted*. Matthew's use of the infinitive to express purpose is a common device in this gospel. Cf. NOTE on 3:13.

the devil (Gr. *diabolos*). There is a shift of meaning in the Bible as to the way in which evil and temptation are treated, and the material is not easily summarized. The Hebrew figure of the *sātān* appears in the prologue of Job, in chapters 1 and 2, where he is a member of the heavenly court acting as a kind of legal prosecutor. This material may be as early as the seventh century B.C., and is certainly no later than the fifth century. Similarly 1 Chron 21:1 depicts the *sātān* as a kind of opposing counsel, and it embodies a tradition which is older than its late fifth-century date. Ps 109:6, which is certainly pre-Exilic, depicts *sātān* as a prosecutor. A very slight change in emphasis appears in Zech 3:1–2; there the figure is more an active adversary than an accuser. This material (late sixth century B.C.) represents a state of affairs in which the prosecutor can easily become a malign figure. (Here it has to be remembered that the contemporary parallels are innumerable, and the prosecutor can easily become an active adversary when the state is unpopular. In the Persian period this was very likely to be the case to a Jewish writer.)

The intertestamental writings, under the influence of Iranian dualism, see a dominion of God and a beneficent providence sharply contrasted with a dominion of evil, and from this there easily emerges the *mastema* of Jubilees, an active opponent of good. Moreover, in that same literature the *sātān* figure is wholly evil and is no longer a member of the heavenly court. Precisely how *sātān* in Hebrew became “the devil” (Gr. *diabolos*) we cannot say with certainty. But in the NT literature the *diabolos* figure is head of the dominion of evil, bent on destroying man by tempting him. The Greek *diabolē* is “a calumny,” and *diabolos* an accuser, calumniator; the LXX uses the word *diabolē* mainly in the sense of “calumny,” though occasionally as the equivalent of “enmity.” The LXX does use *diabolos* for *sātān*, but rather in the sense of adversary or opponent. Josephus never uses *diabolos* or indeed any other names for Satan. Care must be taken to distinguish *diabolos* from *daimōn* (demon), which can be either good or bad, or even neutral.

Essene theology was developed in direct dependence on Zoroastrianism in some form, and in the Essene system we have a complete dualism which, though ultimately under divine dominion, still placed the good Spirit (i.e., the Holy Spirit) and the evil Spirit (i.e., Satan) in total opposition to each other.

3. The order of events in Luke is different, and there is less verbal agreement with Matthew here. It is reasonable to assume that Matthew and Luke were using independent sources.

On coming to him (Gr. *proserchesthai*). A favorite expression of Matthew, who uses it fifty-two times in all. Similarly the evangelist often uses plurals—in this case *stones*—where Mark and Luke use a singular (cf. Matthew's *crowds* and *mysteries* at 13:11 with Mark's *crowd* and *mystery*, Mark 4:1 and 11). (On the meaning of *mystery/mysteries*, see the NOTE on 13:11.)

God's Son. Cf. Introduction, Part XII, and also Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, pp. 274 f. Matthew, in common with John, sees the passion and death of Jesus as bound up with Jesus' relationship with the Father; cf. 27:40, 43; John 5:18, 43, 8:15–59, 10:31–39.

4. The quotation is from Deut 8:3.

5–10. The historic present verbs in these verses are rendered in our translation in the past tense, but they are an interesting feature of Matthew's Greek, though he uses the device less often than Mark.

5. *the holy city*. As a description of Jerusalem, cf. Dan 9:24; Tob 13:9; Rev 11:2, 21:2, 10, 22:19; Matt 27:53.

6, 7. The quotation in vs. 6 is from Ps 91:11–12, and Jesus' reply in vs. 7 is from the LXX of Deut 6:16. Cf. Matt 26:53 ff.

8. *very high mountain*. Matthew's account places several significant events in such a setting: the Great Instruction (5:1), the Transfiguration (17:1), and the farewell to the disciples (28:16). For the devil as ruler of a world hostile to God, cf. John 12:31, 16:11; 2 Cor 4:4; 1 John 5:19.

10. *Away, Satan!* The same abjuration is used to Peter in 16:23 (cf. Mark 8:33) when Peter, like Satan, attempts to dissuade Jesus from courses of action which would inevitably lead to suffering.

The quotation is from the LXX version of Deut 6:13. Authority derives from God; even the devil's dominion is under sufferance.

COMMENT

The temptation narrative aptly illustrates the NOTE on vs. 17 in the preceding chapter (§8). It is possible to see the temptation scene as illustrating the way Jesus thought his ministry would be fulfilled. To some extent Mark's account of the baptism (Mark 1:9–11), with its suggestion that this was when Jesus became fully aware of his vocation, bears this out. Mark tells us that Jesus was “driven” (Gr. *ekballei*, vs. 12) by the Spirit into the desert, there to face the implications of his vocation. On this view, it is permissible to see in both Matthew and Luke the newly baptized Jesus facing temptation as an individual. The first test would be to see if he would identify his mission with what nowadays would be called “social reform,” working as a popular leader for the eradication of hunger and poverty. The reality of such a temptation is obvious enough, and the identification of the Kingdom with social programs is well detailed in one chapter of Norman Perrin's *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1963), pp. 37–41, 148–55; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963. The second temptation in Matthew (vss. 5–7=the third in Luke 4:9–12) would, in this view, be a temptation to trade upon the Messiah's relationship with God, to achieve a reputation as a wonder-worker and so succeed in securing the attention of men. The third test would be to compromise with evil, recognize the devil's dominion to the point of regarding some men, some situations, as beyond hope of redemption.

The view given above is both simple and, in the light of Jesus' ministry, plausible as an account of the way in which such thoughts might have assailed the mind of Jesus. But popular as this theory has been in the past, particularly in homiletics, it has the fatal flaw of looking back at the narrative from the vantage point of an accomplished ministry and of subsequent Christian history. Once again, the OT quotations give us more reliable indications of the meaning of the narrative. They are not, in their own context, addressed to an individual but to a whole covenant-people. The significance of the quotations in the narrative was recognized by Clarke (in *Divine Humanity*) forty years ago—and has received significant recent support from Robinson (in TNTS).

It is not an unreasonable supposition that Jesus thought of his sonship in ethnic terms at the beginning. Israel in the OT is the son par excellence (see above, NOTE on 3:17), and Jesus in the Matthean tradition sees his ministry as a reliving of the spiritual experience of Israel, the experience of sonship being narrowed down to him who is *the Son, the Beloved*. Deut 8:2, with its key words of *led, prove* (i.e., try, tempt), *wilderness*, provides the context for the reply to the first temptation, which is Deut 8:3. If Israel had been allowed to hunger, to

be humbled, and to be fed with no ordinary food, then ought not he who was repeating that experience also endure the same trials?

Any realization by Jesus that he was alone in his sonship leads inevitably to the second temptation. If the Messiah was *the* Son (cf. Ps 2:2), then what was his relationship to those who by membership in Israel's heritage addressed God as "Father"? The prophets are witnesses to Israel's constant temptation to presume on sonship, and the nature of Jesus' ministry was such that a temptation to presumption must always have been present. Jesus' reply to the second temptation is from Deut 6:16, with its significant reference to Exod 17:7. To doubt the presence of God with his own people was to put God to the test.

The third temptation also derives from the experience of Israel, and deals with the promise to Israel in Deut 6:10–15. God gives or withholds at his own good pleasure, and Israel's inheritance was no result of her own effort or moral rectitude. But the lands outside—whose were they? (Cf. Deut 34:1–4.) The story of Israel, as J. L. McKenzie points out (*The Two-Edged Sword: An Interpretation of the Old Testament*, Milwaukee: Bruce, 1956) was a constant struggle between obedience to the claims of the divine imperative and the claims of secular calculation. For Jesus, *the* Son, the same struggle of conscience had to be met, and the dominion of sin could be broken, and its captives freed, only in submission to the Father's will.

(In addition to the material quoted above, see also J. Dupont, "L'arrière-fond biblique du récit des tentations de Jésus," [NTS 3 \(1956–57\), 287–305](#).

10. THE BEGINNING OF THE MINISTRY

(4:12–17)[†]

4 ¹² When he had heard that John had been arrested, he withdrew into Galilee. ¹³ Leaving Nazareth, he went to live in the territory of Zebulon and Naphtali, in Capernaum by the sea, ¹⁴ so that what was said by the prophet Isaiah might be fulfilled:

¹⁵ “The land of Zebulon and the land of Naphtali,
the lake road, across the Jordan,
Galilee of the nations—

¹⁶ the people who sat in darkness
have seen a great light;
and upon those who sat in the land of the shadow of death
light has dawned.”

¹⁷ At that time Jesus began to preach. He said, “Repent, for the Kingdom of God is fast approaching.”

NOTES

4:12. *he had heard*. Cf. 14:13, another occasion when Jesus' movements were dictated by news of John the Baptist.

14. Is 9:1–2 For the fulfillment formula, and for the quotation in the verse following see Introduction, Part IV.

16. The Greek at this point used to be thought a “composite” text, with elements from three versions of the LXX, but what is important is the total context of the quotation. The evangelist may well be quoting from an Old Palestinian text which we no longer have. (Conflations of different recensions may point to another proto-Lucianic recension, which has not yet been recovered.) Matthew here uses the past tense, indicating that the prophecy has been fulfilled.

17. Some authorities omit *Repent*. Whether the omission belongs to the original tradition or not, Jesus begins his ministry with substantially the same message as the Baptist.

preach. The verb is *kērussein*, and we shall have occasion to examine it again in the NOTES on 4:23. Properly, the verb is used to mean the proclamation of important news by means of a herald, whose office and person in classical times were inviolate.

COMMENT

Jesus left the Judean desert (3:1, 4:1) for Galilee, in the district which before the Exile had been the territory of Zebulon and Naphtali, but which was then largely inhabited by Gentiles. Matthew's use of "withdrew" (vs. 12) can hardly be meant as an indication that Jesus was leaving the jurisdiction of Herod Antipas, in which John had been arrested, for Herod held sway over Galilee too. It is possible that Jesus went to Capernaum rather than Nazareth because he wished to be wholly independent of relatives in Nazareth. Moreover, the call of the first disciples argues not a miraculous response to a sudden invitation, but an invitation to those whom Jesus had already met on previous occasions.

11. THE FIRST DISCIPLES

(4:18–22)[†]

4 ¹⁸ While he was walking near the Sea of Galilee he saw two brothers, Simon, called Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting their nets into the sea—for they were fishermen. ¹⁹ He said to them, “Come, follow me, and I will make fishers of men out of you.” ²⁰ Then and there they left their nets and followed him. ²¹ Going on from there he saw two other brothers, James and his brother John, Zebedee’s sons, in the boat with Zebedee their father, mending their nets. As soon as he called them ²² they left the boat and their father, and followed him.

NOTES

4:18. Simon. The Greek form of the **Heb. Shimeon**. It is a common name, found in **Ecclus 50:1**, in Josephus, and the NT.

Andrew is a Greek name, already known as the name of a Jew from an inscription in Olympus of 169 B.C.

19. Come, follow me is a Semitic idiom.

fishers of men. Jesus' phrase is almost certainly a reminiscence of **Jer 16:16**. The symbolism of fishing for missionary enterprise is found also in **13:47 f.**; cf. **Luke 5:1–11**; **John 21:4–8**; and also **Ezek 47:10**.

20. Then and there they left... The gospels constantly emphasize the element of renunciation in the teaching of Jesus, and this element is typified here by the disciples' abandoning their livelihood.

21. mending their nets. If the OT background of *fishers* in vs. **19** is significant, then there may be some significance here too in the verb used for *mending*. It occurs five times in the Pauline letters, twice in Hebrews, and once in I Peter, where the sense is "restore," "make perfect." The symbolism of fishing, casting nets, and mending nets may possibly be in the mind of the evangelist as figures of the future ministry of the disciples.

COMMENT

This and the following section introduce the two groups of people who are always sharply distinguished in Matthew: the disciples and the crowds. Both are in mind for the long collection of teaching material which begins in chapter 5, though that teaching is represented as being given to the inner circle.

Whatever traditions there may have been about Jesus' first meeting with any of his disciples, the synoptic gospels in their present form emphasize that the initiative in calling them rested wholly with Jesus. Matthew does not offer any explanations for the disciples' *apparently* sudden decision to follow Jesus. He does not satisfy our curiosity as to whether their response to this call came as a result of their having known Jesus previously (cf. John 1:19–51).

12. MINISTRY IN GALILEE

(4:23–25)[†]

4 ²³ He went about the whole of Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and proclaiming the Freedom of the Kingdom, healing every sickness and every infirmity among the people. ²⁴ His reputation so spread through all Syria that they brought to him all the sick, those afflicted with various diseases and pains, the demoniacs, the epileptic, and the paralyzed, and he healed them. ²⁵ Great crowds followed him from Galilee, the Ten Towns, Jerusalem, Judah, and the territory beyond the Jordan.

NOTES

4:23. *synagogues*. The synagogue as a place of public worship and teaching is first clearly attested in Egypt in the latter part of the third century B.C., and in Palestine ca. 200 B.C. (**Ecclus 51:23**). Its origins, however, are certainly far older even though we are unable to determine them with any precision. The centralization of worship in Jerusalem from 621 B.C. onwards, with many Jews thereby denied a share in temple worship, must inevitably have led to the establishment of non-sacrificial places of assembly. The Aramaic word for “synagogue” is a Babylonian loanword which can scarcely be later than the sixth century B.C. Whatever the history of the institution, prophets had been in the habit of gathering bands of disciples around them, and during the Babylonian Exile (597–540 B.C.) exiles gathered for prayer and instruction wherever and whenever this was possible (**Ezek 8:1, 14:1, 33:30 ff.**). Cf. John Bright, *A History of Israel* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1959), pp. 422 ff.; London: SCM, 1960.

proclaiming. The verb has already been briefly examined, and its meaning is well established. Two things dictated our translation of this verse: (1) The decreasing vitality of the word “gospel” in current English, so much so that it is possible to make any social or political program or idea a “gospel” (cf. “the Marxist gospel”); (2) it was customary for thousands of years, at least from 2300 B.C. and right through the Middle Ages, for sovereigns or rulers on their accession to proclaim amnesties and privileges of various kinds, such as freedom from taxation and/or legal penalty. Paul’s description of the “liberty by which Christ has set us free” (**Gal 5:1**) exactly describes the meaning which we have tried to indicate here and elsewhere in our version of the more usual “preaching the Gospel.”

the people. The expression is found fourteen times in Matthew, and only twice in Mark. In this gospel it has clear reference in almost every case to Israel, the people of the Old Covenant—i.e., it is an OT usage.

24. *the epileptic*. In Greek this is a rare word, and late, while “the paralyzed (one)” is a NT word, being found in Matthew and Mark. Luke (**5:18, 24**) uses another and more usual word.

25. *Great crowds*. This is another example of Matthew’s predilection for plurals. He uses the expression thirty times, the singular sixteen, while Mark has the plural but once, compared with the singular thirty-seven times.

the Ten Towns. The usual English version, *the Decapolis*, is a transliteration of the Greek. For the history of the region, see any recent Bible dictionary.

COMMENT

In much the same way that Mark gives us a typical day in the ministry of Jesus (Mark 1:21–34), whether or not the events so described all happened on the same day, so Matthew here gives us in general terms the scope of the ministry of Jesus. Matthew here uses phrases which in Mark are the basis for whole sections of narrative: 4:23=Mark 1:14, 39; 4:24=Mark 1:28; 3:10; 6:55–56; 4:25=Mark 3:7 ff. At this stage the evangelist's interest is in the crowds, and the teaching of the inner circle of the disciples comes later. It is to be noted that the ministry is directed primarily to Jesus' own people, and only later are the crowds from Gentile areas affected by his reputation. The descriptions of the ministry are not to be overlooked: teaching, proclaiming, healing. It was concentration on healing in particular which engendered so much misunderstanding on the part of those who came to Jesus. Healing was a sign, an outward manifestation, of the irruption of the dawning reign of God, and Jesus by injunctions to silence on various occasions sought to guard against mistaking sign for substance.

13. THE GREAT INSTRUCTION: THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN

(5:1–12)[†]

5 ¹ Seeing the crowds, he went up on the mountain, and when he had sat down his disciples came to him. ² He began to teach them, in these words: ³ “Fortunate are the humble in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of heaven. ⁴ Fortunate are those who mourn, for they shall be consoled. ⁵ Fortunate are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth. ⁶ Fortunate are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be satisfied. ⁷ Fortunate are the merciful, for they shall have mercy shown to them. ⁸ Fortunate are the pure-minded, for they shall see God. ⁹ Fortunate are the peacemakers, for they shall be called children of God. ¹⁰ Fortunate are those who are persecuted on account of righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

¹¹ You are blessed whenever men vilify you, persecute you, and falsely charge you with evil for my sake; ¹² rejoice and be glad, because your reward in heaven is great, for in the same way they persecuted the prophets before you.

NOTES

5:1. *crowds ... disciples*. The Great Instruction is not a public address. In Matthew it represents a collection of material addressed to the inner circle, the disciples. Cf. Part V of the Introduction.

3. *Fortunate*. The word in Greek was used in classical times of the state of the gods in contrast to men. The usual English “blessed” has more and more come to have liturgical or ecclesiastical overtones, and we have chosen “fortunate” as being the best translation available to us. The **Heb.** *ashrê* originally meant “the good omens of ...” There is increasing evidence that the Hebrew originally had the same meaning as the pagan Greek. (Cf. W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* [Johns Hopkins Press, 1942], p. 227.) The meaning is both “they are among the fortunate who ...” and “fortunate are the ...” Only the incorrigible pedant can find shades of meaning distinct from each other in e.g. *insulae Fortunatae* and *Fortunatorum Insulae*.

humble in spirit. Those living in uprightness, or “perfection.” The phrase occurs in the Qumran material as *ʿanîyê rûah*. There are two words in Hebrew which would provide us with the background for this saying: *ʿanavîm* and *ʿanîyîm*. They are virtually synonymous, and both mean “poor,” “afflicted,” “humble” (cf. F. Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* [Boston: Houghton, 1906; Oxford University Press, 1907, repr. 1953, 1957], ad loc.). The Qumran War Scroll (**1QM xiv 7**), which is Herodian in date, gives us a saying which closely parallels that of Jesus, and may be translated: “Blessed be the Lord God of Israel ... giving ... vigor to the shoulders of the bowed, and (...) to the lowly spirits; firmness to the melting heart” Unfortunately the script belongs to a period in Hebrew when the letters *yod* and *waw* were not sharply distinguished, and it is possible to read either *ʿanāv* or *ʿanî*. However, other occurrences of the letters in the column indicate that the reading should be *ʿanîyîm* rather than *ʿanavîm*. It is likely that the original editor felt that the **Gr.** *ptōchoi* (poor) alone would be misunderstood if left without qualification, and so reproduced the Qumran saying rather than the tradition as it is in Luke (**Luke 6:20**—“the poor”). The poverty described is that of the man fully conscious of the poverty of all human resource, and knowing his need and desire for God.

for theirs is the Kingdom. The best sense here is “the Kingdom will consist of such as these,” bearing in mind the future tenses which characterize the following verses.

4–5. The order of these verses is uncertain in our oldest manuscripts.

4. *those who mourn*. As with vs. 3, the favor of God does not rest upon the state of mourning *as such*, but upon those who lament the sin which mars God’s choice of Israel. Cf. **Isa 61:2**, referring to those who mourn man’s disobedience to God.

5. *the meek*. The meaning here is similar to that of the “humble” or “poor” in vs. 3. The verse is a quotation from **Ps 37:11**, where possessing the earth is parallel to being admitted to the Kingdom in vs. 3. Cf. also “Whosoever humbles himself, the Holy One, blessed be He, raises him up.” (**TB Erubin 13b**. This reference we owe to the courtesy of Dr. Moses Aberbach.)

6. *hunger and thirst*. The OT has many examples of fasting as a form of prayer of desire, and those who are here being commended are they who pray for the vindication of God’s purposes for men. Their reward is that they will be filled (cf. **Rev 3:20**). The Messianic kingdom as a feast is referred to in **8:11**. Cf. also **Jer 31:25**; **Isa 55:1**; **Ps 107:9**.

7. Cf. “Whoever has pity on people will obtain pity from heaven” (**TB, Shabbath 151b**, to which our attention was called by Dr. Moses Aberbach).

8. *pure-minded*. That is, the spiritual equivalent of being ritually pure (cf. **Ps 24:4**). The Aramaic word would here be *dākhîn*, “broken, humble, contrite” (cf. **StB**, I, ad loc.). The single-mindedness of the consecrated life as a prerequisite for the vision of God is emphasized in Philo (*On the Contemplative Life* ii 473; *On the Life of Moses* ii 106), and cf. **Rev 22:4**. What is here promised is that the sons of the Kingdom will share the vision of God with *the Son* (cf. **11:27**). The theme of purity of heart is well attested in the rabbinic literature; cf. “The Holy One, blessed be He, loves everyone who is pure of heart” (Midrash *Rabba* on **Gen xl 8**), or “R. Jose ben Halafta said to R. Ishmael his son, ‘If you seek to see the face of the

Shekinah’—i.e., the abiding presence of God—‘in this world, study the Torah in the land of Israel’ ” (Midrash *Shokker Tob* on Ps cv). (Both references by the kindness of Dr. Aberbach.)

9. *peacemakers*. Cf. *Pirqê Abôth* i 12: “Hillel said, ‘Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing it.’ ”

children of. Often the phrase “son of” or “children of” is equivalent to “belonging to ...,” and the “sons of the prophets” in the OT can be held to mean those gathered round a teacher, members of a prophetic guild. Here the expression means “those admitted to fellowship with ...”

The collection of sayings commonly known as the Beatitudes may fittingly be called the spiritual charter of the Kingdom. The form which the individual verses take is well known in the Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. In another form, it can easily be seen as an implied grammatical construction of protasis-apodosis (conditional and result clauses): “If you do this, then that will follow.”

What the history of this particular collection may be we cannot know. That the form was well known appears to be certain from an (unpublished) fragment of negative Aramaic beatitudes from Qumran. So far as the difference between Matt 5:3–9 and Luke 6:20–26 is concerned, it is not enough to say that Matthew represents another version with some modifications in phraseology. Both versions may be equally valid as recollections of the original tradition, and each version may try to reproduce some variants of that tradition. There is, for example, nothing inherently spiritual about the state of poverty (Luke 6:20), or hunger and thirst (Luke 6:21) and Matthew’s “humble in spirit” (vs. 3), and “hunger and thirst for righteousness” (vs. 6) at first sight may strike us as an improvement in meaning. However, it is well to call attention to the fact that poverty *can* save from the often frivolous and frequently ephemeral *desiderata* of a more affluent state. Jesus himself, and the NT writers, and all the ascetical writers, Christian and non-Christian, are unanimous in their warnings against an overinvolvement in worldly goods. Certainly Christianity is never more false to itself than when its institutions are wealthy. The Scriptures are full of warnings against a preoccupation with wealth and possessions.

The two versions of the spiritual charter in Matthew and Luke may well represent two versions uttered by Jesus on two different occasions. Matthew’s version, on this interpretation, may be an explanatory expansion given in response to questions. Equally, Luke’s version, particularly in the light of the material which follows in Luke 6:24–26, may have been addressed directly to the disciples. What we may have therefore is a direct series of statements to the disciples in Luke and a series of expanded statements in Matthew, though both from Jesus.

10. This statement concludes one group of sayings, for the phrase *theirs is the Kingdom of heaven* began the series and now ends it. This device (called “inclusio”) is common in Matthew. Cf. J. C. Fenton, “Inclusio and Chiasmus in Matthew,” *Studia Evangelica*, III, 1964.

11. Cf. TB, *Shabbath* 88b: “They that are reviled, but who do not revile, they that hear themselves being put to shame but do not answer back—concerning them, Scripture says ‘But they that love him shall be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might’ [Judg 5:31].”

12. *reward*. It is true that later Jewish theology was a good deal concerned with the theme of rewards and punishments (cf. Wisd Sol 2:22, 5:15), but here the idea is not so much a precise calculation of reward for past conduct. Rather it is a contrast between coming pain and persecution, and future blessedness.

It seems appropriate to add here a short comment on the undeniable prominence in Matthew of what is usually called “rewards and punishments,” which seems to make many people uncomfortable. In chapter 6 (§§22–26) for example, the reward from God for covert good works seems to be an incentive to such works. Sensitive as was contemporary Jewish thought with this kind of consideration, there are ample warnings against overemphasizing it: “Do not be like slaves, who serve their lord in order to receive a reward” (*Pirqê Abôth* i 3, second century B.C.) is one such. Two things may be said very briefly: (1) The whole NT is quite frank in its lack of disinterestedness. What is being held out to men in the NT writings is the salvation which comes from God alone, and—in the NT—is mediated through membership of the Messianic Kingdom which Jesus proclaimed and which he “bought with his blood.” Obviously, what is being offered is advantageous to man, and there are responses demanded of man in return for the generosity of God’s grace. (2) So far from the reward being “congruent with merit of good works” (to use the mediaeval

scholastic expression), the reward is so far beyond anything which men could possibly attain by their own goodness that the very word “reward” has something of irony about it. It would have to be added here that the terms upon which that reward is held to be contingent are in the NT not such as to encourage a light approach to it.

in heaven. It is important not to read into this phrase the notion of “going into heaven,” but rather “with God.” “Heaven” was a normal Jewish synonym for “God,” to save the devout from using even the substitute word *Adonai*, “(my) Lord.” On this whole question of “heaven” and “God” with respect to the Kingdom, cf. Introduction, Part VII.

COMMENT

Matthew's putting Jesus' instruction to the disciples in one large group of material was most likely done out of a sense of order, and also to make reference easier for those who would be using the material for teaching. As noted in Part IV of the Introduction, the sayings in this gospel are arranged in forms which ensured their easy committal to memory. In spite of what various commentators have said, it is not likely to have been dictated by considerations of a "second Moses" ascending a "second mountain" to bring thence a "new Law." Such commentators tend to forget that the Great Instruction in Matthew was directed to the inner circle of the disciples, and not to the whole people.

It is well here to call attention to the study of the Elijah-Elisha theme in Mark, as set out by Gerhard Hartmann (*Der Aufbau des Markusevangeliums, mit einem Anhang: Untersuchungen zur Echtheit des Markusschlusses*, Münster: Aschendorff, 1936). Hartmann rightly called attention to the fact that in rabbinic sources Elisha is contrasted with Elijah to the advantage of Elisha, and he thought the same considerations to be at work in Mark's gospel with reference to John the Baptist and Jesus.* [We call attention to this work here, since we have seen no good reason to suppose that Matthew sees in Jesus a "new Moses."](#) We do wish, however, to suggest that the evangelist *may* have had in mind a parallel between Jesus and Joshua—in any event, the identity of name will certainly not have escaped him. If this supposition is correct, then there is a parallel between John the Baptist and Moses: John the Baptist did not live to see the entry into the Promised Land. Moses was held accountable for his lack of faith on one vital occasion (Num 20:12), and there appears to be a rebuke to John the Baptist for a similar lack of faith in Matt 11:2–6.

Heb 3:2–6 also points to the contrast between Jesus and Moses, and the same work has other points of contrast between the work of Moses and that of Jesus (8:5, 6, 12:18–24).

Perhaps most telling of all in this connection is the quotation in Matt 11:10 (found in all the synoptic gospels), which is far nearer in the Greek to the LXX of Exod 23:20, and refers to the entry into the Promised Land. There is evidently here a whole complex of ideas, and we should be mistaken if we sought to find in our NT sources a ready-made system of parallels or "types." All we are justified in doing is attempting to lay bare the various strands of thought which seem to have occupied the attention of the evangelists from their own Hebraic background. Quite plainly, any discussion of the Law by Jesus—and especially the lengthy report by Matthew in chapters 5–7 (our §§ 13–29) must have invited comparison with Moses. But if the evangelist did indeed see Jesus as a "new

Moses” it is surprising that he did not introduce specific quotations from the Old Testament to validate the point.

We wish further to add that the significance of Joshua in connection with the Messianic hope in Samaritan sources was continually stressed by the late Abram Spiro in his unfinished studies.

Again it should be pointed out here that nothing is more misleading from the standpoint of Christian history than the assumption that its Founder was engaged in the construction of a new moral code of universal applicability. As suggested in the NOTES above, the Great Instruction is directed to the Messianic Community, first to the disciples, and then to those whom they taught. Any extended application of its provisions to a non-Christian or mixed community, however well-intentioned, is a use of the material which the infant Messianic Community would have found puzzling, to say the least (cf. 1 Cor 5:12).

The whole of chapters 5–7. (§§ 13–29) is variously named the Sermon on the Mount, or the Great Sermon, and it has been taken by some as the basis for a universal code of ethics—so much so that vss. 3–12 of chapter 5 have been quoted by politicians as a kind of platform. Joachim Jeremias’ Ethel M. Wood Lectures for 1961 before the University of London (*The Sermon on the Mount*,) apply a much-needed corrective to this kind of misinterpretation. What follows here is a very condensed summary of those lectures:

Three main views have been held, or are held, about the Great Instruction, as follows: (1) The Instruction is “perfectionist legalism,” concerned with the absolute demand of God upon all men, and moreover every bit as demanding in its observance as the Law of Moses. Jesus, on this view, is expressing extreme demands, even though he is at the same time aware that no one can completely respond to them. But “he hopes to bring men to the point where they exert themselves seriously in an attempt to attain part of them” (Jeremias, p. 9). (2) The second view [which according to Jeremias is found among some types of Lutheranism] is that the Instruction represents an impossible ideal. Its proponents argue that Jesus made demands which men could never possibly fulfill completely; but that as men realized their impotence compared to God, they would also come to appreciate the saving love of God. (3) The third view, given formulation by Johannes Weiss (in his *Die Predigt vom Reichen Gotten*, Tübingen, 1892) would have us see the Instruction as an “Interim-Ethik.” Jesus, this view maintains, was not propounding a long-term moral structure for his disciples, but was instead facing men with a last opportunity for heroic moral effort before the inevitable catastrophe of the End-time. All is heroic command, calling for heroic commitment. All other considerations are valueless.

There are elements of truth in all three views. Indeed, *any* serious view of the

ministry of Jesus must be quite misleading if it does not have *some* element of truth in it. The mistake in all three is that each claims to be final and exclusive as an interpretation. The first view clearly and rightly emphasizes the OT background from which Jesus taught, the background which through the centuries had constantly laid upon Israel the obligation to obey the righteous demands of a righteous God. We ought not to be surprised that so much of the moral teaching of Judaism is to be found reproduced in the Great Instruction. What would or ought to be disturbing would be to find that teaching *absent* from the sayings of Jesus. Nor is this salvation by Law or by works, as puzzled commentators on Matthew have been known to suggest. From the Greek philosophical revolution of the sixth-to-fourth centuries B.C., all law was seen by those within the influence of Hellenism as a response to universal principles of justice thought to be discernible in the constitution of the universe and the processes of history, and also a safeguarding of the individual and society from the evil impulses of men. To that extent, any attempt to discover a religion without law in Matthew is to pursue a chimera.

The second view is attractive at first sight in that it appears to provide—as the first apparently does not—for the role of Jesus as Mediator, as Redeemer to save man from his own impotence. But this second view, under the influence of the Augustinian interpretations of Paul, wholly fails to do justice to the love and devotion which the Law evoked, and still evokes, for the devout Jew (cf. Ps 119). Whatever impression commentaries on the Law might convey, no informed Jew of the time of Jesus or since would suppose that salvation came through observance of the Law. The OT makes it entirely clear that salvation derives not from human merit but from God. It was precisely Paul's legal training which led him to insist on the importance of the grace of God. We should not lose sight, of course, of his equally great insistence on man's obedient response to the demands made by that grace. Moreover, there is not a single sentence in the Great Instruction itself which for a moment suggests that Jesus was propounding an impossible ideal. On the contrary, he clearly expects from his disciples the most exacting obedience.

The third view certainly emphasizes the element of crisis, of impending decision-making, in the teaching of Jesus. It is certainly true that Jesus constantly spoke of the End, and of impending judgment. But it is exactly this element which is *not* emphasized in the Great Instruction. "Jesus is no fanatical enthusiast, his ethic is not an expression of anxiety in the face of catastrophe" (Jeremias, p. 15). Any interpretation of the Instruction which sees the teaching as "interim ethics" would have to deny that Jesus envisaged, made provision for, a continuing community. Such a denial runs counter to all we know of

contemporary messianism (especially among the Essenes), and it must somehow explain how the infant community so successfully misunderstood Jesus in so brief a time as to provide us with the evidence of Acts 1–4.

What is left, if we reject the three views above as in each case partially if not wholly erroneous? Jeremias declares that what we have is “gospel.” We have indicated already in our commentary on 4:23 our interpretation of that verse as “proclaiming the Freedom.” What is being propounded to the disciples in chapters 5 through 7, as to those who must carry the message of this proclamation, is the charter of that Freedom. It is law, it is the Law of the Old Covenant, with a new dimension: the long-expected reign of God is dawning with the presence of Jesus, and the Covenant-law has therefore a new urgency. Stripped of commentary and explanatory gloss, men of the Kingdom are confronted with the demand of God in its starkest form and bidden to obey. Precisely how that demand is to be met in the circumstances of daily living is not the function of a commentary. That function belongs to moral theology, and the beginnings of it in the Christian Church can be seen in the Pauline letters.

14. THE GREAT INSTRUCTION: MARKS OF THE DISCIPLE

(5:13–16)[†]

5 ¹³“You are the earth’s salt. If the salt is of low grade, then how can it be rectified? It is then good for nothing but to be thrown out and trodden underfoot. ¹⁴ You are the light of the world; a city on a hill cannot be hidden. ¹⁵ And men do not light a lamp and hide it under a container, but they put it on a stand and it gives light to all in the house. ¹⁶ In the same way, let your light so shine among men that they may see your good works and give glory to your heavenly Father.

NOTES

5:13. The saying as it stands in our English versions makes virtually no sense at all, in spite of all the efforts of the commentators. Sodium chloride does not lose its taste or savor except by dilution. Furthermore, though salts of various kinds are necessary to the fertility of the soil, oversalination can and does effectively render land infertile—as evidenced by the ancient primitive action of sowing an enemy’s land with salt; cf. the treatment of Carthage by the conquering Romans in the Second Punic War; or the OT references to a place being “sown with salt,” as in [Judg 9:45](#). The Greek word (*mōranthē*) employed by the evangelist and here translated as “low grade” strictly means “to become foolish, imbecile, etc.” (*mōrainō* and *mōroomai* are virtually interchangeable in meaning), and Liddell and Scott (*A Greek-English Lexicon*, II, ad loc.) can only adduce this verse in favor of the meaning “to become insipid.” We are not entitled to say that Jesus and his disciples knew nothing of the properties of salt, for the saying would hardly have survived unless it had some empirical basis. There is, however, no means of arriving at the choice of this particular Greek verb unless there was something in Aramaic which was misunderstood by an editor or an amanuensis. (The [Aram. pkh](#), “to lose taste, to relax,” etc., does not have the meaning of the Greek, and the Syriac here is therefore purely secondary.) In addition, there is the complicating factor that though Greek does distinguish between present and future meanings of the Hebrew imperfect tense, the older Aramaic did not.

Encyclopaedia Britannica (ed. 1960, XIX, p. 897b) asserts that [Matt 5:13](#) “refers “simply ... to the earthy residuum of such an impure salt after the sodium chloride has been washed out.” Alfred Lucas (*Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 3d ed. rev. [London: Longmans, 1948], pp. 304 ff.) mentions impurities such as gypsum (hydrated calcium sulphate), natron, and sodium sulphate.

Our translation is based on the best sense which can be made of the text as we have it. There is no conceivable manner in which salt can be re-salted once it has been diluted. It is the earth itself which is in need of attention. But if salt is of poor quality, of low grade, then the earth itself will suffer loss. This interpretation does have the merit of being far more consonant with the responsibility vested in the disciples. If they are to be light to the world, then they must also accept the equal responsibility of preparing the ground in which the Sower will work.

It is to be noted that the semantic parallel of “low-grade” with imbecile is far closer than might have been expected. Cf. the meanings commonly given to derogatory expressions such as “low-grade citizen,” etc.

14. *the light of the world*. Cf. “You [are] the lights of Israel” (Testament of Levi 14:3, in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ed. R. H. Charles, II, p. 312); [Philip 2:15](#). The function of the disciples as light is to be detached from the world, and yet their very existence is such that they cannot but exercise an influence on that world. It is important to beware of using this verse as a kind of proof-text of the often-expressed homiletic concern for “involvement.”

Light and city were combined by Cicero in a description of Rome as a “light to the whole world” (*Catiline* iv 6).

15. Cf. [Luke 8:16](#), [11:33](#), [14:34](#); [Mark 4:21](#).

16. The *salt*, *city*, *light* sayings are united in Matthew, and in combination are eschatological, looking to the end, the purpose and final goal of the disciples’ vocation. Moreover, in their Matthean context they emphasize the sacrificial service which the new Kingdom will demand. In Mark there is a “salt” saying ([Mark 9:49–50](#)) following a discourse on the demands of discipleship, and Luke ([14:34–35](#)) has the “salt” saying in similar context. The “light” saying in Mark ([4:21](#)) and Luke ([8:16](#)) follows the parable of the sower, and is joined to a promise that the secrets of the Kingdom will be revealed.

your good works. The emphasis is not on human goodness, but on response to the Father’s will, as is made quite clear by [7:21](#).

heavenly Father. The expression is prominent in Matthew, and is found only once in Mark and Luke. It is erroneous to assert, as is sometimes done, that addressing God as “Father” was unknown to Judaism. Cf. [Wisd Sol 2:16](#), [14:3](#); [Ecclus 23:1](#), 4. The later literature (Tobit, Jubilees, III Maccabees) uses the expression

“our Father” or “their Father,” and Allen’s [ICC](#) *St. Matthew* commentary (ad loc.) lists frequent occurrences of “our Father” in rabbinic literature. Cf. also Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, pp. 184 ff.

COMMENT

The preceding verses in Matthew's scheme set the stage for the material which follows. It progresses from a consideration of the dedication which discipleship demands to a detailing of specific instances—"case law" and interpretation. The scheme is orderly, logical, starting with an outline of general principles and going on to statements about the obligations which Jesus laid on his inner circle of disciples. The final part of the scheme deals with particular points of the Law.

15. THE GREAT INSTRUCTION: THE LAW— FULFILLMENT (5:17–20)

5 ¹⁷ “Do not suppose that I came to destroy the Law or the prophets. I did not come to destroy, but to fulfill. ¹⁸ I solemnly tell you that until heaven and earth pass away not a single letter of the Law shall pass away until all has been fulfilled. ¹⁹ Whoever therefore sets aside any prescription of the Law and teaches men accordingly shall be called least in the Kingdom of heaven. But whoever keeps and teaches it shall be called great in the Kingdom of heaven. ²⁰ For I tell you that unless you are more righteous than the scribes of the Pharisees you will certainly not enter the Kingdom of heaven.

NOTES

5:17. *destroy ... fulfill*. This statement by Jesus seems clear enough, but combined with the following verses it might be taken as meaning that the Law is binding on the followers of Jesus to the end of time. It would in that case express the convictions of orthodox Judaism, both Palestinian and Alexandrian, in the time of Jesus (cf. Philo *Life of Moses* ii 136). It should be emphasized that those to whom Jesus speaks at this juncture in the ministry were Jews. There is no shred of evidence that Jesus at any point repudiated his obligation to the Law to which both his birth and his circumcision committed him. Moreover, we know from Acts (21:20) that many Jews who embraced the teaching of Jesus nevertheless maintained their adherence to the Law. So far as the Matthean tradition is concerned, Jesus is represented as emphasizing the authority of those to whom the teaching of the Law was committed (cf. 23:2 ff.). It is reasonable to assume that those who followed Paul's footsteps during his journeyings were Jewish Christians from Jerusalem who were concerned that Gentile converts should first embrace the Law. Jewish Christians, both residents and non-resident travelers, would have been influenced by rumors of all kinds about the apostle's intentions toward his Gentile converts and also about his own attitude to the Law. (It must be added here that the late Johannes Munck did not subscribe to this view. Cf. his *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, London: SCM, 1959, and more recently in *The Acts of the Apostles*, AB, vol. 31, Introduction, Part VIII.)

Much hangs on the meaning of the verb *plērōsai* (to fulfill), and also on the recorded views of the ex-Pharisee and apostle Paul. With regard to the first, the verb can and frequently does convey the meaning of "to clarify the true meaning of" something. Certainly it can be argued that what Jesus is doing in this legal material of Matt 5–7 is trying to restore the original meaning of the Law where this seemed to be obscured by the accretions of commentary. But it must also be recognized that the same verb is used in a somewhat different sense in other parts of the NT, even in Matthew. We have already called attention (Introduction, Part IV) to Matthew's use of "fulfill" in his OT contexts. We may legitimately ask whether the experience of the New Covenant in Jesus' blood (Matt 26:28) caused some early Jewish Christians to regard the Law as either radically reinterpreted or even abrogated. (Incidentally, this emphasis on the "blood of the Messiah" precisely led to the careful preservation of the tradition. It is quite inconceivable that a devout Jew would have invented the concept of a New Covenant in the blood of the Messiah, while to a Gentile the very idea was monstrous.) Moreover, the verb "to fulfill" in John and some other NT authors certainly can mean "to end, conclude, make complete." Similarly ambiguous is the Pauline phrase calling Jesus the "end" (*telos*) of the Law (Rom 10:4).

Perhaps the most we are justified in saying is that two attitudes to the Law are discernible in our sources, and this is precisely what we would expect. Only with the spread of the Gospel to the Gentile world would the two attitudes be brought into sharp contrast.

18. On the validity of the Law in Jesus' view, cf. A. M. Honeyman, "Matthew 5.18 and the Validity of the Law" (NTS 1 (1954–55), 141–42. This saying is certainly hyperbolic for purposes of effect. Paraphrased, it would run like this: "The Law of Moses as an expression of the will of God is permanent, and I came to emphasize its true meaning. No smallest part of it may be eroded or explained away until everything has been accomplished. Therefore (vs. 20) your obedience to the demands of God must be a far more abiding obedience than that given by those who teach and interpret that Law."

not a single letter. The Greek words are *iota* (commonly transliterated by *jot* in the English versions) and *keraiā* (given in KJ as *tittle*, and in RSV as *dot*). The *iota* (Heb. *yod*) was certainly employed in the time of Jesus, but *keraiā* (small horns attached to some letters to guard against confusion with each other) is another matter. So far as is known at present, the device only came into use in the Herodian phase of Hebrew script in the late first century B.C., and it is not possible to determine what meaning the word might have had at the time of Jesus. We cannot know whether the Gr. *keraiā* referred to the small horns, with any real certainty.*

COMMENT

General principles having been enunciated, the demands of discipleship clearly laid down, the evangelist begins his collection of material which deals with the Law. It begins with a prefatory statement by Jesus as to his mission as it related to the Law.

16. THE GREAT INSTRUCTION: ANGER

(5:21–26)[†]

5 ²¹ “You have heard that it was said to the ancients, ‘You shall not murder, and whoever murders will be liable to judgment.’ ²² But I tell you that everyone who is angry with his brother shall be in danger of (divine) judgment. Whoever insults his brother will answer to the Sanhedrin, while whoever says ‘Rebel! (against God)’ merits a fiery death. ²³ Therefore if you bring your offering to the altar, and there remember that your brother has something against you, ²⁴ leave your offering there before the altar, and go away. First be reconciled with your brother and then come and offer your gift. ²⁵ Come to terms with your accuser quickly, while you are on the way to court with him, lest he hand you over to the judge, the judge hand you over to the jailer and you are thrown into prison. ²⁶ I assure you that you will never come out until you have paid your last cent.

NOTES

In all that follows, it is important to bear in mind the background of the material as it was discussed in Part IX of the Introduction.

5:21. *it was said.* Cf. the reference in the Introduction (Part IX) to this rabbinic device. We might have expected “It is written,” but this would not fit in so well with the later “But I tell you.” Furthermore, “said” can refer to scribal interpretation, with quotations from Scripture embodied in the interpretation.

to the ancients. The expression, as referring to men of a past age, is attested in classical Greek. Here it refers to oral tradition in the pre-rabbinic stage, since anything which came after the Torah was by that very fact oral tradition.

You shall not murder. The words as they stand are a quotation and summary of [Exod 21:12](#), and *liable to judgment* echoes [Deut 17:8](#). The word we have translated *liable* (Gr. *enochos*) can also mean “guilty,” and is so used in [26:66](#). Cf. Rabbi Eliezer (end of first century A.D.): “He who hates his brother belongs to the shedders of blood.”

22. This material is admittedly difficult. The verse states simply that intention as well as act comes under the judgment of God, and in asserting this Jesus is appealing to the foundations of divine justice on which the written Law rested. But then we seem to have an ascending scale of judgments for a descending scale of offenses. Moreover, if the Greek (*tē krisei*) means a local court, then we have a different meaning for vs. **21** where it plainly means God’s judgment. However, the difficulty may be more imaginary than real. The first case (vs. **21**) of the man guilty of murder is simple enough—he will suffer punishment. This verse (**22**) goes on to deal with an attitude, not an overt act, and here we have kept the meaning of the Gr. *tē krisei* as judgment, or punishment, by putting “divine” in parentheses. Obviously no court is involved here, for unless there is an overt act only God is fully aware of the motions of a man’s mind. But the man who insults his brother, presumably in the presence of witnesses, may indeed be brought to judgment before the Sanhedrin. The third instance, that of a man who calls another “Rebel!” is again an accusation made without witnesses, and in such a case judgment is in the hands of God and there is no recourse to any court action.

Whoever insults. The word *rākā* is not Greek but Aramaic; it is a contemptuous mode of address not infrequent in rabbinic writings. It is correctly preserved in the Syriac text, which often transmits the exact Aramaic word used by Jesus. See above, NOTE on [2:23](#); what is said there of place names applies also to personal names and must often be considered as likely in the case of key words in sayings of Jesus. Cf. [James 2:20](#).

Rebell (against God). Greek *mōre* normally means “fool” but it may have been confused with the Heb. *môrê*, “rebel,” in [Num 20:10](#). The epithet is in any case derogatory. It is a value judgment, and as such the man who uses it is attempting to act in the place of God. Legally, the spoken epithet would be a public slander in the presence of witnesses.

fiery death. It is possible that *Gehenna* (the Greek word here employed) was considered equivalent to hell in NT times, but there is no evidence for this, and the equation *Gehenna*=*hadēs* is never made. The Qumran literature is, so far as known, silent on the matter. The deep cosmic “valley” in I Enoch, designed for the punishment of men, cannot be *Gehenna*, though it may have some prototype in pagan Canaanite literature (the Baal epic). R. H. Charles’s statements (in *Eschatology* [New York: Schocken, 1963], p. 219 et seq.) are somewhat misleading on this point. The references in the so-called “II Enoch” to the “valley of *Gehenna*” (liv 1) suggest a “tophet” in a valley, usually southeast of a city, out of the prevailing winds, where trash and garbage were burned, and where human sacrificial victims had been cremated in earlier times (as in Jerusalem and Carthage). Cf. the article in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, the translation of [TWNT](#) by G. W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), I, pp. 657 ff. The material in II Baruch and IV Esdras on *Gehenna*, like that in the usually quoted rabbinic sources, is late and not relevant here. The references sometimes made at this point to [Matt 18:8](#) are not wholly justified; see NOTE there.

23–24. This is the first application of the preceding statements of principle, and deals with reconciliation before the Day of Atonement. If commentators insist on providing a late date for Matthew’s material, they

must somehow explain this saying, which refers to a sacrificial system which lasted only until A.D. 70.

25–26. It is possible that some material has been displaced here. At first glance what we have is an injunction that not only must the brother be reconciled, but the accuser too, on the grounds that murder includes anger, and in this sense the word for accuser (*antidokos*) is used at [Luke 18:3](#). But if this is so, the following half-verse (25b) and verse (26) have no real meaning—for what is apparently being commanded in the rest of this section is not obedience to the demands of a righteous God, but calculated self-interest. We are told to settle with our accuser because otherwise we will wind up in jail! Interpreting these verses as a metaphor for a supposed final confrontation with God on the day of judgment is no help; in that case, either the accuser falls into the background, or Jesus himself must be cast in that role. This would be entirely different from the case law envisaged in vss. 21–24. Luke (12:58 ff.) has the saying in the context of a crisis in the ministry of the Messiah, and a crisis also in the national life of Israel. In Luke's version, Israel is like an insolvent debtor with one final chance of escaping the legal penalties. (Cf. G. B. Caird, [ET](#) 77 [1966], 36 ff.) It is possible that an editor has attached vss. 25b–26 to a saying about an adversary which is now lost to us.

17. THE GREAT INSTRUCTION: THE LAW— ADULTERY

(5:27–30)[†]

5 ²⁷ “You have heard the command ‘Do not commit adultery.’ ²⁸ But I tell you that everyone who looks lustfully at a woman has already committed adultery with her in his heart. ²⁹ If your right eye causes you to sin, take it out and throw it away. It is better for you to lose one of your members than for the whole of your body to be cast into hell. ³⁰ If your right hand causes you to sin, cut it off and throw it away. It is better for you to lose one of your members than for the whole of your body to be cast into hell.

NOTES

5:27. *Do not commit adultery*. The prohibition also includes lustful thinking, and the statement in the following verse is a sentiment well known in the rabbinic writings. Cf. “If one gazes”—i.e., lustfully—“at the little finger of a woman, it is as if he gazed at her *pudenda*” (TB, *Berakhoth* 24a). So also with excuses to talk with a woman with the same lustful intent. Cf. Deut 5:21; Exod 20:17.

29. This verse is an application of the statement on adultery. Sights which are known to stimulate passion must be avoided—i.e., to quote the moral theologians, “known occasions of sin” are to be avoided.

right eye. This presumably takes its meaning from *right hand*, which is considered to be the more active of the two hands.

30. This is the second application of the principle of vs. 27. Not only must looking be controlled, but also physical contact or occasions which might lead to physical contact Cf. 18:8. Deut 25:11–12 explicitly allows for the punishment of cutting off the hand, significantly in connection with an obscene act by a woman. Rabbinic literature retains expressions denoting that certain acts by the hand deserve the punishment of mutilation (cf. TB, *Shabbath* 88b; Midrash *Niddah* ii 1; both references supplied by Dr. Moses Aberbach).

causes you to sin. The Greek expression “to cause to stumble” is used in the later books of the LXX. *hell*. Cf. NOTE on *fiery death* in vs. 22 above.

18. THE GREAT INSTRUCTION: THE LAW— MARRIAGE

(5:31–32)[†]

5 ³¹ “It is said, ‘Anyone who divorces his wife must give her a certificate to that effect’ ³² But I tell you that anyone who divorces his wife, except in the case of adultery, makes her an adulteress, and whoever marries a divorced woman commits adultery.

NOTES

5:32. Cf. [Deut 24:1, 3](#); [Jer 3:8](#); [Mal 2:14–16](#). The Greek word *porneia* quite certainly means adultery here, and generally is used of illicit sexual relations, which the school of Shammai held to be the only ground of divorce (Mishnah *Gittin* xc 1: “No one shall divorce his wife unless there is found unchastity in her”). A similar expression is found in [Matt 19:9](#), and it is open to debate as to whether the exceptive clause is editorial, or represents an original tradition. Mark ([10:11](#)) and Luke ([16:18](#)) both represent Jesus as giving a simple prohibition of divorce. Paul’s understanding of the matter ([1 Cor 7:10–11](#)) reinforces this: divorce implies that the woman may well marry again, and in Paul’s view (implicitly, too, in Jesus’ view) this leads her to adultery. We are not here concerned with the arguments of the moral theologians, still less with the so-called “Pauline privilege” ([1 Cor 7:12–13](#)). What Jesus is emphasizing is the principle, the foundation, of marriage. In principle, the divorced woman is still the wife of her husband, and the man who divorces his wife makes her an adulteress, on the presumption that she will marry again. The man who marries the divorced woman both shares in her adultery and also commits that offense himself, because in principle—though not legally—the divorced woman is still married to her first husband. The clause “Whoever marries ... adultery” is omitted by some manuscripts.

19. THE GREAT INSTRUCTION: THE LAW—OATHS (5:33–37)

5 ³³ “Again, you have heard that it was said to the ancients ‘Do not make vows rashly,’ but ‘Be careful to pay any vows made to the Lord.’ ³⁴ But I tell you—do not swear at all. Not by heaven, for it is God’s throne, ³⁵ nor by earth, for it is his footstool, nor by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the Great King. ³⁶ Do not swear even by your head, for you cannot make one hair black or white. ³⁷ Let your words be ‘Yes’ and ‘No.’ Anything more than this is of evil origin.

NOTES

5:33. In its present form, the text is confused. Vows were always accompanied by an oath, and the usual English translations have unhappily reflected the confusions of the Greek, which reads: “Do not swear falsely, but pay your vows to the Lord.” It is probable that the translators, being unversed in rabbinic law, misunderstood the Aramaic. A reference to [Num 30:2](#) shows that the Law stated simply that binding oneself by a vow demanded the performance of the promise. The emphasis is not on the way in which a man binds himself, but on his obligation to perform his promise. Jesus opposes himself to all distinction in oaths, a distinction which a casuist might interpret as determining the relative solemnity of one promise against another. Cf. [Lev 19:12](#) on oaths in God’s name.

pay any vows made. Cf. [Deut 23:21](#); [Ps 50:14](#); [Num 30:2](#).

34. *God’s throne.* Cf. [Isa 66:1](#).

35. *his footstool.* Cf. [Isa 66:1](#); [Lam 2:1](#).

Jerusalem ... city of the Great King. Cf. [Ps 47:2\(3H\)](#).

37. Jesus tells his disciples to avoid all strong oaths and to content themselves with “Yes” and “No” in dealings between members of the community. [James 5:12](#) has the statement somewhat differently, and that version may be a reminiscence of Jewish legal opinion ([TB, Sanhedrin 36a](#)) that “Yes” and “No” are oaths if repeated twice. Cf. “Let your ‘Yes’ be righteous”—i.e., true—“and let your ‘No’ be righteous” ([TB, Baba Mezia 49a](#)).

20. THE GREAT INSTRUCTION: THE LAW— RETALIATION

(5:38–42)[†]

5 ³⁸ “You have heard that it was said ‘An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.’ But I tell you not to resist one who is evil. ³⁹ But if anyone strikes you on the right cheek, turn the other to him as well. ⁴⁰ If anyone wants to sue you and take away your tunic, let him have your cape, too. ⁴¹ If anyone presses you into service to go one mile, go with him two. ⁴² Give to him who asks you for a loan, and do not refuse one who is unable to pay interest.

NOTES

5:38. The *lex talionis* here referred to (cf. [Exod 21:24–25](#); [Lev 24:20](#); [Deut 19:21](#)) is often pointed out by modern critics as an example of the savage ruthlessness of the Law of the Old Covenant, contrasted with the “law of charity” of the New Covenant (cf. [John 15:12](#); [1 Cor 13:1–13](#)). It should be remembered that the law of retaliation here quoted by Jesus acted, in its own time and for many centuries afterwards, as a much needed check on the widely practiced blood feud. Moreover, the Old Covenant Law provided for recourse to the courts; and however brutal we may think the punishment, it was within set limits and had sanctions which the blood feud did not have. The disciple can have no such recourse in the new community—he must endure anyone who is evil. Jesus then proceeds to outline the limits of its application.

39. *turn the other*. Jesus here speaks of what is still true in the Near East—the most insulting of all physical blows being that of striking the right cheek with the back of the hand. Jeremias (*The Sermon on the Mount*, p. 27) suggests that the allusion here is to the insult offered to one adjudged to be a heretic. Everywhere in the gospels, the members of the new community are subject to persecution and insult by reason of their attachment to Jesus. The discipleship will bring inevitable suffering and repudiation, and the disciples may not go to law. There appears to be here a reminiscence of [Isa 50:6](#); the disciple is not to expect anything other than what the Servant must endure.

40. An interesting example has been given to us by Dr. Moses Aberbach. [TB](#), *Yoma* 23a, in discussing (with reference to [Lev 19:18](#)) the whole concept of revenge as distinct from bearing a grudge, posits two men, agricultural workers, one of whom asks to borrow a sickle and is refused. The one who refused next day asked the would-be borrower for the loan of an ax. He is refused, on the score that he had himself refused the loan of a sickle. That, concluded the judgment, was retaliation, and the cases are wholly congruous. But if one man who has refused the loan of an ax next day asks the would-be borrower if he may have the loan of a garment, and his request is granted with the words “Here it is. I am not like you, who would not lend me an ax,” then that is bearing a grudge. This is striking, in that a garment is not a likely object to be loaned or borrowed. The example may well go back in tradition to the first century A.D., and suggests a background of ideas common to both Matthew’s tradition and that of the lawyer’s casebook.

41. *presses you into service*. The verb is Persian in origin, and the noun (*aggaros*, plural *aggaroi*) denotes men who carried the royal mail. Josephus (*Antiquities* XIII. 52) uses the verb for the compulsory carrying of military stores. Adolf Deissmann, *Biblical Studies* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903), pp. 86 f. points out that the word was used in third-century B.C. Egypt of a boat used for postal purposes.

mile ([Gr.](#) *milion*) is found only here in the NT. It is of Latin origin, and occurs in the later Jewish writings.

42. As this verse stands in the Greek and in the standard English versions (cf. [RSV](#), “Give to him who begs from you ...” and [NEB](#), “Give when you are asked to give ...”), Jesus appears to be inviting the disciples to allow themselves to be victimized by the unscrupulous. Our translation reconstructs the verse as an assertion by Jesus against prevailing Jewish legal fictions on behalf of the debtors. (This translation is based on the background of the word *danizein*, “to lend at interest,” which is translated in [RSV](#) by “borrow.”) Because although the injunctions of the Law against usury were firm and clear (cf. [Deut 23:19–20](#), etc.), certain practices had grown up to circumvent these restrictions, and there were many people whom debt had reduced to a pitiful state. Interest rates were extremely high in the ancient world (often 100, sometimes 200 per cent), thanks to the prevailing hazards of drought, insecurity of travel, the unpredictable rapacity of tax collectors, rebellion, banditry, nomad raids, and warfare of all kinds. While the Law prohibited lending at interest between fellow Israelites, it said nothing about lending between Israelites and Gentiles—and so it was understood (explicitly in [Deut 23:20](#)) that interest would be permitted in that case.

In addition to this, the situation in the time of Jesus had led to various kinds of legal fiction in order to circumvent, or at least mitigate, the provisions of the Law on usury. Business and allied financial dealings would have been impossible without long-term loans, which on the letter of the Law had to terminate every seven years in the sabbatical year. There had therefore grown up the Jewish practice of the *prozbul*, which

simply demanded a recognition of the indebtedness of the debtor when the debt was legally at an end. Having established that the background of *danizein* was confirmed by the [Heb.](#) *sha'al* and the Jewish-Aramaic *she'al*, both of which mean “to borrow,” as well as literally “to ask,” and in the causative “to lend,” on interest, we find that the Syriac similarly translates the Greek of Matthew. It therefore became necessary to look more closely at the Greek of vs. 42. If we can assume that a negative has been dropped before *thelonta*, so that an amended text would read *tone mē thelonta*, then the verse fits into its context with complete clarity. The negative *ouk* with *ethelō* (*mē* with a participle, as here) is common in Greek (cf. Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, I, p. 497b; J. H. Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1888], p. 285), and in the NT. Aristotle (*History of Animals*, 575a 28) makes it clear that the construction *ouk ethelō* = “unable” and is the equivalent of *ou dunamai*, being often so used.

21. THE GREAT INSTRUCTION: THE LAW— ENEMIES

(5:43–48)[†]

5 ⁴³ “You have heard that it was said ‘You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy’, ⁴⁴ but I tell you to love your enemies and pray for those who misuse you. ⁴⁵ In this way you will become sons of your heavenly Father, who causes the sun to rise upon both good and evil men, and sends rain to just and unjust alike. ⁴⁶ If you love only those who love you, what reward have you? Do not the taxgatherers do the same? ⁴⁷ And if you greet only your brethren, what extra are you doing? Do not the heathen do the same? ⁴⁸ Be true, just as your heavenly Father is true.

NOTES

5:43. *You shall love your neighbor*. This is a quotation from [Lev 19:18](#), but the remainder of the verse is oral commentary inferred from the distinction drawn in the post-Exilic period between dealings with Jews on the one hand and dealings with Gentiles on the other. All such distinction is here made impossible for the disciple. All men are neighbors to the man who has assumed the responsibilities of discipleship. Cf. Enoch 14.

45. *heavenly Father*. See vs. 16.

46. *taxgatherers*. The word is not used specifically of this particular class of men, but rather in the sense employed in the rabbinic writings—i.e., a class of men normally despised, of whatever occupation.

47. *heathen*. The Greek is *ethnikoi*, used in [6:7](#), [18:17](#), and [3 John 7](#) to describe Gentiles.

48. *true*. A rabbinic commentary ([TB, Shabbath 133b](#)), quoting a first-century A.D. authority, paraphrases this as: “Be like him. As he is gracious and merciful, so be you gracious and merciful.” The Greek word *teleios* in this context does not refer to moral perfection, but “truth, sincerity” (cf. [Deut 18:13](#)). In this sense, the Greek word is used in the [LXX](#) about Noah ([Gen 6:9](#)) and Job ([1:1](#)). The Greek word in the [LXX](#) is linked with *tāmîm*, and the meaning of the Canaanite-Hebrew word *tām*, “true,” is the same in both pagan and biblical literature. There are links in Hebrew between *tāmîm* and *’emeth* (truth), and also in the [LXX](#) with the [Gr. alēthinos](#), the “true” man. It does not have here the later Greek meaning of being “totally free of imperfection,” which is the meaning found in both the [KJ](#) and [RSV](#). Cf. also NOTE on 10:34, and Appendix to Part IX of Introduction.

22. THE GREAT INSTRUCTION: ALMSGIVING (6:1–4)

6 ¹“Take care not to perform righteous deeds in public to be a spectacle to men. If you do, you have no reward from your heavenly Father. ² When it comes to almsgiving, do not trumpet it abroad, as the overscrupulous do in the synagogues and the market places, so that they may be praised by men. In solemn truth, I tell you that they already have their reward. ³ But when giving alms, do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing, so that your almsgiving is in secret. ⁴ Your Father who sees in secret will reward you (openly).

NOTES

6:1. *reward*. Cf. NOTE on 5:12.

2. *overscrupulous*. See the Appendix to Part IX of Introduction for the background of this translation. In face of the evidence nothing can justify the continued use of the word “hypocrite” in our English versions.

3. *in secret*. Cf. “One who does alms in secret is greater than Moses our teacher” (TB, *Baba Bathra* 9b).

4. (*openly*). We have bracketed the word, since it does not occur in all the manuscripts, but the structure of the saying seems to us to require the antithesis for balance (cf. vs. 6).

23. THE GREAT INSTRUCTION: PRAYER

(6:5–14)[†]

6 ⁵ “When you pray, do not be like the overscrupulous, who love to stand in synagogues and public places to pray, so that they may be in plain view of all. In solemn truth, I tell you that they already have their reward. ⁶ But you, when you pray, go into your room, shut the door, and pray to your Father in secret. Your Father who sees in secret will reward you (openly). ⁷ In praying, do not heap up empty phrases as the Gentiles do, for they suppose that they will be heard simply on account of their verbosity. ⁸ Do not be like them; your heavenly Father knows what you need before you ask him. ⁹ Pray like this:

‘Our Father in heaven,
may your name be held in honor.

¹⁰ Let your Kingdom come,
let your will be done,
as in heaven, so also on earth.

¹¹ Give us today the food we need.

¹² And release us from our debts
as we also release our debtors.

¹³ Do not bring us into the final test
but save us from the Evil One.’

¹⁴ If you forgive men their offenses, your heavenly Father will forgive you, ¹⁵ but if you do not forgive men, neither will your Father forgive your offenses.

NOTES

6:5. It should be emphasized here that this is no condemnation of praying in a synagogue or public place *as such*.

6. *will reward you*. This does not refer to an answer to prayer, but reward for lack of ostentation.

7. Gentiles. See NOTE on 5:47.

verbosity. The Greek word (*battalogein*) can be used of stammering, and so of constant repetition. *Battos* (stammerer) and cognate words suggest constant repetition rather than continually interrupted speech.

9–13. Luke has the Lord's prayer in a shorter form, and in a different context (Luke 11:1–4). Matthew presumably included the prayer here on account of its suitability to his material, and not necessarily because it was given in this context. In Luke the strongly eschatological context is in part absent (cf. the omission of *let your will be done, as in heaven, so also on earth*).

Pray like this. I.e., “in this way,” not “in these words.” The constant repetition of the Lord's prayer in public worship has steadily eroded the eschatological urgency of the words almost to the vanishing point. To compound this misunderstanding, we have also forgotten that the clauses of the prayer are in a very real sense “headlines,” which would have suggested other thoughts, allied considerations. The first three clauses pray for the advent of the Kingdom. When this Kingdom has come, God's name (i.e., his person) will be held in honor, his will performed.

Father in heaven. Cf. third NOTE on 5:16. The first hearers would have been reminded of the other titles used of God in the OT—Lord, King, Husband, etc.

may your name be held in honor. The “Name” of God as here used is a thoroughly OT usage. “Knowing the name” of God was equivalent to “fulfilling the terms of the Covenant obligation,” because ancient Israelite covenants were solemnly sworn by invoking the name of God. This followed the general practice of royal treaties of the second millennium B.C., in which the gods of the interested parties were named as witnesses. To know, understand, the name of a person was to know the person himself—cf. Gen 32:28–29. God's name, his person, suffers outrage in the despoliation of his chosen people, and the restoration of the fortunes of Israel was a sanctifying, an “honoring,” of that name (cf. Ezek 36:23). But Israel's sin, which brings upon her the misfortunes which she suffers at the hands of her enemies, is equally a dishonoring of God's name (cf. Isa 43:25, 48:11; Ezek 36:20–22). The juxtaposition of honoring the name of God together with asserting his reign is a common motif, and in its classical form is expressed in the ancient synagogue prayer known as the Kaddish: “May his great name be exalted and sanctified in the world, which he made according to his will. May his kingdom rule, his redemption spring forth, may he bring near his Messiah and save his people, in your lifetime, in your days, in the lifetime of all the house of Israel, quickly and soon. And you shall say, Amen.” (Cf. also 1 Cor 16:22; Rev 22:20.)

10. *so also on earth*. The whole tenor of Matthew's gospel (cf. Part X of the Introduction) marks a sharp distinction in his material between “the Kingdom of heaven” and “the Kingdom of God,” even though each phrase could be a surrogate for the other. (“Kingdom of heaven” was used in order to avoid use of any word for “God.”) This petition in the prayer looks both to the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom in the present age (“Kingdom of heaven” in Matthew's use), and also to the final consummation (“Kingdom of God”). The prayer then passes to petitions proper to those who await the coming of the Kingdom.

11. *Give us today the food we need*. The last two words in our translation are our rendering of an obscure Greek word, *epiousios*. Jerome tells us that the (now lost) Gospel according to the Hebrews had the clause “bread of tomorrow,” and this would fit the sense on two counts: (a) the Gr. *hē epiousa hēmera*=“tomorrow,” and (b) it harmonizes well with the eschatological content of the first part of the prayer. The disciples are to pray for tomorrow's bread today, since tomorrow would be the day of the Messiah (cf. Exod 16:22 ff.) on which work would not be possible. But this is awkward, for first it would mean that a Greek word was being coined deliberately, when there were already phrases in constant use for “tomorrow,” and secondly, on the face of it, it would not harmonize well with “today.” The word is found in

the papyri in the sense of “ration,” and certainly for those waiting for the coming age this sense is appropriate. It is possible that what we have here is a misunderstanding of an Aramaic original which very early was cast into a Greek mold and rendered sacrosanct by use.

12. *release us from our debts*. Luke at this point has “sins.” Short of keeping man indentured to him, God could deal with man’s debt to him only by his own gracious act. This remission of debt the NT sees as accomplished by the self-giving of Jesus. The cancellation of the disciples’ indebtedness, in the face of the dawning Kingdom, must be met by a like service to their debtors. There is close parallel between the Greek of this clause and the LXX Greek of Deut 15:2. Cf. NOTE on 5:25–26.

13. *the final test*. Frequently in all the gospel traditions Jesus warns of the distress and tribulation which will mark the end of the present age and the dawning of the Kingdom. The Greek word (*peirasmos*) was used as meaning “the birth pangs of the Messiah,” and indicated a sharp and bitter struggle between men and forces of evil. This theme of conflict is constantly emphasized in the NT, and Jesus saw his work of exorcism as part of this conflict. Cf. the important article of K. G. Kuhn, “*Peirasmos—hamartia—sarx*—im Neuen Testament und die damit zusammenhängenden Vorstellungen,” *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 49 (1952), 200–22, and also “New Light on Temptation, Sin and Flesh in the New Testament,” in *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, ed. Krister Stendahl, London: SCM, 1958.

from the Evil One. Paul’s letters give frequent warnings of the heightened intensity of the devil’s onslaughts in the time of the Kingdom’s inauguration.

The doxology (“for thine is the Kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever, Amen”), which exists in various forms in different manuscripts, was evidently added by copyists who understood from their own use that such was the customary way to end a prayer. On the Lord’s prayer, cf. especially Raymond E. Brown, “The Paternoster as an Eschatological Prayer,” in *New Testament Essays*, pp. 217 ff.

14. *offenses*. The word used here, literally meaning a false step, is found only here and in Mark 11:25–26, in the gospels.

COMMENT

The illustrations noted above are collected here by the evangelist to elucidate the injunctions in 5:20, which is concerned with the obedient response of the disciple to the will of God. The illustrations are from the familiar duties of prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, all three being areas in which ostentation is a constant temptation.

24. THE GREAT INSTRUCTION: FASTING (6:16–18)

6 ¹⁶ “Whenever you fast, do not (like the overscrupulous) look dismal, for they disfigure their faces to make it obvious to men that they are fasting. In solemn truth, I tell you that they already have their reward. ¹⁷ But when you fast, anoint your head and wash your face, so that it may not be obvious to men that you are fasting, ¹⁸ but to your Father, and your Father who sees in secret will reward you (openly).

NOTES

6:16. On *overscrupulous*, see Introduction, Appendix to Part IX.

17. *anoint your head*. It is possible that this is meant in the sense of, e.g., [Ps 23:5](#), that is, of joy and thanksgiving.

18. The Greek of this verse is impossible as it stands (“so that it may not be obvious to men that you are fasting, but to your Father *who is in secret*, and your Father who sees in secret will reward you”). As the [Gr. *tō en tō kruphaiō*](#) is plainly dittography, we have omitted the clause in italics. The extant Greek recensions of the verse are all likewise impossible. God may be “hidden”—to use the OT phrase—but it is hard to say how he can be “in secret.”

25. THE GREAT INSTRUCTION: WEALTH

(6:19–21)[†]

6 ¹⁹ “Do not accumulate wealth for yourselves on earth, where both moth and rust consume, and where thieves break in and steal; ²⁰ but store away for yourselves heavenly treasure, where moth and rust do not consume, and where thieves do not break in and steal. ²¹ Where your wealth lies, there also will be your heart.

NOTES

6:19–21. Detachment with regard to worldly goods is a constant theme in the NT (cf. last part of third paragraph in second NOTE on 5:9). Cf. the following sayings of King Monobazos of Adiabene (A.D. 46–47), who embraced Judaism and in a time of famine gave away all his inherited wealth: “My fathers stored in a place where the hand can reach, but I have stored in a place where the hand cannot reach. My fathers gathered for this world, but I have gathered for the future world.” (TB, *Baba Bathra* 11a, *Tosefta Peah* iv 18, references by courtesy of Dr. Moses Aberbach.)

26. THE GREAT INSTRUCTION: DISCIPLESHIP AND DETACHMENT

(6:22–34)[†]

6 ²² “The body’s lamp is the eye, and if your eye is healthy then all your body will be full of light, ²³ but if your eye is evil, then all your body will be dark. If the light which is in you is dark, then how dark it will be! ²⁴ No one can be the slave of two owners, for either he will dislike the one and prefer the other, or alternatively be loyal to one and despise the other. You cannot be a slave of both God and wealth. ²⁵ Therefore I tell you not to be overconcerned about eating and drinking, nor about clothing. Is not your life more than eating and drinking, and your body more than clothing? ²⁶ Think of the birds in the sky: they neither sow nor reap, and they do not store in granaries, yet your heavenly Father feeds them. Are you not much more valuable than they? ²⁷ Which of you, by worrying, can add anything to his span of life? ²⁸ And why be so worried about clothing? Reflect on the anemones and the way they grow, for they neither toil nor spin, ²⁹ yet I tell you that even Solomon in all his magnificence was not clothed like one of them. ³⁰ If God thus cares for the weeds, which—living today—are used as fuel for ovens tomorrow, will he not much more care for you, men of little faith? ³¹ Do not therefore be overconcerned with questions such as ‘What shall we eat?’ ‘What shall we drink?’ or ‘What shall we wear?’ ³² for these are pagan worries, and your heavenly Father knows that you need all these things. ³³ But seek first of all

God's Kingdom and his righteousness, and all these things will be provided for you. ³⁴ Do not be overconcerned about tomorrow, for tomorrow will do its own worrying. Today's misfortune is enough for today."

NOTES

6:22–23. To lay hold of treasure in heaven, the disciple must have his “inner eye” healthy. The idea expressed here (cf. [Luke 11:34](#)) is that just as the body is illuminated by the eye (as though that organ were a window), so there is a spiritual eye, through which the whole spirit of man is either illuminated or in darkness. The two verses might easily be linked with the preceding vss. 19–21, since the “good eye” as a synonym for generosity is well attested in the OT (cf. [Deut 15:9](#); [Prov 22:9, 23:6, 28:22](#); [Ecclus 14:10](#)) and in the *Pirqê Abôth* (Sayings of the Fathers) 5:15. But it would be a mistake to attribute to vss. 22–23 a preoccupation with wealth and possessions, even though the evangelist uses the word *haplous* (which we have rendered by “healthy”), and which can be translated as “liberal.” However, the context of its parallel in [Luke 11:34–36](#) makes it clear that what is under discussion is the generosity, the humility, which is characteristic of freedom from entanglement, whether of wealth or of any other human consideration.

24. The two preceding verses are in our judgment explained by vs. 24. Despite possible echoes from immediately preceding centuries in our own history, we have chosen the translation “slave” at this point, and so all through the gospel. The slave was in Imperial Rome, as in the earlier Hellenistic world, the absolute property of his owner, who had rights of life and death over him. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize here that—unlike later types of slavery among Christians and Muslims—the slave in Roman and Hellenistic society could often be a person of considerable education and therefore of consequence in a household. In those ancient times, slaves were generally prisoners of war, and the institution had no racial overtones. Slavery was often preferred to freedom, and men made contracts of servitude to ensure food and shelter for themselves and their families. Though flight was possible to slaves under desperate circumstances, masters were under constant economic pressure to treat slaves with some consideration. This did not apply to *state* slaves, who frequently worked in intolerable circumstances. The OT allowed for the institution of slavery, but with very precise safeguards. The apostle Paul could call himself a “slave of Jesus-Messiah” (cf. [Rom 1:1](#)) to emphasize the absolute rights of the Risen Lord over him, and none would think the expression inappropriate.

25. Rabbi Eliezer the Great (first century A.D.), who was in touch with Christians, quotes a saying of Jesus which is not otherwise attested: “Whoever has a morsel of bread in a basket and says ‘What shall I eat tomorrow?’ is one of those who have little faith” (TB, *Sota* 48b).

Therefore. Luke uses this connective in quite different context ([Luke 12:22](#)) and we might have expected *therefore* to introduce some conclusion from vs. 24. It is probable that this word gives us an indication that the saying was very early fixed in oral form, and was so reproduced here in Matthew’s collection of sayings.

26. The slave cannot serve two owners, and the disciple will be called upon to choose between God and human well-being (wealth, “mammon,” vs. 24). If he is single-minded, of “sound eye,” he will choose rightly. And if he should ask how he can be assured of human necessities, vss. 25–26 point to God’s provident care for nature.

27. The saying is difficult, and may have been conflated. *Pēchus* (cubit) is a measure of space, which we have translated simply by “anything,” while *hēlikia* can mean either stature or span of life. Possibly there were two sayings: “Who can add a cubit to his land, or a day to his life?” The confusion is further illustrated by Luke’s version ([Luke 12:25–26](#)), which adds *elastichon*, presumably referring to “adding to age, or physical growth,” and *tōn loipōn*, referring to bodily sustenance and clothing. Whether *hēlikia* be span of life or stature, it is not easy to see how it is “least” compared with the other two as “the rest” ([Luke 12:26](#)).

28. *anemones*. See [IDB](#), III, s.v. “lily,” fifth paragraph.

30. *ovens* (Gr. *kribanos*). An earthen oven, in which dead weeds were used for fuel (cf. Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ad loc., and Dalman, *Orte und Wege Jesu*, pp. 169, 232).

men of little faith. The word does not occur in Mark, and in Luke only at [12:28](#). Its use here and at [8:26, 14:31](#), and [16:8](#) calls attention to faith as trust in the overruling providence of God.

33. Unhappily it needs to be said here that all these lessons in detachment are *not* here summed up by an

injunction to assume that discipleship will *ipso facto* produce the necessities of life. This verse, like its predecessors, calls for a searching examination of the disciples' priorities.

to you. The translation of the NEB ("... all the rest will come to you as well.") at this point is indefensible, resting as it does on an assumption that the prefix in *prostethēsetai* is to be taken literally—a fault common to the KJ also.

enough. The Greek (*arketos*) is late, and is found before the second century A.D.—outside the NT—only in Josephus (*Jewish War* III. 130) and one near-contemporary author.

27. THE GREAT INSTRUCTION: DISCIPLESHIP

(7:1–14)[†]

7 ¹ “Do not sit in judgment, lest you yourselves be judged, ² for you will be judged by the same standard which you have used. ³ Why look at the splinter in your brother’s eye, if you do not take notice of the beam in your own? ⁴ How dare you say to your brother, ‘Let me take the splinter out of your eye’, when all the time there is a beam in your own eye? ⁵ Casuist! First remove the beam from your own eye, and then you will see clearly in order to remove the splinter from your brother’s eye. ⁶ Do not give what is sacred to dogs, and do not throw pearls in front of pigs, lest they tread them underfoot, and then turn and attack you.

⁷ “Ask, and it will be given you, seek and you will find, knock and the door will be opened for you. ⁸ For he who asks will receive, he who seeks will find, and the door will be opened to him who knocks. ⁹ Who is there among you who will give his son a stone if he asks for bread? ¹⁰ Or if he asks for fish, will he give him a snake? ¹¹ If, then, you who are sinful know how to give good things to your children, how much more will your heavenly Father give good things to those who ask him? ¹² Whatever therefore you wish men to do to you, do the same to them, for this is the meaning of the Law and the prophets.

¹³ “Go in by the narrow gate, for the wide gate and the easy path lead to destruction, and many go that way.

¹⁴ The narrow gate and the hard way lead to life, and few

find it.

NOTES

7:1. Luke 6:37 connects this verse with the saying “Be merciful,” which is a good logical connection of material. Cf. “Whoever accuses his neighbor will himself be judged first” (TB, *Rosh ha-Shanah* 16b).

2. *for you will be judged*. Mark adds this at 4:24b, in a different context. The saying was common in Jewish literature. Unjustifiable condemnation will always call down upon it the just condemnation of God.

3–4. Cf. Rabbi Tarphon (end first century A.D.): “If one says, ‘Take the mote from thine eye,’ he answers, ‘Take the beam from thine own eye’ ” (TB, *Arachin* 16b), and (from a commentary on Ruth 1:1) “It was a generation which judged its judges. If the judge said to a man, ‘Take the splinter from between your teeth’ ”—a variant reading has ‘eyes’—“he would retort, ‘Take the beam from between your eyes’ ” (TB, *Baba Bathra* 16b).

5. On *Casuist!*, see Introduction, Appendix to Part IX.

6. This saying is found only in Matthew. Its position in Matthew’s tradition belongs to a series of three prohibitions, 6:19–20, 7:1–5.

dogs ... pigs=alien and heathen people (cf. Philip 3:2; Rev 22:15), and *pearls* would here stand for religious truth (cf. 13:46). As it stands it is capable of being interpreted as a Jewish-Christian proscription against evangelizing Gentiles, but one early document (Syrian? second half of first century A.D.?—cf. J.-P. Audet, *La Didaché*, applies it to the Eucharist (*Didache* ix).

7–13. Whatever their original place in any collection which Matthew may have used, the present position of these commands is appropriate, since they follow warnings against the misuse of discipleship.

7–8. Cf. Luke 11:9–10, with identical wording.

9–10. Cf. Luke 11:11–12.

12. This verse seems to be out of place, for Luke has it in a context which deals with duty to others (Luke 6:31). Possibly vss. 7–11 have been at some stage interpolated, and vs. 12 originally followed vs. 6. In negative form, this saying is associated with Hillel the Elder (TB, *Shabbath* 31a), shortly before the time of Jesus.

13–14. This is the second command. Cf. Luke 13:24. The “two ways” is an OT theme. Cf. Deut 11:26–29 (interpreted in rabbinical tradition as of the “two ways”) and Jer 21:8. The Lukan version is more emphatically eschatological in context than is the position here. But it is likely that we are to see this verse against the context of vss. 22 ff. In this case, *Go in by the narrow gate* will be understood as meaning that entrance into the Kingdom—whether the Kingdom of heaven or the Kingdom of God—is through a narrow gate.

many ... few. Cf. 2 Esd 8:3: “Many are created, but few will be saved.”

COMMENT

There is no particular logical connection between 6:34 and 7:1, and the material here appears to be a collection of sayings of a moral and quasi-legal character which may have been in current use.

28. THE GREAT INSTRUCTION: FALSE TEACHERS

(7:15–20)[†]

7 ¹⁵ “Beware of false prophets, who come to you disguised as sheep; inwardly they are devouring wolves. ¹⁶ You will recognize them by their fruits. Are grapes gathered from thorn bushes, or figs from thistles? ¹⁷ So, every sound tree bears good fruit, but the decaying tree bears bad fruit. ¹⁸ A sound tree cannot bear bad fruit, and a decaying tree cannot produce good fruit. ¹⁹ Every tree which does not bear good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire. ²⁰ Thus you will recognize them by their fruits.

NOTES

7:16. Cf. Luke 6:44.

17. Cf. Luke 6:43.

18–20. Something of Matthew's method of arranging his material can be seen here. After the warning against false prophets in vs. 15 there is a saying which deals with recognizing such people, a saying which he uses to close the section in vs. 20. But the saying suggested to him familiar sayings about trees and fruit, which he placed at 16b–19. Cf. a similar procedure of using a parable at 20:1–15 to follow on from 19:30, with a conclusion at 20:16 paralleling 19:30.

29. THE GREAT INSTRUCTION: FALSE DISCIPLES

(7:21–29)[†]

7 ²¹ “Not everyone who calls me, ‘Lord, Lord,’ will enter into the Kingdom of heaven, but only the man who does the will of my Father who is in heaven. ²² At that time, many will say to me, ‘Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in your name, cast out demons in your name, and did we not perform acts of power in your name?’ ²³ Then I will declare to them: ‘I never knew you. Go away from me, you evildoers.’ ²⁴ Therefore everyone who hears these sayings of mine and does them, will be like a wise man who built his house on rock. ²⁵ The rain fell, the river flooded, and the wind blew hard on that house. It did not fall, because it was built on rock. ²⁶ But anyone who hears these sayings of mine and does not follow them will be like a foolish man who built his house on sand. ²⁷ The rain fell, the river flooded, and the wind blew hard on that house. It fell, and its fall was very great.”

²⁸ When Jesus had finished saying these things, the crowds were deeply impressed by his teaching, ²⁹ for he taught authoritatively, and not like their scribes.

NOTES

7:21. Cf. [Luke 6:46](#). Cf. also “... strong as a lion to do the will of thy Father who is in heaven” (*Pirqê Abôth* v 22). The phrase “to do the will” is common in rabbinic writings.

22. *At that time* (literally *in that day*) is an expression looking to the end of the present order, i.e., to the judgment. Cf. [Luke 13:26](#).

23. Cf. [Luke 13:27](#).

24–27. Cf. [Luke 6:47–49](#).

29. *for he taught* ... On the scribes, see *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, XI (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls), p. 123. The origin of the designation “scribe” is far from certain, but what Matthew says here helps to explain the implied criticism. Given any body of law, there will inevitably grow up a whole history of interpretation and reinterpretation of that law in the light of changing circumstances and of a changing social and/or economic climate. Inevitably there will be a corresponding growth in the number of clerks, scribes, and recorders of these interpretations, not necessarily skilled in law, but skilled in recording case-law decisions. Such men, even though not trained lawyers, would exercise considerable influence in forming attitudes to the Law, on account of their known and recognized ability to recall the minutiae of case-law decisions. Even today the influence of “managing clerks” in the United Kingdom in solicitors’ and barristers’ offices is considerable.

Yet another empirical factor leads to an emphasis on the importance of those who record decisions. This is the observable tendency in all ages and societies to interpret law in a restrictive sense at the beginning, followed inevitably by an equally observable tendency to interpret in a permissive sense. The history of Christian monasticism in the first eight centuries of church history is an interesting example of this tendency, and the same process is discernible in the history of rabbinic commentaries on the Law.

Note: A comparison between the treatment of the material of the Great Instruction in Matthew with parallel material in Luke is not to our purpose in this commentary. The reader will find an excellent and detailed account in Allen’s [ICC St. Matthew](#) commentary, pp. 70–74.

The reader is referred to two works which deal with the Great Instruction. The first, to which reference was made in our COMMENT on vss. 1–12 (§ 13), is Jeremias’ *Sermon on the Mount*. The second, more recent—and full-length—work is W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, Cambridge University Press, 1964. (This is now available in an abridged paperback, *The Sermon on the Mount* [Cambridge], intended more for the general reader.) This book has the advantage of taking note of the available literature on the subject, however peripheral. Generally, Davies’ main arguments may be summarized as follows:

(1) The element of crisis in the teaching of Jesus is emphasized, and for all the careful arrangement of material in Matthew, Davies does not feel that this element has been reduced in the process. Davies, accepting the validity of the “Q” hypothesis, finds his proof in the sayings of that collection. He rightly points out that the nearest, if not the only, parallel to this “crisis” element lies in the sectarian writings of Qumran, though here—as Davies points out—the Essenes withdrew, in response to this sense of crisis, into rigidly defined groups centered on an exact keeping of the Law. The author—following Kurt Schubert (“The Sermon on the Mount and the Qumran Texts,” in *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, ed. K. Stendahl)—finds an anti-Essene element in Jesus’ teaching in [Matt 5](#). Davies’ view that Jesus recalled his disciples to “the essential meaning of the Torah” (p. 432) is substantially our own. He finds Jesus deliberately legislating for the new Messianic age.

(2) Davies, willing to consider the idea that Jesus’ words were memorized and transmitted in something like a rabbinic school, sees two divergent traditions resulting: the one, a tendency to treat the words of Jesus as precise regulations, to be used in rabbinic fashion for further interpretation and elucidation; the other, a tendency to draw out from the sayings a single principle from which codes of behavior could be inferred.

(3) Davies considers that the grouping of Matthew’s material reflects or parallels the activity of the rabbinical schools, especially under the influence of the scholars at Jamnia (Yabneh) after the destruction of

the temple in A.D. 70. Davies regards the Great Instruction as a “formulation of the way of the New Israel” at a time when rabbinical scholars were similarly working on such a formulation for the people of the Old Covenant under changed circumstances. This, the author holds, accounts for the anti-Pharisaism of Matthew, the characteristics of the genealogy, and various details in the Great Instruction.

We would disagree with parts of this last point. Certainly Jamnia was for a time a center of study, but it is by no means certain just what did happen there. There was, so far as we can at present judge, nothing approaching a “council” of scholars. Moreover, it is possible to exaggerate the importance of Jamnia, and the kind of formulation to which Davies calls attention plainly had a far longer tradition of legal debate in oral process than would appear from Davies’ book. The widespread and lasting consequences of the Jewish dispersion (the “Diaspora”) were such that the sacrificial cultus of the temple was something which affected the majority of Jews only minimally at best. In a very real sense, it was the destruction of Jewish life in Palestine rather than the destruction of the temple which was decisive for Judaism in A.D. 70.

In addition to Davies’ view that the events of A.D. 70 were of paramount importance for the formulation of rabbinic tradition, there is allied with this his option for the priority of Mark as a documentary source for Matthew. This is an option for which we find as yet no overwhelming evidence in favor of its final acceptance as an assured result of biblical scholarship.

30. HEALINGS

(8:1–18)[†]

8 ¹ When he came down from the mountain, great crowds followed him. ² A leper, on coming to him, prostrated himself with the words, “Sir, if you are willing, you are able to cure me.” ³ Then, stretching out his hand, he said, “I am willing. Be cured.” Immediately he was cured of his leprosy. ⁴ Jesus said to him, “Be sure to say nothing to anyone. But go and show yourself to the priest, and make the offering Moses commanded, for proof to them.”

⁵ As he was entering Capernaum, a centurion came up to him with the words, ⁶ “Sir, my servant is lying at home paralyzed, in terrible suffering.” ⁷ He replied to him, “I will come and heal him.” ⁸ But the centurion replied, “Sir, I am unworthy to have you enter beneath my roof. But simply give the word and my servant will be healed. ⁹ For I too am a man under authority, having soldiers under my command. I say to one ‘Go,’ and he goes, to another ‘Come’ and he comes, and to my slave ‘Do this’ and he does it.” ¹⁰ Jesus was surprised at hearing this, and said to those who followed him, “I declare to you that I have not found such faith, even in Israel. ¹¹ I tell you that many will come from east and west and will take their place with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Kingdom of heaven, ¹² while the sons of the Kingdom will be thrown into outer darkness. There will be shrieking and grinding of teeth.” ¹³ Jesus said to the centurion, “Go. As you have believed,

so let it be.” And his servant was cured at that moment.

¹⁴ When Jesus came into Peter’s house, he saw Peter’s mother-in-law lying sick with a fever; ¹⁵ he touched her hand, the fever left her, and she rose and served him.

¹⁶ That evening they brought to him many who were devil-possessed. He cast out the spirits with a command and healed all those who were sick. ¹⁷ So was fulfilled the saying of the prophet Isaiah:

“He himself took our infirmities
and bore our diseases.”

¹⁸ When Jesus saw the crowds around him, he gave orders to go across the lake.

NOTES

8:1. This verse can hardly be anything but a connecting link with 7:28–29, and is not intended to be a chronological note.

2. *leper*. Various skin ailments were often included under the general term leprosy (Gr. *lepra*), and it is important not to see here an indication that one of the three types of Hansen's disease is *necessarily* indicated. The same word would also cover elephantiasis, psoriasis, and vitiligo (depigmentation of skin). Hansen's disease (first isolated in 1871) is certainly the most important, and is the disease to which the term leprosy is now properly applied. (Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1960 ed., XIII, ad loc.) A type of Hansen's disease may well be indicated here, but the Greek word would obviously give us no help. Whatever the affliction in question here, the prescriptions of the Mosaic Law would hold (cf. *Lev* 13–14). The *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, VIII, ad loc., will give details of the Talmudic regulations.

prostrated himself. See NOTE (on *proskunēsai*) on 2:2.

Sir. The Gr. *kurios* is ambivalent. See Part XII of the Introduction. It is common in this gospel, and in Luke, as a mode of address to Jesus, but is used only twice in Mark.

to cure. The Greek is a late word, and very infrequent outside the LXX and the NT. It is used once in Josephus (*Antiquities* XI. 153).

3. At this point Mark's account represents Jesus as "having pity," and in some manuscripts as "being angry" or "deeply stirred." It might be assumed that Matthew, with Mark's account before him, deliberately omitted the phrase in the interests of reverence for the person of Jesus. But Matthew never mentions human emotion with respect to Jesus except four occasions of his "having pity." It is just as likely that Matthew's account, assuming it to be wholly independent of Mark, may well represent a tradition which found itself puzzled by what we would call the human personality of Jesus, and so preferred to maintain silence. The assumption that Matthew, having read Mark, revolted against the idea of an emotional Jesus on grounds of reverence makes little sense when seen in the light of the gospel according to John. For if Matthew is late, and John also (as most critics agree), then what is to be said of *John* 11:28–44? The fact is that the emotions of characters in narrative literature in the ancient world are hardly ever mentioned. It will be recalled that, apart from anger, there are very few occurrences of human emotion recorded of any character in the OT.

4. *for proof to them*. In view of this injunction to silence, lest Jesus' ministry be compromised by a reputation as a wonder-worker, it is important to note that the proof referred to here was not proof of a cure. The priests would certainly assure themselves of a cure before allowing an offering to be made. The proof in question was that of Jesus' allegiance to the Law, and this fact may well have dictated Matthew's placing of the incident here (cf. COMMENT following).

5. *entering Capernaum*. Mark's account of the foregoing incident has the healed man immediately publicizing an account of his cure, embarrassing Jesus to the extent that he was unable to enter any town openly. If Matthew was aware of Mark's account, to have included Mark's ending would have precluded the connection with the next incident. But Luke agrees with Matthew in omitting the man's disobedience and its results. Either (a) Luke shares Matthew's reverential attitude in respect to Jesus and finds disregard of Jesus' command unthinkable, or (b) both Matthew and Luke drew upon a tradition known to both but independent of Mark, or (c) we may see the hand of a copyist or editor at work shaping a future ecclesiastical attitude to the work and ministry of Jesus. If the third option is correct, it is astonishing that Paul should have stumbled so early into this editorial trap (of a reverential attitude to Jesus), even before the tradition was committed to writing. It is well to remind ourselves that (unlike later ages) the evangelists saw no moral or theological question involved in accounts of miracles, and therefore felt entirely free to omit or recount details, to arrange material where it best suited the immediate purpose, or even to omit material altogether. In attempting ingenious guesses as to the motives which led to this, that, or the other item being present or absent in the gospel material, it is well not to try to build a pyramid on its apex.

5–7. The *centurion* was almost certainly a Gentile, though he may have been a God-fearer, and therefore presumably reluctant to bring the sufferer to one whom he knew only as a Jewish healer. In the synoptic

gospels the only occasion on which Jesus himself went to the sick is in the case of Jairus' daughter ([Mark 5:23–24, 35–43](#); [Luke 8:41–42, 49–56](#)).

7. *I will come*. The clause may also be translated as a question: “Shall I come?” Whichever way the translation is made, the essential point is that Jesus is prepared to have dealings with a Gentile, and by implication to enter his house. This was not forbidden by the Mosaic Law, but was certainly not regarded favorably by rabbinic legislation.

8. *servant*. The Greek can also mean “child,” but it is definitely “servant” in this context.

9–10. *faith*. Whether the centurion thought that Jesus had effective control over heavenly agencies, and so could heal, is beside the point. For Jesus, the striking thing was the man's faith, the word *pistis* being used here as it is in most parts of the NT as meaning trust and confidence in the power of God.

11–12. For these verses, cf. [Luke 13:28–30](#). Theologically, the best-known exponent of faith as the one condition by which all men are able to respond to the call of God, and so enter the Kingdom, is Paul in Galatians and Romans. In the synoptic gospels the same concept is embodied in the parable of the prodigal son ([Luke 15:11–32](#)). Loyal trust is demanded of the rightful heir (Israel), whereas when the alienated (the Gentiles) demonstrate that faith, that trust, they are given equal place in the Kingdom.

11. *will take their place*. I.e., “will take their place at table with.” The usual practice at this time was to recline at table, though sitting at table also had an honorable and lengthy history. The Messianic Banquet was a common Jewish theme (cf. *Pirqê Abôth* iii 20; *Parables of Enoch* xlii 5) and is found in the NT (cf. [26:29](#); [Luke 14:15–24](#); [Rev 3:20, 19:9](#)).

12. *sons of the Kingdom*. I.e., the rightful heirs. Cf. [13:38](#). Similar phrases are found in Jewish literature (cf. [TB](#), *Shabbath* 153a; *Pesachim* 8a).

outer darkness. As the just punishment for faithlessness, this expression is found in the intertestamental writings. Cf. *Enoch* ciii 8; [Pss Sol 14:6](#), xv 11; *Sibylline Oracles* iv 43. For the rabbinical references, cf. [StB](#), ad loc.

shrieking and grinding of teeth. This is a common expression in Matthew ([13:42, 50, 22:13, 24:51, 25:30](#)) and occurs once in Luke ([13:28](#)). Cf. also *Enoch* ciii 8; *Parables of Enoch* xl 12.

13. *at that moment*. Healing coincidental with the words of Jesus occurs also at [9:22, 15:28, 17:18](#).

14–16. Cf. [Mark 1:29–34](#). The details which Mark supplies are understandable on the usual theory of Mark's dependence on Petrine reminiscence. The details in [Mark 1:29](#) (assuming that Matthew knew them) would be out of place here, since Matthew's scheme takes no account of an incident in the Capernaum synagogue which Mark records.

16. *command*. The Greek is the same as that for *word* in vs. 8.

17. The series of healings is concluded with the quotation from [Isa 53:4](#). On this, and the whole question of OT quotations in this gospel, cf. Introduction, Part IV. The quotation here is wholly independent of the Greek of the [LXX](#).

took ... bore. The Greek words (*lambanein* and *bastazein*) can be understood as Jesus' taking away, carrying away, the afflictions of the person healed, or as taking, carrying vicariously those afflictions. In the total context of [Isa 53](#), the identification of Jesus with the Servant would appear to demand far more than a mere removal of suffering. Indeed, the healings here seem to be a “typical” collection, designed to illustrate the Servant-Messiah theme of the OT quotations. In that case, the omission of details, if the evangelist knew them, would be deliberate, as tending to obscure the empowering act or word of the Servant-Messiah in his bearing of the sufferings of men.

COMMENT

There are three healings in this section; Matthew's habit of arranging material in easily remembered groups is a phenomenon to which attention has already been called (cf. Introduction, Part IV). There is a parallel in Mark to the first incident, but in that gospel the healing of the leper is without any details of place or occasion. So far as Matthew is concerned it may be surmised that the incident of the leper is placed first because it gives an indication of the attitude of Jesus to the Law (vs. 4) and is thus particularly appropriate as following after the Great Instruction.

Any comparison at this point with Mark's order must assume that Matthew had read Mark and had deliberately changed the Markan order. (Cf. 8:1–18 and Mark 1:29–34, 40–45.) Unless that assumption is made, then we must suppose that Matthew's tradition, which had two healings also found in Mark, had those accounts in no particular order.

31. AN INQUIRER

(8:19–22)[†]

8 ¹⁹ A scribe came to him and said, “Teacher, I will follow you wherever you go.” ²⁰ Jesus replied, “The foxes have holes, and the birds in the sky have nests, but The Man has nowhere to lie down.”

²¹ Another, (not one) of the disciples, said to him, “Sir, allow me first to go and bury my father.” ²² But Jesus replied, “Follow me, and let the dying bury their dead.”

NOTES

8:19. Luke's version (9:57) simply has "someone" (Gr. *tis*), and only Matthew identifies the man as a scribe.

20. *The Man*. It has become increasingly clear in the past two years that the translation *Son of Man*, however accurate as a literal rendering of the Gr. *huios tou anthrōpou*, and however euphonic in English, is inadequate. We have discussed this title more fully in the Introduction, Parts VI and XII, and in the light of a recent work by Fitzmyer (*The "Genesis Apocryphon" of Qumran Cave I*, especially p. 134), we have used *The Man* throughout our translation. It carries more weight as emphasizing the representative character of Jesus' ministry as the evangelist sees it, and certainly is more faithful to the original Hebrew/Aramaic. Cf. recently J. Massingberd Ford, "'The Son of Man'—A Euphemism?" *JBL* 87 (1968), 257–67. This article, if its main contention stands, sheds a good deal of light on the title, not only in the NT but possibly also in the intertestamental literature.

21. *Another, (not one)*. The Lukan version of the incident sets the two inquirers in the context of the journey to Jerusalem (Luke 9:51, 57–62). Moreover, in that narrative it is clear that (as in vs. 19 above) a man *comes* to Jesus with a question—i.e., he is not a member of the company. The same Lukan narrative also refers to *another* posing a question about obligations to home and family. Alongside the Lukan narrative, this verse as it stands in the Greek in Matthew is odd. Jesus would by this time have been fully aware of the home circumstances of his disciples, the legal requirement of burial within twenty-four hours would not have posed an intolerable delay in the following of Jesus, and the third inquirer in Luke (9:61) is obviously not of the inner circle of the Twelve. We therefore come to the conclusion that the Greek text in Matthew must be defective, particularly in view of the care taken by the evangelist to confine the word "disciple" to the Twelve. At present, the text reads: *heteros de tōn mathētōn eipen autō*: "another of the disciples said to him." Now *de* is a particle which is so frequent in the NT (nearly 400 times, 51 of them in Matthew) that it is difficult to decide on occasion whether it is to be ignored or taken note of. But it is also frequently joined to the negative, as *oude* (26 times in Matthew out of a total of 137 in the NT). We conclude that the Greek must originally have read *heteros oude tōn mathētōn*, on grounds of haplography between the final syllable of *heteros* and the first of *oude*. The dropping of *ou* would be relatively easy in times when there were no gaps between words in manuscripts. Our translation as it appears in the text is revised to the extent of putting our suggested amendment in parentheses. We claim that hereby justice is done to the text in three directions: *de* reads oddly in the present text, and our version renders it explicable; it is more faithful to the Matthean use of "disciple"; and it is incidentally more easily reconcilable with the Lukan account.

22. *dying ... dead*. This is either a proverbial saying otherwise unknown to us, or—again linking the incident with another inquirer in Luke (9:61–62)—we are to see in this saying a call to sacrificial service (cf. 19:29). It is possible, however, that there is yet another meaning here. The Lukan context (9:51–62) appears to argue the ending of the old dispensation in the face of the new Kingdom proclaimed by Jesus. In that event, if Matthew's narrative here has the same meaning, then the inquirer is being directed to look to the future, to leave a dying cause behind him. Whether this is meant to refer to the Israel of the Old Covenant, or whether the inquirers were formerly adherents of John the Baptist, we are in no position to know. It must be remembered that in several Semitic languages, including Hebrew/Aramaic, the word for *dead* can also mean *dying*, and we have so rendered the Greek here.

COMMENT

Three stories of healings are linked with three stories of miracles of power by an interpolated story of two inquirers. The whole cycle—three healings, two inquirers, three miracles of power—would make for easier memorizing of oral tradition.

32. CALMING THE STORM

(8:23–27)[†]

8 ²³ When he got into the boat, his disciples followed him. ²⁴ Then a great storm arose on the sea, so that the boat was being swamped by the waves, but he was asleep. ²⁵ They went and awoke him: “Sir, save us, or we are lost!” ²⁶ He said to them, “Why are you afraid, you men of little faith?” Then he stood up, gave orders to the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm. ²⁷ Men wondered: “What sort of man is he, that the winds and the sea are obedient to him?”

NOTES

In the light of the comments made in the Introduction (Part X) on the subject of the “nature miracles,” there is no call for elaboration here. Both Matthew and Luke appear to be working from a tradition which differs from that of Mark. Matthew (vs. 23) and Luke (8:22) insert a note about embarkation. In Mark (4:35) Jesus is already in the boat, and there is also verbal Greek agreement between Matt 8:25 and Luke 8:24, as also between vs. 27 and Luke 8:25.

Mark’s account is far more vivid, arguing personal reminiscence from Mark’s source (especially in details like the cushion in Mark 4:38, and the anguished cry to Jesus in the same verse).

26. *little faith*. Cf. second NOTE on 6:30. The phrase is used four times in Matthew. The Markan version is more forceful (Mark 4:40)

faith. As has already been pointed out, *faith* in the gospels means trust, confidence in the providence of God. It is reading too much into the question to see it as necessarily an appeal for loyalty to, or trust in, Jesus himself.

27. *Men*. In vs. 23 we have *his disciples*, where Mark 4:36 has *they*. It is possible to assume, as is commonly done, that Matthew used Mark’s account, softened its harshness (cf. vs. 25=Mark 4:38; vs. 26=Mark 4:40) and then, unable to have the disciples being “greatly afraid” (Mark 4:41) reverted to “men” here. This kind of revision seems somewhat unnecessary, since whatever the reactions of the disciples (and Matthew seldom tells us much in this regard), men who heard of or possibly witnessed the incident from the shore would certainly be amazed and wonder.

Grammatically, there was a tendency in Koine Greek to overdo the generic article, and it is no wonder that translators misunderstood an original Aramaic in which there was no distinction between the definite and the indefinite article.

33. THE GADARENE DEMONIACS

(8:28–9:1)[†]

8 ²⁸ When he came to the other shore, to the country of the Gadarenes, two men who were demon-possessed, on their way out of the tombs, met him, men so fierce that no one could pass on that road. ²⁹ They called out, “What have you to do with us, Son of God? Have you come to torment us before the time?” ³⁰ Now a large herd of pigs was feeding at some distance from them, ³¹ and the demons pleaded, “If you cast us out, allow us to go into the herd of pigs.” ³² He said to them, “Go,” and on coming out they went into the pigs, and all the herd rushed headlong down a steep place into the sea and were drowned in the water. ³³ The herdsmen fled, came into the city, and told everything and what had become of the demon-possessed. ³⁴ All the city came to Jesus, and on seeing him begged him to leave their district.

9 ¹ So getting into the boat he departed and went to his own city.

NOTES

Matthew's account of this incident is far shorter than Mark's (seven verses against twenty), less detailed, and it is possible that the evangelist is also taking account of an incident recorded in [Mark 1:21–28](#) by speaking of two demoniacs instead of one. The same consideration may also account for Matthew's two blind men in [20:30](#). If the evangelist's tradition was vague where Mark's was detailed, we would expect this kind of combination to occur.

8:28. Gadarenes. There is textual confusion in the Greek here, as there is also in [Mark 5:1](#) (though in that instance "Gerasenes" is probably right). The more important Gerasa was thirty miles southeast of the Sea of Galilee, and in [Mark \(5:1\)](#) the adjective Gerasenes is a geographical point of some importance. Matthew has Gadara,* a place only six miles southeast of the lake, and the assumption in this verse is that the incident took place soon after the party landed. Moreover this was Gentile territory (as evidenced by the herd of pigs), and when the meeting took place the herd was *at some distance* (vs. [30](#)), implying that Jesus had walked some way from the shore.

tombs. Ritually unclean (cf. [23:27](#)), tombs were regarded as fitting homes for demons and the demoniacs.

29. What have you to do with us? Literally in the Greek idiom this is "What is there between us and you?"—i.e., why are you interfering with our proper preserve?

Son of God. The two men, possessed by demons who have spiritual insight, identify Jesus as one possessing healing power, or possibly even using the address as the equivalent of "Messiah."

before the time. According to Enoch xv–xvi, demons have power to torment men until the day of judgment, and the demons ask that they be not cut short before that time.

31. demons (Gr. *daimones*). It was pointed out in ch. [4](#) that this word must not be taken as the equivalent of devil (Gr. *diabolos*). Demons were regarded as good, bad, or even neutral, but they could take possession of men and completely change their personality. Some useful modern material—for those who find the NT view too naïve—may be found in William W. Sargant's *Battle for the Mind*, New York: Doubleday/London: Heinemann, 1957.

31–32. Demons must have some kind of "base of operations" (cf. [12:43](#)), but though they are given leave by Jesus to find such in the herd of pigs, even this fails them, for the pigs are drowned. Such "panic" behavior in many species of animals is well attested, but we have no means of knowing how such a panic might actually have occurred on the occasion to which this incident refers.

33–34. In Mark's account, the city dwellers come out and see the demoniac restored to health ([5:14–17](#)), but here it is Jesus who is the center of attention.

begged him to leave. Cf. [10:14 f.](#)

34. THE QUESTION OF AUTHORITY

(9:2–8)[†]

9 ² They brought to him a paralyzed man lying on his bed, and when Jesus saw their faith he said to the paralytic, “Take courage, my child, your sins are forgiven.” ³ Certain scribes said to one another, “This man is blaspheming.” ⁴ Jesus, however, discerning their thoughts, said to them: “Why are you harboring evil thoughts in your minds? ⁵ Which is easier: to say ‘Your sins are forgiven,’ or to say ‘Get up and walk’? ⁶ But so that you may know that The Man has authority on earth to forgive sin”—he then said to the paralytic—“Rise, take your bed and go home.” ⁷ Whereupon he rose up and went home. ⁸ Seeing this, the crowds were awestruck and glorified God for giving such authority to men.

NOTES

9:2. In several places, Mark (2:1, 3:20, 9:28, 10:10) has indeterminate references to “a house,” which would seem to imply that Jesus had some regular home or lodging in Capernaum. Matthew’s version, in all instances where it parallels Mark, has no such reference.

brought (Gr. *prosepheron*). A favorite word in Matthew, who uses it, in all, fifteen times.

your sins are forgiven. The breaking of the power of sin and of the dominion of evil is one of the signs of the dawning Kingdom. See COMMENT on 4:1–11 (§9).

faith. Cf. NOTE on 8:9–10.

3. *blaspheming*. Mark’s version makes the charge of the scribes explicit: “Who can forgive sins, except God?” (Mark 2:7). The synoptists agree with John that the hostility to Jesus centered principally on his enemies’ understanding of what Jesus’ words and deeds implied—cf. John 5:18, 8:48–59.

5. Jesus’ question is not an invitation to watch a demonstration of miraculous power either as a proof of divinity or of his own power to heal. It is a challenge to accept or reject his claim that the reign of God was visibly breaking in. Both healing and forgiveness, even though the former is more dramatically visible, are signs of a restoration of God’s order to the disorder in the world. Cf. Introduction, Part X.

sins. Sickness and disease were commonly regarded both in the OT and in the time of Jesus as being the direct result of the sufferer’s sins, and it is a belief that should not be completely ignored in considering this passage. In this particular instance we have no means of knowing the circumstances of the case. The sufferer’s circumstances may easily have been known to Jesus, for he was by now well known in Capernaum. In addition, our own age has become increasingly aware of the problems posed by psychosomatic conditions.

6. *The Man*. Cf. NOTE on 8:20. It is difficult to see why some commentators have been at pains to wonder whether either Mark (or Matthew) here misunderstood, or an editor misread, his sources, and rendered *The Man* (Son of Man) for a simple “men.” What was in dispute was not the obligation of men to forgive each other for wrongs done to each other—every devout Jew was aware of that obligation. What was in question was the authority Jesus claimed *from heaven* to remit the sins of men (cf. Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 261).

8. *crowds*. The contrast is often made in Matthew between the faith, trust, of the disciples and/or the crowds on the one hand, and the unbelief of Jesus’ critics on the other.

to men. The Greek construction allows us to read “on behalf of men.” In this case, the crowds would be awestruck not only by the healing, but also that to Jesus authority had been given for the sake of man’s salvation.

COMMENT

This, the third event in the second group of healings, is of cardinal importance in the Matthean scheme, for it brings clearly into focus the problem of authority which had been briefly raised in 7:29. What had been then a matter of authority in words now passes into a question concerning the authority of the Messiah in action. Whether Matthew's tradition originally had the same details as Mark's, we are in no position to know, but the shorter account which we have here has the effect of emphasizing the rising hostility of the scribes to Jesus. Mark's vivid account to some extent obscures this, for his word picture has the effect of concentrating our attention on the attendant hazards of bringing the paralytic to Jesus and on the faith which overcame those hazards.

There are differences between Mark and Luke also, and agreements between Matthew and Luke against Mark. If these agreements against Mark are to be regarded purely as revision of Mark's work by the other two evangelists, then it is hard to see why Luke should omit the reference to Capernaum (Mark 2:1) by the somewhat clumsy introduction in his own version (Luke 5:17–18). The reason for Matthew's omission of any mention of Capernaum by name (9:1) is obvious enough: he has already established (4:13) that this town was the center of Jesus' activity. It is simpler to suppose that Matthew and Luke were working from sources wholly independent of Mark.

35. THE CALL OF MATTHEW

(9:9–13)[†]

9 ⁹ As he went on from there, Jesus saw a man called Matthew sitting in the tax collectors' office, and said to him, "Follow me." He arose and followed him. ¹⁰ While he was in the house, many tax collectors and non-observant Jews came and sat with Jesus and his disciples. ¹¹ When the Pharisees saw this, they said to his disciples, "Why does your Master eat with tax collectors and non-observant (Jews)?" ¹² However, he heard them and replied, "Those who are well have no need of a physician—only those who are sick. ¹³ Go and learn what this means: 'I desire mercy and not sacrifice.' I did not come to call the righteous, but sinners."

NOTES

9:9. Matthew. Greek *Matthaios* reflects Hebrew and Aramaic *Mattay*, a shortened form of *Mattathias* (*Mattatyahu*). Greek *Matthias* represents Hebrew and Aramaic *Matyā*, another shortened form of the same name.

tax collectors' office. Capernaum was on the side of the lake, and the tax office was presumably on the outskirts of the town.

arose and followed. This idiom is common in the Hebrew of the OT.

10. non-observant (Jews). The more usual “sinners” obscures the issue, here and in vs. **13**. The tax collector was regarded by Jews of that time as a sinner not so much because he was the tool of the occupying power, or because he was regarded by the more rigorous as being a servant of the Herodian house, but more because he had to handle currency with pagan inscriptions and pagan iconography. And since many of these tax collectors were corrupt and regularly accepted bribes, the whole profession had come to have a bad reputation.

sat. Those visiting in the circumstances depicted here would sit on rugs or mats on the floor, with legs crossed, while others would stand. It would be possible to accommodate some thirty to forty people in the small house of a tax collector.

11. It is the *Pharisees*, with their insistence on precise adherence to the letter of the Law as interpreted to cover specific cases, who criticize Jesus. The following verse gives the whole keynote of the NT—later to be given theological treatment in the Pauline letters—that what is demanded of the would-be entrant into the Kingdom is faith, loyal trust. There is no demand for a prior conversion of life and conduct, and entrance into the Kingdom is not a reward for moral rectitude. This emphasis is in marked contrast to the demands of the Essenes, for whom entrance into the community was the result of a righteousness already attained.

13. The quotation of **Hos 6:6** in this verse is also found at **12:7**, and it is in the words of both the Hebrew and the Greek OT. The reply of Jesus is ironic: it is often those who think they have no need of a physician who really need him most.

to call. The same Greek verb is used of inviting to a feast in **22:3, 4, 8–9**. On the Messianic Banquet, cf. NOTE on 8:11.

righteous ... sinners. The contrast is common in the Qumran literature, where the words are *ṣaddîq* and *rāshāʿ*, both singular, both generic. Here the Greek word *dikaioi* (righteous) does not connote the rejection of the righteous in the sense of those devoted to the Law, but rather the rejection of the self-designated righteous (cf. **Gal 2:17**).

COMMENT

Here the man whose name is associated with the gospel as author is introduced as though to provide an authentication of his right to record the tradition. The name Matthew occurs only once more, at 10:3. Our views on the authorship of this gospel are given in the Introduction, Part XIII.

36. JOHN'S DISCIPLES

(9:14–17)[†]

9 ¹⁴ Then the disciples of John came to him with the words, “Why do we and the Pharisees fast often, while your disciples do not fast?” ¹⁵ Jesus said to them, “Can the wedding guests mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them? The time will come when the bridegroom is taken away from them—then they will fast

¹⁶ No one puts a piece of unworn cloth on an old garment, for the patch tears away from the garment and the damage is made worse. ¹⁷ New wine is not put into old wineskins. If it is, then the skins burst, the wine is lost and the skins are destroyed. But new wine is put into new wineskins, and both are preserved.”

NOTES

9:14. Mark's language at this point (Mark 2:18) suggests that the incident took place during one of the statutory periods of fasting.

15. *wedding guests* (literally "sons of the bridal chamber") is a Semitism.

as long as (Gr. *eph' hōson*). The Greek indicates that the wedding festivities might last some days.

the bridegroom is with them. Here we might have expected some phrase that would indicate the impossibility of fasting during a wedding celebration. But the bridegroom's presence is emphasized as pointing to a time when he will not be there. It is not necessary to see in this a prophecy after the event, inserted by the early community to explain either the crucifixion or the early Christian custom of fasting. Jesus can hardly have been unaware of the well-nigh inevitable consequences of his proclamation of the reign of God. A violent end could safely be predicted for one making such a proclamation, either at the hands of the Roman authority, or at the hands of a mob (especially a disappointed one).

16–17. Matthew links these two verses with the previous saying by the particle *de*, but the precise connection of these two verses with the preceding is not very clear. The contrast between old and new is obvious enough, but does the verse in its present position intend to suggest that the proclamation of the reign of God and the Messianic Age will expose the weaknesses of Judaism as Jesus found it—i.e., would the proclamation lay bare the dangers of relying upon that literal observance of the Law so characteristic of pettifogging lawyers? Or is there here some quite different material?

Verse 17 carries on the thought of the preceding verse, but this time from the point of view of Jesus' teaching. On the usual interpretation Jesus asserts that superimposing the nascent Messianic Community on Judaism would result in serious harm to Judaism, and equally, to confine the Community to Judaism would do irreparable harm to both. (Cf. here *Pirqê Abôth* iv 20: "Do not look at the jar, but at what it contains. Sometimes a new jar is full of old wine, while an old jar may not even have new wine in it.")

16. *patch*. The patch being unshrunk, will pull away (as it shrinks) from the rest of the garment. The Greek is *plērōma*, the noun from Matthew's verb "to fulfill" (*plēroun*). Rom 9–11 is evidence of the great concern felt about the precise relationship of the Messianic Community to Judaism. On the view that vss. 16–17 are to be regarded as Jesus' teaching on the relationship of his Community to Judaism, then the final clause *and both are preserved* is either editorial comment, or a misplaced saying from another context in an attempt to deal with the question.

But this must be regarded as unsatisfactory. The whole tenor of Jesus' teaching, in all four gospels, makes it hardly possible to suppose that he looked to a continuance of his Messianic Community and Judaism side by side. Certainly, if vss. 16–17 do deal with Judaism, then Luke's tradition is right in calling the material "parable" (Luke 5:36). However, it is far simpler to treat the two verses, coming as they do in a context which deals with the disciples of John the Baptist, as a judgment by Jesus on the position of John's followers, now that Jesus has proclaimed the dawning reign of God. There is no evidence anywhere in the NT that Jesus ever had anything but the highest regard for John, and the synoptic record is witness that the death of John affected Jesus deeply. But loyalty to John on the part of those who had listened to him, embraced his message, and attached themselves to him was one thing; it was quite another to suppose that that loyalty and attachment was such as to refuse allegiance to Jesus. Now that the Messianic Kingdom had been proclaimed, John's part had been fulfilled, and there could be no room for the new Community *and* a community of John's disciples, existing together in uncomfortable parallel. (On this point, cf. K. Stendahl, in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, eds. Matthew Black and H. H. Rowley [London and New York: Nelson, 1962], p. 782a.)

COMMENT

This section follows on from the last in the sense that it, too, is an implicit discussion of the place of the Law in the dawning Messianic Age. But the assertion that the Messianic Age has already come in the person of Jesus is followed by the warning that the present time of rejoicing is temporary.

37. HEALINGS

(9:18–34)[†]

9 ¹⁸ While he was talking to them, a ruler came to him, knelt before him, and said, “My daughter has just died. But come and lay your hand on her and she will live.” ¹⁹ Jesus rose up with his disciples and followed him. ²⁰ And a woman who had suffered from a hemorrhage for twelve years came up behind him and touched the hem of his himation, ²¹ for she said to herself, “If I can only touch the fringe of his himation I shall be made well.” ²² Jesus turned around, saw her, and said, “Daughter, take courage. Your faith has made you well.” And from that very hour the woman became well. ²³ Jesus came to the ruler’s house, saw the musicians and the crowd making a great noise, and said, ²⁴ “Go away, the girl has not died, but is sleeping.” They derided him, ²⁵ but when the crowd had been put out, he went in, took her by the hand, and the girl arose. ²⁶ The report of this went all through that district.

²⁷ While Jesus was passing on from there, two blind men followed him crying aloud, “Son of David, take pity on us!” ²⁸ When he entered the house, the blind men came to him and Jesus said to them, “Do you believe that I am able to do this?” They answered him, “Yes, sir.” ²⁹ Then he touched their eyes, saying, “According to your faith so let it be done to you.” ³⁰ Their eyes were opened, and Jesus said to them urgently, “See that no one knows of this.” ³¹ But they went away and spread his reputation

through all that district. ³² As they were on their way a dumb demoniac was brought to him, ³³ and when the demon had been exorcized the dumb man spoke; the crowds wondered, saying, “Nothing was ever seen like this in Israel.” ³⁴ (But the Pharisees said, “He casts out demons by the Ruler of Demons.”)

NOTES

9:18. In the Markan narrative (5:21 ff.) the first incident takes place when Jesus is surrounded by crowds on the lakeside. Matthew's account has Jesus sitting in a house talking with his disciples. The Matthean account is shorter, and if Matthew's tradition embodied this incident as it is here, set in a series of healings but without detail, then he was free to place the story where he wanted, lacking details which were known (only?) to the Markan tradition.

ruler. Mark (5:22) adds that it was a synagogue official (*hāzān*=ruler, functionary) but Matthew assumes that his readers are aware of what is meant. He omits the name of the official (Jairus, [Heb. Yā'îr](#), a common name) which Mark supplies.

knelt. Cf. last NOTE on 2:2. Matthew has no equivalent of the details in [Mark 5:23, 35–37](#).

20. *himation.* This was an outer garment, a cloak, which in 5:40 we translated by *cape*. In essence it was a coat with a girdle, worn over the shirt ([Gr. chitōn](#), translated by us as *tunic* at 5:40). In all instances from this point onwards we have left the Greek *himation* transliterated.

fringe ([Gr. kraspeda](#)). Tassels attached to the corners of a garment (cf. [Num 15:38](#); [Deut 22:12](#)). Jesus' accusation (23:5) was that the Pharisees made these ornaments overlarge as a demonstration of piety—though Jesus himself is represented as wearing tassels in 14:36.

20–21. The woman's illness would make her ritually unclean ([Lev 15:19 ff.](#)), and in consequence all that she touched would also be unclean.

It is important to see this kind of ritual impurity in perspective. In an age which knew nothing of distinctions between a blood-flow which caused infection and one which did not, it was safer to bracket all such cases together. The extension of the tabu of ritual uncleanness arose from a desire to avoid infection or contagion.

23. *musicians* ([Gr. aulētas](#))=literally, “flute players.” Here Matthew can draw on his knowledge of Jewish custom, which called for “two flutes and one to wail” even for the poorest funerals (cf. *B. Chethuboth* 46b). Mark (5:38) is far more vague.

24. *died ... sleeping.* The word “sleep” was used in the OT to denote death (e.g., [Dan 12:2](#)), and the use is continued in the NT. We are in no position to determine whether Jesus was saying of the girl that she was dead, and that it was his mission to proclaim that death no longer was to have the tenor of finality, or whether he was asserting that the girl was not dead but in a coma. The evangelist and the witnesses are certainly represented as believing that a miracle of raising the dead had occurred.

Throughout this section the Matthean and Lukan traditions agree in eight instances in Greek verbal detail against Mark.

27. Matthew's account of the healing of the two blind men is of some special interest. There are two healings of blind men in Mark (8:22–26; 10:46–52). The second of these parallels the account here, and it also involves two blind men. In his account of the curing of the leper (8:2–4), Matthew does not record any cautioning by Jesus that the man remain silent about his cure, though Mark does. Here, however, both Matthew and Mark agree that Jesus urges silence on the cured blind men.

from there. I.e., from the ruler's house.

28. *the house.* I.e., the house in which Jesus was living in Capernaum.

30. *said to them urgently.* The Greek word is emphatic, and is also used of men expressing themselves heatedly.

31. *spread his reputation.* The Greek word occurs in [Mark 1:45](#), and Matthew uses it here and again at 28:15.

32–34. A somewhat similar story is given by [Matt 12:22–24](#) in a context where we might have expected Matthew's tradition of [Mark 3:19–21](#). But there is no mention here of the casting out of the demon, or of healing, as there is in a somewhat similar account in [Matt 12:22–24](#). The whole order is odd, for these verses would have suited the context of 12:25–30 far better than is the case here. It is also notable that Luke (11:14–15)—like Matthew—has a tradition of his own in the context of [Mark 3:19–21](#). If we assume that

both Matthew and Luke were using Mark, then it is hard to find any reason why at this particular point both evangelists should have deserted the Markan order. On the theory that both Matthew and Luke had access to Mark, then it is necessary to say that Matthew inserted here a story of conflict with the Pharisees which warned the reader that the ministry of Jesus was not met with universal approval. Again, on the same theory, it is necessary to say that when Matthew came to [Mark 3:19–21](#) he substituted [12:22–24](#) as being a better introduction to the discourse which follows in [Mark 3:23](#). Generally, however, the simplest solutions are preferable, and it is certainly simpler to assume that Matthew and Luke were both independent of Mark, here as elsewhere.

34. Some manuscripts omit this verse, presumably on the grounds that it was thought to be an assimilation to [12:24](#). However, in its present position it does illustrate a point which Matthew constantly makes—the welcome of the crowds compared with the hostility of some sections of Judaism.

Suggestions have been made that the whole complex [8:1–9:34](#) contains ten miracles (though [9:18–26](#) encloses one miracle narrative within another, and so may be counted as one). This, it has been suggested, is in accord with an emphasis on series of ten miracles in *Pirqê Abôth* (v 5, 8). This is ingenious, but it ignores the fact that ten is certainly not, as a number, confined to miracles. Evidence for the use of the number ten in other areas can be found in Allen's [ICC St. Matthew](#) commentary, p. 94. There is, however, a certain arrangement of material in this section just completed, which deserves some mention.

The Greek verb *sōzein*, “to make well, restore,” and—in large areas of the NT—“to save,” is used three times in [9:21–22](#). Attention has already been called to the Messianic work of restoring order and unity to God's creation (Part X of the Introduction); the disciples will be called upon to join in this work in [10:7 ff.](#) With this in mind, it is of more than passing significance to read the whole section in the light of [Isa 35](#). There we have exhortations to courage (vss. [3–4](#); cf. [Matt 9:22](#)), assertions of God's visitation in order to save (vs. [4](#); cf. [9:18, 22](#)), demonstrations of the majesty of God (vs. [2](#); cf. [9:33](#)), and then there are by means of the miracle narratives specific illustrations of the divine work mentioned in [Isa 35](#). There are men who receive their sight (vs. [5](#); cf. [Matt 9:27–29](#)), dumb who hear and speak again (vs. [6](#); cf. [9:32–33](#)), and the ritually unclean are restored to the community (vs. [8](#); cf. [9:20–22](#)). It is difficult to suppose that this parallel in material should not have been present to the mind of the evangelist when he arranged his material, and from our examination of the OT background of Matthew (Part IV of the Introduction) it is probable that [Isa 35](#) was a model for the arrangement of this block of narrative.

COMMENT

If we accept Stendahl's suggestion that vss. 16–17 apply to the relationship between Jesus and the disciples of John, then this description of the three healings, dealing as it does with the blind, the deaf, and the dead, anticipates the questions about Messiahship to come in 11:5.

38. MISSION AND DISCIPLESHIP (9:35–38)

9 ³⁵ Jesus went through all the towns and villages, teaching in their synagogues, proclaiming the Freedom of the Kingdom, and healing every disease and infirmity. ³⁶ When he saw the crowds he felt deeply for them because they were troubled and helpless, like sheep without a shepherd. ³⁷ Then he said to his disciples, “There is an abundant harvest, but there are few workers. ³⁸ Therefore ask the chief harvester to send workers into his harvest.”

NOTES

9:35. *Freedom*. On this translation, see NOTE on 4:23.

36. *felt deeply*. The Greek word (*splanchnizesthai*) is well represented in the synoptic gospels and in the [LXX](#).

troubled. The meaning of the Greek (*eskulmenoi*) ranges very widely indeed, from being flayed, to being concerned, vexed, bewildered, despondent.

helpless. Literally, “prostrate,” either from drunkenness or from a mortal wound.

sheep without a shepherd. Cf. [Num 27:17](#); [1 Kings 22:17](#); [Ezek 34:5](#).

38. *chief harvester*. In Aramaic, the phrase *rab ḥeṣādā* means the person responsible for hiring and dismissing harvest workers.

Luke ([10:2](#)) has the words of vss. [37–38](#) at the beginning of the mission of the seventy disciples.

COMMENT

This short section provides both a conclusion to chapter 9 and a fitting introduction to chapter 10. The evangelist has summarized the teaching of Jesus, placing it firmly in the context of the Old Covenant (chs. 5–7), and has given examples of how the awaited Messiah went about the work of healing and restoration. Now it is time to introduce the inner circle of disciples as the men who will carry on the Messianic activity.

39. THE MISSION OF THE TWELVE

(10:1–15)[†]

10 ¹ Calling to him his twelve disciples, he gave them authority to cast out evil spirits, and to heal every disease and every infirmity.

² The names of the twelve apostles are: first, Simon, called Peter, and his brother Andrew, James and his brother John, sons of Zebedee, ³ Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew the tax collector, James (son of Alphaeus), Thaddaeus (called Lebbaeus), ⁴ Simon the Zealot, and Judas Iscariot, who was to betray him. ⁵ These twelve Jesus sent on a mission, charging them as follows: “Do not go along the route of the Gentiles, and do not enter a Samaritan town (again). ⁶ Go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and ⁷ as you go, proclaim that the Kingdom of heaven is fast approaching. ⁸ Heal the sick, cure lepers, cast out demons. You received without paying anything—give without payment. ⁹ Do not carry gold, silver, or copper coin in your belts, ¹⁰ no bag for your journey, nor two tunics, nor sandals, nor a staff. The worker deserves his keep. ¹¹ Find out who is suitable in any town or village you enter, and stay there until you leave. ¹² As you enter the house, greet it, and ¹³ if the house is deserving, then let your blessing rest upon it. If it is undeserving, let your blessing return to you. ¹⁴ If anyone will not receive you, or listen to your words, then on your departure from that house or town, shake off the dust from your feet. ¹⁵ I solemnly declare to you that Sodom

and Gomorrah will be in happier case on the day of judgment than that town.

NOTES

10:1. authority. Matthew has already spoken of the authority of Jesus (7:28 f., 9:6) in teaching and in work. Here he depicts Jesus transmitting this authority to the disciples. Cf. also 9:8; 28:18.

2. The names of the twelve apostles are.* This phrase has commonly been held to be editorial, which may or may not be correct. It may well also be a parenthetic note introduced by the author. The word *apostle* occurs only here in Matthew, but the concept of “sending on a mission,” from which the noun derives, is common in this gospel; cf. vs. 5 below as a typical example. If our interpretation of Matthew’s scheme is correct (see COMMENT following this section), then there would be no call to use the word again, and 28:19 gives the commission of the apostles as clearly as does John 20:21.

first. In a list such as we have here, the word is redundant unless it refers to the leadership of the Twelve by Peter.

Simon. See NOTE on 4:18. Note that Matthew arranges all brothers in pairs in this list.

Andrew is a Greek name, like Philip in vs. 3, but this must obviously not be taken to mean that the names indicated that the men were Greeks.

3. Bartholomew. This name is Aramaic Bar-Tolmai (Tolmai is attested in South Arabic and Nabataean as normal transcription of Gr. *Ptolemaios*)=son of Ptolemy, indicating that his father had a Greek name.

Thomas (=“Twin”) is, in Aramaic, *Tōmā*.

Matthew is Hebrew (see NOTE on 9:9), and he is identified with the tax collector of 9:9.

Alphaeus is *Aram*. *Ḥalfai* (shortened from the common rabbinic name *Ḥalafta*), while *Thaddaeus* is *Aram*. *Taddai*. It could be a place name, on the basis of quite satisfactory Aramaic etymologies. The manuscript evidence shows that *Lebbaeus* is sometimes substituted for *Thaddaeus*, and we may assume that *called* was added to preserve both traditions. Certainly the names are typical Aramaic shortened forms (hypocoristica). In the list in Luke 6:16, *Lebbaeus/Thaddaeus* is replaced by *Judas=Jude* (not *Iscariot*, John 14:22), but there is no good reason why the list of twelve apostles should always have been limited to the same persons (until after the defection of *Judas*).

4. Simon the Zealot. For all the discussion in commentaries on the relative merits of the reading *kananaïos* (Canaanite) and *kannaïos* or *kanaïos* (Zealot), the solution certainly lies in the transmission of the Hebrew/Aramaic appellation. In normal transcription the Heb. *qof* was always *k*, while the aspirated *kaph* was always *chi*. The reading can only be *qannāyā*, *Zealot*, which is the appellation in Luke. The introduction of an extra “a” is very simply explained, for two *n*’s between two *a*’s would very easily produce an extra *a*. If the passage was being dictated, then the confusion between *Kananaïos* and *Chananaïos* would quickly arise. “Canaanite” seems to us to be a very weak candidate as a description of a disciple of Jesus. It is far more likely that more than one Zealot would have initially been attracted by the teachings of Jesus, and that one of them should have been so identified in this list. Luke (6:15) reads *Simōna ton kaloumenon Zēlōtēn*, presumably to put the matter beyond doubt (cf. Acts 1:13, *Simōn ho Zēlōtēs*).

Judas Iscariot. Attempts to deal with the name *Iscariot* as derived from a place name (“the man from Kerioth”), or as belonging to a leather apron girdle, or bag, or from *Judas*’ later role as traitor, or from a supposed meaning as “assassin,” must all be abandoned. *Judas* alone is as useless an identification as would be *Muhammed*, without a patronymic, in Muslim countries. Harald Ingholt was driven to look for other explanations by the near unanimity in later iconography depicting *Judas* as red-haired. His technical discussion and full conclusions are to be found in *Studia Orientalia Johanni Pedersen* (Copenhagen, 1953), pp. 152 ff. He demonstrates, on the basis of Palmyrene inscriptions, that “*Iscariot*” cannot have been a geographical appellation, and suggests that the word derives from the Aramaic root *sqr*, which varies in meaning from reddish-brown to ruddy. What we have therefore in this name is a kenning, or nickname.

The unanimity of all four gospels as to the central place of the Twelve (the title is common in John) tends to obscure the fact that we know very little about this inner circle. It is more than possible that their function (cf. Acts 8:1) may have been almost exclusively within the framework of the Jerusalem community. When Jewish Christianity as a controlling influence came to an end ca. A.D. 65–70, the Gentile

communities may not even have known the names of the Twelve with any certainty. The number “twelve,” however many there may have been in the inner circle of the disciples, is considered in our gospels to be connected with the twelve tribes of Israel (cf. [19:28](#); [Rev 21:14](#)). Three significant points must be noticed here:

(a) The OT lists of the twelve tribes seldom agree fully as to the specific identification of all “twelve” tribes.

(b) The emphasis on “the Twelve” in the Qumran community ([1QS viii 1–10](#)) is of some importance here. Cf. C. S. Mann, “The Organization and Institutions of the Jerusalem Church in Acts,” in Munck, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Appendix IV.

(c) Whatever the original identification of “apostles” and “the Twelve,” at least for Jerusalem, the term “apostle” seems to have taken on a wider meaning with the conversion of Paul and the resulting Gentile mission. Cf. Johannes Munck, “Paul, the Apostles and the Twelve,” *Studia Theologica* 3 (Lund: Gleerup, 1949).

There are lists of the Twelve also in [Mark 3:16–19](#); [Luke 6:13–16](#); [Acts 1:13–16](#). The reader is also referred to our discussion in Part XIII of the Introduction, on authorship and chronology.

5. *sent on a mission*. In Mark’s tradition ([6:8–13](#)) this mission is a definite single occasion, and the whole context of the Matthean account supports it.

route of the Gentiles. There were three possible ways in which the disciples could travel to accomplish this mission: (1) along the coastal plain, (2) along the Jordan valley, or (3) along the watershed ridge. It is the first possibility which is being ruled out here. There were few Jewish settlements there at that time, and it would therefore have been extremely difficult for the disciples to obtain ritually clean food (i.e., *kosher* food). The [Gr. hodos](#) can mean a road or a route, or (as in parts of the NT) a way (of life), a journey. The [Heb. derek](#) also carries similar meanings.

(*again*). The present Greek of this injunction is: *kai eis polin Samaritōn mē eiselthēte*. Our translation obviously depends on the supplying of *palin* (again) for *polin* (city) before *eis*, to restore what we believe to have been the original text. If there was here an absolute prohibition against the evangelization of Samaritans, it is hard to imagine why the disciples, immediately after the death of Stephen, should have regarded with equanimity a mission among the Samaritans ([Acts 8:2–25](#)). Moreover, the inhabitants of Samaria would certainly have been regarded as being among *the lost sheep of the house of Israel*. Jesus is recorded in [John 4](#) as having preached in Samaria and there the surprise of the disciples (vs. 27) is that he was talking with a woman, not that he was talking with a Samaritan. Jesus’ prohibition here may have been due to the fact that the disciples, having a Jewish ethnic and religious background, might antagonize the Samaritans unwittingly.

Our restored Greek text is easily understood: *palin eis polin* ... It would lend itself with great ease to a very natural haplography. *Palin* (*again*) with the negative imperative is found at [2 Cor 2:1](#); [Gal 5:1](#); [Heb 6:1](#), 4–6. It is used frequently in the gospels for repeated journeys.

6. *lost sheep*. Cf. NOTE on 3:2.

house of Israel. The contrast sometimes drawn by commentators between the particularism of this verse and the general commission of [28:16–20](#) is not very instructive. For one thing, the commission here means that those so commissioned are to give absolute priority to those towns or areas where there are already Jewish settlements (cf. vs. 23), as areas where the Messianic message would not be foreign. However, there is the decisive phrase *The Man’s coming* in vs. 23, and we have given reasons for thinking that this “coming” refers to the passion-resurrection glory of the Messiah (cf. Part VI of the Introduction). In vs. 23, then, there is a simple statement that the disciples will not even have time to complete their mission in the Israelite communities before the time of Jesus’ glorification. This interpretation assumes independent missionary activity on the part of the inner circle, and this we know to have been the case (cf. [Luke 9:1–6](#), [10:1–20](#)—the mission of the seventy; [Mark 6:7–31](#); and cf. also [John 4:2](#)). The difficulty of interpretation lies partly in Matthew’s habit of grouping material into discourses, and the references at the head of this chapter make it clear that what the evangelist has collected here are groups of sayings molded into a kind of missionary’s vade mecum. The care taken to preserve all that was known in the oral tradition makes it

inevitable that sayings remained which had validity originally in the immediate ministry of Jesus and his disciples. On this subject, cf. Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations*.

7. *fast approaching*. Cf. NOTE on 3:2.

8. *without payment*. Cf. [TB](#), *Nedarim* 37a: "As I taught you free of charge, so you, too, teach free of charge" (Moses to the Israelites); and "You received without pay, give without pay" (Mishnah *Aboth* i 3). The theme is common in a missionary context, and was emphasized by Paul (cf. [1 Cor 9:14](#); [2 Cor 11:7](#); [1 Tim 5:18](#)). Hospitality is a common theme, too, and given place in the NT writings (cf. [Rom 12:13](#); [1 Tim 3:2](#); [Titus 1:8](#); [Heb 13:2](#); [1 Peter 4:9](#)). The possibility of abuse of the hospitality extended to missionaries did exist, and the first-century *Didache* (xiii) thought it important enough to establish precise regulations against such abuse.

9–10. The commands embodied in these verses certainly indicate that spirit of detachment which is characteristic of the NT writings. Equally, the injunction may emphasize the extreme urgency of the need to proclaim the Freedom of the Kingdom, and [Luke 10:4](#) seems to demand this sense. The Markan tradition underlines this by prescribing only a staff for such journeys—anything more would make the missionaries appear as men bent on ordinary business.

10. *The worker deserves his keep*. Luke's version of this statement ([Luke 10:7](#)) is quoted in [1 Tim 5:18](#) as though it were already canonical scripture.

11. The Matthean version here seems to be a combination of two remembered sayings, preserved as separate in Luke in two different contexts. Cf. [Luke 9:4](#); [10:5–7](#).

suitable ([Gr.](#) *axios*). This word, in its common English translation of "worthy," may suggest moral rectitude to us, but it would not have done so to the evangelist. Rather the word indicates someone willing to receive an apostle. Cf. the English legal title of "His Worship" (i.e., "his worth-ship") for the mayor or chief magistrate of a town.

12–13. The Lukan version ([Luke 10:5–6](#)) is manifestly drawing on an independent tradition, and Mark has no parallel to these verses.

blessing. The [Heb.](#) *shālôm* does not have the restrictive sense of absence of conflict which our modern political thinking has imposed on the word peace. Rather it has the meaning of "well-being."

14. Mark ([6:11](#)) here has "place," and it is Luke ([10:10](#)) and Matthew who use *house* and *town*.

15. *Sodom*. The place is frequently used in the NT as a typical example of the doom reserved for communities that resist the divine will. Cf. [11:23–24](#); [Luke 10:12](#), [17:29](#); [Rom 9:29](#); [2 Peter 2:6](#); Jude vs. 7; and cf. also Jubilees xxxvi 10.

the day of judgment. The definite article is omitted in Greek, but such omission was not uncommon when a technical term was used. The term as used here means the end of the age, or the end of the temporal order, and in that sense cf. [Pss Sol 15:12](#); Jubilees iv 19; Parables of Enoch xxxix 1.

COMMENT

The scheme of Matthew's gospel has brought the evangelist to the point where, having told how Jesus sees his own work, he must show how provision was made for continuing that work in the future community. Nowhere in Matthew does Jesus' eschatological or apocalyptic language automatically exclude the community which came to be called the Church. Indeed, even if we had no evidence from the OT, the Qumran literature is evidence enough that in contemporary Jewish thinking a Messiah without a Messianic Community was unthinkable. With this in mind, the nineteenth-century "liberal" view that there was a "simple" humanitarian gospel of divine Fatherhood and human brotherhood, later corrupted by the apostle Paul into a full-scale ecclesiastical organization, must be dismissed as a chimera of that same liberal thinking. It is possible that many who held such a view were the victims of various translations of Luke 17:21: *hē basileia tou theou entos humōn estin*: "God's Kingdom is in your very midst," *not* "within you."

The introduction of the Twelve in this section of the gospel is abrupt, and Matthew has not given us any record of the choosing of the inner circle. The manner of the introduction is explained in part, however, by the designation of the Twelve as "apostles," a title which has reference to their mission in the continuing community after the resurrection. It is also partly explained by Matthew's arrangement of his material. From this point onwards, until the action of the gospel moves to the last week in Jerusalem, all the teaching is concerned with the community and the place of the disciple in it.

40. THE COST OF DISCIPLESHIP: MISSION

(10:16–25)[†]

10 ¹⁶ “See, I send you out like sheep among wolves. Therefore be as prudent as serpents, and as candid as doves. ¹⁷ Beware of men. They will hand you over to courts, flog you in synagogues, ¹⁸ and you will be hauled before rulers and kings on account of me, to witness to them and to Gentiles. ¹⁹ When they hand you over, do not worry about how or what to speak, for at that time what you are to say will be shown to you; and ²⁰ it will not be you speaking, but the Spirit of your Father speaking through you. ²¹ Brother will hand over brother to death, and the father his child; children will denounce parents and have them killed. ²² On account of my name you will be hated by all, but he who endures to the end will be saved. ²³ When they persecute you in one town, flee to the next one, for I tell you truly that you will not have gone through the towns of Israel before The Man’s coming. ²⁴ The disciple is not superior to his teacher, nor a slave to his owner; ²⁵ it is sufficient for the disciple to become like his teacher, and the slave to become like his master. If they have called the head of the house Beelzebul, how much more will they miscall those of his household!

NOTES

10:16. *sheep among wolves.* The phrase also occurs in [Luke 10:3](#), where it is set in the context of the mission of the seventy. It also follows immediately upon fragments of a saying parallel to [Luke 11:32](#) (=Mark 13:13) in the Gospel of Thomas (xxxix).

The whole previous section (10:1–15), which might be described as ending at vs. 16, illustrates very well the fluid state of the written tradition at the time of the compilation of Matthew, and at the same time the care with which the oral tradition was being preserved. There is a useful parallel here with the careful preservation of the material collected by the schools of Shammai, Hillel, and Yohanan ben Zakkai in rabbinical circles.

The preceding section has much in common with [Mark 6:6–11](#), and [Luke 9:1–6](#) is also parallel to this material. But Matthew and Luke in many instances agree verbally in the Greek against Mark, while at the same time Luke's version of the mission charge to the seventy ([Luke 10](#)) has material parallel to [Matt 9:37–38](#), [10:7](#), [10](#), [12–13](#), [15–16a](#). The resemblances and the differences can be accounted for somewhat as follows: Mark's charge to the Twelve is in a form which can best be described—like so much of his pre-passion material—as “headlines.” Matthew's handling of his material, much fuller and far more systematic, is careful to preserve the distinction between instruction given to the inner circle and that given to a wider audience. Luke is far more concerned, thanks to his emphasis on the results of Paul's conversion, with a wider missionary enterprise than is Matthew. For Luke, “disciple” has a wider meaning than it has in Matthew, and he therefore arranges the missionary charges in his material as addressed to the whole community.

17. *Beware of men.* The evangelist's method of grouping his material is very much in evidence here. The saying about *sheep among wolves*, whether Matthew knew Mark or not, persuaded Matthew to include here remarks about the treatment of the disciples after Jesus leaves them. Mark has the material in [13:9–13](#), set clearly in a context which looks to the future of the community. The Matthean material also looks to that future, but with the difference that there are sayings here (vss. [23–25](#)) which could equally well belong to independent missionary activity during the ministry of Jesus.

18. One of the few indications which suggests that Matthew might have been acquainted with Mark (in some form) comes in this verse. Matthew's version ends at *to witness to them and to Gentiles*. In Mark, this clause is divided between two verses, [13:9–10](#): “to witness to them. And the gospel must first be preached to the Gentiles.” The phrase “And the gospel must first be preached” would certainly be inappropriate in this Matthean context of instruction to the inner circle, if indeed Matthew's oral tradition had it.

19–21. It has more than once been said that these verses are *vaticinium post eventum* (prophecy after the event), reflections added to the sayings of Jesus after the first wave of missionary endeavor. Such a judgment is hard to sustain in the light of what we know of first-century Syria-Palestine, and the subsequent history of Paul dramatically underlines that knowledge:

(a) Social and religious conditions were such that any proclamation of a Messianic Kingdom as an impending, soon-to-be-fulfilled reality would bring sharply into focus, and into conflict, all the loyalties of Jews, both sectarian and orthodox.

(b) Roman authority could not remain indifferent to such stirrings of passion, whatever the status of Judaism as *religio licita* (lawful religion). Cf. Charles N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture* (Oxford University Press, 1940, rev. ed., 1944), especially pp. 100–3.

(c) The language of this section is wholly in keeping with apocalyptic sayings about the last days: cf. [2 Esdras 5:9](#); Jubilees xxiii 19; Enoch lvi 7, xcix 5, c 1; Apocalypse of Baruch lxx 3.

22. Cf. II Esdras “Whoever remains, that man will be saved, he will see my salvation, and the end of the age” ([6:25](#)); “Everyone who is saved ... will be preserved” ([9:7–8](#)).

23. Whether this verse is in context is hard to determine. It is wholly in keeping with the teaching of Jesus that the verse should have come to be applied to missionary work in the post-resurrection period. Application is one thing, deliberate invention quite another. Rudolf Bultmann describes the first part of the

verse as a “flight-motif” added by the evangelist as a result of persecution endured in the Church’s missionary work. This seems to ignore the fact that in contemporary Judaism one sign of the End-time was wandering of people from city to city before the appearing of the Son of David (cf. [TB](#), *Sota* 9.15, *Sanhedrin* 9a). The attention of the reader is again called to Part VI of the Introduction and to the grounds given there for thinking that what we have here in *The Man’s coming* is a reference to the exaltation of the Messiah in passion-resurrection. Whatever the length of the public ministry of Jesus, and however extended geographically the independent missions of the Twelve ([Matt 10:5–15](#); [Mark 6:7–13](#)) and the Seventy ([Luke 10:1–20](#)), the second part of vs. 23 simply states a truth: *The Man’s coming* will supervene before the mission to Israel has been fulfilled.

24–25. It is clear from these verses that Matthew and Luke were working from independent traditions—cf. vs. 24 and [Luke 6:40](#). Similarly for vs. 25; the Lukan version (6:40) of the saying about teacher and pupil is an illustration of another saying of blind leading blind, of total dependence. Here in Matthew there is a wholly different sense: the treatment accorded to the Master will be the lot of those who carry on his work.

25. *Beelzebul*. The confusion of the Greek text is reflected in the modern English translations. [RSV](#) has *Beelzebul*, and [NEB](#) *Beelzebub*. The decipherment of the Ugaritic texts, however, makes it clear that the NT form *Beelzebul* is the original Canaanite form rather than the spelling *Beelzebub* found in our Hebrew Bible ([2 Kings 1:2](#)). The name means “Baal the Prince.” This was the title of the chief god of Ekron ([2 Kings 1:2 ff.](#)), but in the Canaanite epic of Baal he was “*Zubulu* (prince), Lord of the earth.” He later became the chief of demons in early Jewish demonology.

COMMENT

The cost of discipleship to the inner circle is the same as that demanded of the Master. There is, however, a significant difference. Jesus' ministry is addressed to his own people, to Israel of the Old Covenant, as is that of the Twelve initially (cf. vss. 5–6). But while Jesus suffers at the end of his ministry at the hands of those he came to save (cf. John 1:12), the disciples addressed in this part of the charge must face suffering at the hands of Jews and Gentiles alike.

It is easy to see, from vs. 23 onwards, how this section came to be understood as anticipating the End, the final judgment. We noted in the discussion of vs. 23 above that in our view, this was not the original meaning of the charge. However, the position of this Matthean material in the Markan “apocalypse” (Mark 13) *does* place the emphasis on the final judgment. This is not by any means to deny the validity of such emphasis, though in our view this was not the interpretation given by Jesus. On the contrary, it is the universal applicability of large areas of the teaching of Jesus which opens up horizons far beyond the immediate context of that teaching. At the same time, however, it serves to obscure the fact that much of the instruction in our gospels was given only to a small inner circle. Later on, in a wider audience, there was certainly the possibility of expanded interpretation.

41. THE COST OF DISCIPLESHIP: FEAR

(10:26–31)[†]

10 ²⁶ “But do not fear them, for there is nothing veiled which will not be revealed, no secret which will not become known. ²⁷ Whatever I tell you in the dark, speak out in the light, and whatever you hear in a whisper, proclaim from the housetops. ²⁸ Do not fear those who kill the body, but who cannot kill the soul; rather fear him who can destroy both soul and body in Gehenna. ²⁹ Are not two sparrows sold for a penny? And one of them does not fall to the ground without your Father’s will. ³⁰ Even the hairs of your head are all numbered; ³¹ therefore do not be afraid—you are worth more than many sparrows.

NOTES

10:26. *do not fear*. This injunction is repeated twice, cf. vss. 28, 31. This is a device referred to in Part IV of the Introduction.

them. i.e., the persecutors.

It is clear that the saying *nothing veiled which will not be revealed* was a common theme in Jesus' teaching. It finds expression in Mark 4:22; Luke 8:17, 12:2.

27. The application of the saying in vs. 26 differs from that given in Luke. Here there is a plain injunction to make public the instruction now being given in private to the disciples. In Luke, however, 8:17 parallels the present sense, while 12:2 suggests that the proclamation of the Kingdom must not be overlaid by the kind of legal subterfuge characteristic of the Pharisees.

28. *Gehenna*. Cf. NOTE on *fiery death* in 5:22.

29. *penny* (Gr. *assarion*). This is the Latin *as*, about 1/16 of a denarius, less than 1/2 cent.

30. *hairs of your head*. The stress here is on the hairs, i.e., the insignificant, rather than on "your head."

COMMENT

The section vss. 26–33 is paralleled in Luke 12:2–9, but the differences are notable, even though there is some agreement in language. Two different senses are being used by the two evangelists, and a difference in historical setting as between Matthew and Luke would seem to make reliance on a common written source unlikely.

42. THE COST OF DISCIPLESHIP:
ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE MESSIAH
(10:32–11:1)[†]

10 ³² “Whoever acknowledges me before men, I will acknowledge before my Father in heaven; ³³ but whoever denies me before men I will deny before my Father in heaven.

³⁴ “Do not think that I have come to impose peace on earth by force; I have come neither to impose peace, nor yet to make war. ³⁵ I have come to divide ...

a man against his father,

a daughter against her mother,

and a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law.

³⁶ A man’s enemies will be members of his own household.

³⁷ The man who prefers father or mother to me is unfitted for me, and the man who prefers son or daughter to me is unfitted for me, ³⁸ and he who does not take up his cross and follow me is unfitted for me. ³⁹ One who grasps at self will lose it, but one who rejects self on my account will gain it.

⁴⁰ “Whoever receives you receives me, and in receiving me receives him who sent me. ⁴¹ Whoever receives the Prophet because he is the Prophet will be rewarded by the Prophet, and so he who receives the Righteous One because he is the Righteous One will be rewarded by the Righteous One. ⁴² So, whoever gives to one of the most insignificant of these a mere cup of water because he is my disciple will not, I tell you truly, lose his reward.”

11 ¹ When Jesus had finished instructing his twelve disciples, he went on from there to teach and proclaim in their towns.

NOTES

10:32. *acknowledges me*. With the preposition *en* with the dative, the expression occurs only here and at Luke 12:8, but without the preposition the same expression, with the same meaning, occurs at John 9:22 and in several other NT books.

33. Vss. 32–33 have a rough parallel in Mark 8:38. Nowhere is the diverse character of the Kingdom’s advent seen more clearly than in the severance of family loyalties. The section vss. 34–39, whatever the history of its individual parts, is placed here as following naturally from the thought of what the disciple must endure as the cost of his fidelity.

34. Luke 12:51 has a version of this saying which cannot be said to derive from any written source shared with Matthew.

Here, two expectations of Messiahship are alike dismissed, the one of imposing peace at home by force of arms, the other of asserting the Messianic reign by conquest abroad (cf. Isa 63:1). The thought follows logically from vs. 33: Jesus does not come to *impose peace* by kingly rule. On the contrary, his coming will involve painful decisions. He will not interfere with man’s freedom. The verse has been the subject of so much controversy, both academic and homiletical, that it is well to spend some time here discussing the linguistic evidence which underlies our translation. Basically, the evidence rests on the play on words in the Gr. *ballō* (Aram. *remā*), together with the Jewish-Aramaic word which lies behind the Gr. *alla*.

(a) The original of the saying, we suggest, was *lā’atēt le-mirmē shlāmā ’ellā ḥarbā*. (The syntax of the Peshitta—*de’armī*—is specifically Syriac and does not directly reflect earlier Jewish-Aramaic.) There is a very good parallel to the verb in the Aramaic “Genesis Apocryphon” (which dates from shortly before the time of Jesus), in col. 22, line 8, where, speaking of Abraham, it reads, “He fell upon them at night from all four sides,” literally, “he hurled” (his troops) “upon them”—*ū-remā ’alēhōn be-lēlyā*.... Here is good contemporary evidence, then, for the sense behind Aram. *remā*, Gr. *ballō*, for translating *impose* (war), in contrast to the usual translation of “bring.”

(b) The Gr. *allā*, usually given as “but” in our English translations, has been inadequately explored by translators. In early post-biblical Hebrew as well as in contemporary Aramaic the construction *lō/ā ... we-lō/ā* and *lō/ā ... ’ellā* is common, and there are many examples in (e.g.) the *Pirqē Abōth*. Since *we-lā* and *’ellā* sounded so much alike, there must often have been some confusion in oral transmission into Greek. Here, in this verse, we have precisely this situation, and the Greek has almost certainly transmitted an oral misunderstanding. What we have, therefore, is not a simple *not peace but a sword* (in spite of RSV), but a *neither ... nor* saying, with both parts depending on the meaning *impose* for the Gr. *ballō*.

(c) We have translated the Gr. *machaira* by *war*. The Greek is without a definite article, and sometimes can—and in context manifestly does—mean *war* (cf. Jer 15:2). In Hebrew and Aramaic *ḥereb/ḥarbā*, “sword,” also means “war,” and in Arabic *ḥarb*, which originally meant “sword,” is the usual word for “war.”

(d) Even when difficulties of translation in vs. 34 have been removed, there is still an awkward transition from this verse to its successor in our versions. Vss. 35–36 speak of division between members of pairs of closely related people. It is hard to know the origin of the common English rendering “set against” as a translation of the Gr. *dichazō*, which means “divide in two.” In Greek, the only example given in the lexica for *set against* as a translation of *dichazō* is our passage in Matthew! The translation “divide against” in Liddell and Scott, with this Matthew passage as sole example, is bad Greek and deplorable English. It is in our view most likely that a simple homoioteleuton has allowed a very vital connecting link between vss. 34 and 35–36 to be dropped. Vs. 34 is a denial of Messianic aspirations of various kinds, while vss. 35–36 are a quotation from Mic 7:6 of the results of a coming in judgment. What we have every right to expect in the context of the saying is a statement of true Messianic purpose, and this we do not have in the present text. Our suggestion is that originally the text ran: “Do not think that I have come to impose peace on earth by force; I have come neither to impose peace, nor yet to make war. But I have come to divide the just from the unjust ... a man against his father ...” There is important parallel material for our suggested addition in Mal

3:18 (in the middle of a description of the coming judgment); [John 9:39](#); [Acts 24:15](#) and [2 Peter 2:9](#). Outside both OT and NT there is a text ([7:12](#)) in [1QH](#), the Thanksgiving Psalms of the Dead Sea scroll material. It reads: “For all my antagonists thou wilt condemn to judgment, in order to separate on my account between the just and the unjust (translation by W. F. Albright, differing only in wording from that of Dupont-Sommer, 1951, and Mansoor, 1955).

There is a further complication. Not only is there homoioteleuton to cause confusion by the repeated *I have come*; the verb *dichazō* simply will not do to govern the Micah ([7:6](#)) quotation in vss. [35–36](#). The Hebrew original and the Greek of the [LXX](#) have the son treating the father with contempt—the division has already taken place. Hence, after “unjust” (in our text above), we have left a blank, and rendered the [Gr. katá](#) by *against (his father)*. There has obviously been omission here, but we do not know what it was at this stage—presumably the Micah passage was quoted in full.

(e) Enclosing NT material in quotation marks is not unattended by peril. It is, for instance, by no means clear that [John 1:34](#) ought to be enclosed within quotation marks as part of the witness of John the Baptist—that verse may well be the evangelist’s own testimony in response to John the Baptist’s doubts in vss. [31, 33](#). (Contrast some commentators at this point.) Similarly, it is not clear from the present context in Matthew whether vss. [35–36](#) are allusive OT commentary (*pēsher*) on the words of Jesus, in the familiar Matthean fashion, or whether vs. [34](#) is a saying of Jesus to which Jesus himself gave OT sanction.

[35–36](#). Cf. [Mic 7:6](#). Rabbinic writings also declare that suffering will herald the Messianic Age (cf. [TB, Sanhedrin 97a, Sota 49a](#)).

[37](#). In Luke the sentiment of this verse is expressed differently ([Luke 14:26–27](#)). There, the word translated “hate” in most English versions was changing its meaning from a prevailingly legal sense to one which denoted “opposition to.” In the Lukan version, it would be best to render the Greek: “Anyone who follows me, who cannot oppose father and mother....

unfitted for. Cf. NOTE on vs. 11, on *axios*.

[38. take up his cross](#). This saying is found in three forms in the synoptic gospels:

(a) [Matt 16:24](#); [Mark 8:34](#); [Luke 9:23](#), as a positive injunction;

(b) [Matt 10:38](#) in negative form;

(c) [Luke 14:27](#), also in negative form, slightly different.

Both (b) and (c) seem to be derived from a common original. This is the first mention of the cross in Matthew, and from time to time it has been held that the saying is probably not genuine, but more likely another example of prophecy after the event. However, in the climate of the times it is hard to suppose that Jesus did not foresee a violent end to his ministry. It is true that [Luke 14:27](#) could equally well take “yoke” as a symbol of discipleship (cf. [Matt 11:29](#)), since the symbol of the “yoke of the Law” is found in rabbinical writings, as was also “the yoke of the Kingdom of heaven” (cf. [Pirqê Abôth](#) iiib; [TB, Berakhoth 13a](#)). But long before the time of Jesus, impaling or crucifixion had become typical of violent death (cf. Plato *Republic* ii. 361; Artemidorus, ii. 56, speaks of the condemned man carrying his cross, and *Bereshith Rabba*, commenting on [Gen 22:6](#), speaks of bearing the cross). Cf. also J. Gwyn Griffiths, “The Disciple’s Cross,” [NTS](#) 16 (1970), pp. 358–64.

Here, for the disciples, the thought is of being prepared for death in persecution.

[39](#). This saying, like the preceding, comes in varied form in all four gospels:

(a) [Matt 16:25](#); [Mark 8:35](#); [Luke 9:24](#);

(b) [Matt 10:38](#);

(c) [Luke 17:33](#);

(d) [John 12:25](#).

It would appear that (a) and (c) are independent translations of the same saying. The saying in (a) and (b) is connected with carrying the cross.

self. The Greek *psychē* is commonly translated either by “life” ([RSV](#)) or “soul.” (Here, [KJ](#), [NEB](#), and JB all have “life.”) The first unnecessarily narrows the meaning, and confines the saying to death by

persecution, while the second has all the disadvantages of a scholastic concept little understood by many modern readers. Our translation avoids the second, and also renders the sense in a way which does not confine the cost of discipleship to physical death.

The next short section begins with the disciple (vs. 40) and ends with the disciple (vs. 42), the whole revolving around the person and mission of Jesus in vs. 41.

40. Cf. “He who welcomes his fellow-man is considered as though he had welcomed the Shekinah” (i.e., the divine presence)—*Mekilta*, tractate Amalek, 3.

41. Our translation radically changes the commonly accepted sense of this verse, and makes it a saying about different attitudes to the mission and person of Jesus. It is necessary to examine the linguistic basis upon which our translation rests.

(a) Once it is assumed that there is a connection between this verse and vs. 40, then it becomes necessary to ask “What prophet?” or “What righteous man?” especially as this section reverts in vs. 42 to the links between Jesus and the disciples.

(b) Still unpublished investigation convinces us that the figure of the Righteous One played a decisive part in the evolution of the doctrine of a Messiah among Jews of the NT period. This reaches back into the Dead Sea scrolls and previously known intertestamental writings, with indications of a much earlier OT origin. It also finds expression in the NT, most notably in [Acts 7:52](#).

(c) It is clear that we are dealing in this verse with two titles of Jesus, and at the same time two attitudes to him. These we have clarified by the use of capital letters.

(d) The Greek has no definite article before either *Prophet* or *Righteous One*. This by no means invalidates our translation, for in the Jewish-Aramaic of this period it is context alone which determines the presence or absence of the definite article (in this connection, cf. [14:33](#)). We suggest that the translation into Greek at this point was scrupulously faithful, but—once the gospel had passed from a Jewish to a Greek *milieu*—later capable of misunderstanding.

(e) As translated by us, the verse depicts Jesus giving recognition to two attitudes to himself: there were those who saw him as The Prophet, Herald of the Messianic Age, and those whose wider perceptions saw him as both Herald and Messianic Righteous One.

42. *because he is*. Here **RSV** does justice to the Jewish-Aramaic and Syriac (*‘al shum* and *‘al shem*) behind the **Gr.** *eis onoma* (literally, “for the name of”).

my disciple. Again, there is no definite article or possessive pronoun in the Greek, but the pronunciation of *a disciple* and *my disciple* is the same in the Jewish-Aramaic of this period.

[11:1](#). *proclaim*. Cf. NOTE on [4:23](#).

43. JOHN'S QUESTION AND JESUS' TESTIMONY (11:2–19)[†]

11 ² When John had heard in prison about the deeds of Jesus, he sent two of his disciples to ask him, ³ “Are you the Coming One, or are we to look for someone else?”

⁴ Jesus in answer said, “Go on your way and tell John the things you see and hear: ⁵ the blind see, the lame walk, lepers are cured, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and good news is brought to the humble. ⁶ Fortunate is the man who does not find me a stumbling block.”

⁷ When they had gone away, Jesus began to say to the crowds about John: “What did you go into the desert to look at? A reed swayed by the wind? ⁸ But what did you go to see? A man clad in expensive clothing? Well, those who wear expensive clothing are in kings’ houses. ⁹ But why did you go? To see a prophet? Yes, I tell you—and much more than a prophet. ¹⁰ He is the one of whom it is recorded:

‘See, I send my messenger before your face,
he shall prepare your way before you.’

¹¹ Truly I tell you that no human being has arisen who is greater than John the Baptist, yet the very least person in the Kingdom of heaven is greater than he.” ¹² From the time of John the Baptist to this moment, the Kingdom of heaven has been under violent attack and violent men despoil it. ¹³ For all the prophets, and the Law, up to John, prophesied. ¹⁴ If you wish to accept it, he is the expected Elijah. ¹⁵ Let him who has understanding listen.

¹⁶ “But to what shall I compare this generation? It is like children sitting in the market place, calling to the rest,
¹⁷ ‘We piped to you, and you did not dance, we wailed and you did not mourn.’ ¹⁸ For John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say ‘He has a demon.’ The Man came, both eating and drinking, and they say, ¹⁹ ‘See, a drunkard and a glutton, a friend of tax collectors and non-observant Jews.’ But wisdom is vindicated by her deeds.”

NOTES

11:2. *in prison*, John's imprisonment has been mentioned already in 4:12. Luke's version coincides with vss. 2a–3.

deeds. Cf. the representative illustrations 8:1–9, 34.

3. *the Coming One*. Cf. 3:11, and also Ps 118:26; Dan 7:13; see also Part VII of the Introduction.

5. *lepers*. Cf. NOTE on 8:2, and cf. also 10:8.

dead. In the OT and the Orient generally, the expression “dead” can often mean “dying.” Cf. NOTE on 9:24.

good news is brought. The Greek verb *euangelizontai* is used only here in Matthew.

6. *stumbling block*. Literally, an occasion of offense, by misunderstanding Jesus' Messianic work.

7. *look at*. The Greek word (*theasasthai*), from which the word “theater” is derived, means to gaze at a show or demonstration. The verb also occurs at 6:1; 22:11; 23:5.

reed swayed by the wind. Either this is ironic (i.e., men did not go out into the desert to look at something perfectly ordinary) or it refers to the hesitations and doubts which assailed John in prison—which is the interpretation we favor.

8. *expensive clothing*. The desert was no place to look for mere secular show or power. As it was (vs. 9), the reality far exceeded expectation.

10. This quotation, in which Matthew and Luke agree with Mark 1:2 as against the LXX rendering, is from Mal 3:1.

before you. This is apparently assimilated from Exod 23:20 (cf. Part IV of the Introduction on the OT background of Matthew). However, the quotation, evidently in wide use among early Christian communities, may have belonged originally to a series of “testimonies” associated with John the Baptist. For a full discussion of the problem, cf. Robinson, “Elijah, Jesus and John: An Essay in Detection,” in [TNTS](#).

11. *Truly* (Gr. *amēn*). A solemn affirmation of validity. It is common, in repetitive form, in John's gospel.

greater than John. To proclaim the Messiah's advent is to make John's ministry and vocation unique. But those who are incorporated into the Messiah's Kingdom will be greater than John, who will not live to see that Kingdom's inauguration.

very least. The suggestion has been made that this expression refers to the difference in age between Jesus and John, and that Jesus here describes himself. This seems to be somewhat forced, and it is better to take the expression as meaning the newest neophyte in the Kingdom.

12–15. It seems to us probable that these verses do not belong to Jesus. Certainly vs. 14, not found elsewhere, appears to betray something of an uncertainty about the role of John—an uncertainty which was foreign to Jesus—and vs. 15 is a theme verse which occurs also at 13:9, 43. (On vss. 12 and 13, cf. Perrin, *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 171–74.)

But there is more to be said. Luke's version (16:16) has the Greek verb *biazetai* in the middle voice, with the plain meaning that men press urgently and even violently into the Kingdom (cf. RSV ad loc.). Certainly the verb *biazesthai* bears this meaning in Koine Greek. But in Matthew's vs. 12 the subject of the verb *biazetai* is *the Kingdom*, and this demands a translation other than Luke's middle voice. (Matthew's verb would seem to demand a translation in passive voice, as we have given.) The evidence seems to suggest that both traditions are edited reminiscences of a saying in which the verb *biazesthai* would be in place. Luke's 16:16 also indicates that the oral tradition had features which were changed before Luke had access to it. At the same time, the fact that the Lukan tradition in its transposed form makes easier reading both in the Greek and in translation seems to indicate that the original material in the oral tradition was so obscure to both evangelists, and also so important, that both felt compelled to include it, making of it what was possible in each author's arrangement. On the well-known critical principle that there are times when the more difficult reading is to be preferred, we worked almost exclusively on the Matthean version, in the hope that this might yield information which would account for its difficulty. Several points should be

considered:

(a) A common *written* source can be ruled out, as Matthew's *heōs* (*up to*, vs. 13) and Luke's *mechri* (16:16) are good illustrations of independent translations of an original oral tradition. Cf. Introduction, Part III.

(b) Matthew's *arti* (*this moment*, vs. 12) is decidedly odd in its present position, and it is not explained by the suggestion that at the time of utterance in present context the disciples and Jesus himself were being persecuted. The interval from the death of John to "this moment" is far too short for this saying to be in context, and if it refers to the time after the passion it is meaningless as applied to Jesus.

(c) Verse 13 is not made easier by Luke's "The Law and the prophets were until John" (16:16). Not only is there a reversal of the traditional order in Matthew (*the prophets, and the Law*), but the verb *prophesied* abruptly ends the phrase and makes it almost meaningless.

(d) It is possible, by rearranging the material in vss. 12 and 13, to make more adequate sense and at the same time do justice to Luke's version. We suggest that the original reading was more or less as follows:

Apo de tōn hēmerōn tou nomou parties gar hoi prophētai eprophēteusan ... heōs Ioannou tou Baptistou ... (Ap') arti hē basileia tōn ouranōn biazetai kai biastai harpazousin autēn. (From the time of the Law all the prophets prophesied ... until John the Baptist. From that time the Kingdom of heaven is violently attacked and violent men lay hands on it.)

(e) In such a reconstructed text, it is likely that *eprophēteusan* was followed by *tēn basileian tōn ouranōn*, and its loss is quite easily explained in the transmission of a saying which seemed obscure to the copyist.

(f) We are convinced that the *Sitz-im-Leben* of these verses is explicable only when attention is paid to their present context in Matthew. In the original tradition, the person of John was central to the sayings, as is witnessed by vss. 14 and 15. Moreover, the phrase *until John the Baptist* would seem to indicate a *terminus ad quem* for the circle from which the sayings came. We suggest that the sayings came from a circle of John's disciples, and probably belong to the time after his execution. Such a time seems to be demanded by vs. 12b in the present version. The death of John must have seemed to his disciples to be nothing less than an attack on the Kingdom he had proclaimed. If the saying belongs to the same circle, but belongs in time after the crucifixion of Jesus, then the sayings are even more explicable. The number of John's disciples scattered throughout the Mediterranean is attested by the Acts of the Apostles, and news of the death of John, followed soon after by news of a similar fate in the case of Jesus, must have been a profound shock.

That these verses were a small block of material from Baptist circles, already firmly rooted in oral tradition but belonging outside the gospel tradition proper, is the best explanation for the way in which Matthew and Luke felt compelled to include it. Both were obviously at a loss to know how to deal with some of its obscurities, but in different contexts attempted to do justice to the material.

The work of J. A. T. Robinson, to which reference has already been made, has pointed out the very real difficulties we experience when we attempt to extract and examine Baptist fragments in the gospel tradition. A useful summary of what is possible, on the present reading of Matthew, is to be found in Sherman Johnson's commentary on Matthew in *The Interpreter's Bible* (Nashville; Abingdon, 1951), VII, pp. 382–83.

It is possible to read *the Law* in the sense of oral law as distinct from the Torah. Equally it is at least possible that we have even in the present order of the words a Baptist sentiment. The discovery of the so-called "Temple scroll" confirms the evidence already available, and held by many Jewish and Christian scholars, that the Essene community was formulating a Torah of its own, providing a canon of recognized scripture. The *halakah* of the Damascus Covenant was as rigorous as any Pharisaic teaching. (Cf. Yigael Yadin, "The Temple Scroll," *BA* 30 [1967].) It must be admitted, however, that this order in Matthew, followed by *eprophēteusan* (*prophesied*), makes very odd Greek.

14. *the expected Elijah*. Cf. *Mal* 4:5. The coming of Elijah to "restore the tribes of Jacob" is found in *Ecclus* 48:10, and the idea was common in later Judaism. Efforts to introduce here a saying of Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai (*B. Edujôth* viii 7)—who was active after the fall of Jerusalem—fail to carry

conviction in the light of what we now know of the relation between Essene teaching and that of John the Baptist.

15. This saying comes again in [13:9](#), [43](#); [Mark 4:23](#); [Rev 2:7](#), [11](#), [17](#), [29](#), [3:6](#), [13](#), [22](#), [13:9](#). The phrase seems to be a fixed formula, and further complicates the question as to whether vss. [12–15](#) were ever intended to be understood as being from the lips of Jesus.

16–17. Just as in this allegory children wishing to play weddings or funerals find it impossible to evoke any response to either suggestion from their fellows, so neither the severe asceticism of John (cf. [3:4](#)) nor the more flexible and humane approach of Jesus produces any response. These verses appear to be addressed to the self-conscious rectitude of the Pharisees, and Luke indicates this by his inserted verses in the parallel context ([Luke 7:29–30](#)).

The Man. Cf. NOTE on [8:20](#), on the translation of this term.

19. *a drunkard and a glutton.* Cf. [9:14 ff.](#)

non-observant Jews. Cf. NOTE on [9:10](#).

wisdom is vindicated by her deeds. This is one of the two versions which the Greek text provides at this point. The other is “children” instead of *deeds*. Here *deeds* is the better attested reading, where [Luke 7:35](#) has a better reading of “children.” With these two readings, two interpretations are possible:

(a) *Wisdom* is the divine wisdom of God (cf. [Luke 11:49](#)). If we read *deeds*, as here in Matthew, then the saying asserts that God is his own interpreter, and the methods of both John and Jesus have place in God’s providence, for all their seeming disparity and seeming failure. *This generation* of vs. [16](#) may be wholly unresponsive to the divine call of John and Jesus, but for those who respond, the wisdom of God is justified in their deeds.

(b) By reading “children,” as in Luke, several options are open to us. “Children of wisdom,” as an equivalent term for “children of Israel,” is attested in [Prov 8:32](#) and [Ecclus 4:11](#), with which we may compare “children of the Kingdom” in [Matt 8:12](#) and [13:38](#). In so reading we can interpret the saying as indicating that the *true* children will, by their response, vindicate the divine wisdom and its messengers.

By our translation here—*deeds*—we have attempted to do justice to the aorist tense of *vindicated* (*edikaiōthē*). In [Matt 11:27](#) and [28:18](#) Matthew’s use of the tense indicates a pretemporal ordering of events by divine providence, and here indicates that the wisdom of God is eternally vindicated by the course of history. But cf. the recent article by Robert Maddox, “The Function of the Son of Man according to the Synoptic Gospels,” [NTS](#) 15 (1968–69), 65 f., for a most interesting suggestion.

COMMENT

The three sections which make up chapter 11 (our §§43–45) would appear to be an arrangement by the evangelist to summarize Jesus' ministry in relation to three considerations: (a) Jesus' relationship to John the Baptist, (b) the seeming failure of Jesus' ministry, and (c) Jesus' own evaluation of his ministry.

The whole chapter has no parallel in Mark, and the points of similarity with Luke are such that it is very difficult to determine what prompted the arrangement of this material in so divergent a fashion. While it is true that vss. 2–19 are paralleled by Luke 7:18–35, there is very little parallel between vss. 2–3 and Luke's vss. 18–21, even though vss. 4–11 roughly parallel Luke's vss. 22–28. It is at this point—assuming a common source—that the difficulties begin. Here Luke (vss. 29–30), interjects a comment of his own, while Matthew apparently continues with the narrative. The whole tenor of the passage is such, however, that Matthew's vss. 12–15 appear to be derived from another context altogether. Moreover, Matthew's vss. 12–13 are found in Luke's 16:16, where the order is transposed.

Comparison between Matthew and Luke reveals a pastiche of sayings: Matthew 11:16–19=Luke 7:31–35; Matt 11:20 is obviously an introductory comment, without hint of place or time; Matt 11:21–23a agrees fairly well with Luke 10:13–15, where it is found in the injunction to the seventy disciples. Verse 23b has no parallel in Luke, Matt 11:24=Luke 10:12, and then vss. 25–27 are in close accord with Luke 10:21–22 (on the return of the seventy). To round off the whole complex, Matt 11:28–30 has no parallel in Luke.

If the two evangelists were working from a common written source, then the arrangement is very odd. Matthew's vss. 20–30 appear to be isolated sayings grouped together for reasons indicated above. But if this is the case, and the source was already formalized, then why does Luke use some sayings from this source in his account of the mission of the seventy? In addition to this, it is impossible to clarify the nature of the relationship between Matt 11:4–11, 16–19 and Luke 7:22–28, 31–35. Both evangelists connect the two pieces of material, but each with an inserted comment which is of a wholly different character in each case. The difficulty of deciding what is, or is not, direct speech in John 1:15–18 is well known, and we may have the same difficulty in Matthew's vss. 12–15 in this chapter.

What we appear to have is two groups of sayings dealing with John the Baptist, already fixed in oral tradition when Matthew and Luke compiled their gospels. Both evangelists therefore combined the sayings, but each independently of the other, as is demonstrated by the wholly different connecting

material. If both had drawn from a common (written?) source in their editing of the Baptist sayings, it would be hard to say why both evangelists should have felt compelled to intrude comments of their own at exactly the same point. It is far more likely that here we have a common oral tradition, already hardened into blocks of material which the evangelists presented entire. The connecting links between the blocks of material may well represent other facets of the tradition which the two evangelists individually considered especially pertinent. (Cf. NOTES on vss. 12–15 above.)

44. DENUNCIATIONS

(11:20–24)[†]

11 ²⁰ Then he began to denounce the cities where most of his acts of power had been done, because they did not repent. ²¹ “Woe to you, Chorazin, woe to you, Bethsaida! For if the acts of power done in you had been performed in Tyre and Sidon they would long ago have repented in sackcloth and ashes. ²² But I tell you that it will be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment than for you. ²³ And you, Capernaum—will you be lifted up to heaven? You will be brought down to the underworld, because if the acts of power done in you had been done in Sodom, it would have remained to this day. ²⁴ But I tell you that it will be more tolerable for Sodom in the day of judgment than for you.”

NOTES

11:20. *Then.* This is not a temporal note; it is simply a connective with the preceding section. Luke's gospel has these denunciations in the mission-charge to the seventy disciples.

21. *Chorazin.* This place is mentioned in the Bible only here and at [Luke 10:13](#). It was the nearest town north of Capernaum, an hour's journey distant. We know nothing of any deeds of healing or exorcism by Jesus in Chorazin. *Bethsaida* was north of the Sea of Galilee, and on the east bank of the Jordan.

sackcloth and ashes. As signs of penitence or sorrow, cf. [Isa 58:5](#); [Jon 3:6](#); [Dan 9:3](#).

22. *Tyre and Sidon.* These were prosperous Phoenician cities in OT times, and the prophets had frequently inveighed against their sinfulness.

23. *Capernaum.* This has already been mentioned as Jesus' temporary home ([4:13](#), [8:5](#), [9:1](#)). It was a flourishing city, but though men might have been proud of its civic achievements, the city had failed to recognize the dawning reign of God in Jesus' teaching and deeds. In spite of its being a Jewish city, its failure to repent, along with its arrogance and pride, doomed it to the fate of *Sodom*, a byword in the OT for sinfulness (cf. NOTE on 10:15).

lifted up to heaven. There is an echo here of an oracle of Isaiah ([Isa 14:13 ff.](#)), and Capernaum's fate is compared with that of Babylon.

45. THE SON'S PRAYER

(11:25–30)[†]

11 ²⁵ At that time, Jesus said, “I thank you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that you have hidden these things from the wise and understanding, and revealed them to the childlike, ²⁶ for such indeed, Father, was your gracious will.

²⁷ “Everything has been delivered to me by my Father; no one knows the Son, except the Father, and no one knows the Father, except the Son, and anyone to whom the Son chooses to reveal him.

²⁸ “Come to me, all who labor and are heavily burdened, and I will give you rest. ²⁹ Take my yoke on your shoulders, and learn from me, because I am gentle and humble in heart, and you will find rest for your souls, ³⁰ for my yoke is easy and my burden is light.”

NOTES

11:25. *I thank you* ([Gr.](#) *exomologoumai*). The word is used in the [LXX](#) as being equivalent to “give praise.” Cf. 2 Sam 22:50; Ecclus 51:1.

hidden. Cf. Isa 29:14. The veiling of God’s purposes from the self-consciously wise is referred to by Paul in 1 Cor 1:19, who also quotes this verse from Isaiah.

these things. This is a reference to the acts of power which Jesus’ contemporaries could not evaluate as signs of the dawning Kingdom (vss. 21, 23).

wise and understanding. The leaders of Israel, whose election by God demanded that she respond to the manifestations of the divine wisdom, had failed to see the signs of the Kingdom. The children of wisdom, the childlike, had alone seen and understood.

26. *your gracious will* (literally, “for so it seemed good in your sight”). The phrase is common in later Hebrew/Aramaic as avoiding direct reference to God’s will Cf. [TB](#), *Berakhoth* 17a, 29b, *Taanith* 24b.

27. The two preceding verses are found also in [Luke 10:21 ff.](#), with very slight differences. This verse has no parallel in the other gospels, and it is this verse which has attracted the most attention from commentators. The difficulty for most writers lies in the implied relationship of Father-Son in this verse, found only here in Matthew, though the relationship is also implied in Luke and is most frequent in John’s gospel. The discussion of the passage by Bultmann in Kittel’s [TWNT](#) (p. 713) predictably argues for a later editorial origin, with Gnostic terminology. Bultmann calls attention to the (hardly surprising) fact that Strack and Billerbeck can find no parallel in the rabbinic literature. To list all relevant literature on this verse would be beyond the scope and purpose of this commentary, and our own conclusions can be summarized as follows:

(a) The argument that speaking of *the Son* in the third person betrays an origin wholly outside the mind of Jesus must be seen against the many occasions on which Jesus speaks of himself as *The Man* in the third person.

(b) Any discussion of vs. 27 must take into account the high incidence of sayings in which Jesus refers to “my Father” or “the Father,” and such sayings are by no means exclusively Johannine. Moreover, in many such sayings the plain implication is that Jesus is *the Son*, or *his Son*.

(c) The term “son” as applied to Israel in general and to the anointed king in particular is well attested in the OT, and we have called attention to this both in Part XII of the Introduction and in the COMMENT on 4:1–11 (§9).

(d) In paying the closest and fullest attention to the Jewish background which was Jesus’ inheritance, we should not think that Jesus brought no new insights to bear upon that inheritance. This is especially true of Jesus’ interpretation of his Messianic vocation. The many and varied facets of Messianic expectation in the time of Jesus are becoming more and more evident, and the complexity of that expectation is now known to us in a way undreamed of thirty years ago. However, the feature of vs. 27 which causes most comment is the implied pre-existence of the Messiah indicated by the Greek aorist tense of *has been delivered* ([Gr.](#) *paredothē*). But we have no means of knowing how the original Hebrew or Aramaic text was understood, since the same tense would be used for aorist (past definite), imperfect (past continuous), and perfect (present perfect). This stage of transmission is very early, and translation into Greek meant that verbs took on a fixed tense-meaning which helped make systematic theology possible. It remains to be said that the pre-existence of the Messiah certainly seems to be indicated in Enoch xlviii 3, 6.

(e) Whether the words as spoken by Jesus implied a consciousness of pre-existence we cannot know. But the Markan tradition ([Mark 13:32](#)), along with the passage under discussion, makes it clear that at a very early stage in the primitive Christian community such pre-existence was taken for granted.

(f) In much NT academic writing it is hard to escape the conclusion that commentators think they have found a neatly ordered stratum of primitive Christian belief, wholly self-consistent and with no awkward salients. Against this supposedly definable background they find it possible to contrast the alleged Hellenisms of Paul, hypothetical early Gnostics, and the theologizings of a supposedly late Johannine

vocabulary. This familiar Hegelian pattern then leads directly to the nascent “Catholicism” of the early Church, with elements from the mystery religions introduced to make the usual critical amalgam. This picture, whatever validity it may have been thought to possess thirty or more years ago, has been rendered totally irrelevant by new knowledge from recent manuscript finds in Palestine and Egypt.

28–30. These verses are peculiar to Matthew. Considering the dependence of these verses in the Greek on the LXX of Ecclus 51, the search for a Gnostic motif underlying them seems curiously labored (cf. “The Logion of the Easy Yoke and of Rest,” by Hans Dieter Betz, [JBL](#) 86 [1967], 10–24). The references which bear directly on the Greek are as follows:

Matt 11:25 — Ecclus 51:1, 10

11:28 — 51:23, 27

11:29 — 51:26, 27

For the final phrase of vs. 29, cf. Ecclus 6:28; Jer 6:16. The discovery of a first-century B.C. Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus at Masada should finally put to rest any notions of the supposed dependence of vss. 28–30 on so-called Gnostic sources. Nor is there any evidence for an alleged pre-Christian Gnosticism in any Qumran sources.

29. *my yoke*. The Law is described as a yoke in *Pirqê Abôth* iii 6; and cf. also TB, *Berakhoth* 13a. Pss Sol 7:9 refers to God’s service as “God’s yoke.”

Jesus’ own view of his ministry, in the face of apparent failure, is one which involves a *light burden* and an *easy yoke*, for the commitment demanded is that of personal allegiance to himself. An *easy yoke* and a *light burden* are offered in exchange for the arbitrary demands of Pharisaic legalism and the uncertainties of ever-proliferating case law.

COMMENT

Every possible and impossible origin has been suggested for this section, from Gnosticism (usually undefined) to pagan Hellenistic mythology (normally unidentified). Generally, vss. 25–26 are accepted with extreme caution as belonging to an early tradition, while vs. 27 is rejected on the a priori grounds that this could not possibly have been uttered by Jesus. Verses 28–30 are accepted as dependent on Ecclus 51:23–27, and probably therefore freely adapted OT themes attributed to Jesus by the evangelist or an editor. Our own comment is given above in the NOTES. We here call attention to the careful analysis of this section by A. Feuillet, “Jesus et la Sagesse divine d’après les Évangiles Synoptiques,” [CBQ 30 \(1968\), 573–79](#). [He demonstrates the completely Semitic character](#) and OT background of this section, and his notes and bibliography are excellent.

46. CONTROVERSY OVER THE LAW

(12:1–15A)[†]

12 ¹ At that time Jesus passed through the grain fields on the Sabbath, and his disciples, being hungry, began to pluck ears of grain to eat. ² On seeing this, the Pharisees said to him, “Look, your disciples are committing an unlawful act on the Sabbath.” ³ He replied, “Have you not read what David did, when he and his companions were hungry? ⁴ How he went into God’s house and ate the bread of the Presence, which was not permitted to him or his companions for food, but was reserved for the priests only? ⁵ Or have you not read in the Law that on the Sabbath priests in the temple profane the Sabbath and are without guilt? ⁶ But I tell you that something greater than the temple is here, ⁷ and if you had known what this means: ‘I wish for mercy and not sacrifice,’ you would not have condemned the guiltless, ⁸ since The Man is lord of the Sabbath.”

⁹ Going on from there, he went into their synagogue, ¹⁰ where there was a man with a withered hand. They demanded of him, “Is it permitted to heal on the Sabbath?”—so that they might have grounds to accuse him. ¹¹ But he said to them, “What man is there among you, possessing a single sheep, who will not lay hold of it and haul it out, if it falls into a pit on the Sabbath? ¹² And how much more valuable is a man than a sheep!

Therefore, it *is* permitted to do good on the Sabbath.”

¹³ He then said to the man, “Put out your hand,” and he held it out, and it was restored, made whole like the other.

¹⁴ The Pharisees, however, consulted about how to destroy him. ^{15a} Jesus, being aware of this, withdrew from the place.

NOTES

12:1. *At that time*. This is a formula peculiar to Matthew, and most formulae in Matthew appear in close association with each other; cf. “the report of this” (9:26, 31); a Greek formula of arrival and departure (2:1, 13, 19); *John came ... Jesus came* (3:1, 13); the formula on listening (13:9, 43); similar Greek constructions at 8:23, 28, 9:1, 9, 15:21, 29.

Sabbath. The origin of the Sabbath as a compulsory day of rest is obscure, and in the OT it is linked with the creation as an act of God’s merciful providence (Gen 2:2 ff.). It is inappropriate to this commentary to provide a lengthy excursus on the development of the Sabbath, since by the time of Jesus the manner of its observance had long become fixed, except for minor cases where changing customs seemed to make adjustments necessary. For fuller information on the Sabbath, cf. Kittel’s *TWNT*, ad loc., and more briefly the appropriate article in *A Theological Word Book of the Bible*, ed. Alan Richardson, London: SCM, 1950; New York: Macmillan, 1951.

to pluck ears of grain. Cf. *TB*, *Shabbath* 73b. This was one of the thirty-nine kinds of work forbidden on the Sabbath by later rabbinic law.

2–5. Jesus counters the criticism of the Pharisees in two ways. First, the disciples are technically breaking the Sabbath, but out of the pressure of hunger, and Jesus quotes an analogous situation (1 Sam 21:1–6). In addition, the charge is based not on the written Law, which permitted plucking grain which was not theirs (Deut 23:25), but on scribal hermeneutics about the Sabbath. Secondly, in this account Jesus cites the example of the temple clergy, who of necessity break the Sabbath law by doing work connected with the offering of sacrifice (Num 28:9, 10). It should be noted that this second justification is hardly appropriate, for the work of the temple clergy is not analogous to what the disciples were doing.

The Markan tradition is even more obscure. Mark 2:27–28, in asserting that the Sabbath was given for man’s benefit, and therefore man may upon necessity work on the Sabbath, adds: “So The Man is Lord of the Sabbath.” But it is the disciples, not Jesus, who are being attacked for Sabbath-breaking. Matthew, if he knew the Markan tradition, places the saying at the end (vs. 8). The formula in Mark (“and he said to them”) may indicate that the saying is out of context. If so, it is yet another indication of the way in which the evangelists preserved all that was known to them of the oral tradition, though this often meant placing sayings out of context where they could best be accommodated. Matthew’s placing of the saying at the end of the incident does not diminish the difficulty, and his repetition of Hos 6:6 (cf. 9:13) reads oddly in the context. Perhaps the best justification for the present position of *The Man is lord of the Sabbath* lies in the fact that there can be no more appropriate day than the Sabbath on which Jesus can fulfill his Messianic work.

6. *something greater than the temple*. Just as the law of the Sabbath must give place to the demands of sacrificial worship, by so much more it may be set aside by the Messiah’s activity.

8. *since*. The Greek connective (*gar*) is essential to the argument at this point, if the saying is to remain in this context: the Messiah will be answerable for his community.

The Greek verbal agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark in vss. 1–8, especially in vss. 1–4, are good illustrations of the dependence of these two evangelists on traditions other than Mark.

9. *Going on from there*. In varying forms, the phrase occurs five times in Matthew.

The Markan version of the incident (Mark 3:1–6) has all the signs of an eyewitness account, presumably derived from Peter.

10. Matthew’s tradition says of the onlookers, *They demanded of him*, where the Markan tradition has them observing him with hostility.

11. If works of mercy to animals were lawful on the Sabbath, how much more the Messiah’s work of restoration! It is worthy of notice that while Pharisees permitted the rescue of an animal on the Sabbath the Essenes apparently did not.

12. Luke has a similar saying (Luke 14:1–6) in the context of another miracle. This is a typical case of the principle of *qal va-ḥomer*, arguing by analogy from the less to the greater. This was one of the Greek

principles of logical reasoning introduced by Hillel the Elder into Pharisee legal analysis, a generation or two before this episode.

On miracles in general, the reader is referred to Part X of the Introduction, especially the concluding paragraphs.

14. *The Pharisees*. [Mark 3:6](#) adds the Herodians (adherents of Herod) to the plotters.

15. There is a contrast here, continued into vs. 16, between the vociferous Pharisees and the quiet manner in which Jesus goes about his work.

COMMENT

The first section of this chapter is used by the evangelist to give typical examples of opposition to the Messiah. In the treatment of the first example it is interesting to note that both Matthew and Luke view the incident as a minor and insignificant breach of the Sabbath laws. Mark, less concerned with legal interpretation, almost makes the incident an act of idle destruction. Matthew and Luke alone record that the disciples were plucking ears of grain to eat—that is, on a technicality, they were “harvesting.”

47. HEALINGS, EXORCISMS, CHALLENGES

(12:15b–37)[†]

12 ^{15b} Many followed him, and he healed them all,
¹⁶ ordering them not to make him known. ¹⁷ So was fulfilled what was said by Isaiah the prophet:

¹⁸ “Behold my servant whom I have chosen,
my beloved with whom I am delighted;
I will put my Spirit upon him,
and he shall proclaim judgment to the Gentiles.

¹⁹ He will neither dispute nor shout aloud,
nor will anyone hear his voice in the streets.

²⁰ He will not break a bruised reed,
or quench a smoldering wick,
until he makes judgment victorious.

²¹ And in his name the Gentiles will hope.”

²² Then a blind and dumb demoniac was brought to him,
and he cured him, so that the dumb man spoke and saw.

²³ All the crowds were astonished, and said, “Can this be David’s son?” ²⁴ But when the Pharisees heard it, they declared, “This man casts out demons—but only through the agency of Beelzebul, ruler of demons.” ²⁵ Jesus, knowing the inflamed state of their minds, said to them, “Every kingdom divided against itself falls into ruin, and no city or house divided against itself will stand. ²⁶ If, therefore, Satan exorcizes Satan, he is thereby divided against himself. How then can his kingdom stand? ²⁷ If I exorcize demons through the agency of Beelzebul, through whom do your sons do it? So they must be your

judges. ²⁸ But if I exorcize demons through the agency of God's Spirit, then without doubt the Kingdom of God is upon you. ²⁹ How is it possible to enter a strong man's house to plunder his effects, unless one first binds the strong man? Then indeed he may plunder his house.

³⁰ "He who is not with me is against me, and he who does not bring men together scatters them. ³¹ So then I tell you that every sin and blasphemy will be forgiven to men, but blasphemy against the Spirit will not be forgiven. ³² If anyone utters a word against The Man it will be forgiven, but whoever utters a word against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, either in this age, or in the age to come.

³³ "Either produce a sound tree, and sound fruit too, or produce a rotten tree and rotten fruit with it, for a tree is known by its fruit. ³⁴ You brood of vipers! Being evil, how can you speak what is good? For it is from the abundance of the heart that the mouth speaks. ³⁵ A good man, out of his store of goodness, produces good things, while an evil man produces evil things out of his store of evil. ³⁶ I tell you that on the day of judgment men will render account for every harmful word they utter, ³⁷ for by your words you will be justified, and by your words you will be condemned."

NOTES

12:17. *So was fulfilled*. Cf. NOTE on 1:22.

18–21. The quotation is from *Isa* 42:1–4, but it has little in common with the LXX version. It is clear that what we have here is either a translation of a recension not otherwise attested, but going back to Hellenistic times, or a translation done quite independently for the purpose in hand.

On the place of the quotation in Matthew's scheme, cf. Part IV of the Introduction. The Messiah is the embodiment of Israel's vocation as servant of the Lord.

On the Hebrew background of these verses, cf. John Grindel, "Matthew 12:18–21," *CBQ* 29 (1967), 110 ff.

18. *chosen*. (Gr. *hēretisa*). The verb *hairtizein* is late, and in 1 *Chron* 28:6 and *Mal* 3:17 of the LXX is used the sense of "adopt." On the aorist tense of the verb, cf. NOTE on 11:27. Interestingly, as an example of the methods of copyists, *Isa* 42:4a, b is omitted, as the copyist's eye (or the translator's) moved in the Hebrew text from one occurrence of *mishpāt* (judgment) in 42:3c to the next occurrence in 42:4b.

22. Mark has references at this point to a house, and to crowds (3:20), details which Matthew either omits or does not know. Other instances of this sort of omission include 8:4 (*Mark* 1:45); 8:16 (*Mark* 1:33–34); 9:1 (*Mark* 2:2); 12:15 (*Mark* 3:9).

An examination of the relationship between the synoptic gospels at this point will illustrate the difficulty of attaching too definite a shape to the material commonly known as "Q." At the same time it will indicate the relatively fixed state of the tradition from which the evangelists worked.

Matt 12:22–23	=	Luke 11:14
24–26	=	Mark 3:22–26 = Luke 11:15, 17–18
27–28	=	Luke 11:19–20
29	=	Mark 3:27 = Luke 11:21–22
30	=	Luke 11:23
	=	Mark 3:28–30
31–32b		
43–45	=	Luke 11:24–26

Mark's 3:22–30 is omitted where one might have expected it in Luke (6:19 or 8:4), but as the table demonstrates most of it is found later. Luke combines a request for a sign (which is later in Mark) with the accusation of allegiance with demons. Luke's vss. 27–28 have no equivalent in Matthew, and Matthew's vss. 31–37 have no equivalent in Luke 11. Matthew's vss. 39–42=Luke 11:29–32.

The parallels of Matthew and Luke are in verbal agreement in the Greek against Mark, especially in Matthew's vs. 25 (Luke's vs. 17), and Matthew's vs. 26 (Luke's vs. 18). But even in their parallel to *Mark* 3:27, Matthew's tradition is far closer to Mark than to Luke. In Matthew there are two incidents, the first as reply to an accusation and the other Jesus' reaction to a demand for a sign; in Luke both are combined, but with interposed material at 11:27–28, without any parallel in Matthew.

The parallels are interesting, but cannot without grave difficulty be met by a presumption that Matthew and Luke had access to both Mark *and* an independent source. Such a presumption, on the evidence before us, calls for an extensive exercise in scissors-and-paste technique. What the situation does appear to demand is fairly rigidly defined blocks of oral tradition, loosely associated with regard to context

23. *David's son*. On this Messianic title, cf. Part XII of the Introduction.

24. *Beelzebul*. "Baal The Prince." Cf. NOTE on 10:25.

25. *city*. This of course included the territory around the city. *House* can also mean family or clan.

26. *Satan*. Cf. NOTE on 4:1.

27–28. Jesus, appealing to current Jewish practices of exorcism, throws the challenge back to his critics. On Jewish exorcism, cf. *Acts* 8:7, 9–24, 19:13, and Josephus *Antiquities* VIII. 46, 47.

At its best, first-century exorcism was just as effective a form of shock therapy as some experimentally demonstrated methods employed in medical therapy today. At its worst it was no less reliable than some popular forms of contemporary mental therapy.

27. *your sons*. I.e., “you,” “your own people.”

28. *God’s Spirit*. Cf. [Luke 11:20](#), which has “finger,” on which cf. [Exod 8:19](#).

Kingdom of God. The term occurs only four times in Matthew (cf. also [19:24](#), [21:31](#), [43](#)), and though the phrase is synonymous in Hebrew usage with “Kingdom of heaven,” we have seen reason to find in Matthew a careful differentiation of meaning (cf. Parts VI, VII, and VIII of the Introduction). “Kingdom of God” in the Matthean tradition is applied to the Father’s reign after the judgment of the End, and “Kingdom of heaven” to the continuing community of The Man, lasting up to the time of the judgment. Two possibilities may be adduced for the occurrence of “Kingdom of God” here:

(a) Granted the validity of our examination in the Parts of the Introduction to which we have referred, this example of “Kingdom of God” may have been overlooked by the evangelist—or later by a copyist—in assembling the material.

(b) It is also possible that this saying of Jesus was embedded so firmly in the tradition that the evangelist allowed it to stand in this context.

(c) This is the one occasion on which this gospel speaks of the “Kingdom of God” as having come. But it is to be noted that—whatever the origin of this solitary instance—the saying is set firmly in the context of the future judgment ([12:27](#), [36](#)). Blasphemy against Jesus as The Man may be due to all manner of circumstances—misunderstanding his proclamation, for example—but after the entrance of The Man upon his reign (of which the exorcisms are a proleptic sign) such blasphemy will be against the Spirit who is already manifest in *this age*.

For all the difficulties inherent in this passage as it stands, we are not persuaded by a recent article (W. O. Walker, Jr., “The Kingdom of the Son of Man and the Kingdom of the Father in Matthew: An Exercise in Redaktionsgeschichte,” [CBQ](#) 30 [1968], 573–79) of the invalidity of the distinction which we have found in this gospel between the “Kingdom of God” and the “Kingdom of heaven.” See further C. K. Barrett, *The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition*, New York: Macmillan/London: SPCK, 1947, a work to which Günter Bornkamm draws attention in his *Überlieferung und Auslegung im Matthäusevangelium*, Neukirchen, 1960.

is upon you. The Greek verb *phthanein* occurs only here and in [Luke 11:20](#) in the synoptic gospels; it is a dramatically strong word.

29. *strong man’s house*. There is here a striking commentary, in terms of the Messiah’s vocation, on [Isa 49:24–26](#). Cf. also [Pss Sol 5:4](#). The very proclamation of the Kingdom was a victory over demonic forces, and the Messiah was gathering the fruits of that victory.

30. If the Messiah was following up an initial victory, then those who opposed him must take sides on what they witnessed. Cf. the reply of Jesus in [Luke 9:50](#); the use of the Messiah’s name implies a certain commitment to him.

31–32. The illustrative material from Qumran, and in particular the Rule of the Community ([1QS](#)), has provided invaluable control evidence for the ethical dualism of much NT language. This is not confined to the contrasted pairs of the Johannine literature (truth, falsehood; light, darkness; good, evil; etc.). It also gives us firm ground for interpreting this passage. Prior to the discovery of the material now available to us from Qumran, the difficulties of the commentators at this point were understandable.

To speak against *The Man* in *this age* of the Kingdom’s proclamation may be due to all manner of misunderstanding, for The Man has not yet entered upon his reign. But speaking against the *Spirit*, either in *this age* of proclamation, or in the *age to come* (i.e., in the time of the Kingdom’s inauguration) is the ultimate sin. So with the Messianic work in *this age*: to confuse the Spirit of truth with the spirit of falsehood, to confuse the Messiah’s work with that of Beelzebul, is blasphemy.

The principal difficulty always resided in posing the question as: “It is pardonable to speak against The Man, unpardonable to speak against the Holy Spirit.” Thus stated, it seemed to be asking too much of Jesus’ critics to distinguish between the Messiah acting as such, even though veiled in the humility of mundane circumstance, and the Messiah acting through the power of the Spirit.

32. *The Man*. Cf. NOTE on 8:20. This saying certainly looks to the future of the Messianic Community in the Matthean tradition, for in Matthew “The Man” belongs to a Kingdom inaugurated and in being.

33–35. This is similar in content to 7:17–20 in the Great Instruction. The Lukan tradition (6:43–45) has more in common with this section than with the similar sayings in ch. 7.

Jesus’ critics are being warned of the alternative: either the results of the exorcisms are wholly good, and hence the work of the Spirit, or the results are evil, and so demonic in origin.

36–37. The Syriac text has “*mellā baṭṭālā*.” In both Aramaic and later Hebrew, the words from the stem *bṭl* mean both “lazy” and “hurtful.” Excuses about hasty judgment, speaking on the spur of the moment, cannot be accepted when the subject matter is as serious as good and evil. The sayings look back to the accusation that Jesus was involved in an alliance with Satan.

48. DEMAND FOR A SIGN

(12:38–45)[†]

12 ³⁸ Then some of the scribes and Pharisees asked him, “Teacher, we want to see a sign from you.”

³⁹ But he answered them, “An evil and adulterous generation seeks avidly for a sign, and no sign will be given to it apart from that of the prophet Jonah. ⁴⁰ For just as Jonah was in the monster’s body three days and three nights, so The Man will be in the heart of the earth for three days and three nights. ⁴¹ The men of Nineveh will stand up at the judgment with this generation, and will condemn it, for they repented at the preaching of Jonah. And something more than Jonah is here. ⁴² The queen of the south will rise up in the judgment with this generation and will condemn it, for she came from the boundaries of the earth to listen to the wisdom of Solomon. And something more than Solomon is here.

⁴³ “When an unclean spirit has left a man, he wanders through dry places, looking for a resting place, but finds none. ⁴⁴ Then he says: ‘I will go back to the house that I left,’ and when he returns he finds it vacant, cleaned, and in order. ⁴⁵ He therefore goes and brings with him seven other spirits more evil than himself, and they enter and take up residence. The last state of that man becomes worse than the first.”

NOTES

12:39. *adulterous*. In contemporary Jewish idiom, this was the equivalent of “idolatrous.” Idolatry, all through the OT and in the time of Jesus, was always identified with sexual excess of all kinds. See W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, especially pp. 84–94, and *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (London: Athlone Press/New York: Doubleday, 1968), especially pp. 115–52.

39–42. *sign of ... Jonah*. What is common to *Jonah*, the *queen of the south*, and *Solomon*, is the uttering of, and a listening to, the word of God. In the person of Jesus *more than Jonah*, *more than Solomon* is among men, for now the sign of the dawning Kingdom of the Messiah is present.

40. *For just as Jonah*. It is best to describe this verse as editorial, whether from the hands of the evangelist, or from someone puzzled by vs. 39. What is being discussed is the sign of proclamation. There is no indication from the book of Jonah that the Ninevites heard of, and accepted, the prophet’s adventures as a kind of accreditation.

41–42. *the judgment*. I.e., the last judgment. Matthew generally uses the phrase *the day of judgment* (cf. 10:15, 11:22, 24, 12:36).

42. *queen of the south*. I.e., of South Arabia.

43–45. Comment is unnecessary by way of emphasizing the psychological truth embodied in these verses. The reader is referred to Dr. Sargant’s *Battle for the Mind*.

In the Lukan context, the verses are so placed as to appear to be intended for commentary on the failure of contemporary Jewish exorcism. In Matthew they are commentary on Israel’s failure to repent, and failure to heed the Messiah’s proclamation.

43. *dry places*. The ancient belief that desert places are the abode of evil spirits can be traced back to ancient Mesopotamia, in Babylonian incantations, and it also finds a place in the OT ritual of the scapegoat on the Day of Atonement (cf. [Lev. 16:8 ff.](#)). Cf. [Isa 13:21](#), [34:14](#); [Mark 5:10](#); [Rev. 18:2](#).

COMMENT

The links between this section and the preceding are clear, and are spelled out verbally in Luke 11:16. Failure to recognize the signs of the dawning Kingdom in the conflict of the Messiah with the forces of evil operating in man was but the obverse side of an attempt to put Jesus to the test.

It is possible to interpret most of this chapter 12 as containing in microcosm the judgment of Jesus on contemporary Israel. The controversy on the Sabbath laws, ending in the synagogue, is concluded at vs. 15 by *withdrew from the place*. This may be a note of time and circumstance, but in view of the material in the rest of the chapter it may also mark a turning point in the ministry. The Messianic Servant's charter (vss. 18–21) is followed by the Pharisees' accusations of diabolical alliance when the crowd was asking about Jesus' possible Messiahship (vss. 22–24). It is therefore possible to see vss. 25–28 in the section above (§47) as referring to the fatally divided house of Israel: it is the house of Israel which has been seized upon by evil forces (cf. John 8:44). If this interpretation is correct, then Jesus came to lay siege to the strong man's house, to Satan's control of Israel, having first won a decisive victory against the devil in the desert. Those who oppose him are on Satan's side, calling good evil, and so failing to distinguish between the Spirit of truth and the spirit of falsehood (vss. 30–32). The present section then carries on the argument, and lines of separation are being drawn even within Israel.

49. THE MOTHER AND BROTHERS OF JESUS

(12:46–50)[†]

12 ⁴⁶ While he was talking to the crowds, his mother and brothers were outside, wishing to speak to him. ⁴⁷ Someone said to him, “Your mother and your brothers are outside, wishing to speak to you.” ⁴⁸ He answered his informant, “Who is my mother, and who are my brothers?” ⁴⁹ Then gesturing with his hand to his disciples, he said, ⁵⁰ “See—my mother and my brothers. For whoever does the will of my Father in heaven, that person is my brother, sister, and mother.”

NOTES

12:46. *While he was talking.* There is no indication of place, and his mother and brothers waiting *outside* might apply equally well to a house or to the fringes of the crowd.

his mother and brothers. Apart from chapters 1 and 2, and the mention of her with Jesus' *brothers* and *sisters* in 13:53 ff., this is the only occasion in Matthew where Jesus' mother appears. We know nothing of the brothers of Jesus. How old the tradition is we do not know, but it has been commonly held in both eastern and western Christendom, at least from the fourth century, that the brothers here referred to were either cousins, or children of Joseph by an earlier marriage. Matt 1:25 can be taken to mean that children were born to Mary and Joseph subsequent to the birth of Jesus.

47. This verse is omitted in some manuscripts, and is also omitted in [RSV](#).

49. The disciples are the beginning of the Messianic Community, and so are members of the Messiah's family.

50. Obedience to the Father's will is the foundation of the community. (Cf. here the prayer of Jesus for the community in [John 17](#).)

COMMENT

If we accept the interpretation offered in Section 48, then this apparently unrelated instance follows logically. Mere natural affiliation does not determine membership either of Israel or the Messianic community. The only criterion is obedience to the Father's will—a plea wholly in line with the Israelite prophetic tradition (cf. John the Baptist's strictures in 3:9).

50. PARABLES OF THE KINGDOM

(13:1–52)[†]

13 ¹ On that day, Jesus left the house and sat by the sea. ² Great crowds gathered round him, so much so that he got into a boat and sat there, with the crowds on the beach. ³ He taught them a good deal in parables, as follows: ⁴ “A sower went out sowing, and in the process some seeds fell along the path and the birds came and devoured them. ⁵ Some, however, fell on stony ground where they had not much soil, and they immediately grew upwards because there was no depth to the soil. ⁶ But when the sun rose they were scorched and for lack of roots withered away. ⁷ Other seeds fell among thorns, and the thorns grew up and choked them. ⁸ Yet others fell on good soil and produced grain, some a hundredfold, some sixty, and some thirty. ⁹ Let him who has understanding listen.”

¹⁰ The disciples came to him with the inquiry, “Why do you speak to them in parables?” ¹¹ He replied, “It has been granted to you to know the mysteries of the Kingdom of heaven, while to them it has not been so granted. ¹² For to the man who has, more will be given and he will have abundance, while from the man who has not, even what he has will be taken away. ¹³ Therefore I address them in parables, since for all their looking they do not see, and for all their hearing they neither listen nor understand. ¹⁴ For them is fulfilled the saying of Isaiah the prophet: ‘You will certainly hear, but never understand,

and you will certainly see, but never perceive.

¹⁵ For this people's heart has grown dull,
their ears sated with hearing,
and they have closed their eyes,
lest they should perceive with their eyes,
listen with their ears,
and understand with their mind,
and turn for me to heal them.'

¹⁶ But your eyes are fortunate because they see, and your ears, too, for they listen. ¹⁷ I solemnly tell you that many prophets and righteous ones have ardently wished to see the things you see, and have not seen them; to hear the things you hear and have not heard them.

¹⁸ "Listen then to the parable of the Sower. ¹⁹ When anyone hears the word of the Kingdom and does not understand it, the Evil One comes and snatches away what was sown in his heart. This is what was sown along the path. ²⁰ As for what was sown on stony ground, this is the man who hears the word and immediately embraces it with enthusiasm. ²¹ But he has no root in himself, and lasts only for a time, and when trial or persecution arises because of the word, he immediately falls. ²² As for what fell among thorns, this is the man who hears the word, but worldly worries and care for wealth choke the word and it becomes unproductive. ²³ But in the case of what was sown in good soil, this is the man who hears the word and understands it; he certainly produces fruit,

making in one case a hundredfold, in another sixty, and in another thirty.”

²⁴ He put to them another parable, in this way: “The Kingdom of heaven may be compared with a man who sowed good seed on his land. ²⁵ While men were sleeping, however, his enemy came and sowed weeds in the wheat, and went away. ²⁶ Thus, when the plants came up and bore grain, the weeds also appeared. ²⁷ The householder’s servants came and said to him, ‘Sir, did you not sow good seed on your land? How then does it happen that it has weeds?’ ²⁸ He answered them, ‘An enemy has done this.’ Thereupon the servants said, ‘Is it your wish, then, that we go and gather them up?’ ²⁹ But he replied, ‘No—lest in gathering the weeds you root up the wheat at the same time. ³⁰ Let both grow together until harvest, and at harvesttime I will give orders to the reapers to gather the weeds first, and bind them in bundles for burning, but to gather the wheat into my granary.’ ”

³¹ He put before them another parable: “The Kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard seed, which a man (took and) sowed on his land. ³² It is the smallest of all seeds, but when it is grown it is the largest of the shrubs and becomes a tree, so that the birds of the air come and make nests in its branches.” ³³ He put before them another parable: “The Kingdom of heaven is like yeast which a woman took and put into three measures of flour until it was all leavened.”

³⁴ Jesus said all this to the crowds in parables, and he said nothing to them without a parable. ³⁵ In this way was fulfilled the saying of the prophet:

“I will speak in parables,
I will declare what has been hidden since the foundation
of the world.”

³⁶ Then he left the crowds and went into the house. His disciples followed him, and asked him, “Explain to us the parable of the weeds on the land.” ³⁷ His reply was, “He who sowed the good seed is The Man. ³⁸ The land is the world, and the good seeds are the children of the Kingdom. The weeds are the children of the Evil One, while the enemy who sowed them is the devil; ³⁹ the harvest is the end of the age, and the reapers are angels.

⁴⁰ As, then, the weeds are gathered and burned in the fire, so will it be at the consummation of the natural order.

⁴¹ The Man will send his messengers to gather out of his Kingdom all causes of sin and all evil-doers, and ⁴² they will throw them into the fire; there will be shrieking and grinding of teeth. ⁴³ Then the righteous will shine as the sun in the Kingdom of their Father. Let him who has understanding listen.

⁴⁴ “The Kingdom of heaven is like treasure hidden in a field, which a man discovered and buried, and then in his joy proceeds to sell all that he has to buy that field.

⁴⁵ Again, the Kingdom of heaven is like a merchant searching for fine pearls; ⁴⁶ on finding one very valuable

pearl, he proceeded to sell all that he had and bought it.
⁴⁷ Once more, the Kingdom of heaven is like a net cast into the sea, which gathered every kind of fish. ⁴⁸ When it was full, men hauled it ashore, sat down and sorted the usable fish into storage, but threw the unusable away. ⁴⁹ It will be so at the consummation of the natural order. The angels will come out, separate the wicked from among the righteous, ⁵⁰ and throw them into the furnace of fire. There will be shrieking and grinding of teeth. ⁵¹ Have you understood all this?” And they replied “Yes.” ⁵² He then said to them, “Therefore every scribe who has been trained for the Kingdom of heaven may be compared with a householder who produces from his storeroom both old and new things.”

NOTES

13:1–9. Cf. Introduction, Part XI, The Parable Audience.

crowds. Cf. second NOTE on 4:3.

4. *sower*. It is not clear in this short section (13:1–9) whether Jesus or the Father is represented as the sower. But the present infinitive of the verb *to sow* would appear to indicate that this was a continuous action—i.e., Jesus is continually adding to the Kingdom.

10. *the disciples*. Cf. Introduction, Part V.

At this point, Luke (8:9) has the disciples “asking him the meaning of the parable.” Mark’s Greek is decidedly awkward at this point (4:10), and this may be an indication that what follows was fitted in here from a body of oral tradition.

11. Cf. Mark 4:11, which has a scheme which can be detailed like this:

The mystery of the Kingdom Everything

is given	is taught
to you	to those outside
(directly).	in parables.

mysteries. The Kingdom itself, as a Messianic idea, was not only familiar to the disciples, it was known and awaited with eager expectation by the Jews. What was granted to the disciples, through their discipleship, was access to the innermost secrets of the Father’s providence, in much the same way that the prophets claimed access to God’s heavenly council (*sôd*). Cf. Introduction, Part XI. This meaning of *mystery*, as referring to the prior decisions of God, has been put beyond question by the work of Raymond E. Brown, largely based on the Dead Sea scrolls: cf. *The Semitic Background of the Term “Mystery” in the New Testament*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968.

12. This idea will be repeated again in 25:29 in the parable of the journeying property owner. Cf. Mark 4:25.

The passage is obscure. On the surface the saying deals with spiritual capacity, with the gift of faith, which—it is implied—the disciples have, but not the crowds. Hence real or imagined “case law” is taught to the latter, to enable them to seek the response of faith. However, this is not very satisfactory, for parable teaching would (vs. 12b) only succeed in removing from the crowds even the little they have already. It is far better to interpret the saying as dealing with a spiritual *inheritance*, and not the capacity for faith. The disciples—Jews, like the members of the crowd—were humble enough to learn from their inheritance as it was expounded by Jesus. To them more would be added, i.e., an inheritance in the Kingdom. To those who had vacated their inheritance by opposition to the proclamation (cf. COMMENT on §48), their reliance on the Old Covenant would be valueless.

14–17. The introduction of this quotation (from the LXX of Isa 6:9 ff.) does not have the familiar Matthean *hina plērōthē*, “so was fulfilled.” The total context of the passage in Isaiah determines its place and meaning here. Cf. Introduction, Part IV, Parables.

16. *But your eyes are fortunate*. The Lukan version (10:23–24) puts this saying, in a different form, in the context of the return of the seventy disciples. The *your* is emphatic here (*humōn de*), in contrast with *them* (*autois, ekeinois*) of vss. 10, 11, 13, 14.

17. *many prophets and righteous ones*. There may be a distinction drawn here between the two. Attention has already been called to the fact that *Righteous One* as a Messianic title (cf. Acts 7:52) has a long and still elusive OT and intertestamental background. It is worth noticing here that only Noah is described as *the righteous one* without qualification in the OT (Gen 6:9, 7:1), while in the intertestamental material only Abraham and Simon the high priest are so designated in addition to Noah (Ecclus 44:17, 19–21; Josephus *Antiquities* XII. 2, 5). Too much should not be read into the verse here, which may simply be an assertion that it was not only prophets who looked for a future revelation of the hidden divine will. It is equally possible that we have an hendiadys here—i.e., “the righteous prophets.”

18. This verse must be regarded as belonging to a very early stage of the tradition, but not as coming from Jesus himself. In the first place, the titles *the parable of the sower*, and the similar *the parable of the weeds* in vs. 36 are the only examples of such titles in the NT. Secondly, even the title here is incorrect, for the parable has more to do with the ground than with the sower. Thirdly, Jesus is rarely recorded as having explained his parables in anything like the detail given here. Fourthly, one must note that the explanation is offered to those (*the disciples*, vs. 10) who have already been told that they are privy to the prior decisions of God and hence have no need of parable instruction. The very confusion between the synoptic gospels here gives us some indication of what has happened. Mark 4:13 represents Jesus questioning the inability of the disciples to understand; Luke 8:9–10 simply says that Jesus explained the parable. It is possible that what we have here, as also in the explanation of the parable of the weeds (vss. 36–43), is uncertainty at a very early stage of the community's history as to what the "coming" of The Man meant. The first explanation has nothing to say about the harvest in terms of The Man's Kingdom, while the second sounds more like the words of Jesus used to describe the Kingdom on quite another occasion.

So far as the present explanation is concerned, it must have been part of the fixed tradition from an early date. It is otherwise impossible to account for its being attributed to Jesus himself. The care taken in preservation of the oral tradition was such as to allow little room for post-apostolic manipulation. Most likely it belongs to a period very shortly after the expansion of the community, when Christians were puzzled by the failure in consecration on the part of some neophytes.

The uncertainty about the interpretation is demonstrated by the confusion which Mark displays between the seed sown (cf. Mark 4:14, 15) which, being the proclamation of the word, may be presumed to be of divine origin, and the state of the ground into which that seed fell. Cf. also the same confusion in Mark 4:16, 17, extended into 18–19. Luke's version (8:11–15) similarly exhibits confusion between the seed, as word of God, and the ground into which it falls.

It is possible to conclude that there were originally two parables, one concerning seed, and the other about the ground, with a subsequent conflation of content.

24–30. *may be compared* (Gr. *homoiōthē*). Matthew has this regular formula, varied by *homoia esti*, in the customary Jewish manner of introducing any cases which he does not share with the Markan tradition. He has a simpler form at 25:14 (*hōsper*).

It would appear that Matthew's tradition contained a block of parable sayings (the weeds, the mustard seed, the yeast, the treasure, the pearl, the net) with an ending. The predilection of this gospel for arrangements taken over from the mnemonic devices of oral recitation (in this case two groups of three) would dictate the insertion of a parable explanation at vss. 36–43.

An examination of this block (13:24–50) with Mark 4:26–34, on the usual theory that Matthew used, and then rearranged, the Markan material, cannot adequately explain some oddities. Why did Matthew leave aside Mark at 13:24, then use Mark 4:33–34, and having done so place it after the saying on yeast, rather than leave it where it was in the Markan place after the mustard seed? Moreover, on the usual synoptic theory he omits Mark's 4:21–25 at vs. 31, while the material parallel to the Markan tradition is scattered throughout Matthew. For example, Mark 4:21=Matt 5:15; Mark 4:22=Matt 10:26; Mark 4:23=Matt 11:15; Mark 4:24=Matt 7:2; Mark 4:25=Matt 13:12. Even allowing for the diverse manifestations of the oral tradition, this calls more for access to an independent tradition than for a scissors-and-paste technique with an oral tradition already committed to writing.

30. *harvest*. Cf. 3:12. There is no parallel in Mark or Luke to this parable, though Mark (4:26 ff.) has words in common with Matthew: "were sleeping," "came up," "wheat," "grain," "harvest." The emphasis in the Markan story is different, but the eschatological interest has the same clarity in both by the use of the word "harvest." To explain this parable of Jesus in terms of the opposition to him, as though there is a direct equation between *weeds* and the Pharisees, may indicate the viability of parable as a form of instruction, but by virtually identifying the disciples with the good grain it also identifies them with the elect at the harvest—an identification specifically ruled out in chapter 24.

burning. Fire is constantly used in Matthew to describe the judgment (cf. 3:10, 5:22, 7:19, 13:40, 42, 18:8–9, 25:41).

31–33. It is a mistaken interpretation which sees in these sayings an assertion of the silent, gradual growth of the Kingdom. In all of them, the emphasis is on the sheer miracle of the growth of the Kingdom.

32. *largest of the shrubs*. The mustard shrub commonly grows to a height of ten feet by the Sea of Galilee.

birds of the air. Cf. [Dan 4:21](#), from which this half of the verse is a quotation. Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom gathered vassal nations; the Kingdom of heaven will also gather men from far off.

There are agreements in the saying about the mustard seed between Matthew and Luke as opposed to Mark. Once again, in this saying it is just as plausible to suppose—on the usual synoptic theory—that Luke used Matthew and Mark, as it is to think that Matthew combined Mark with “Q.”

34. It is clear that the above sayings were addressed to the crowds, and not to the disciples.

35. [Ps 78:2](#), from which this quotation is taken, is a rehearsal of Israelite history, in obedience and rebellion, up to the establishment of the Davidic monarchy. Once more, we emphasize that this is no mere OT proof text; cf. Part IV of the Introduction.

36. If we may judge from the confusion in the Markan parallel to vss. 18–23, then we may question whether the explanation that follows is from the lips of Jesus.

37. *The Man*. As we saw in the Introduction (Parts VI and VII), it is *The Man* who calls men into his own field, the Kingdom of heaven.

38. *children of the Kingdom*. The phrase was used in [8:12](#), but there had the sense of those who had been chosen for the Kingdom, but had failed in their vocation.

40. *the consummation of the natural order*. This is a constant theme in Jewish apocalyptic literature. Cf. Testament of Levi 10; Apocalypse of Baruch xiii 3, xxvii 15, liv 21, lxxxiii 7; Enoch xvi 1; [Dan 12:13](#); [2 Esdras 7:113](#). Cf. also [Heb 9:26](#). It is undoubtedly the sense of the Qumran expression *gemar haq-qēs*, where it means “the end of the present age” (i.e., created order). This phrase is repeated in vs. 49. The Greek phrase can also mean “the end of the present age”—an understanding of the ministry of Jesus characteristic of Pauline thought.

41–43. This illustrates the point made in Part VI of the Introduction: the Kingdom of The Man is coincidental in time and extension with the Messianic Community and is temporary. Membership in that community in no way guarantees inclusion among the *righteous* in the Kingdom of the Father. Cf. [Dan 12:1](#); [Ecclus 50:7](#).

Let him ... Cf. NOTE on 11:15.

44–46. These sayings may refer to the mission of Jesus seeking men for his Kingdom, with a plain statement of the price which must be paid for that Kingdom's inauguration. Similarly, they may indicate the sacrifice demanded of those who come to the Messianic Kingdom. In the context in which they were first spoken, they may have reference back to vs. 11: the disciples are in present possession of a secret, that of the identity of the Messiah and his impending reign.

Certainly there is a call here for sacrifice and detachment, a steadfast regard for the treasure which the disciples already possess, and alongside which all else is counted for nothing.

hidden in a field. The practice of hiding valuables in the ground, especially in times of crisis and insurrection, was common enough throughout the Middle East, and has by no means been unknown in Europe down to our own times.

pearl. Pearls were in great demand in the ancient world, and ranked with gold as symbols of wealth (cf. [7:6](#)).

There is no parallel to these sayings in Mark or Luke.

47–50. This parable re-emphasizes the theme of the weeds in vss. 24–30, of separation at the end of the Messianic age.

48. *usable ... unusable*. This may refer to good or bad fish simply, or—symbolically—to ritually “clean” and “unclean” fish (cf. [Lev 11:9 ff.](#)). Mark and Luke have no parallel to this saying, though commentators sometimes refer to [John 21:11](#), in which connection it is thought that the ancients found the total number of different varieties of fish to be 153.

51–52. The disciples have heard two kinds of instruction in this chapter: the public part in vss. 1–8 and

31–33, and the private explanations and further parables relating to the Kingdom in the remainder of the chapter.

old and new. This may refer to the Law and the Proclamation, or to the new revelation in Jesus of the prior decisions of God, with a reference back to [Ps 78:2](#).

COMMENT

On parables in general, the reader is referred to Part XI of the Introduction.

This section is concerned with the Kingdom which Jesus proclaimed. The presentation of case law to the crowds, followed by the explanations which appear in our present text, altogether makes up an illustration of the way in which parables came to be quoted in various contexts and used to illustrate quite diverse points.

51. UNBELIEF

(13:53–58)[†]

13 ⁵³ When Jesus had finished these parables, he went away from there ⁵⁴ and came into his own native town. He taught them in their synagogue, and they were amazed: “Where did he acquire this power and this wisdom? ⁵⁵ Isn’t this the builder’s son? Isn’t his mother named Mary? And are not his brothers James, Joseph, Simon, and Judas? ⁵⁶ Aren’t his sisters here? Where did he acquire all this?” ⁵⁷ So they were shocked by him. But Jesus said to them, “A prophet is only without honor in his native town and in his own home,” ⁵⁸ and because of their unbelief he was unable to perform many acts of power there.

NOTES

13:53–58. The unbelief with which Jesus was faced in the earlier material of this chapter now finds expression in Jesus’ own home territory, in Galilee.

54. The last mention of teaching in a synagogue is found here (cf. 4:23, 9:35, 12:9), and Matthew would seem deliberately to have qualified the word *synagogue* with *their* to express the growing rift between Jesus and official Judaism.

55–56. *mother ... sisters*. Cf. NOTE on 12:46.

builder’s son. The Markan tradition (6:3) has “builder,” and it also adds “among his own relatives” (Mark 6:4).

It is important in view of the widespread and romantic notion concerning Joseph’s occupation as a “carpenter” that we look at the Greek here. The word *tektōn*, translated by us as *builder*, has a wide range of meanings, from a shipbuilder to a sculptor, but it generally indicates a craftsman of considerable skill. The word can even be used of a physician. It seems clear that so far from Joseph being the simple—and poor—village carpenter making ox yokes or simple plows (which any peasant was capable of producing), he was probably a builder of some consequence, traveling over wide areas of country. So seen, the sacrifice involved in the self-renunciation of Jesus (cf. Matt 8:20) is far more radical than it is when seen against a background of village carpenter. It is worth adding here that our present English “architect,” directly derived from the same Greek word, certainly does not mean a man of limited accomplishments.

The Aramaic word *naggārā* covered both a maker of household furnishings or farm tools and a builder. In those days (as had been true for at least two thousand years, to say nothing of more recent times), master craftsmen were generally itinerants traveling alone or with their families from city to city as work became available. This must have been especially true of a builder. In June 1968, an ossuary was excavated in Jerusalem bearing the Aramaic inscription “Simon—he built the temple.” In the same way Joseph may have spent much of his working life as a builder in Jerusalem. In view of the implied statement (see also Luke 4:22 and John 6:42) that some of the people of Nazareth did not know Jesus by sight when he first appeared after the beginning of his public ministry, though he must have been by that time at least thirty, it is clear that he had never spent much of his time in Nazareth. Nor presumably had his father.

Nazareth was ideally situated for an itinerant builder, since he could settle his family comfortably within a short walk from the main roads which led to such coastal cities as Ptolemais (Acre) and Caesarea, or Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee and Gadara overlooking the Sea of Galilee from the southeast. All these and many other important towns such as Sebaste (Samaria) could be reached by donkey in a single day. Such cities as Caesarea, Samaria, and Tiberias were rebuilt just before or after the Christian Era.

COMMENT

It is noticeable that from this point onwards the narrative part of Matthew is in fairly close accord with the Markan scheme, though this is not true of the teaching material which Matthew incorporates up to chapter 18.

There is, however, one clear difference. Mark's scheme works up to the acknowledgment of Jesus as Messiah by Peter, and from that moment Mark strides on rapidly to the passion narrative. Matthew, however, who has represented the disciples in 13:51–52 as being in possession of the Kingdom's secrets, has yet to deal with their hesitancies and failures. His scheme provides for side glimpses of Jesus' dealings with Gentiles, for the execution of John, and for the continued and growing hostility of the Pharisees.

52. DEATH OF JOHN THE BAPTIST

(14:1–12)[†]

14 ¹At this time, the tetrarch Herod, hearing of the fame of Jesus, ²said to his servants, “This is John the Baptist who has been raised from the dead; that is why these acts of power are working in him.” ³For Herod had seized John and thrown him into prison, over the affair of Herodias, wife of his brother Philip, ⁴because John had said to him, ⁵“It is unlawful for you to have her.” But although he wanted to put him to death, he was afraid of the common people, who regarded him as a prophet. ⁶However, when Herod’s birthday came round, Herodias’ daughter danced before the company and pleased Herod —⁷so much so that he promised (under oath) to give her whatever she might desire. ⁸Prompted by her mother, she said, “Give me here on a platter the head of John the Baptist.” ⁹The king was sorry, but on account of his oaths and his guests, he commanded it to be given, ¹⁰and he sent and had John beheaded in prison. ¹¹His head was brought on a platter to the girl, who gave it to her mother, and ¹²his disciples came, removed the body and buried it, and then came and told Jesus.

NOTES

14:1. *At this time.* Cf. 11:25, 12:1.

Herod. I.e., Herod Antipas, one of the sons of Herod the Great. He is called *tetrarch*, which had come to mean “ruler of a subdivision (of a province),” rather than “king,” though vs. 9 in fact uses the title *king*.

2. *acts of power.* This is reference to the miracles of Jesus.

3. In the Markan account, it is Herodias who wished for John’s death, and Herod who resisted it out of his regard for John. Matthew lays the blame at Herod’s door. Such variations in the tradition give us a perspective which enhances our respect for the independence of the gospel records. If all accounts tallied on every score, then we would have every right to entertain great suspicion that the whole account had been “rigged” or manipulated in the interests of unanimity.

Some manuscripts omit Philip, presumably because it is probable that Herodias was not the wife of Philip but of another Herod who was half-brother of Antipas. For information on the complex and confusing relationships of the family of Herod, cf. Fritz Otto Busch, *The Five Herods*, tr. from the German by E. W. Dickes, London: R. Hale, 1958.

6 ff. Josephus (*Antiquities* XVIII. 5, 2) says that Herod executed John to forestall a possible rebellion, and the same authority bears witness to the enthusiasm for John shown by the common people.

12. *his disciples.* I.e., the disciples of John.

The mission of the disciples of Jesus was not a factor in Herod’s decision to rid himself of John.

COMMENT

A comparison of the Matthean and Markan traditions is interesting here. Mark introduces the account of John's death by reference to the missionary work of the disciples (Mark 6:12), which brings Jesus' work to the notice of Herod ("his name became well known"). This induces Herod to say that John ("whom I beheaded") had risen from the dead, and by this means Mark goes on to the account of the execution. Matthew, who does not record this mission of the disciples, introduces his narrative with his indeterminate *At this time*. There is in Matthew's account no explicit explanation of Herod's fear of a John who had come to life again; it is only implied by the unfolding of the story.

53. THE FEEDING

(14:13–21)[†]

14 ¹³ Upon hearing this, Jesus withdrew from there by boat to a lonely place by himself, but when the crowds heard of this they followed him on foot from the town.

¹⁴ As he went ashore he saw a great crowd, took pity on them, and healed their sick. ¹⁵ At evening his disciples came to him with the words: “This is a lonely place, and the day is over. Send the crowds away to go into the villages and buy provisions for themselves.” ¹⁶ But Jesus said, “There is no need for them to go away; give them something to eat yourselves.” ¹⁷ They said to him, “We have here only five loaves and two fishes.” ¹⁸ “Bring them here to me,” he said. ¹⁹ Whereupon, ordering the crowds to sit down on the grass, he took the five loaves and the two fishes, looked up to heaven, gave thanks, broke, and gave the loaves to the disciples, who gave them to the crowd.

²⁰ They all ate and were satisfied; and they took up twelve baskets full of broken pieces which were left over.

²¹ Those who ate were about five thousand men, apart from women and children.

NOTES

14:13. *withdrew*. Cf. 2:12 and 4:12. This withdrawal is a direct response to the news of John's death.

14. *took pity*. Cf. 9:36. The pity here springs from the same concern for those lost and shepherdless.

15. *the day is over*. This can be taken to mean that the time for the usual evening meal is already over.

18–19. The Matthean version is terse in comparison with Mark, and Matthew makes no mention of any questions from Jesus.

On vs. 19, see the COMMENT below.

20–21. If the incident, as we contend, was more in the nature of a prophetic symbol, then we may (in the light of John 6:25–59) see the fragments collected as symbolic language from the evangelists. Jesus, who feeds them now in token of the impending Kingdom and the Messianic Feast, will never fail to feed them. There is enough and to spare.

21. *five thousand*. I.e., a good round number. To dismiss the historical accuracy of the event because of exaggeration in numbers is a foolish proceeding. The nature of oral tradition is such that minor details, such as the number of a crowd, almost immediately become subject to exaggeration. Josephus is full of such exaggerated numbers (such as his assertion that towns in and around Galilee had a population of 45,000, about ten times too much), but this in no way reduces his credibility in other historical details.

In 1921 a milk-woman from Lifta came to the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem with the news that on the day before, 40,000 Jews had been massacred in Tel Aviv by Arabs. This was the first word of the massacre received by one of the authors; later news reduced the number of deaths to about forty.

By way of conclusion to this material, 2 Baruch 29:8 speaks of an expectation of a repetition of feeding on manna in the Messianic Age.

COMMENT

If this account of the feeding (together with its duplicate in 15:32–39) is simply to be regarded as a miraculous multiplication of bread and fish in order to feed the hungry, then it stands alone in the gospels. Aside from the compassion of Jesus, it is plain from all four gospels that Jesus' works of power were not only signs of the Kingdom's advent, but were also instruments by which it came (cf. Introduction, Part X).

In this particular instance it is John's gospel which provides us with some clues as to the real meaning of the narrative. John 6:15 records that after the feeding, the crowds wished to take Jesus by force and make him king. On the face of it, this might be interpreted as the reaction of a weary crowd to one who had suddenly saved its members from hunger—though even this is rather far-fetched. In the ministry of Jesus there is always in the background the issue of Messiahship, and this is the best sense which can be attributed to John 6:15. It is then necessary to ask what there was about this particular occurrence which brought the issue so decidedly to the front. We suggest that the words of Jesus himself, though not recorded for us, indicated that what was being enacted before the people was not a simple feeding, but a dress rehearsal for the Messianic Feast (cf. NOTE on 7:11). That this was the way in which the NT writers understood the occurrence, and also the way in which Jesus interpreted it, can be demonstrated from the occurrence of the key words “took,” “gave thanks,” “broke,” and “gave” in:

Matt 14:19, 15:35, 26:26

Mark 6:41, 8:6, 14:22

Luke 9:16, 22:19

John 6:11 (except for “broke”)

1 Cor 11:23–24 (except for “gave”).

We are here dealing with a formula of words which was fixed in the tradition at a very early date, as witness their appearance in Paul's account of the Last Supper. If Jesus' “blessing,” or “giving of thanks,” to the Father had reference to the impending inauguration of the Kingdom, or to the new creation (a constant theme in the Pauline writings), then all the material was at hand for a truly explosive situation, a public declaration by the people of Jesus' Messiahship. Some notes have to be added:

(a) The duplication of the tradition in Matthew and Mark indicates the crucial importance of the incident in that tradition;

(b) The link between the passion of Jesus and the inauguration of the Kingdom is clearly delineated in our gospels, particularly in John, and at this

stage of the ministry it will have been abundantly clear to Jesus that the time of supreme trial was not far distant;

(c) The connection between the passion, the Kingdom, the New Covenant and the Eucharist is clearly made in Paul's first Corinthian letter, and he cannot have received this other than from an already existing tradition;

(d) It must not be overlooked that John 6 makes this incident the springboard for a discourse on the bread of life;

(e) The Qumran material has provided us with wholly new evidence as to the quasi-sacramental and eschatological character attaching to meals in at least one group in Judaism.

54. THE WALKING ON THE WATER

(14:22–36)[†]

14 ²² Then he made the disciples get into the boat and precede him to the other side, while he dismissed the crowds. ²³ Having dismissed them, he went by himself up into the hills to pray, and when evening came he was there alone. ²⁴ The boat by this time was many furlongs away from the land, being buffeted by the waves, as the wind was contrary. ²⁵ Shortly before dawn he came to them, walking on the sea. ²⁶ But when the disciples saw him walking on the sea, they were frightened. “It is an apparition!” they said, and cried out in fear. ²⁷ But at once he spoke to them: “Take courage—it is I. Do not be afraid.” ²⁸ Peter replied, “Sir—if that is who you are—tell me to come to you on the water,” ²⁹ and he said “Come.” Peter therefore left the boat, and walking on the water came towards Jesus. ³⁰ But giving attention to the wind, he was afraid, and as he began to sink he cried out, “Sir, save me!” ³¹ Jesus immediately stretched out his hand and caught him, saying to him, “You of little faith—why did you doubt?” ³² When they had got into the boat the wind ceased, ³³ and those in the boat revered him with the words: “Truly you are the Son of God.”

³⁴ When they had crossed over they came to land at Gennesaret. ³⁵ When the men of that district recognized him, they sent word through all that region, and people brought to him all who were sick, ³⁶ desiring that they might only touch the hem of his *himation*, and as many as

did so were made well.

NOTES

The geographical locations are confusing at this point. *The hills* (in Hebrew the singular *har*, “hill/mountain,” must often be rendered “hill-country”) of vs. 23 in no help (cf. the *hill/mountain* of 4:8, 5:1, 8:1, 17:1, 9, 20, 28:16). According to Mark the disciples were sent to Bethsaida, and if the feeding took place at the northeastern part of the lake, then Bethsaida was close by. In addition to this, Mark records only an arrival at Gennesaret (6:53), as does Matthew in vs. 34.

24. *buffeted*. The verb used (*basanizein*) is found in 8:6 of a man suffering from paralysis, and in 8:29 by the two demoniacs in their complaint to Jesus.

25. *Shortly before dawn* (literally, “in the fourth watch of the night”). The night from 6 P.M. to 6 A.M. was divided by the Romans into four equal “watches.”

28–31. The short account of Peter’s meeting with Jesus is not found outside Matthew. The tradition here recorded is of importance (against those who maintain that Matthew’s gospel always casts the disciples in a favorable light, as compared with the supposedly earlier and harsher Markan account). Matthew stresses the primacy of Peter among the disciples (cf. 10:2, 16:18), but there is no hesitation in recording Peter’s weakness under the strain of testing (cf. also 26:29 ff.).

31. *little faith*. This is a peculiarly Matthean description. Cf. also 6:30, 8:9–10, 26.

33. *Son of God*. I.e., Messiah. There is no basis whatever in this expression for an assertion that this is a Hellenistic appellation. The phrase is used in the Psalms to describe the anointed king (cf. Ps 2:7).

34–36. The welcome given to Jesus in Gennesaret contrasts sharply with the incidents which follow in ch. 15. On two previous occasions a miracle story in this gospel is followed by examples of the hostility of Jesus’ critics (cf. 9:32 ff., 12:23 ff.), in strong opposition to the enthusiasm of others.

COMMENT

Our position on miracles has been made clear in Part X of the Introduction. This—one of the “nature miracles”—commonly gives rise to much difficulty in the minds of many. Attempts to rationalize the story, or to penetrate behind the gospel account for some natural explanation which will not offend “modern” susceptibilities, are rather pathetic. We can never know precisely what happened on this occasion, but the spiritual import is clear.

55. QUESTIONS ON THE LAW

(15:1–20)[†]

15 ¹ There came to Jesus from Jerusalem scribes and Pharisees asking, ² “Why do your disciples deliberately flout the tradition of the elders. They do not wash their hands when they eat.” ³ He replied to them, “And why do you deliberately flout the commandment of God by your tradition? ⁴ For God said, ‘Give honor to father and mother,’ and ‘Let him who speaks evil of father or mother die.’ ⁵ But you say, ‘If anyone says to his father or mother: Whatever you might have received from me is consecrated to God, ⁶ he does not dishonor father or mother. So by your tradition you have emptied God’s word of meaning. ⁷ Shysters! How well did Isaiah the prophet prophesy of you when he said:

⁸ ‘This people honors me with their lips,
but their heart is far from me;

⁹ they worship me frivolously,
teaching as divine law what is purely human.’ ”

¹⁰ Turning to the crowds, he said, “Listen and understand this: ¹¹ What defiles a man is not what goes into his mouth, but what comes out of it.” ¹² Then the disciples came to him. “Do you know,” they said, “that the Pharisees were shocked when they heard this saying?”

¹³ He answered, “Every growth which my heavenly Father has not planted will be rooted up. ¹⁴ Let them be. They are blind guides, and if one blind man leads another blind man they will both fall into the ditch.” ¹⁵ But Peter replied,

“Explain the parable to us.” ¹⁶ “And are you also without understanding?” he asked. ¹⁷ “Do you not see that what goes into the mouth passes to the stomach, and so passing on is cast out? ¹⁸ But what comes out of the mouth arises from the heart, and this defiles a man. ¹⁹ For from the heart arise evil thoughts, murder, adultery, sexual license, theft, perjury, slander. ²⁰ These are the things which defile a man. To eat with unwashed hands does not defile anyone.”

NOTES

15:2. The charge against the disciples is not that of breaking the Law, but of setting aside the *tradition of the elders*. No one can deny the hygienic desirability of coming to eat with clean hands; equally no one can deny that such precautions can be carried to extreme lengths.

2–5. Note the parallel framework of the scribes and Pharisees' questions and Jesus' replies in Matthew:

Why do your disciples *Why do you*

flout the tradition? *flout the commandment?*

... But you say ... *God said ...*

The emphasis on *commandment* in distinction from *tradition* in vs. 3 is very marked.

4. Mark's version (7:10) has, "Moses said, 'Give honor....'" Matthew's version, with "God said ..." makes the antithesis between divine command and human tradition far clearer. It should be noted here that the so-called "Temple scroll" from Qumran also exhibits changes of this character, even altering sayings in the Pentateuch from "God said ..." to "I said...."

5. *consecrated to God*. Mark uses the technical term *korban* (Heb. *qorbân*). The term is attested in Josephus (*Against Apion* I) and in inscriptions from the middle decades of the first century A.D. Cf. StB, ad loc. By allowing a man to dedicate his property and possessions to the temple, the oral law (*the tradition of the elders*) had in effect permitted a man to escape the obligations of the fifth commandment (Exod 20:12). In this way an oral tradition could *empty God's word of meaning*.

7. *Shysters!* On this translation of *hupokritai*, cf. Appendix to Part IX in the Introduction. What is being condemned is the legalism which robs an otherwise legitimate gesture of all moral content.

8–9. The quotation (Isa 29:13) is neither from the LXX nor from the Masoretic text. It may derive from the "Old Palestinian" tradition. This source we no longer have, but its existence has been dramatically illustrated by the OT material from Qumran. Cf. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, especially pp. 120 ff.

10–11. The preceding incident was a private encounter, as *Turning to the crowds* demonstrates. Matthew's use of *mouth* here clarifies the ambiguities of the Markan tradition ("coming out of a man," Mark 7:16), but the clarification renders the explanation in vss. 17–19 unnecessary. Evidently the oral tradition behind our sources included it.

10. *crowds*. As distinct from *the people*; cf. NOTE on 4:23. *Crowds* may have included Gentiles.

12–14. The shocked reaction of the Pharisees was understandable, since Jesus appeared to be setting aside the legal distinction between ritually clean and unclean food. Certainly Mark (from Peter?—cf. Acts 10:1–11:18) thought that this was the case (Mark 7:19), but Matthew's tradition has no such sweeping conclusion. If we may judge from the controversies which plagued the early community (Acts 10, 11, 15; Gal 2:11 ff.) there was no such certainty as that assumed by Mark. Moreover, the controversy with the Pharisees was about a *tradition*, not about the *Law*. It is possible that the use of *the crowds* is of some assistance here. The Matthean tradition uses the word in distinction to *the people* (as indicated in the previous NOTE), and Jesus may well merely have indicated the inapplicability of the Mosaic Law to those outside the Old Covenant. Only the second part of vs. 14 has a parallel outside Matthew; in Luke 6:39 it comes in the context of the Great Instruction.

14. *blind*. The same accusation is brought against the Pharisees in 23:16–22, and Paul uses a similar phrase in Rom 2:19. Cf. also John 10:39–41.

15. *Peter*. The eminent position of Peter is stressed again here. In Mark (7:17) it is the disciples who make the request.

parable. Cf. Part XI of the Introduction. The saying of Jesus in vs. 11 was an example of case law.

18. Cf. 12:34.

19. Mark's list has thirteen forms of evil (7:21 ff.), while Matthew's tradition confines the list to seven, in the order of the Decalogue (cf. Hos 4:2).

20. This verse repeats vs. 11, reversing the order.

COMMENT

The reader is referred to Part IX of the Introduction, on Jesus and the Law. It is important here only to recall our warnings against supposing that Jesus' controversies with the Pharisees and lawyers arose from an intention on the part of Jesus to erect a "new law," or to abrogate the Mosaic Law.

56. THE SYRO-PHOENICIAN WOMAN; FURTHER HEALINGS

(15:21–31)[†]

15 ²¹ Jesus left that place, and went into the district of Tyre and Sidon, ²² and a Phoenician woman from those parts came to him calling out, “Take pity on me, Lord, Son of David, for my daughter is badly demon-possessed.” ²³ Not a word did he answer, and his disciples approached him: “Send her away,” they said, “for she is calling after us.” ²⁴ He replied, “I was not sent, except to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.” ²⁵ She, however, came and threw herself before him and said: “Lord, help me.” ²⁶ But he replied: “It is not right to take children’s bread and throw it to dogs.” ²⁷ “Yes, Lord,” she said, “yet even the dogs eat the crumbs which fall from their masters’ tables.” ²⁸ “Woman,” said Jesus in reply to her, “your faith is great. Let it be as you wish.” Her daughter was made well from that time.

²⁹ Departing from there, Jesus went by the Sea of Galilee, and went up into the hills and stayed there.

³⁰ Great crowds came to him, bringing with them lame, blind, maimed, and dumb people and many others besides. They placed them at his feet and he cured them.

³¹ The crowds marveled when they saw the dumb speaking, the maimed restored, the lame walking, the blind seeing, and they praised Israel’s God.

NOTES

15:22. *Phoenician* (literally, “Canaanite”). The word is clear indication that the woman who came to Jesus was a Phoenician. Otherwise, she would have been called simply a Greek. Phoenician was still spoken, and the native name (*kena’nî*) of a Phoenician was in the Greek *Chananaïos*. It is worthy of note that Carthaginian peasants in the time of Augustine (fifth century A.D.) still called themselves Canaanites. Mark’s version has “a Greek, a Syro-Phoenician by race.”

came to him. The Matthean account has the Gentile woman coming to Jesus when he was in her own home territory, in agreement with Mark (7:24–25), which states that Jesus was in a house in Gentile country (Tyre).

23–25. These verses are found only in Matthew. Both the silence of Jesus and the near-desperate cry of the disciples are interesting in the light of commentators’ assertions that this gospel (in contrast with the supposedly earlier Mark) treats Jesus and his disciples with increased reverence.

26. *children’s bread*. Mark’s account simply has “Let the children be fed first” (7:27), which is ambiguous. Matthew’s version of Jesus’ saying in vs. 24, whether it is in context or not, illuminates this saying about the *children*—they are Israel.

28. *faith*. Once again, trust and confidence has compelled Jesus to extend his mission to a Gentile. Cf. 8:5–13.

29. Mark’s geographical details are here more complete, describing as he does a somewhat lengthy journey from Tyre by way of the district of Sidon, in the direction of the Sea of Galilee, then to the territory of the Ten Towns (Decapolis; 7:31). Matthew merely records, after the return, a journey to *the hills*, with a short summary of works of healing.

31. This verse is a reference to Isa 35:5, and may provide a sidelight on the way in which the tradition was recorded. Mark (7:32 ff.) has an account of the healing of a deaf-stammerer (*mogilalōn* in Greek, a word which is found in the LXX of Isa 35:6). Matthew simply records the healings in terms of the Isaian passage, where Mark—apparently aware of the same passage—describes a single healing against its background.

COMMENT

The next considerable part of the gospel is marked by a ministry in and around Galilee, and includes teaching by Jesus about his passion and resurrection (15:21–18:35). This corresponds with 7:24–9:50 in Mark, but in Matthew the journeys recorded by Mark are far less detailed (cf. 15:29 and Mark 7:31), while Matthew's record of instruction to the disciples is far more detailed.

The question of clean and unclean having been raised in the previous section, this next encounter naturally follows in sequence, for it deals with the relationship between Jews and Gentiles. Moreover, sayings such as those in 10:5–6 would demand explanation when non-Jews began pressing into the Messianic Community.

57. THE FEEDING

(15:32–39)[†]

15 ³² Jesus called his disciples to him and said, “I am deeply concerned about the crowd, because they have now been with me three days without eating. I am unwilling to send them away hungry, in case they faint on the way.” ³³ “Where,” said the disciples to him, “are we to obtain bread enough in this lonely place to feed such a crowd?” ³⁴ Jesus asked them, “How many loaves do you have?” “Seven,” they answered, “and a few fish.” ³⁵ Commanding the crowd to sit down on the ground, ³⁶ he took the seven loaves and the fish, and having given thanks he broke them and gave them to the disciples, who gave them to the crowds. ³⁷ When they had all eaten and were satisfied, they gathered up seven baskets of the broken pieces left over. ³⁸ Those who thus ate were about four thousand men, besides women and children. ³⁹ Dismissing the crowds, he embarked in the boat, and went to the hills of Magdala.

NOTES

15:32–39. The great importance attached to the account of the feeding is illustrated by its duplication here. The Johannine account of the feeding emphasizes its crucial place in the ministry by the assertion that the crowds wished to make Jesus king. In view of this tradition, and in view of the links suggested between the feeding, the Messianic Feast, the Last Supper and the Eucharist, we are entitled to assume a duplication here.

The assimilation of language in this account to that of chapter 14 reinforces such a view.

39. *Magdala*. The Greek (*Magadan*) is obscure. Magdala, where the hills rise sharply from the sea, would fit the Matthean location admirably. The Greek mistake arose very simply—*delta*, *alpha* and *lambda* look alike in uncials (capital letters were used exclusively in the early Greek book hand). The Syriac readings *MGDW* (LXX *Mageddō*=Heb. *Megiddô*), *MGDYN*, etc., may be better, but they would leave us with a quite unknown location.

58. DEMAND FOR A SIGN

(16:1–12)[†]

16 ¹ The Pharisees and Sadducees came to him, and to test him they asked him to show them a sign from heaven. ² He answered them, “When it is evening, you say ‘It will be fair, because the sky is red,’ ³ and in the morning, ‘Today will be stormy, because the sky is red and threatening.’ You know how to judge the appearance of the sky; why then can you not judge the signs of the times? ⁴ An evil generation seeks a sign, but no sign will be given to it, except the sign of Jonah.” He left them and went away.

⁵ When the disciples reached the other side, they had forgotten to take bread with them. ⁶ Jesus said to them, “Watch—beware of the yeast of the Pharisees and Sadducees.” ⁷ Among themselves they discussed this, reasoning, “We brought no bread,” and, ⁸ knowing this, Jesus said, “Why do you discuss among yourselves, you of little faith, the fact that you have no bread? ⁹ Do you not yet understand? Do you not remember the five loaves for the five thousand, and the number of baskets you gathered up? ¹⁰ Or the seven loaves for the four thousand, and the number of baskets you gathered up? ¹¹ How then do you fail to understand that I was not talking to you about bread? Beware of the yeast of the Pharisees and Sadducees.” ¹² Then they understood that he was not telling them to beware of the yeast of bread, but of the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees.

NOTES

So far from suggesting an uncertainty which they are anxious to dissipate, the critics' request for a sign, an authentication of Jesus' ministry, is represented by the evangelist as a temptation.

16:1. Sadducees. This is the only place in the NT where the Sadducees are represented as being outside Judea. Their mention here is odd, unless there was some uneasy partnership between a group of Pharisees and a similar group of Sadducees seeking to trap Jesus. See below on vs. 12.

sign. Cf. **12:38**.

2–3. While we have a few verbal agreements in the Greek of Matthew and Luke against Mark in vss. **1–4** of this chapter, these two verses are not well attested in the best manuscripts. **NEB** relegates to a footnote the whole passage *When it is evening ... signs of the times*. It is possible that the passage is a composition based on the kind of traditional saying which underlies **Luke 12:54–56**. We have retained the passage in our translation since it is not possible to make any final determination as to authenticity.

4. sign of Jonah. Cf. **12:39** and **Mark 8:12**. Some process of assimilation appears to have been at work here.

5–12. In Mark the conversation takes place in the boat. It is not easy to see what is meant by the Markan (**8:15**) “yeast of the Pharisees and of Herod” unless this refers back to **Mark 3:6**.

6–8. little faith. Cf. **6:30**, **14:31**. The disciples ought to have realized that Jesus was not referring to mere absence of provisions. *Yeast*, in vs. **6**, is a symbol of corruption, as it was commonly known also in the rabbinic writers and in the NT (cf. **1 Cor 5:6–8**; **Gal 5:9**).

9–10. The Markan account is fuller, with the disciples answering questions put to them by Jesus, and Matthew here and elsewhere has no tradition (such as that recorded by Mark) of “hardened hearts” on the part of the disciples (cf. **Mark 6:52**, **8:17**).

11. The whole clause *that I was not talking to you about bread* may be an explanatory note by Matthew. It is not in the Markan account.

12. This explanation is hardly satisfactory. The Markan account, as we have seen, speaks of the “Pharisees and Herod,” a combination so unexpected that it is likely to be authentic. Matthew, knowing the tradition, and puzzled by it, appears to have substituted *Sadducees* for Herod in vs. **6**, and has it also in the odd context of vs. **1**. If the Markan tradition is accurate, then the combination of Pharisees and Herod may refer to a common hostility to Jesus, and Matthew's *teaching* is a harmonizing accommodation.

59. PETER'S CONFESSION

(16:13–20)[†]

16 ¹³ When Jesus came into the district of Caesarea Philippi, he inquired of his disciples, “Who do men say that The Man is?” ¹⁴ They said, “Some say John the Baptist, others Elijah, and yet others Jeremiah, or another of the prophets.” ¹⁵ He said to them, “But who do you say that I am?” ¹⁶ Simon Peter replied: “You are the Messiah, the Son of the living God.” ¹⁷ Jesus answered him, “You are fortunate, Simon son of Jonah, for this was not revealed to you by human agency, but by my Father who is in heaven. ¹⁸ And I in turn say to you that you are Rock, and on this rock I will build my community, and the powers of death shall not overcome it. ¹⁹ I will give to you the keys of the Kingdom of heaven. Whatever you bind on earth will have been bound in heaven, and whatever you release on earth will have been so released in heaven.” ²⁰ Then he gave strict orders to his disciples not to tell anyone that he was the Messiah.

NOTES

The graphically described incident of the healing of the blind man, which prefaces Peter's confession in Mark ([Mark 8:22–26](#)), either was not known to Matthew, or he felt that it was included in the general statement of [15:29–30](#).

[16:13](#). *Caesarea Philippi*. This was about twenty miles north of the Sea of Galilee.

The Man. Cf. NOTE on 8:20. It is important to notice here the difference of treatment between Matthew and Mark. Mark has “Who do men say that I am?” The Matthean account is, as we saw in Part VII of the Introduction, built around the coming figure of The Man. In Matthew, The Man is a title of triumph, and now that the lines are firmly drawn, opposition to Jesus now overt and hardening, he can ask what the disciples think of The Man-who-is-to-come. The identification with himself is implied, but not explicit until the first question has been answered.

[14](#). The reappearance of dead heroes was a well-known theme in contemporary Jewish thought. On John the Baptist, cf. [14:2](#). [2 Macc 15:13 ff.](#) speaks of Jeremiah and Onias appearing to Judas Maccabaeus, and [2 Esd 2:18](#) refers to the coming of Isaiah and Jeremiah. On the coming of Elijah, cf. [11:14](#).

[16](#). The identification of Jesus with The Man to come is explicit here.

The transliteration of the [Gr.](#) *Christos* by Christ in various English versions is inexcusable, and the [RSV](#) perpetuates the [KJ](#) transliteration. In its original context the question posed by Jesus and answered by Peter as spokesman demanded commitment to Jesus as *Messiah*. The fact that the Greek word is most often without the definite article in NT writings after the Acts must not lead to a too-hasty conclusion that the title Messiah became almost immediately a name, Christ. We have already pointed out that the absence of a definite article, in places where we have every reason to suppose an Aramaic background, makes the article conditional upon context (cf. NOTE on 10:41 [d]). The number of occurrences of *Christos* as a name in the Pauline letters may be far less than some commentators have supposed. There is certainly a definite article here in the Greek of [Matt 16:16](#).

That there was some uncertainty in the primitive Christian community as to the precise nature of Jesus' Messiahship seems certain (cf. Robinson, “The Most Primitive Christology of All?,” in [TNTS](#)). In addition to this, there was also sectarian speculation about two messiahs; the insistence in Hebrews on Jesus' royal and priestly Messiahship (e.g., [Heb 1:5–14](#), [4:14–5:10](#)) can best be explained on the basis of a reply to those who had come from such a background.

Son of the living God. Far from this being an explanatory gloss by Matthew, it is perfectly in order in the context of Messiahship (cf. NOTE on 14:33). “God's Messiah” (in [Luke 9:20](#)) makes this quite clear. This was certainly not a Hellenistic concept. Among pagan Aramaeans no later than the ninth century B.C. (but with a far longer prehistory), it was important for a king or dynasty to be the “son” of the tutelary deity of city or state. The use of “Bar” in personal names nearly always had a background of such use. In Hellenistic times the use spread beyond royal personages. Cf. Robert E. Hansen, “Theophorous Son Names among the Arameans and Their Neighbors,” doctoral dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1948.

There is some verbal agreement in the Greek of Matthew and Luke against Mark in vss. [13–16](#) of this chapter, and also between Matthew and Mark against Luke and of Mark and Luke against Matthew. Verses [17–19](#) are peculiar to Matthew.

[17](#). Simon is *fortunate*, the object of the Father's revelation (cf. [11:25](#)). Cf. also for similar expressions [5:3 ff.](#), [11:6](#), [13:16](#), [24:46](#).

Simon son of Jonah. It is possible that the name of Simon's father was *Yohana(n)*, which might be transcribed *Iōna* in Greek. “John” was a very common name at this time, while “Jonah” was very rare. However, in view of the [Syr.](#) *brēh d'Yōnā*, it is better to assume our sources to be correct here.

human agency (literally, *flesh and blood*). This is frequent in the rabbinic literature, e.g., [TB](#), *Berakhoth* 28b, “a king of flesh and blood” (in contrast with the heavenly King).

[18](#). *Rock* ([Aram.](#) *Kēphā*). This is not a name, but an appellation and a play on words. There is no evidence of Peter or Kephas as a name before Christian times. On building on a rock, or from a rock, cf. [Isa](#)

51:1 ff.; Matt 7:24 f. *Peter* as *Rock* will be the foundation of the future community (cf. *I will build*). Jesus, not quoting the OT, here uses Aramaic, not Hebrew, and so uses the only Aramaic word which would serve his purpose.

In view of the background of vs. 19 (see below), one must dismiss as confessional interpretation any attempt to see *this rock* as meaning the faith, or the Messianic confession, of Peter. To deny the pre-eminent position of Peter among the disciples or in the early Christian community is a denial of the evidence. Cf. in this gospel 10:2, 14:28–31, 15:15. The interest in Peter's failures and vacillations does not detract from this pre-eminence; rather, it emphasizes it. Had Peter been a lesser figure his behavior would have been of far less consequence (cf. Gal 2:11 ff.).

my community (Gr. *ekklēsia*). The use of this Greek word in the Pauline letters antedates the final edition of the Greek gospels by some two decades. It is hard to know what kind of thinking, other than confessional presupposition, justifies the tendency of some commentators to dismiss this verse as not authentic. A Messiah without a Messianic Community would have been unthinkable to any Jew, and how precisely one Jewish group (at least) thought of that Community has been brought sharply into focus by the Qumran literature. The LXX used *ekklēsia* to translate words which denoted an assembly of any character, and it is a word which invariably translated Hebrew equivalents from the stem *qhl*. The character of the assembly in Hebrew is denoted by possessive genitives (e.g., “of the Lord,” “of the children of Israel,” “of the prophets”).

The word used by Jesus may have been *kenishtā*, which in the Syriac versions is used for both *ekklēsia* and *synagogē*. (In this passage the Syriac uses ‘*edtā*=Heb. ‘*ēdāh*, “religious community.”) Cf. on this subject K. L. Schmidt, TWNT, III, p. 525. When the Church moved into a Hellenistic environment, the Greek carried with it the sense of “assembly of freeborn citizens.”

the powers of death (literally, “the gates of Hades”). The community has just been referred to as a building, and here the forces of evil also have a fortress or city, that of Hades, the realm of death. For this concept, cf. Isa 38:10; Job 17:16, 38:17; Pss 9:13, 107:18; Wisd Sol 16:13. The Babylonians had a similar idea about a gatekeeper to the realms of death, and it is the gatekeeper who compels Ishtar to disrobe before entering that realm.

The sense here is that the powers of evil cannot contain or hold in check the new community.

19. Isa 22:15 ff. undoubtedly lies behind this saying. *The keys* are the symbol of authority, and Roland de Vaux⁷⁶ (*Ancient Israel*, tr. by John McHugh [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961], pp. 129 ff.) rightly sees here the same authority as that vested in the vizier, the master of the house, the chamberlain, of the royal household in ancient Israel. Eliakim is described as having the same authority in Isaiah; it was Hilkiyah's position until he was ousted, and Jotham as regent is also described as “over the household” (2 Kings 15:5). Significantly, the first Chaldean governor after the deportation of 586 B.C., Gedaliah, is given the same title on his official seal. It is of considerable importance that in other contexts, when the disciplinary affairs of the community are being discussed (cf. 18:18; John 20:23) the symbol of the *keys* is absent, since the sayings apply in those instances to a wider circle. In John 20:23 the words are used of pardon, and in that context the Greek words *luein* and *kratein* derive from a secondary interpretation of Isaiah's Hebrew.

Kingdom of heaven. The identification of the Community (i.e., the infant Church) with the Kingdom is one which has caused difficulty to some commentators. We hope that Parts VI–VIII of the Introduction will have clarified our position. The Kingdom here is the temporary Kingdom, The Man's Kingdom, as distinct from that of the Father. The objections to the identification of the Kingdom with the Church, with the *ekklēsia* of this passage, can only rest upon a supposition that the Kingdom, as distinct from the Community, is thought to consist of those professing some kind of unschooled enthusiasm for Jesus, while the Church, the Community, has rules which the Kingdom does not have. Unless we are to suppose, in the fashion of some, that the NT material outside the gospels is a perversion of the proclamation of Jesus, then we are bound to find that at no time was the Community which Jesus founded an antinomian society. On the contrary: at the earliest levels open to our inspection commitment in faith to the Messianic proclamation of Jesus carried with it the obligation to submit to that Community's rules of initiation and to continue in the fellowship of that community of The Man's Kingdom, the Kingdom of heaven.

bind. The role of Peter as steward of the Kingdom is further explained as being the exercise of administrative authority, as was the case of the OT chamberlain who held the “keys.” The clauses *on earth, in heaven*, have reference to the permanent character of the steward’s work. Peter’s initiative is well illustrated by the admission of a Gentile to the community in [Acts 10–11](#), under the guidance of the Spirit—an event which the historian considered as meriting a great deal of attention in his work.

whatever. The text here has *ho ean* (whatever), perhaps a scribal error in [16:19](#) for *hosa ean* (*whatever*), as appears in [18:18](#); the longer reading *hosa ean* is attested at [16:19](#) by manuscripts of the Caesarean family. The haplography involved in the corruption of *hosa ean* to *ho ean* is obvious, if it was not originally *ho ean*.

As for the sense of this passage, cf. the gift of the Spirit of truth as counselor, [John 14:16 f.](#), [26](#). The Latin Vulgate also translates as “will have been bound,” “will have been loosed,” exactly corresponding to the Greek. It is the Church on earth carrying out heaven’s decisions, communicated by the Spirit, and not heaven ratifying the Church’s decisions. Periphrastic tenses, though necessary in English, are quite rare in Greek, and therefore the construction at this point must be given its due weight. Cf. the translation and note ad loc. in Charles B. Williams, *The New Testament: A Translation in the Language of the People*, Chicago: Moody Press, 1949; London: Oliphants, 1950.

[20](#). This is not the so-called “Messianic secret” suggested by some earlier scholars. Unless the ministry of Jesus was to be hopelessly compromised and misunderstood, public proclamations of his Messiahship were out of the question. We have already seen the difficulties publicity had caused him.

COMMENT

There is no passage in the gospels which has been more discussed than this, especially with reference to vss. 17–19. The general sense of the passage is indisputable. Jesus asks his disciples who The Man is in popular estimation, and they reply that some suppose him to be John the Baptist, others Elijah, Jeremiah, or one of the prophets. On being asked who they themselves suppose him to be, Peter answers that he is the Messiah, son of the living God. Jesus calls Peter fortunate, in that this knowledge has not come from human sources, but is a direct revelation from God. He goes on to assure Peter that he (Peter) is the rock on which the new community will be built, and in that community Peter's authority to "bind" or "release" will be a carrying out of decisions made in heaven. His teaching and disciplinary activities will be similarly guided by the Spirit to carry out Heaven's will.

In the Markan account, this acknowledgment of Jesus' Messiahship is central, and it is Peter's confession which prompts Jesus to reinterpret the Messiah's vocation to the disciples in terms of suffering and death. The Matthean tradition has already laid the ground for such reinterpretation by the use of OT quotations from the Servant Songs of Second Isaiah, but Matthew agrees with Mark that it was from this time onward that Jesus spoke openly of his forthcoming passion. There, is, however, a significant difference. Having spoken of the founding of the community, Jesus in the Matthean tradition goes on to an extended treatment of matters concerning the community.

Oscar Cullmann's view, that Matt 16:17–19 should be removed from its present context to an acknowledgment of Jesus by Peter in the Upper Room, has been recently criticized by Robert H. Gundry ("The Narrative Framework of Matthew 16:17–19," [NovT 7 \[1964–65\], 1–9](#)). [Cullmann's view is set out in *Peter: Disciple-Apostle-Martyr*, tr. from the German by Floyd V. Filson, Philadelphia: Westminster/London: SCM, 1962.](#)

60. PASSION PREDICTIONS

(16:21–28)[†]

16 ²¹ From that time on, Jesus began to make it clear to his disciples that he must go to Jerusalem and endure many things from the elders, chief priests, and scribes, and be killed, and on the third day be raised. ²² But Peter took him and began to remonstrate with him: “Heaven forbid, Lord! This must not happen to you.” ²³ He, however, turned to Peter and said, “Get behind me, Satan! You are a stumbling block to me. You are not on God’s side, but man’s.” ²⁴ Then Jesus said to his disciples, “If anyone will come with me, then let him deny self, take up his cross and follow me. ²⁵ For one who grasps at self will lose it, but one who lets go of self on my account will gain it. ²⁶ What profit will a man have if he gains the whole world and loses his own self? Or what will a man give in return for his very self? ²⁷ For The Man is to come with his angels in his Father’s glory, and then he will repay every man for his conduct. ²⁸ I solemnly tell you there are men standing here who will not taste death until they see The Man enter upon his reign.”

NOTES

The Galilean mission now being ended, Jesus in this gospel devotes himself to the instruction of his disciples, and this particular emphasis can be seen in *his disciples* in vs. 21, in contrast with Mark's *them*. In all our gospels the bewilderment of both disciples and common people, alongside the hostility of official and semiofficial Judaism, is seen as centering upon Jesus' interpretation of his own ministry. In all three synoptic gospels the acknowledgment of Jesus as Messiah is the pivotal point in the ministry, and—again in all three gospels—Jesus speaks with complete candor of the inevitable end of that ministry.

16:21. *Jesus*. Some manuscripts add *Messiah*. As we have seen, the Matthean tradition is that the Messiah suffers; The Man is a figure of triumph.

must go (Gr. *dei apelthein*). The synoptic gospels are agreed on Jesus' statement of the necessity of going to Jerusalem, and also on the fact that for Jesus the Messianic vocation necessarily involved suffering. *elders, chief priests, and scribes*. This is a very odd order, and its fixed state in the oral tradition is demonstrated by its reproduction in this order in all three synoptic gospels.

third day. So in all the NT writings (Acts 10:40; 1 Cor 15:4; cf. Mark 8:31, 9:31, 10:34), reckoning Friday of the crucifixion as the first day.

be raised. The NT writers always speak of Jesus as “being raised” by the Father, or in the power of the Spirit, never that he raised himself. The NT faith is not that of immortality in the sense of continuing existence on earth (which is the meaning of all pagan sources on immortality), but of resurrection, in the sense of God reversing the apparent verdict of nature.

22–23. Peter spoke for the rest in confessing Jesus as Messiah, and here he is their spokesman in protesting the need for the Messiah to suffer and to die.

23. *Get behind me*. Cf. 4:10. Standing in opposition to the will of God is to be on the side of Satan, even to be doing his work.

24. In Mark this is a general saying addressed to the crowd and to the disciples. In context, it is far more likely that the Matthean tradition is correct, and that Jesus begins at this point to spell out the consequences to the disciples of their commitment to him. Further, in spite of his confession, it is plain that Peter has not fully realized that the fate of Jesus involves the fate of the disciples too.

deny self. Cf. NOTE on 10:38. To pursue earthly security at this juncture of the ministry is to lose all in the time of The Man's coming. In the light of vss. 27–28, it is important to remember that as originally spoken, this was a plain warning to the inner circle not to become involved in secular calculation, especially in anything which would jeopardize the Messianic vocation. That this warning could be, and certainly was, applied to members of the continuing Messianic Community is evidenced by Mark's *the crowd* and *them* for Matthew's *his disciples*.

25–26. Cf. 10:37–39.

self (Gr. *psyche*). Cf. NOTE on 10:39.

27. Mark and Luke have a saying (Mark 8:38; Luke 9:26) here, which Matthew has in another context, 10:33.

is to come (Gr. *mellein*). This verb will perfectly well serve to indicate either the coming of The Man in exaltation, or his coming to render his Kingdom to the Father at the judgment.

his Father's glory. The background of this saying seems to be that of Enoch—cf. 45:3, 61:8, 62:2, 69:27—while the phrase *repay every man* is reminiscent of Ps 62:12 (13H).

28. *solemnly tell you*. Cf. NOTE on 9:11.

men standing here. On vss. 27–28, cf. Parts VI–VIII of the Introduction. It has been observed that Matthew and John see the glory and exaltation of the Messiah (or The Man) in terms of the passion and resurrection of Jesus. There is therefore no call to see in these words of Jesus any belief in his mind that his “coming” was in some sense an expected return to earth in glory, however much this may have been the belief of some in the early Church (including Paul at first). The Markan version (9:1) speaks of “God's Kingdom coming with power,” which is completely at one with the Matthean tradition, when allowance has

been made for Matthew's distinction between the two Kingdoms (cf. *The Man*, and God's or the Father's). Cf. [10:23](#); [24:34](#). As it stands, the saying is a factual statement that there were those (either by-standers or of the inner circle) who would not die before the Messiah's passion and resurrection.

[2 Peter 1:16–18](#) is not without relevance here. It is quite clear that the writer of the letter sees the transfiguration as the fulfillment of Jesus' saying in this verse. This underlines once more our contention that the "coming" of Jesus was by no means without its puzzles to the writers of the NT. It also serves to underline the intense impact of the baptism and transfiguration of Jesus, as later seen in the light of the resurrection.

taste death. Cf. [John 8:52](#); [Heb 2:9](#).

61. THE TRANSFIGURATION

(17:1–13)[†]

17 ¹ Six days afterwards, Jesus took with him Peter, James, and his brother John, and brought them privately to a high mountain. ² There he changed his appearance in their presence, his face shone like the sun, and his clothing shone as the light ³ Moses and Elijah also appeared to them, talking with him. ⁴ Peter said to Jesus, “Lord, it is well for us to be here; if you wish, I will make three tents, one each for you, Moses, and Elijah.” ⁵ He was still speaking when a bright cloud overshadowed them, and there was a voice from the cloud, “This is my Son, the Beloved One; in him I am well pleased. Listen to him.” ⁶ On hearing it, the disciples fell prostrate and were filled with awe. ⁷ But Jesus came to them and touched them, saying to them, “Get up, and do not be afraid.” ⁸ When they raised their eyes, they saw no one except Jesus. ⁹ As they were coming down the mountain, Jesus ordered them, “Do not speak of the vision to anyone until The Man is raised from the dead.” ¹⁰ The disciples asked him, “Why then do the scribes say that first of all Elijah must come?” ¹¹ He replied, “Indeed Elijah comes and re-establishes everything; ¹² but I tell you that Elijah has come already, and they did not recognize him, but did to him whatever they pleased. So too The Man will suffer at their hands.” ¹³ Then the disciples understood that he was speaking to them about John the Baptist.

NOTES

17:1. *Peter, James, and ... John*. The emphasis on these three figures as a kind of “core” to the inner circle of the twelve is in striking parallel to a similar phenomenon among the Qumran Essenes (cf. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, pp. 174 ff.; C. S. Mann, “The Organization and Institutions of the Jerusalem Church in Acts,” Appendix IV in Munck, *The Acts of the Apostles*). Cf. 26:37.

2. *changed his appearance* (Gr. *metemorphōthē*). The word is ambiguous and capable of being misunderstood. Luke omits it, and his version uses different words. Matthew qualifies the word by the clause following: *his face shone like the sun*. Cf. Exod 34:29; Parables of Enoch i 5, xix 1; 2 Esd 7:97.

clothing shone as the light. Cf. Enoch xiv 20. Similar expressions occur sixteen times in Revelation to denote heavenly beings, or heavenly things.

3. *Moses and Elijah*. If this account is taken as a dramatically theologized description of the way in which the disciples were beginning to think of the Messiahship of Jesus, then we may take these two names as being the attestation of the Law and the Prophets. Moses and Elijah were both believed to have been translated to heaven.

On Elijah as the Messianic herald, cf. NOTES on 11:10, above, and on vs. 10 below. Cf. also the promise ascribed to Moses, Deut 18:15, used by the Samaritans as a Messianic prophecy.

4. In Mark the address is “Rabbi,” an address which Matthew puts only on the lips of Judas (26:25, 49). *it is well for us to be here*. The RSV translation (“it is well *that* we are here”) is weak, making of Peter’s assertion a remark of surprised accident. Following on the Messianic confession, Peter’s desire is to extend the time, evidently thinking that the Messianic New Age is far nearer than he had supposed.

5. *cloud* (Heb. *’ānān*). In the OT, the *cloud* appears very often as that brilliant cloud of glory which hides God from the presence of men (cf. G. E. Mendenhall, in the first of the [unpublished] Lovejoy Lectures, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, March 10–13, 1967). As a sign of the presence of God, the cloud is primarily associated with the Exodus of Israel from Egypt, and later with the New Age (cf. 2 Macc 2:8; Exod 40:35).

my Son, the Beloved One. Cf. NOTE on 3:17.

Listen to him. Cf. Deut 18:15; and also Acts 3:22 ff., 7:37.

6. *filled with awe*. Luke (9:34) describes this fear as belonging to the moment when they entered the cloud—a detail of difference which reinforces our belief in the integrity of the independent traditions.

9. *Do not speak*. Again, Jesus regards publicity as a hindrance. Cf. NOTE on 16:20.

The Man. Cf. NOTE on 8:20.

is raised. Cf. NOTE on 16:21.

Mark has nothing which corresponds to Matthew’s vss. 6–7, and there are certainly indications of independent sources in the treatment of vss. 1–8 by Matthew and Luke. Both Matthew and Luke express a change in Jesus’ appearance, and though Matthew uses *metemorphōthē*, he qualifies it where Luke uses other expressions. Both Matthew and Luke record the element of the disciples’ fears, though in different contexts. If we assume that Matthew and Luke had a common narrative in addition to Mark (which is the usual theory), then the divergence of traditions (especially Matt 17:2=Luke 9:29; Matt 17:4=Luke 9:33 with Luke 9:31–32 standing alone) causes considerable difficulty. On the basis of these divergences it is far easier to suppose that Luke had access to Matthew and modified what he found.

10. The question is posed immediately following the passion prediction and the injunction to silence. Whether as it stands it is in context we have no means of determining. It is possible that the disciples’ query about what the scribes said concerning Elijah was placed here because the appearance of Elijah in the vision had caused questioning as to the precise role of Jesus as a suffering Messiah. The editorial comment in vs. 13 would seem to lend support to this view, as also the very obscure comment at Mark 9:12, which would seem to imply that while the advent of Elijah had been prophesied, the same was not true of a suffering Messiah. We suggest that the difficulties in Mark 9:12 can be eliminated if we suppose that the question, “Then how has it been recorded of The Man, that he should suffer greatly and be treated with contempt?” is

a second one—from the *disciples* to Jesus. We have (as yet) no clear evidence from intertestamental sources (including Qumran) to indicate any belief in a suffering Messiah. Jesus interpreted Messiahship in terms of suffering, to be sure, but in the framework of OT prophecies on the Suffering Servant.

Elijah. Cf. [Mal 4:5 ff.](#) If everything was prepared for the Messiah—and Peter as their spokesman had acknowledged Jesus as such—then what was the place of Elijah in the scheme of things?

[11–12.](#) In other words, the prophecy of Malachi was indeed correct, and so was contemporary expectation of a coming of Elijah, but because he had come, and had not been recognized, so neither would The Man be recognized.

[12.](#) *Elijah has come already.* This expression is, of course, symbolic, and emphatically not some kind of reincarnation!

The Man. In Matthean usage (to which we called attention in the Introduction, Parts VI, VII, and XII) it is the Messiah who suffers, while The Man is a figure of glory. At first sight what we have here is an exception to the Matthean scheme, especially when considered alongside vss. [22–23](#) later in this chapter. However, an examination of the context of the prediction at [12b](#) raises doubts as to the authenticity of the saying here. Verse [12a](#) followed immediately by vs. [13](#) makes perfectly good sense, whereas the presence of [12b](#) makes vs. [13](#) read very oddly indeed. Similarly with vss. [22–23](#): these two verses fit very badly in the context in which they are placed, particularly in view of what follows in vss. [24 ff.](#), whereas the same prediction in the Markan and Lukan traditions is wholly in place. We must therefore reckon with the possibility, in view of the Matthean tradition on The Man, that in both instances ([12b](#) and [22–23](#)) we have an editorial addition to the original. The reasons for the insertions, if such they be, can only be speculative. It is fair to assume that the insertions (which are certainly traditional material) were made by someone who failed to understand Matthew's presentation of his material, and assumed that the passion predictions must be added in the Markan context. The presence of vs. [9](#) probably dictated the addition, though the editor failed to understand that in Matthew The Man's being raised was his glorification, his coming to the Father.

COMMENT

This account is one of the theophany narratives of the NT (cf. also Acts 9:1–19; Rev 1:10 ff.). In the OT perhaps the best known is the theophany to Moses in Exod 3:1–6. The supposed distinction drawn in Num 12:6–8 between dream and vision is illusory, but there is a clear difference here between “dream/vision” and the actual seeing of Yahweh “mouth to mouth.” Cf. here Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, pp. 42 ff. The biblical material is such as to make wholly unnecessary an Iranian background (*hvarenah*). For John, the wedding at Cana was a theophany (John 2:1–11), and 2 Peter 1:16–18 regards the present incident as crucial. The tradition as stated in all probability goes back to Peter’s own reminiscences. The incident is also linked with the story of Jesus’ baptism by the proclaiming of his dignity by a *voice*, the proclamation being the same on both occasions: *This is my Son, the Beloved One*. On both occasions, the veil of the present is stripped away to reveal Jesus as he is by Messianic calling, and as he will be in glory.

It has been pointed out by several scholars that the account of the transfiguration has words and phrases in common with both the resurrection and ascension stories, especially in Luke. (Cf. G. H. Boobyer, *St. Mark and the Transfiguration Story*, London: T. Clark, 1942; A. M. Ramsey, *The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ*, London: Longmans, 1949; J. G. Davies, “The Ascension in the Third Gospel,” *JTS* 6 [1955], 229–33.) This connection of language and motif we also see in the Apocalypse of Peter (cf. M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* [Oxford University Press, 1953], p. 519).

The verbal parallels can be seen from the accompanying table:

	Luke 9	Luke Acts 24	
			1
authority and power	1		2, 8
kingdom	2, 11, 27		3
witness(es)	5		8
John and Elijah	7–9, 18–21		5
returning	10		12
looking (to heaven)	16		11
death and resurrection	22		3
reference to “coming”	26		11
mountain	28		12
white (shining) clothing	29	4	10
two men	30	4	10
glory	31	26	
cloud	34		
			9

Too much modern NT interpretation has been concerned with finding not only contemporary Jewish eschatological motifs in the accounts, but also cultic and mythological elements (e.g., the “going up” in Acts 1:11). In addition, it is sometimes said that what we have in the transfiguration narrative is an attempt to insert a resurrection-appearance into this earlier time of the ministry. The material in the above table is most useful in discussing Luke; but there are certain observations we should make here:

(a) The precision of description in this incident, and the exact detail, make it unlikely that a resurrection-appearance has been placed in this early context.

(b) The crucial place occupied by the account in the tradition of all three evangelists is also evidence that the resurrection-appearance is unlikely. In all three gospels the confession of Peter, with its accompanying predictions of the passion—i.e., the reinterpretation of Messiahship—is followed by this account of the apprehension by three of the disciples of Jesus' glory, their realization of his place in the OT tradition.

(c) If the Lukan account binds together the Messianic Feast, the transfiguration and the glorification of Jesus in a verbal pattern, this ought not to be surprising. Luke as a theologian was dealing with the "glory" of Jesus as men saw it and apprehended it, and a common vocabulary is hardly ground for dismissing the complex as later invention (N.B.: on the ascension, cf. A. M. Ramsey, "What Was the Ascension?" in *Historicity and Chronology in the New Testament*, London: SPCK, 1965).

(d) In whatever terms we explain the phenomena in this narrative, it has been rightly pointed out by Stendahl (*Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, p. 788) that the whole background of the incident is that of the feast of Tabernacles, with its emphasis on the new age of the Messiah and the accompanying Messianic "rest." If we allow that the disciples were full of enthusiasm at the open confession of Jesus as Messiah, rather than occupied with rational explanations of that Messiahship, the incident described in the opening verses of this chapter is precisely what we would expect, in whatever terms described.

62. A LESSON ABOUT FAITH

(17:14–21)[†]

17 ¹⁴ When they were approaching the crowd, a man came up to him, and knelt before him, with the words, ¹⁵ “Sir, have pity on my son, for he is an epileptic and suffers terribly, and often falls into the fire or water. ¹⁶ I brought him to your disciples, and they were unable to cure him.” ¹⁷ “Faithless and perverse generation!” Jesus replied. “How long am I to be with you? How long am I to bear with you? Bring him here to me.” ¹⁸ Then Jesus rebuked it (i.e. the demon), the demon left him, and the boy was cured instantly. ¹⁹ Thereupon the disciples came to Jesus privately, to ask, “Why were we unable to exorcise it?” ²⁰ He said to them, “Because of your scanty faith. I solemnly tell you that if you have even the faith of a mustard seed, you will say to this mountain ‘Move from here to there,’ and it will move, and nothing will be impossible for you. [²¹ Nevertheless, this kind does not come out except by prayer and fasting.]”

NOTES

The Markan account of this incident is considerably fuller, but also somewhat obscure (e.g., Who was discussing what? [Mark 9:16](#); and Why was the crowd astounded? [9:15](#)). Luke, like Matthew, is far more terse.

[17:15](#). *epileptic*. [Mark 9:17–18](#) ascribed the son's condition to demon possession. Cf. NOTES on [4:24](#), [8:31](#).

[17](#). For all the brevity of the narrative in the interests of instruction, Matthew notes the saying which suggests the approaching end of Jesus' stay among men. Cf. [John 14:9](#).

Faithless and perverse generation! Cf. [Deut 32:5](#).

[20](#). *scanty faith*. This expression is characteristically Matthean: cf. [6:30](#), [8:26](#), [14:31](#), [16:8](#).

The rest of this verse is similar to [Luke 17:6](#) and [Mark 11:23](#). On the mustard seed, cf. [13:31 f](#).

[21](#). This verse, not found in the best manuscripts, is probably due to later editorial assimilation to [Mark 9:29](#).

63. PASSION PREDICTION

(17:22–23)[†]

17 ²² While they were gathering in Galilee, Jesus said to them, “The Man will be handed over to men, ²³ and they will kill him. On the third day he will be raised.” They were much distressed.

NOTES

The second passion prediction occasions no surprise to the disciples, only distress. See NOTE on vss. 11–12 (in §61) above. It is possible, in view of the confusion surrounding the text in [Mark 9:9–13](#), that vss. [22–23](#) in this chapter are an editorial addition to the original text, with some of the difficulties removed. In that event, we are left with [16:21](#) as the first—and so far solitary—passion prediction, a saying which certainly does not imply that it is The Man who suffers.

64. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE TEMPLE TAX (17:24–27)

17 ²⁴ When they came to Capernaum, the collectors of the half-shekel tax came to Peter, asking, “Does not your master pay the tax?” ²⁵ and he replied “Yes.” When he reached home, Jesus asked him first, “How does it appear to you, Simon? From whom do the kings of the earth exact tribute or poll tax? From their citizens, or from the others?” ²⁶ When he replied “From the others,” Jesus said to him, “In that case, the citizens are free. ²⁷ However, lest we should cause offense to them, go to the sea and cast a hook, take the first fish that comes up, and when you open its mouth you will find a coin. Take that, and give it to them for me and for yourself.”

NOTES

17:24. *Capernaum*. In view of the careful organization which surrounded the collection of the tax, this town would have been a natural center in which tax collectors could meet with travelers.

tax (Gr. *ta didrachma*). This word, in the plural, merely means “the two-drachma taxes,” and not “half-shekels.” Josephus (*Antiquities* III. 194) says that the sum paid was *to didrachmon*, or two Attic drachmas, which corresponds in function to the rabbinic half-shekel temple tax.

25. *How does it appear to you*. This is a common phrase in the latter part of this gospel; cf. 18:12, 22:17, 42, 26:66.

26. *citizens* (Gr. *huioi*). Literally, *sons*, or *children*. In the light of Allegro’s article (cited in the COMMENT below), we must assume this to mean Jesus and his disciples.

27. *cause offense* (Gr. *skandalisōmen*). Cf. NOTE on 5:30—something which causes others to sin.

coin (Gr. *statēra*). This coin would presumably be equal to four drachmas, and so was equivalent to the tax for two men. However, the values of these coins were constantly fluctuating. Cf. also the discussion by S. V. McCasland and Sherman Johnson in [IB](#), VII, pp. 96 and 465 f., respectively.

COMMENT

The importance of this narrative to those who were still living within the framework of Judaism, though committed in allegiance to Jesus as Messiah, must have been considerable in the years before A.D. 70. It has been suggested that this passage belongs to the period *after* A.D. 70, when Vespasian diverted the tax to build the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and so caused a crisis of conscience for Jewish Christians. It may be doubted how many Jewish Christians there were living in Palestine after A.D. 70, since apart from the movement of Christianity into a Gentile milieu, consistent Church tradition was that large numbers of Jewish Christians fled the country during the first Jewish War of 66–70.

In the latter part of the Persian period (which lasted from 525–325 B.C.), Jews resident in Judea were paying taxes for the support of the autonomous priesthood and for the upkeep of the temple. This tax is not mentioned in the Torah, but its existence is established by the archaeological evidence of coins and jar seals. In the rabbinic period the tax was payable by all who had attained twenty years, but slaves and women were explicitly excluded. Gentiles and Samaritans were not allowed to contribute. Great care was exercised in the collection of the tax, both in Palestine and among Jews of the Dispersion, and under Roman domination the tax was accorded state protection and given safe conduct.

Apart from the exceptions already noted, energetic measures were taken to enforce the collection, and provision was made to seize the goods of those who did not pay (cf. *The Mishnah* tr. from the Hebrew by Herbert Danby [Oxford University Press, 1933], p. 152). The currency used in payment varied from time to time, but in the time of Jesus it was the Tyrian shekel, and tables were set up in the temple to deal with the money-changing problems. Exchange brokers made, and were allowed to make, a considerable profit on the undertaking.

We alluded in the first paragraph to the view that this narrative was included in order to deal with Christians and/or Jewish Christians being sued for what was after A.D. 70 a purely pagan tax. But Gentiles were excluded from this peculiarly Jewish tax and Jesus' claim of exemption for the freeborn sons can be construed as claiming exemption from all other taxation. We are faced with the alternative: either (a) the story was adapted to the need of Christians—easily confused with Jews by Roman authority—or (b) the saying of Jesus as it stands had a meaning which in its own context has to be discovered. There are two elements in the narrative: first, the conversation with Peter about the tax, and secondly a seemingly miracle story attached to the conversation and apparently in response to it. These elements will be dealt with in reverse order.

The narrative in vs. 27 is so highly condensed that it is more than likely a

much-abbreviated summary of an actual catch of a fish with a coin in its mouth (the *clarias macracanthus*, or “St. Peter’s fish,” common in the Sea of Galilee, is certainly able to accommodate coins in its ample mouth). Alternatively, the narrative may be the remnant of a parable, much on the lines of folk tales found in the rabbinic tradition of the lost-and-found-again variety. In this case, the parable remnant will have been attracted to its present position by the presence of vss. 24–26.

The incident in vss. 24–26 is not so easily analyzed. It might have answered questions as to the validity of the temple tax for Jewish Christians before A.D. 70—*lest we should cause offense*. But this view gives rise to one serious objection. It casts the non-Jewish Christian in the role of “citizen” or “freeborn,” and the Jewish Christian in that of slave or subject people. This is the precise opposite of the Pauline view (cf. Rom 11:13–36), even though Paul could call non-Christian Jews “enemies of God.” Either Jesus in this narrative is taking sides with the Sadducees (who wanted temple worship maintained by the gifts of individuals) as against a Pharisee interpretation of Exod 30:11–16, or we must find some other explanation. J. M. Allegro (“An Unpublished Fragment of Essene Halakhah—4Q Ordinances,” JSS 6 [1961], 71) seems to indicate that a Qumran fragment suits the present discussion almost exactly. According to Allegro’s text, the Essenes linked the once-for-all atonement tax of Exod 30:11–16 (cf. 38:26) with the valuation tax of Lev 27:1–8. He suggests that this unique understanding by the Essenes of the temple tax as being a once-for-all payment was shared by Jesus, and further suggests that this may account for Jesus’ hostility toward the taxation officials in the temple. J. D. M. Derrett, “Peter’s Penny: Fresh Light on Matthew 17:24–7,” NovT 6 (1963), 1–15, has further suggestions. He asks whether Jesus also was thought to claim exemption on the score that the collectors thought, as did others, that he was a Samaritan. If therefore the tax collectors were claiming from a man not liable, *they* would sin, on the ground that an inferior sinned if he carried out the unlawful commands of his superior. Jesus’ saying that “the children are free,” not on the ground that he was a Samaritan, but simply because he and the disciples were dependents, living on charity, cf. John 12:6, nevertheless was bound to save the collectors from possible sin. Hence—according to Derrett—the phrase *lest we should cause offense*. (On this tax, see further Hugh Montefiore, “Jesus and the Temple Tax,” NTS 11 [1964–65], 60–72; L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees: The Sociological Background of Their Faith*, 2d ed. rev. [Philadelphia: JPS, 1940], 11, pp. 683 ff.)

65. PRECEDENCE IN THE KINGDOM

(18:1–9)[†]

18 ¹ At that time the disciples came to Jesus asking, “Who is the greatest in the Kingdom of heaven?” ² Calling a child, he put him in the middle of them, ³ and said, “I solemnly tell you that unless you turn and become again like children, you will not enter the Kingdom of heaven. ⁴ Therefore whoever humbles himself like this child is the greatest in the Kingdom of heaven. ⁵ Whoever receives one such child in my name receives me, ⁶ but whoever causes one of the most insignificant believers to sin, then for him it would be better to have a great millstone about his neck, and to be drowned in the ocean depths. ⁷ Alas for a world filled with occasions for sin! Such occasions must necessarily arise, but alas for the man through whom they arise! ⁸ If therefore your hand or your foot causes you to sin, cut it off and throw it away from you; it is better for you to enter life maimed or lame than to be thrown into the fire at the end of the age still having two hands or two feet. ⁹ And if your eye causes you to sin, then take it out and throw it away from you—it is better to enter into life with one eye, rather than with two eyes to be thrown into the fiery death.

NOTES

18:1. *At that time.* As the following verses stand they seem intended by Matthew to follow on from the preceding incident, and to answer the question: “Why is Peter reckoned as first?” On the formula, cf. NOTE on 12:1.

3. By the question they have asked, the disciples demonstrate their lack of understanding of the nature of the Kingdom. It is only those who know that they cannot possibly *earn* God’s grace who can fully respond to it—in the same way that children know that they can never earn free gifts.

6. *insignificant* (literally, “little ones”). Cf. 10:42, and applying here to the apparently unnoticed. The expression is not an indication of any kind of age range. The Markan tradition (9:42), fuller than Matthew’s, makes this point clear. Mark here has two separate sayings about the hand and the foot (9:43, 45) while Matthew, who here has them together, has a saying about the hand in 5:30.

8. *fire at the end of the age.* (See NOTE on 5:22.) I.e., better to avoid the occasions of sin than to face a future judgment. The Hebrew equivalent of the Greek adjective *aiōnion* refers to the “(end of) the age” (*qēṣ*) in which men are living. This we now know from the Essene scrolls, where the word is very common in this sense.

COMMENT

Having spoken of his coming sufferings and death on his way to the final encounter in Jerusalem, Jesus here in the Matthean tradition speaks of problems of concern to his community. How much of the material in 18–20:28 belongs to the same occasion, we do not know, but it would be natural for the evangelist to group material together in this fashion. Now that the acknowledgment of his Messiahship has been made, it is necessary for Jesus to make provision for the Messianic Community which will continue beyond his death and resurrection. There are some firm indications of the manner in which Matthew has collected the sayings in this section, by making comparisons with Mark 9–10.

Mark 9:37–50 consists of a series of sayings broken by a short narrative at vss. 38–40. But the connection of the sayings is plainly artificial, and the succession of them sometimes very awkward: vss. 42–43 are difficult to connect, and the “by fire” of vs. 49 cannot easily be connected with vs. 48. Certainly there are key words and phrases which would remind Mark of similar sayings (e.g., vs. 37, cf. vss. 38–40, 41; vs. 42, cf. vss. 43–48; vs. 49, cf. vs. 50) and the whole section seems to be contrived by association. Matthew, however, has arranged the material in a thoroughly orderly manner, and makes of Mark’s loose association of words and phrases a far more consecutive discourse.

Matt 18:3–4 = Mark 10:15

18:5 = 9:37a

18:6 = 9:42

18:8–9 = 9:43–47

Mark’s 9:37b has already appeared in Matthew’s 10:40, and the intrusive Markan vss. 38–40 find no place in Matthew. Mark’s 9:41 is already in the Matthean tradition at 10:42, while 9:50 has a parallel in Matthew’s 5:13. With Mark 9:48–50 we are not immediately concerned, but those verses with all their attendant difficulties may be fragments of more than two sayings. If Matthew knew them in their present fragmented state, he decided to omit them.

So far as Matthew’s vss. 12–14 (§66) are concerned, they have a parallel in Luke 15:3–7; vs. 6 is in Luke 17:2 in a quite different context, vs. 7 is paralleled by Luke 17:1, while vss. 15 and 21 (§§67 and 68)=Luke 17:3 and 4 respectively.

As with so much which has occasionally been used in an attempt to prove that Matthew depends on Mark, the relationships are such that when the Lukan tradition is taken into account, it is far easier to explain similarities and differences on the basis of three independent approaches to the fixed oral tradition.

66. THE LOST SHEEP

(18:10–14)[†]

18 ¹⁰ “See that you do not treat one of the common people with contempt, for I tell you that in heaven their angels always see the face of my Father who is in heaven, [¹¹ The Man came to save the lost.] ¹² What do you think? If someone has a hundred sheep, and one of them strays, does he not leave the ninety-nine in the desert and go in search of the stray? ¹³ If he finds it, I solemnly tell you that he rejoices more over that one than over the ninety-nine which never strayed. ¹⁴ In the same way, it is not the will of your Father in heaven that one of the common people should perish.

NOTES

18:10. *the common people.* The Greek expression is the same as in vs. 6, literally “these little ones.”

their angels. In line with the belief which finds expression elsewhere in the Bible ([Gen 48:16](#); [Dan 10:11, 20](#)) Jesus asserts that those apt to be despised because of their status have representatives in the heavenly courts, just as nations have such representatives (cf. also [Acts 12:15](#)). Such representatives naturally have access to the Father.

11. In view of the meaning which Matthew consistently applies to The Man, this verse (omitted by some of the best manuscripts) must be regarded as an editorial assimilation to [Luke 19:10](#), presumably in the interests of making a transition from vs. 10 to vss. 12–14.

12. It is worth a moment’s time to note that the sheep referred to here and elsewhere are not the fat-tailed, generally lazy sheep often represented in romantic Bible illustrations. Until recently it was supposed by some authorities that the broad-tailed sheep (the *Ovis laticaudatus* of Linnaeus) had not yet been introduced into Palestine at the time of Jesus. However, see now the study by E. Anati, “Fat-tailed Sheep of Arabia,” in *Bibliothèque du Muséon*, Vol. 50: *Rock-art in Central Arabia*, II (Louvain, 1968), especially pp. 1–42. In rock art from Central Arabia, unknown before the Belgian expedition, we have fat-tailed sheep represented frequently in carvings from the pre-epigraphic phase of Arabian history in the early second millennium B.C., going back probably to the end of the third millennium. We now have cuneiform records from about 2000 B.C. which mention fat-tailed sheep as being imported into Babylonia at that time. The Sumerian logogram for fat-tailed sheep was UDU.KUN.GAL., literally “big-tail sheep.” Aside from a well-known reference in Herodotus (III. 113) and a single early Babylonian bowl, there was no other known representation or even mention of this kind of sheep in our ancient sources. Sheep with relatively fat tails were, of course, well known, and their fat tail was already called *alyah* in the Pentateuch, just as in Arabic. However, it is certain that virtually all sheep in representational art from ancient Egypt and western Asia previously known belong to well-known types of Mediterranean and Eurasian sheep without fat tails. It is thus quite possible that the sheep intended by the gospel references were not of the Arabian fat-tailed type, but perhaps of an intermediate breed with small fat tails. The sheep of that time were probably more active than their modern Palestinian counterparts.

13–14. These verses are important as providing evidence of the way in which Matthew understood the “little ones” of vs. 6. They can hardly be small children, for in that case it is hard to see how they could be guilty of the deliberate sin which the *straying* of vs. 12 presupposes. Moreover, putting stumbling blocks in the path of the recent convert is the kind of problem faced by Paul in [1 Cor 8](#) and [Rom 14](#).

As this whole body of teaching in Matthew concerns life in the Messianic Community, it seems far more likely that what is envisaged here is the kind of harm which can be done to the conscience of simple folk. Paul’s first letter to Corinth abounds with examples of unthinking behavior on the part of the pseudo-sophisticates—the “knowing ones.”

67. COMMUNITY DISCIPLINE

(18:15–20)[†]

18 ¹⁵ “If your brother sins [against you], go and remonstrate with him privately. If he listens to you, you have gained your brother. ¹⁶ But if he will not listen, take one or two others with you in order that ‘by the evidence of two or three witnesses every word may be confirmed.’ ¹⁷ If, however, he will not listen to them, tell it to the community, and if then he will not listen to the community, let him be regarded as outside the community. ¹⁸ I solemnly tell you that whatever you bind on earth will have been bound in heaven, and whatever you release on earth will have been released in heaven. ¹⁹ Again, I tell you that if two of you agree on earth about any request you make, it will be done for you by my Father in heaven; ²⁰ for where two or three are gathered in my name I am there in the middle of them.”

NOTES

18:15. *gained your brother*. Cf. [Lev 19:17 ff.](#); and also [Matt 5:43](#), [19:19](#), and [22:39](#). The sayings here concern personal offenses and spring from the same kind of concern as found expression in [5:23–24](#).

16. *But if he will not listen*. I.e., if the offender refuses reconciliation.

by the evidence ... confirmed may well have been added from the Mosaic law ([Deut 19:15](#)) by an editor as apt, though not for an identical situation. What is envisaged is not a court of law, for the *one or two others* are not witnesses to the offense, but to the willingness or unwillingness of the offender to be reconciled.

17. *community* ([Gr. ekklēsia](#)). Cf. [16:18](#). In the context of the two men who are out of charity with each other, it is a local community which is here meant.

outside the community (literally, “as a Gentile and a tax gatherer”). Cf. NOTE on [5:46](#), where the expression is similar.

18. This is almost exactly what Jesus told Peter after Peter’s confession—cf. final NOTE on [16:19](#); cf. also [1 Cor 5:3–5](#); [6:1–8](#).

19. It is unlikely that this verse is in its original context, for while vs. [18](#) dealt with conduct on the part of the community’s members, vs. [19](#) is an exhortation to faithfulness in prayer. Presumably this verse found its way to its present position because of the occurrence of *earth* and *heaven* in both verses.

20. Cf. *Pirqê Abôth* 3:3: “Two that sit together occupied in the Law have the Presence among them.”

68. THE QUESTION OF FORGIVENESS (18:21–35)

18 ²¹ Then Peter came to him with the question: “Lord, how many times may my brother sin against me, and I have to forgive him? Seven times?” ²² Jesus replied, “Not ‘seven times,’ but ‘seventy times seven.’” ²³ For this reason, the Kingdom of heaven may be compared with a king who wished to settle accounts with his slaves. ²⁴ When he had begun the reckoning there was brought to him a man who owed him ten thousand talents, ²⁵ but as he could not pay, his master ordered him to be sold, together with his wife and children and all his possessions, and payment to be made. ²⁶ But the slave threw himself before him, begging him, ‘Be patient with me, and I will pay you everything.’ ²⁷ The master, pitying him, let him go and forgave him the debt. ²⁸ However, on going out that slave found one of his fellow slaves who owed him one hundred pennies. Seizing him by the throat, he said, ‘Pay me the debt.’ ²⁹ But his fellow slave knelt before him and begged him, ‘Have patience with me, and I will repay you.’ ³⁰ He refused, and threw him into prison until he could pay the debt. ³¹ When his fellow slaves saw what had happened, they were deeply distressed, and went and reported to their master all that had happened. ³² His master then summoned him, and said to him, ³³ ‘You wicked slave! I forgave you all that debt because you begged me; and ought you not to have pitied your fellow slave in the same way that I pitied you?’ ³⁴ In anger his

master handed him over to the investigators until the debt was paid. ³⁵ So my heavenly Father will deal in the same way with every one of you, if you do not forgive your brother without reservation.”

NOTES

There is some discussion in the Babylonian Talmud as to the precise number of times when forgiveness must be unconditionally rendered, with opinions offered that three times is an acceptable maximum.

[18:22](#). *seventy times seven*. (It may also be understood as seventy-seven times.) The number merely means an indefinitely great number of times.

[24](#). *ten thousand talents*. The talent was equivalent to six thousand denarii. Two denarii would provide a man and his family with adequate living for one day, and hence the sum named here is tremendous, in contrast with the small sum owed by the other servant in [vs. 28](#).

The lesson of the parable is clear enough, though it is possible that two parables have been merged here into the present narrative. We have a *king* in [vs. 23](#) who appears from the sum involved to be dealing with subordinate officials (who could well be slaves), but the later stages of the narrative read more obviously of a landowner dealing with working slaves.

69. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE LAW

(19:1–12)[†]

19 ¹ When Jesus had finished these sayings, he left Galilee and came into that part of Judea beyond the Jordan, ² and large crowds followed him there, and he healed them.

³ Pharisees came to him with a test question: “Is it lawful to divorce one’s wife for any cause?” ⁴ He replied: “Have you not read that the Creator from the beginning ‘made them male and female’ ⁵ and said, ‘for this reason a man will leave his father and mother, be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one’? ⁶ So that they are no longer two persons, but a single body. Therefore what God has joined, let no man separate.” ⁷ They said, “Then why did Moses prescribe ‘to give divorce papers, and be rid of her’?” ⁸ He replied, “Moses allowed you to divorce your wives because of your stubbornness, but it was not so at the beginning. ⁹ I tell you that whoever divorces his wife, except for unchastity, and marries someone else, commits adultery [and he who marries her who has been put away commits adultery].” ¹⁰ The disciples said to him, “If the situation is such between a man and his wife, then it is folly to marry.” ¹¹ “Not all men can accept this,” he answered them, “but only those to whom it is granted; ¹² for there are those incapable of marriage who have been so from birth, others who have been made so by men, and there are yet others who have made themselves so for the sake of the Kingdom of heaven. Let anyone who can,

bear this in mind.”

NOTES

19:1. *When Jesus had finished.* For this formula, cf. 7:28, 11:1, 13:53; 26:1.

3. *test question.* Divorce was quite legal under Jewish law (cf. Deut 24:1–2), but there was some dispute about the reasons for divorce. The followers of Hillel were more lenient in their views than those of Shammai (the evidence can be found in the Mishnah, *Gittin* 90a). The school of Shammai permitted divorce only on grounds of unchastity. It is noteworthy that Jesus makes no reference to Mal 2:14–16.

The differences in this account of the test question as compared with that of Mark are perhaps at this stage incapable of final resolution.

(a) The question of divorce had already been raised (5:31 f.) in the main body of discussion as to the validity of the Law.

(b) It hardly seems adequate to say that this is a test question in the sense that similar tests will be posed in chapters 21 and 22, and it is quite possible that vss. 3–9, belonging to another discussion on marriage, were attracted to this context by vss. 11–12.

(c) That the Matthean tradition differs from that of Mark can easily be seen here. In Mark the question poses the legality of divorce, and Jesus' questioners, in no doubt about the position of the Law, would not have entertained any doubts on the issue. But the Pharisees, in the light of Mark 7:14–23, might have expected Jesus to call the Law in question on that very point. Whereas in the Markan tradition Jesus demands that they tell him the prescriptions of the Mosaic Law and when they have done so goes beyond that Law to the very purpose of marriage, the Matthean emphasis is quite different. In Matthew there is first the statement of the purpose of marriage, and then another question from the Pharisees, to which Jesus replies that the Mosaic Law was an accommodation. There are two more instructive differences in Matthew as compared with the Markan tradition: (1) According to Mark (10:12), Jesus explicitly accepts the case of a woman divorcing her husband, a provision not made in Jewish law (cf. here Josephus, *Antiquities* XV. 259 for an exceptional example). It is possible to read this Markan provision as an assertion by Jesus of the sinfulness of divorce. (2) In the Matthean tradition in this present chapter Jesus appears, by the exceptive clause in vs. 9, to take his stand with the stricter interpretation of Shammai against Hillel, and in so doing would appear to affirm the permanent validity of the Mosaic marriage law.

We are in no position to make categorical statements at this point. It is possible that Matthew's tradition has here been influenced by a Jewish-Christian view of Jesus as a rabbinic commentator on the Law.

4. Cf. Gen 1:27; 5:2.

5. *and said.* This is ambiguous. It can refer either to Jesus, or—far more likely—to *the Creator* in the previous verse.

6. *a single body.* The sense is that God created a single man and a single woman, destined for each other, and that the case of a man and a woman in marriage is precisely similar. That is to say, in the purpose of God they are one body, and as such separation is unthinkable.

8. There may be a deliberate contrast in the wording here, between *prescribe* in vs. 7 and *allowed* here. At all events, Jesus describes the Mosaic permission as a departure from the standards presupposed in the creation of a single pair made for each other.

9. Cf. Luke 16:18; 1 Cor 7:10–13. Mark (10:10) here represents the disciples as seeking private instruction about this “in the house.” For the parallel to this saying, cf. 5:32. Mark here has a reference to a woman divorcing her husband—cf. Note c (1) on vs. 3.

except for unchastity. This same exception is found at 5:32, but is not found elsewhere in the NT. Commentators have generally taken the position that these words are not part of the saying as originally uttered, but are a community regulation later inserted into the text. It certainly appears to be inconsistent with vs. 6. The precise meaning of *unchastity* is uncertain.

[*and he who marries her ...*]. These words are not to be found in all the best manuscripts, and may have been added in the light of Mark 10:12.

10. *situation* (Gr. *aitia*). The same Greek word is found at vs. 3 (our translation, *cause*). The disciples

reason that if unchastity is to be the sole determining factor for divorce, then it is better not to risk marriage.

11. *Not all men can accept this.* Placed where it is, this reply of Jesus is not at all clear. The Greek for *this* (literally, *this saying*) may refer to the following vs. 12, in which case Jesus would seem to be exalting the celibate state as opposed to the married state, in response to the disciples' amazement at the stringency of his pronouncements. Alternatively, *this* may refer to the teaching given on divorce in vss. 4–9, in which case this saying will refer to those unwilling to accept the stricter marriage law of the Messianic Community, and *only those to whom it is granted* will refer to those called by God into that Community. This interpretation removes the burden of supposing that Jesus recommended abstention from marriage for the Kingdom's sake, and the *gar* (for) would support this interpretation better. (It should here be noticed that Paul's advice in 1 Cor 7:6–8 is in a very different—Corinthian—context.) In short, Jesus demands of those who come to the Kingdom a standard of marriage discipline at least as stringent as that which applied to Shammai's followers.

It is also possible that the contents of vss. 11–12 are an independent saying which remains obscure. The *gar* would then be an editorial connective.

those to whom it is granted. I.e., by divine grace.

12. In the light of what has been said, it is possible that the saying in this verse has been attracted to its present context as being loosely associated with a discussion on marriage. In reality only two classes of men are being described here—those physically incapable of marriage, either from birth or from being rendered so by others, and those who while at one time physically capable of marriage have renounced that state either by self-mutilation or voluntary celibacy.

The eunuch was for many centuries a well-recognized (and for obvious reasons well-trusted) figure in Near and Far Eastern society. The attitude of the Christian Church to self-mutilation was in the early centuries ambivalent, and though one prominent theologian (Origen, third century) was self-castrated, such a state was a permanent barrier to the ministry. The second class of men described in vs. 12—those who have voluntarily renounced marriage—was well-known to Jesus from the example of some of the Essenes who embraced celibacy. This part of the saying—*who have made themselves so for the sake of the Kingdom*—has been used in Christian history from the earliest times as sanction for the celibate vocation. It is to be noted that the phrase *Kingdom of heaven*, applying as it does in Matthew to the Messianic Community, clearly states the purpose of that vocation.

Let anyone who can, ... Cf. NOTE on 11:15.

There is quite considerable textual variation and transposition in our manuscripts throughout this section. It is far too technical for discussion in a commentary such as this (vs. 4 is particularly difficult), and the reader who knows some Greek is referred to the note on p. 206 of Allen's [ICC](#) St. Matthew commentary.

Some aspects of the question have been dealt with recently by Quentin Quesnell ("Made Themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven [Mt 19:12]," [CBQ](#) 30 [1968], 335–58).

COMMENTS

Matthew indicates that a final and definitive stage has been reached in the ministry by the first verse of this section. Although the material in this chapter appears to be made up of loosely connected episodes, it serves as summary of all that has preceded it, and at the same time as introduction to the final events and concluding teaching of the ministry.

The evangelist introduced the Galilean ministry with a quotation from Isaiah (cf. 4:12 ff.) indicating Galilee as a place of special revelation. That ministry of revelation has now been completed, and it is fitting that the evangelist should record the departure from Galilee.

70. BLESSING THE CHILDREN

(19:13–15)[†]

19 ¹³ Then children were brought to him so that he might lay his hands upon them and pray, but the disciples rebuked them. ¹⁴ Jesus, however, said to them, “Let the children come to me. Do not hinder them, because the Kingdom of heaven is for such people,” ¹⁵ and he laid his hands upon them and went away.

COMMENT

Here, and in the parallel in Mark, there are indications of the way in which material was collected by the evangelists. There is no immediately obvious connection between this short section and what follows it. The best explanation is that both in Matthew and Mark the incident was placed here because the preceding discussion of marriage suggested this narrative about the children. Luke links the incident to the conclusion of the parable about the Pharisee and the tax collector, as an emphasis on humility. The lesson of the parable is obvious enough—cf. NOTES on 18:1–14.

71. TRUE RICHES

(19:16–30)[†]

19 ¹⁶ Someone came to him with the question, “Teacher, what good thing must I do to have eternal life?” ¹⁷ He answered him, “Why question me about what is good? There is One who is good, and if you wish to enter into the life (of the Kingdom), keep the commandments.” ¹⁸ He said to him, “Which ones?” and Jesus said to him, “You shall not murder, you shall not commit adultery, ¹⁹ not steal, not perjure yourself, honor your father and mother, and love your neighbor as you love yourself.” ²⁰ The young man declared to him, “I have kept all these; in what respect am I still found wanting?” ²¹ “If you wish to be true,” Jesus said to him, “go and sell all your possessions, give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven—and come, follow me.” ²² On hearing this, the young man went sadly away, for he was very wealthy.

²³ To his disciples Jesus said, “I solemnly tell you, it will be hard for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of heaven.

²⁴ Further, I tell you that it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter God’s Kingdom.” ²⁵ When the disciples heard this, they were astounded, and said, “Then who can be saved?”

²⁶ Jesus, looking at them, said “For men, this is impossible, but for God all things are possible.” ²⁷ Peter then said to him in reply, “See, we have left everything and followed you. What therefore will become of us?”

²⁸ Jesus said to them, “I solemnly tell you that in the new

creation, when The Man sits on his glorious throne, you who have followed me will also sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel. ²⁹ And everyone who has left homes, brothers, sisters, father or mother, children or lands, for my name's sake, will receive a hundredfold, and will inherit eternal life. ³⁰ Nevertheless, many who are first will be last, and the last first.

NOTES

Here again we have an example of contextual attraction, in this case the result of a previous saying on conditions for entry into the Kingdom.

19:16. *Teacher.* Mark's tradition is here common with Luke's; both have the adjective *good* with *Teacher*, as also both speak of *to inherit eternal life*.

17. Occasionally much has been made of a supposed transference by Matthew of *good* from *Teacher* to *thing*, in order (so it is said) to avoid having Jesus make any distinction between himself and the Father. But wherever the adjective occurs, in both traditions Jesus is calling attention to, and calling sharply into question, the presuppositions of his questioner. If Jesus is simply *Teacher*, then he is calculated to know no more and no less than any other teacher as to what actions are deemed "good for" entrance into the life of the age-to-come. If he is *Good Teacher* (as in Mark and Luke), then Jesus will not allow the questioner to use word or ascriptions lightly.

One who is good. I.e., it is not a matter of the *good thing* as if it were some attainable practice or state which, once acquired or accomplished, will guarantee entrance into life. *Good* is a mark of character, pre-eminently of God. God's goodness to man is shown to us in the commandments, and man's loyal response to those commandments is a test of man's goodness.

keep (Gr. *tērein*). The verb is used again in **23:3**, and there denotes continued action; here it is the urgent aorist imperative.

18. Matthew certainly treats the questioner far less sympathetically than Mark. The question *Which ones?* makes the man appear somewhat stupid, while the *I have kept all these* shows the man's pride.

18–19. *You shall not murder*, ... It should be noted that neither this NT version, nor the Hebrew text of the Decalogue, provides any foundation for pacifism. What is under condemnation is murder, not killing in warfare.

A comparison of the texts of Matthew, Mark, and Luke in these verses discloses considerable variation, and this is to be expected when access to the **LXX** provided more than one version by which scribes and others could check the quotations from the Law. By NT times there were several divergent recensions of the Decalogue (cf. A. Jepsen, "Beiträge zur Auslegung und Geschichte des Dekalogs," ZAW 79 [1967], 277–304. Mark **(10:19)** after "Do not perjure yourself" has "Do not defraud," the provenance of which is uncertain, but which may come from **Exod 21:10**; **Deut 24:14**; or **Ecclus 4:1**. Some manuscripts of Mark omit it, as does Matthew. He has, after *honor your father and mother*, the injunction to *love* (i.e., be loyal to) one's neighbor, taken from **Lev 19:18** (cf. also **22:39**=**Mark 12:31**; **Luke 10:27**). The first four injunctions are from **Exod 20:13–16** or **Deut 5:17–20**. Matthew's order is that of the Masoretic text of Exodus and Deuteronomy; but Mark in some manuscripts reverses the order of *murder* and *adultery*, as does Luke in **18:20**, likewise, Philo and one **LXX** manuscript of Deuteronomy. Matthew incidentally has the imperative future (which is also the Greek of the **LXX**), literally translating the Hebrew imperfect, which is the negative imperative in Hebrew, where Mark has the subjunctive (which is the aorist prohibitory form).

20. The Markan version of this verse can be read as "Against all these things I have guarded myself."

21. At this point Mark depicts the young man as a lovable character (**10:21**), but in Matthew, no such attractiveness is to be discerned. We must either conclude with some commentators that Matthew knew the Markan tradition and edited it so as to eliminate all references to human emotion in Jesus, or we must conclude that Matthew's tradition is wholly independent.

true (Gr. *teleios*). I.e., "true to God, true to the Covenant." Cf. NOTE on 5:48. This word has frequently been translated as "perfect." Such a translation is unfortunate, because it carries implications of moral perfections to an extent which is not true of either the Greek or the Latin, and certainly not true of the Hebrew which lies behind the Greek. Translated as "perfect," the word has Gnostic implications which are wholly foreign to the Gospel. Mark's "You lack one thing" is not found in Matthew, and the reply of Jesus here is wholly in keeping with the man's character as Matthew sees it. There is no promise of entry into the

life of the age-to-come, except in so far as this is implied by *treasure in heaven*. The man who thinks that the life of the age-to-come can be earned by exact calculation is told to abandon all. In so doing he may learn in the community the lessons of humility.

22. Mark here characterizes the young man as being unwilling to obey Jesus' injunction. Luke and Matthew do not use Mark's strong Gr. *stugnasas* ("being shocked, appalled") which denotes this.

The previous incident leads naturally into the next exchange between Jesus and his disciples.

23. *hard for a rich man*. For the rich man the difficulty lies in making a choice between caring for his wealth and caring for the things of God. Cf. 7:14; it is not that riches per se are a barrier to salvation, it is simply that they pose peculiar temptations to the rich man's spiritual welfare.

24. Mark's 10:25 is identical, and in the same context.

it is easier ... In spite of the attempts of commentators and preachers to find small gates, or even camel-hair, in this saying, it seems certain that this is simply a proverb cast in hyperbolic form.

God's Kingdom. The expression is fully in line with Matthew's tradition, to which we have called attention before. The rich man may indeed enter the Messianic Community, the Kingdom of heaven, but at the judgment a far stricter account will be demanded of him than of others when the Son's Kingdom is given up to the Father. Whether—since Matthew shares the expression with Mark (10:25) and Luke (18:25)—the evangelist would have changed the terms if the Messianic Community had been under discussion is a matter which is not open to our inspection.

25. *Then who can be saved?* Presumably the disciples are *astounded*, and ask who then can enter the Father's Kingdom (cf. 10:23; 24:13, 22), as they had presumed that riches and possessions were signs of God's blessings on a man. This is good OT teaching, from the story of Abraham to that of Job, and is in keeping with the whole empirical approach of ancient Israel. Generally, obedience to law, and diligent work, tend to bring prosperity, and the rich are expected to be generous (though they can often be insensitive to suffering). It is of importance to remember that Jesus' apothegms do not attempt to encompass all reality.

26. Salvation, entrance into God's Kingdom, is the gift of God, and the yardstick of human judgment is inappropriate and misleading. (Cf. Gen 18:14, Job 42:2, for the expression *adunaton* which Jesus uses.)

27. Peter's question *may* have reference to the young man: "We have done all that the young man was unwilling to do. What will be our reward?"

28. *the new creation* (Gr. *palingenesia*). The word is peculiar in Scripture to Matthew, though it comes twice in Philo to denote the new world after the flood (*On the Life of Moses* ii 12) and the restored creation after destruction by fire (*Creation of the World* xv). It is said by some that there is no precise Aramaic equivalent, and that the word must therefore be the evangelist's own. However, it is no more surprising to find here a word common in Stoic circles than it is to find lists of virtues and vices in the Pauline letters which can be paralleled in Stoic material, or to find that the Jewish concept of the Word (probably *Mēmṛā*, Gr. *logos*) in the prologue to John's gospel has acquired Greek philosophical overtones. To assume that the occurrence of the word in the mediaeval *Corpus Hermeticum* indicates a borrowing from magical rites or the mystery religions is to attribute a date to the *Corpus Hermeticum* which is far too early. The finds at Nag Hammadi (Chenoboskion) have demonstrated that the mediaeval work cannot be earlier than the fifth century A.D. in its extant form.* The assumption also fails to take into account the wholesale dissemination of popular Stoic philosophy as a quasi-religious astral determinism in the centuries preceding our present written gospel.

The Syriac version substitutes for this word 'ālmā ḥadthā, which is archaic in form and might have been used many centuries earlier. In view of the Matthean tradition this is what we would expect. It is more than likely that misunderstanding has arisen about this saying because some commentators have insisted on reading into it the presuppositions of a post-Hellenistic idealist philosophy, presuppositions having to do with the end of the temporal order, rather than seeing in this saying an assertion of the new creation, the new age, to be inaugurated by the exaltation of The Man.

The Man. Cf. NOTE on 8:20.

glorious throne. Cf. Enoch lxii 3, 5. Jesus promises that when the new age of the Messiah is inaugurated

in his passion and exaltation, the disciples will share in the administration of the Kingdom.

twelve tribes. As at Qumran, the concern is for the whole assembly of Israel (cf. [Rev 7:4](#)), those to whom the Gospel has been proclaimed.

29. Cf. Enoch xl 9. The Markan parallel ([10:29–30](#)) lays stress on the new life which the neophyte will enter when he is incorporated into the Messianic Community (cf., e.g., [1 Cor 3:21](#)). The fact that Matthew does not include, or does not know, Mark's "now in this present time" (cf. [Luke 18:30](#)) ought not to be taken as an indication that for our evangelist all the blessings belong to an eternity divorced from the temporal order. We have called attention before to the thinking which Matthew has in common with John, and this is a case in point. Matthew's *new creation* of vs. 28 says no more than is said by [John 3:3–8](#), and the emphasis here is not on the end of the temporal order, but on the *eternal life* which is the disciple's present inheritance (cf. [John 6:35–59](#)). The life of the age-to-come is a common theme in Matthew (cf. [5:5](#), [21:38](#), [25:34](#)), but we must beware of reading into the term meanings which belong to later idealistic and existentialist philosophies.

30. The saying in this verse is repeated in reverse order in [20:16](#), forming a conclusion to the parable and also making a chiasm, a device often employed by Matthew. At the same time, the meaning of the saying here is not wholly clear. The *first* may refer either to rank or privilege, or to the time at which a man entered the community. It is even possible that in the present context it is a reply to Peter's boast of vs. 27. Luke ([13:30](#)) has a somewhat similar saying in quite different connection. The saying as used in [20:16](#) bears a meaning which does not easily fit this context.

It is worth noting here that Matthew and Luke have some textual agreements against Mark in vss. [16–30](#), but of a minor character.

72. THE KINGDOM: THE WORKERS IN THE VINEYARD (20:1–16)

20 ¹ “For the Kingdom of heaven is like a householder who set out early in the morning to hire workers for his vineyard, ² and when he had agreed with the workers for one denarius a day, he sent them into his vineyard. ³ Going out about nine o’clock he saw other men standing idle in the market place and said to them, ⁴ ‘You go into my vineyard, too, and I will give you whatever is right,’ and so they went. ⁵ Going out again at midday, and at three o’clock, he did the same. ⁶ About five o’clock he went out and found others standing. He said to them, ‘Why do you stand here all day idle?’ ⁷ They answered him, “Because no one has hired us.” ‘You too go into the vineyard,’ he said. ⁸ When evening came, the owner of the vineyard said to his steward, ‘Call the workers and give them their wages, beginning with the last, and so up to the first.’ ⁹ When those who were hired at five o’clock came, they each received a denarius. ¹⁰ When the first came, they supposed that they would receive more, but they each received a denarius. ¹¹ On receiving it they grumbled to the owner, ¹² ‘The last only worked an hour, but you have made them our equal, and we have borne the burden and heat of the day.’ ¹³ But he answered one of them, ‘My friend, I am not doing you an injustice. Did you not agree with me for a denarius? ¹⁴ Take what is yours and go. I choose to give to the last what I also give to you. ¹⁵ Am I not allowed to do what I wish with my

own property? Or is your eye evil, because I am good?’

¹⁶ So the last shall be first, and the first last.”

NOTES

20:1. *early*. I.e., at sunrise, when work began.

vineyard. Isaiah's parable (Isa 5:1–7) regards God as the owner of the vineyard, and this parallel adds weight to our contention in the COMMENT below. The vine and the vineyard are common OT figures for Israel.

2. *denarius*. The denarius was the average day's wage, on which an agricultural worker could expect to provide himself and his family with the necessities of life. It was roughly equivalent to the Greek drachma.

3. *market place* (Gr. *agora*). This word, like so many Greek and Latin words, had passed into ordinary Jewish usage.

4. In view of the ending of the parable it is to be noted here that only the first group of workers had any fixed monetary agreement.

6. The scene of the parable is set during the vintage season; there would otherwise be no point in hiring workers so late in the day. Depending on location, the vintage season in Palestine is from July through September.

8. *owner* (Gr. *kurios*). The Greek word here is the one used frequently for God in the NT.

wages (Gr. *misthos*). The same word is translated *reward* in 5:12.

beginning with the last. There is no particular significance in the order of payment, except that the method here employed provides the basis for the dialogue in vss. 11 ff.

12. *burden and heat of the day*. Those who came first to the Kingdom, whether disciples or Jewish Christians, might think that they had a claim to preferential treatment by God.

13. *friend* (Gr. *hetairos*). The word is used here, at 22:12, and 26:50, and in all three instances implies a rebuke.

14–15. *Take what is yours*. If we assume that the parable as first used was commentary on an imaginary "case" arising from Israel's choice by God (as Isa 5:1–7 certainly is), then the owner (God) grants that Israel's faithfulness has its own just and proper reward. But God may also, of his own free grace, admit latecomers to a life reward. Hence the use of the word *choose*. There is no appeal against God's use of what is his. Cf. Rom 9:14–15; the whole central argument of the Roman letter is concerned with this very question.

15. *evil*. The "evil eye" is one which looks with malice or envy on the supposed good fortune of others.

16. a large number of manuscripts add "Many indeed are called but few are chosen," words which have no meaning in this context, but are certainly in place at 22:14.

COMMENT

Here again is an example of the way in which blocks of fixed oral tradition were pieced together to form the larger blocks of teaching material in Matthew. The concluding verse of the last section has dictated the presence of the parable about the field workers. Here, too, is an outstanding example of the great flexibility of the parable as a teaching medium. In its primary application we may safely presume that it had to do with God's calling, of Israel first and later the Gentiles, into the Kingdom. But its proximity to vss. 20–28 of the last chapter is equally a warning against any assumption on the part of the disciples that privilege and reward in the Kingdom belong in higher degree to those first called. (Equality of reward does not mean, however, that there will be no differences of position in the Kingdom, as Jesus points out in 19:28.)

Even when allowance has been made for the attraction of this parable to its present position, the evangelist's own understanding of the parable is by no means clear. Does he interpret the parable as a warning against disputed precedence, or against an attitude of exclusive privilege on the part of those who first entered the Kingdom—i.e., Jews? In the light of our examination of parable in Part XI of the Introduction, we believe that the issue of God's choice of Israel is crucial and primary in most parables, and so we believe it was with this parable in its initial use by Jesus. The parable as it stands certainly points to the role of the householder (God) in the judgment (cf. 18:23, 25:14 ff. for a similar theme).

73. PASSION PREDICTION

(20:17–19)[†]

20 ¹⁷ As Jesus was going up to Jerusalem he took the twelve disciples aside, and while they were journeying said to them, ¹⁸ “See, we are going up to Jerusalem, and The Man will be turned over to the chief priests and the scribes, who will condemn him to death, ¹⁹ and they will turn him over to the Gentiles, to be held up to ridicule, flogged, and crucified. On the third day he will be raised.”

COMMENT

Any way it is seen, this prediction of the passion comes as an interruption of the narrative. The only possible connection with surrounding material—and that by a somewhat far-fetched contextual attraction—would be that Jesus will be *last* in his passion, and *first* in his resurrection-exaltation glory. The obvious connection in this part of the chapter is between vss. 1–15 and 20–28, the two parts broken by this passion prediction.

We called attention earlier (cf. NOTES on 17:11–12) to another example of an intruding passion prediction, and the arguments adduced there apply equally well here. The reader is referred to the arguments given there for supposing that this prediction, like its predecessors in 17:11–12, 22–23, is an editorial insertion.

There are verbal agreements in this short section between Matthew and Mark, as well as between Matthew and Luke against Mark, notably *the third day* as against Mark's "after three days." There may be an indication of the editorial intrusion of this passage in the fact that Matthew does not have "the elders" in addition to *chief priests and the scribes* (cf. 16:21), thereby indicating that this prediction was inserted in Markan context and partly in the Markan form.

On the prediction of death by crucifixion, found only in Matthew, cf. NOTE on 10:38.

74. PRECEDENCE IN THE KINGDOM

(20:20–28)[†]

20 ²⁰ Then the mother of Zebedee's sons came to him, together with her sons, and knelt before him as a suppliant. ²¹ He said to her, "What do you want?" She replied to him, "Give orders that these two sons of mine may be seated in your Kingdom, one on the right hand, and the other on the left." ²² Jesus answered, "You do not realize what you are asking. Can you drink the cup I am about to drink?" They said to him, "We can." ²³ He said to them, "You will indeed drink my cup, but to sit on my right hand and on my left is not mine to grant, but is for those for whom it is prepared by my Father." ²⁴ The ten, on hearing this, were indignant about the two brothers, ²⁵ but Jesus called them to him and said, "You know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over their subjects, and their great ones exercise authority over them. ²⁶ Among you, however, it will not be so. Let anyone who wishes to be great among you be your servant, ²⁷ while anyone who wishes to be first among you, let him be your slave, ²⁸ in the same way that The Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for the community."

NOTES

20:20. *the mother*. Mark (10:35) represents the two disciples (James and John) as coming to Jesus directly, a tradition which frequently leads commentators to suggest either that Matthew's historical tradition was at fault or that he manipulated the tradition to cast the disciples in somewhat more favorable light. The suggestion is interesting solely as an example of ignorance of the ways and manners of mothers anxious for their sons. Since Jesus' replies to the request are in plural form directly to the brothers, it is just as likely either that Matthew knew both traditions, or found his oral source to be as it is here, and for all its abrupt change from mother to disciples, allowed it to stand.

21. *your Kingdom*. Mark has "your glory." The sense is the same.

22. The disciples are not yet aware of the intimate connection between suffering and privilege in the Messianic Community. *Cup* as a synonym for suffering occurs again in 26:39. In Ugaritic, *cup* refers to a man's allotted portion or destiny, and is so used in the Psalms (11:6, 16:5, 75:8) and also in the Apocalypse (Rev 14:10, 16:19, 17:4, 18:6). Cf. also Isa 51:17; Lam 4:21.

If Matthew knew the Markan tradition at this point, then his omission of the Markan "baptism" as a synonym for the death of Jesus is very surprising (cf. NOTE on 3:6 and COMMENT on 3:13–17 [§8]).

"We can." Cf. 26:56.

23. *drink my cup*. The martyr's death of James is recorded in Acts 12:2, but there is no certain historical evidence about John's death.

prepared by my Father. Cf. 25:41.

24. The brothers are not named (cf. also vs. 20) and the evangelist assumes that his readers are well aware of their identity.

25. *exercise authority*. Outside the Covenant Community, greatness is demonstrable by the use of power. In the Messianic Community greatness on the part of those in authority is recognized only by their willingness to share in the humility of the Community's Lord.

28. The model for all who bear authority and responsibility should be Jesus himself.

ransom (Gr. *lutron*). The word is used twice in the NT and denotes the price paid for the manumission of a slave, or a price paid in the market place. In both senses the implication is of great cost, a great price constantly emphasized in the NT (cf. Gal 1:4, 2:20; Eph 5:2, 25; Col 1:14; Titus 2:14; Heb 9:12; 1 Peter 1:18 ff.). The saying emphasizes three points:

(a) the voluntary character of the act of self-giving;

(b) the vicarious character of the act, being done for those who ought to have rendered sacrificial obedience, but who could not (cf. Rom 3:24; Gal 3:13; 2 Cor 5:21);

(c) the universal character of the act (see below). It is to be noted that in Rom 3:24 and 1 Peter 1:18 the two ideas of ransom and sacrifice are juxtaposed when dealing with the meaning of redemption. Cf. further, Vincent Taylor, *Jesus and His Sacrifice* (London: Macmillan, 1937), pp. 99 ff.

Here we have *The Man* in a context of humility, a concept which is deeply rooted in the Markan tradition, but which we have seen reason to think is not part of Matthew's tradition. While we have compelling evidence in other cases to suppose that the association of suffering with The Man is an editorial addition to Matthew's text, there is no such evidence here. The inclusion of this material by the evangelist here must therefore have been of crucial importance. It is not simply that the saying in vs. 28 is the basis and pattern for those in authority in the Messianic Community, though that is obviously of considerable importance. What is vital to Matthew about this critical vs. 28 is that it is the first time in the ministry of Jesus that the whole ministry and future death of Jesus are given an interpretation, and an interpretation moreover which is linked by the phrase *for the community* (the "many") with the New Covenant of forgiveness in 26:28 (cf. Jer 31:31 ff.).

We must now give closer attention to the whole complex of ideas bound up with *ransom for the community*.

The reader of the NT will be aware that the explanatory clause *for the community* is crucial in the

Matthean (26:28) and Markan (14:24) accounts of the Last Supper, both in covenantal context. Generally speaking it seems to be assumed that *the community* is in some sense a synonym for *all*, else how explain the Pauline assumption that the sacrificial death of Jesus was of potentially universal efficacy?

So far as our present text is concerned, the phrase *lutron anti pollōn* (ransom for the community) is most closely paralleled by Isa 53:10–12. The LXX versions offer some varied readings in this context, and the present confused Hebrew text is not easy to reconstruct. What we have at present is:

¹¹“By his knowledge (?) shall the Righteous One vindicate:
my Servant shall (...) the many,
he will bear their sins.”

The first Isaiah scroll from Qumran has the same reading. If the text originally read in second line above: “My Servant shall redeem the many,” the resulting Hebrew scansion would be good.

The same emphasis on “the many” is found in Dan 12:2, 10, a chapter which provides the background for much early Essene literature. Here again in Daniel we have a confused Hebrew text, reflected in the LXX and in the revision by Theodotion of the LXX. Theodotion has: “... and from the righteous ones of the many” (vs. 3). What can be derived with confidence from Dan 12:3 is as follows: “And those who vindicate the many (shall be) like the everlasting stars.” We have come to the conclusion that in Isa 53:10–12 and Dan 12:2, 10 we have the ultimate and the mediate sources of the Essene concentration on “the many” (*ha-rabbîm*) as background for Matt 20:28, 26:28, and Mark 14:24. Our findings may be summarized as follows:

(a) In our NOTE on 10:41 we called attention to the relatively unexplored significance of the Righteous One as a Messianic title, and to our own continuing investigation of it. In Isa 53:10–12 we have a firm correlation of the Servant with the Righteous One in a redemptive context. The LXX revision by Theodotion which renders the Hebrew as “he shall justify the Righteous One who well serves the many” is incorrect.

(b) “The many” of these various texts of Isaiah and Daniel, later given such emphasis by the Essenes as denoting the elect Essene community, has a long and venerable ancestry as a term for the generality of the Covenant people. In Essene usage it clearly meant the elect community of the Essenes. (Their attitude to non-Essene Israelites is still obscure.) It is possible that Matt 24:31, where membership of the Messianic Community by no means implies inclusion among the elect, represents a conscious rejection by Jesus of this aspect of Essenism.

(c) In the NT, the Righteous One (=the Servant=the Messiah) will vindicate, redeem, Israel, i.e., *the community*. Herein lies the decisive importance of the interpretation of his death which Jesus offers here (20:28) and in the eucharistic words of 26:28 and Mark 14:24.

(d) The potentially universal applicability of the sacrificial death of the Messiah was assumed by Paul as axiomatic, however much he may have had cause to spell out its implications to his converts. But it is imperative that we notice in this connection that for all the emphasis laid in the NT generally on the adjective *new* to describe the results of the Messianic work of Jesus, it is never for a moment suggested that there is a “new Israel.” To the contrary: men must for their salvation be incorporated into that Messianic Community which is the heir to, and continuous with, the Israel of the Old Covenant. It is clear that *the community* in the interpretative liturgical passage of Matthew 26:28 (Mark 14:24) was sufficient explanation of the redemptive sacrifice of the Messiah.

(e) We have as yet very little firm information as to the liturgical practices of the Essenes, but what does seem clear is that *the community* was a well-established liturgical or quasi-liturgical phrase reaching back to Second Isaiah if not earlier. It was a phrase which had been so hallowed by time that for all the obscurities of the Hebrew text of Second Isaiah, it nevertheless had to be used. Given the Essenes’ insistence that they were Israel, then the equation *the community*=Israel is seen to have wider implications than our modern English can hope to convey.

It will be observed that the Gr. *pollōn* has no definite article in the texts under consideration. In a NOTE on 10:41 (d) we called attention to the wide variations of use in regard to the definite article in Koine Greek,

and the same considerations operate here. The Dead Sea scrolls material is similarly inconsistent in its use of the definite article before *rabbîm*: in many cases the word is simply *rabbîm*, while in many other instances the form is correctly given as *ha-rabbîm*. We are therefore justified in seeing the *pollôn* of our Greek texts in the NT as *the community*, in spite of the fact that grammatically we might have expected *tôn pollôn*.

(f) It is abundantly clear from the rabbinic writings that *ha-rabbîm* was understood as meaning the generality of the Covenant people, and the phrase *reshût ha-rabbîm*, to name but one (=“the public domain,” Mishnah *Shabbath* xi 1) is of very frequent occurrence. (We are somewhat puzzled that a recent article by Mathias Delcor—“The Courts of the Church” in *Paul and Qumran*, ed. Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, Chicago: Priory Press, 1968—fails to make any connection between *ha-rabbîm* and such vital areas as [Matt 20:28](#) and [Rom 5:15–17](#).)

(g) In view of the reference of [Matt 20:28](#), [26:28](#); and [Mark 14:24](#), back to [Isa 53:12](#) and [Dan 12:2–3, 10](#), it is necessary to look at a passage in the *Pirqê Abôth* which can be adduced as control evidence for Jesus’ own interpretation of his death as sacrificial. The same passage is also illustrative of the material in Second Isaiah and Daniel. There are variant readings in the Hebrew of *Pirqê Abôth* v 18 (R. H. Charles’ translation 5. 21). The contrast there between Moses and Jeroboam is quasi-legal. The work of Moses is said in this passage to have involved the community of Israel, and in the same way Jeroboam (cf. [1 Kings 14:16](#)) is said to have involved the community of Israel in his sin. But everything turns on the meaning of the participle *mēzakkê*. It is commonly assumed by Jewish commentators and their Christian translators that the participle *mēzakkê* should be rendered by “he made righteous.” But this meaning is at best exceedingly rare, if documented at all. Virtually all occurrences of the verb *šdq* in the causative, as well as the late [Heb. zkh](#), mean “to declare clear of legal guilt, vindicate” any person on trial. Hence the *Pirqê Abôth* passage must mean literally: “Everyone who clears the community of guilt, sin does not enter by his instrumentality; but everyone who implicates the community in sin, they cannot perform an act of repentance through him. Moses was free of guilt, and cleared the community of guilt; the freedom of the community from guilt was dependent on it, as it is said: ‘The right judgments of Yahweh he carried out with Israel’ [[Deut 33:21](#)]. Jeroboam son of Nebat sinned and implicated the community in sin; the sin of the community was dependent on him, as it is said: ‘The sin of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, by which he brought condemnation on Israel for sin’ [[1 Kings 14:16](#)].” There is some valuable material in Büchler, *Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century*, pp. 260 ff.

Absent from the above extract (no author-attribution is made, and the presumption is that it is therefore early) is the Pharisee tradition with its sharp distinction between sinner and righteous, guilty and innocent. What we have here is the same uncrystallized point of view with regard to vindication which we saw to be the case in the passages from Second Isaiah and Daniel.

(h) Two important passages in the Dead Sea scroll material must be mentioned here. The first is from the Community Rule ([1QS ix 9](#)): “The men of deceit, who did not cleanse their way of guilt, in order to become separated from evil and go in sincerity of way ...” (translation by W. F. Albright), reading *lô hizkû*. Similarly, the passage in the Thanksgiving Psalms ([1QH](#)) ([7:12](#), already mentioned under our discussion of [10:34](#)) provides evidence for the stricture on Jeroboam in the *Pirqê Abôth*. That king brought condemnation for sin on Israel—it was not that he “caused Israel to sin,” as our English versions commonly have it.

(i) Only in a theology where redemption is centered in a single, Messianic, all-embracing figure do the inchoate motifs of redemption, sin, guilt, repentance, and vindication come sharply into focus as a distinctively Messianic work.

(j) Our examination of passages in Matthew and Mark, with control material from elsewhere, makes it abundantly clear that a critical area of [Rom 5](#) must be examined—and translated—afresh. The “all men” of vs. [12](#) there is linked with “the many” of vs. [15](#), and the “trespasses” of vs. [16](#) are the “trespasses of the many,” and it is “the many” in vs. [19](#) who will be vindicated.

There are other implications to be drawn from this brief survey of the crucial vs. [28](#), and they cannot be more than cursorily mentioned here. It has already been said that the ideas expressed in Second Isaiah, Daniel, and later in the *Pirqê Abôth* are in large measure inchoate, exploratory, and tentative. But the ideas

there given tentative expression were later to blossom into the full flowering of mediaeval scholastic theologizing as to the “imputation” of merit, or of righteousness, to God’s people through the redeeming work of Jesus. It is well not to dismiss such ideas too lightly, however much theological speculation sought to reduce them to precise legal patterns. Aware of our common humanity, we realize that human behavior of any kind is not without its universal effects. Paul gave expression to this when he spoke of man being “in Adam,” for all that Augustine later thought to render this more precise by asserting that all men were “in the loins” of the first created man. (N.B. The **Heb.** *’ādām* is both individual and collective, both “mankind” and “a man.”) Paul narrowed this concept of being in “Adam,” or “solid with” Adam, when he spoke of Israel’s relationship with Abraham and then with Moses. The passage in *Pirqê Abôth* to which we have referred seeks to give expression to this kind of metaphysical relationship when it speaks of the effects of Moses and then Jeroboam on Israel; in both cases, the people were in some sense “solid with” Moses and Jeroboam, bound up with them in their work and accomplishments, and even—in the case of Jeroboam—with a man’s sin. Paul can find no better expression for the relationship between Christ and the members of his community than to speak of Head, Body, Members. The Christian, through baptism, “puts on” the whole redeeming work of the Messiah, is made “solid with” him in a metaphysical union.

There is one final note to be added here. The Pauline *dikaion* (=to justify, vindicate) has the same kind of overtones as those which we saw to be true of the **Heb.** *mězakkê* (and also, incidentally, of the verb *hišdiq*). It is not that God, through Jesus, makes the member of the Messianic Community righteous by imputing to him moral qualities which he does not possess; but he clears him, vindicates him, justifies him, when all the evidence is apparently against him. With necessary safeguards, there is a sense in which God “imputes” to the Christian—in the Pauline use—a verdict which properly only belongs to Jesus.

After vs. 28 some manuscripts add a version of [Luke 14:8–10](#).

COMMENT

The connecting theme between this section and Section 72, especially vs. 16, is that of choice and responsibility, whether of individuals or a whole people, with the implication that to be first in the Kingdom carries with it the consequence of being last in secular society, and of sharing in the passion of Jesus. Both here and in the exchange between the two disciples and Jesus, as well as in the parable of the workers, the emphasis on the Father's disposition of his own is clearly marked. The Man will judge his own Kingdom, but the final issues are in the Father's hands. In the meantime, those who throw in their lot with Jesus in the Messianic Community must expect to find the values of secular society completely reversed therein.

75. TWO BLIND MEN

(20:29–34)[†]

20 ²⁹ As they were leaving Jericho, a large crowd followed him. ³⁰ Two blind men, sitting by the roadside and hearing that Jesus was passing by, shouted out, “Take pity on us, son of David.” ³¹ The crowd turned on them, demanding that they be silent, but they shouted the more insistently, “Take pity on us, son of David!” ³² Jesus stopped, and called to them: “What do you want me to do for you?” ³³ “Sir, let our eyes be opened.” ³⁴ Moved by pity Jesus touched their eyes; they received sight immediately, and followed him.

NOTES

20:30. *Two blind men*. Mark (10:46) supplies us with the name of a single blind man, “Bartimaeus, son of Timaeus,” but this is obviously a conflation of the Greek with the Aramaic, and what we have in effect in Mark is “*son of Timaeus*” repeated. Luke has a single man (Luke 18:35). It is possible that Matthew’s tradition was confused, or that there was indeed a tradition that two men were involved. Matthew also is unaware of the Markan and Lukan “the Nazarene” as an appellation of Jesus (cf. also 28:5=Mark 16:6, but in 26:69=Mark 14:67, Matthew has *the Galilean*).

33. *Sir*. Matthew translates the [Aram. rabbouni](#), where Mark preserves it transliterated.

Apart from historical circumstance, the context of this miracle in Matthew may be crucial, as it is in Mark and Luke. The issue of sight and blindness is also crucial in John 9 to the understanding of Jesus’ ministry, and the same issue may underlie the placing of this incident immediately following upon the apparent failure of James and John to see (understand) the nature of their calling in vss. 20–28. Mark (8:22 ff.) has a story of a blind man’s restored sight immediately before Peter’s acknowledgment (“seeing”) of Jesus in 8:27 ff. Standing as the narrative does here before the final act in Jerusalem, it pursues the theme of vs. 28: the disciples will be required to see (cf. 26:64) the glory of Jesus in death and seeming defeat.

76. TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM

(21:1–11)[†]

21 ¹ As they approached Jerusalem, and came to Bethphage by way of the Mount of Olives, Jesus sent two of his disciples with instructions: ² “Go into the village opposite you, and immediately you will find an ass tied, with a colt. Loose them, and bring them to me. ³ If anyone asks what you are doing, then say ‘The Lord needs them,’ and he will send them immediately.” ⁴ This happened in fulfillment of what was said by the prophet:

⁵ “Announce to the daughter of Sion,
Behold, your king is coming to you,
humble, mounted on a donkey,
on a colt, a donkey’s foal.”

⁶ The disciples went, did as Jesus directed them, ⁷ and bringing the donkey and the colt they put their cloaks on them, and he sat there. ⁸ Most of the crowd spread their own cloaks on the road, while others cut down branches from the trees, and laid them on the road. ⁹ The crowds which went before and after him shouted out the words: “Hosanna! O son of David! Blessed is he who comes in the Lord’s name! (Cry) Hosanna in the heavenly heights!” ¹⁰ As he entered Jerusalem, the whole city was stirred up, saying, “Who is this?” ¹¹ and the crowds replied, “This is the prophet Jesus from Nazareth in Galilee.”

NOTES

21:1. *Mount of Olives*. Cf. [Zech 14:4](#), where the place is associated with Messianic hope.

with instructions. At first sight, this little incident is full of mystery. This account is one of many in the gospels in which the relevant circumstances were still so well known to the people when the oral tradition became fixed that they were not included. This can be very baffling for the reader in search of exact biographical detail. The high incidence of background information which is assumed or omitted as taken for granted is eloquent proof of the immediacy of the NT material—the transmitters of the oral tradition were not concerned beyond the immediate accuracy of transmission.

3. *he will send*. The subject of this verb is obscure. Mark seems to imply that it is the Lord who will send the animals back to the owners, whereas the sense in Matthew appears to be that anyone questioning the disciples will send the animals without further ado.

4–5. *In fulfillment*. Matthew has two “fulfillment” passages here. The second (from [Zech 9:9](#)) had the groundwork laid for it in vs. 2—*an ass tied, with a colt*. The first quotation, *Announce to the daughter of Sion*, is from [Isa 62:11](#), and the Isaian oracle is cast in a strongly Messianic mold. On fulfillment, cf. Part IV of the Introduction.

5. The last part of the quotation (*on a donkey, [and] on a colt, a donkey’s foal*) is Hebrew poetic parallelism. The very ancient picture of the Messiah in [Zech 9:9](#), portraying the Righteous One who will save his people, has a long history. The language with regard to the donkey is identical with that used of a donkey offered in sacrifice in the patriarchal city of Haran. The practice is known to us from the Mari texts (eighteenth century B.C.), belonging to the early patriarchal period. It speaks of the donkey sacrifice as ratifying a treaty between the Apiru (=Hebrews) and various local kings. The figure of the donkey, in the same three words as in the Mari text, occurs again in [Gen 49:11](#) as well as in the text of [Zech 9:9](#) under discussion.

Attention is drawn to the fact that in the Zechariah text the Messiah is described as the Righteous One ([Heb. ṣaddîq](#)), a title to which we have referred previously as an ancient Jewish Messianic appellation. The whole Messianic context of [Zech 9:9–17](#) is relevant at this point, and not merely the half verse which the evangelist uses as a kind of anchor. The context in Zechariah looks to the restoration of the people by reason of God’s overshadowing providence and of his covenant with the people. The Hebrew parallelism of this verse led a translator to assume that there were two animals involved as he did also in vss. 2 and 3. Mark and Luke know of only one animal.

6. Matthew’s account is here considerably shorter than that of Mark, who gives far more eyewitness detail.

7. The NOTE on vs. 5 is applicable here. Jesus could not ride on two animals at once, and the translator has two animals being adorned with cloaks.

their cloaks ([Gr. himatia](#), cf. NOTE on 9:20). The placing of cloaks on the back of the donkey implied great respect and honor to the rider.

9. “*Hosanna!*” The word is from [Ps 118:25–26](#), and is a prayer for deliverance (“Save now!”); it is not in any way a cry of praise. The absence of indications of quotation in Greek manuscripts has over the centuries, and even into our own times, led to some curious translations of this verse, translations which completely fail to do justice to the [Heb. hôsha’nā](#). The translation here must either read: “the crowds shouted ... Hosanna! to the son of David,” or (for reasons next stated) in the way in which we have translated the verse. It is now known that the [Heb. la, lě](#) often introduced a vocative (cf. [Pss 68:4, 32, 33, 35](#), and also Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms I, 1–50*, [AB](#), vol. 16 (New York; Doubleday, 1965–66), pp. xxi ff. The meaning of the vocative *la* was misunderstood quite early, and the Greek translation therefore rendered the vocative *O son of David* as “to the son of David,” for the [Heb. la, lě](#) is also used to indicate “to,” as a dative. What we have here, therefore, is an ancient liturgical text, a cry to the anointed king for deliverance.

son of David. Cf. NOTE on 1:1.

he who comes. I.e., the Coming One. Cf. NOTE on 11:3.

in the heavenly heights. This is a translation of the Hebrew of [Ps 148:1](#) (cf. here the Greek with the [LXX](#) of the same psalm verse). The meaning of this liturgical prayer is not easily rendered, and our translation renders the best sense in English.

[10.](#) *the whole city was stirred up*. Cf. [2:3](#).

[11.](#) *the prophet*. Cf. NOTE on 10:41.

There are seven verbal agreements between Matthew and Luke against Mark in this section, but somewhat more agreements between Matthew and Mark against Luke (nine), and somewhat fewer between Mark and Luke against Matthew (five).

COMMENT

The title given to the section rightly describes Matthew's interpretation of the events. It is the entry of the Messianic king into his own city, the final challenge by Jesus to his own people in his ministry. It is also the supreme act of obedience of the Son to the Father (cf. 16:21).

77. CLEANSING THE TEMPLE

(21:12–17)[†]

21 ¹² Jesus went into the temple, and threw out all who bought and sold in the temple, and overturned the tables of the money-changers and the seats of the pigeon-dealers. ¹³ “It is written,” he said to them, “ ‘My house shall be called a house of prayer,’ but you have made it a robbers’ den.”

¹⁴ The blind and the lame came to him in the temple, and he cured them. ¹⁵ But when the chief priests and the scribes saw the wonders which he did, and the young children shouting in the temple the words, “Hosanna! O son of David!” they were indignant, ¹⁶ and said to him, “Do you hear what they are saying?” Jesus replied, “Yes. Have you never read, ‘Out of the mouths of babes and nurslings you have brought perfect praise’?”

¹⁷ Leaving them, he went out of the city to Bethany and stayed there.

NOTES

21:12. *the temple.* Some manuscripts add *of God*.

Matthew used a prophecy of Malachi in connection with John the Baptist (**11:10**), and the context of that quoted prophecy announces the coming of the Lord to his temple. The whole complex of this entry of Jesus into Jerusalem implies the fulfillment of that prophecy (cf. **Mal 3**).

money-changers. Two things must be remembered here:

(a) The incident, however dramatic its implied interpretation of the Lord coming to claim his own (cf. *My house*, vs. **13**), probably did not attract much attention apart from its immediate environment. The temple would have been thronged at this time, and Jesus' action, apart from those close to him, may have appeared to be no more than a passing incident.

(b) By acting out this prophetic parable Jesus was attacking a powerful, lucrative, and well-entrenched privilege. All financial transactions in the temple had to be in Tyrian currency, and the money-changers were allowed a substantial discount. The half-shekel was worth two denarii, the denarius being a laborer's wage for a day and two denarii enough for a few days' lodging (cf. **Luke 10:35**).

pigeon-dealers. Cf. **Lev 5:7; 12:8**. Pigeons were a legitimate substitute for lambs for sacrificial purposes. On this last, cf. "The 'Herodian Doves' in the Light of Recent Archaeological Discoveries," by Eliezer D. Oren, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, January–June, 1968.

13. *My house.* Cf. **Isa 56:7**. Mark's narrative makes explicit what Matthew's abbreviated version implies in the whole context of **Isa 56**; the time of ingathering of all God's people, Jew and Gentile, is near.

robbers' den. Cf. **Jer 7:11**. The prophet predicted the destruction of the temple as punishment for sin. The saying of Jesus indicates a similar judgment; it was Israel's responsibility to know the signs of the times (cf. **11:1–24**, etc.), to recognize the time of consummation, but failure to do so involved judgment. Jesus' prophecies of the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple are firmly embedded in the gospel tradition (cf. **23:37 ff., 24:2**, etc.). All but the most superficial acquaintance with the conditions of the time would have led any thoughtful contemporary observer to the same conclusion.

At this point, we call the reader's attention to the variations in tradition between the evangelists as to the chronology of this week:

	Matthew	Mark	Luke
1st day	Entry. Cleansing of Temple. Return to Bethany	Entry. Return to Bethany	Entry. Cleansing of Temple
2nd day	Cursing & withering of fig tree. Teaching	Cursing of fig tree. Cleansing of Temple	Teaching
3rd day	Teaching	Fig tree withered	Teaching

Matthew and Luke appear to shorten the Markan chronology by one day, on the theory that both evangelists used Mark as basis for their work. But even if we allowed that Matthew put the cursing of the tree, and its subsequent withering, on the same day to heighten the dramatic effect, this supposed dependence on Mark is not very impressive when examined. Luke's two days are not even suggested by the evangelist to be consecutive, and Matthew and Luke agree only in recording that the days were engaged in teaching—the material cannot be regarded as parallel. Matthew, far from being dependent on the Markan account (which records the first day as one of teaching), provides us with a first day of activity (vss. 14–15). If Matthew is dependent on Mark, then there is wholesale transference; cf. [Mark 11:17](#) (“he taught”) and [Matt 21:23](#), together with [Mark 11:18](#) and [Matt 22:33](#).

16. *Out of the mouths*. The quotation is from the LXX of [Ps 8:2](#). Cf. [11:25](#). The chief priests and the scribes, who from this point on are very prominent in the narrative, appear here for the first time together since [2:4](#). They were mentioned in the passion predictions of [16:21](#) and [20:18](#)—but cf. NOTES on [16:21](#) (§60).

Luke has a parallel to this dialogue, connected with the entry into Jerusalem ([19:39–40](#)).

COMMENT

There is an apparent difference in the relative dating of the cleansing of the temple between the Johannine and the synoptic traditions. We have, of course, no external evidence as to whether the event recorded happened once, twice, or even three times, and at present the whole matter is beyond our investigation. All we have is the internal evidence of the tradition, a tradition which links the event with the Messianic prophecy of Zechariah, whose own tradition goes back to pre-Israelite times.

In the Fourth Gospel the cleansing of the temple takes place at the beginning of the ministry (John 2:13–22), and therefore is not associated (as in the synoptic gospels) with the entry into Jerusalem. There are far too many verbal similarities in the Greek between the Johannine and synoptic accounts to make plausible any suggestion that there were two such events. Whether the Johannine account serves a theological purpose, interpretative of the ministry in its present position, or whether John's chronology of events is to be preferred at this point, are matters which the reader will find discussed at length in Brown, *John*, i–xii, COMMENT on 2:13–22 (§8).

We begin here the complex series of events which subsequent usage has called “Holy Week.” We must now indicate the problems which are involved.

(a) In broad outline the four evangelists are agreed on the central events of this week from Sunday to Sunday. But there are areas of disagreement in sequence and timing, and it is impossible to determine at this remove which evangelist is factually and chronologically more accurate in his reminiscences. It would cast the gravest doubt on the historical accuracy of the narrative were we to find that there was close and substantial agreement in detail among the four evangelists.

(b) The narratives we have illustrate very well the tenacity of the oral tradition as received by four men, each with his own method of handling that tradition.

(c) It is clear to any intelligent reader of the passion narratives not only that there are discrepancies in the four accounts, but also that the events which immediately lead up to the trial scenes, and the trial scenes themselves, give an impression of haste and confusion. Some of this sense of confusion and haste is fully comprehensible; it is clear that in the final moments of the trial most of the principal eyewitnesses fled. Subsequent reminiscence will certainly have reflected this confusion. Furthermore, the task of determining the precise sequence of events has in recent years been rendered far more difficult, though certainly far more interesting, by discoveries at Qumran. They disclose that at least two sectarian groups used a calendrical system for calculating Passover which was seriously at variance with the official Jerusalem calendar. The

Qumran calendar had an older usage historically, and some scholars have insisted that it was this older calendar which Jesus and the disciples used. It is clear that according to this calendar Passover would have fallen on the night of Tuesday–Wednesday, and so would be the night of the Last Supper. This view was first propounded by Mlle. Annie Jaubert in *La date de la cène*, Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1957, and it has often been discussed since then. We cannot enter into such discussion here, and the interested reader is referred to George Ogg, “The Chronology of the Last Supper,” in *Historicity and Chronology in the New Testament*, for a lucid and convenient summary of the evidence.

(d) It is frequently overlooked that what information we have about Jewish legal procedure, particularly with respect to criminal law as it operated in Roman-occupied Judea, is post-Christian. Our information as to the way in which Roman criminal law operated in the provinces is very limited, but it is known to have been arbitrary and largely discretionary for the non-citizen. We know of no legislation governing the workings of a local prefect or procurator in criminal cases before the second century A.D. (Pliny the Younger). The New Testament, both with respect to the trial of Jesus, and the subsequent trials of Paul and his companions, gives us but one view of the way in which criminal law could and did operate under various Roman officials.

For convenience and for the interest of the reader, we give the sequence of events as the new theory of Mlle. Jaubert explains them:

Official Jewish Calendar			Sectarian (Ancient Priestly) Calendar
Nisan 8	Saturday	Anointing at Bethany	Nisan 11
9	Sunday	Triumphal Entry Return to Bethany	12
10	Monday	Return to Jerusalem Incident of the fig tree	13
11	Tuesday	Preparation for Passover Passover/Last Supper Arrest of Jesus; Examination before Annas; Jesus taken to Caiaphas' house	14
12	Wednesday	Ecclesiastical trial opens	15
13	Thursday	Ecclesiastical trial ends in morning, and Roman trial begins; examination by Herod Antipas	16
14	Friday	Roman trial ends; Crucifixion; official Jewish Passover begins in the evening	17

The merit of this theory is that it accommodates the Johannine tradition, which places the death of Jesus at the time when Passover lambs were being slain in the temple.

Cf. also Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*, pp. 290 ff.

78. QUESTIONS ABOUT AUTHORITY

(21:18–27)[†]

21 ¹⁸ Early in the morning, as he was returning to the city, he was hungry, ¹⁹ and seeing a single fig tree by the roadside he went to it. But finding nothing on it but leaves, he said to it, “May no fruit ever come from you again!” The tree withered at once. ²⁰ When the disciples saw it they were astounded. “How did the fig tree wither at once?” they asked. ²¹ Jesus answered, “I solemnly tell you that if you have faith and never doubt, not only will you do what has been done to the fig tree, but if you say even to this mountain, ‘Be rooted up and thrown into the sea,’ it will happen. ²² Whatever you ask in prayer trusting [God’s will] you will receive.”

²³ When he went into the temple, the chief priests and the elders among the people came to him (as he was teaching), asking: “By what authority are you doing these things? And who gave you this authority?” ²⁴ Jesus answered them, “I too will ask you a question, and if you answer me, then I in turn will tell you by what authority I am doing these things. ²⁵ Whence came John’s baptism—from heaven, or from men?” They argued the question with one another: “If we say ‘From heaven,’ he will say to us, ‘Then why did you not believe him?’ ²⁶ but if we say ‘From men,’ we are afraid of the people, for all regard John as a prophet.” ²⁷ So they answered Jesus, “We do not know.” He in turn said to them, “Neither will I tell you by what authority I am doing these things.”

NOTES

21:18–22. It is impossible to determine precisely what historical background lies behind the narrative in these verses. To describe the fig tree incident as “miracle” would be to demand a re-examination of all other miracles in the gospel narratives. This incident as it is reported to us cannot be regarded as a sign of the Kingdom’s coming, still less as a means by which the Kingdom comes (cf. Part X of the Introduction). The connection of the incident with the visit to the temple, both in Matthew and Mark, indicates very strongly that it was a prophetic parable (cf. [Acts 21:11 ff.](#)) looking to an imminent fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple. Some indication that this is the case can be found in Mark, who tells us that the time for fruit to appear had not yet arrived ([11:13](#)). Cf. also [Matt 3:10](#) and the parable in [Luke 13:6 ff.](#) Jesus had looked for faith in his mission and his person, and had not found it (cf. vs. [43](#)).

The spreading of the incident over two days in Mark, as contrasted with Matthew’s one day, further complicates the issue. It is not clear whether the saying on prayer in vss. [21–22](#) belongs to the narrative or not. Mark’s version of the saying is considerably expanded ([11:23–25](#)) and has material found in three separate contexts in Matthew ([6:14–15](#); [7:7–11](#); [18:35](#)).

22. *trusting*. The trust indicated here is the response of love and trust called for by God’s love for Israel in the Covenant. The words in brackets are added by us to make the point clear.

23–27. This is the first in a series of controversies ([21:23–22:46](#)) which are conducted in a form well-known in the Talmud. The narrative and the dialogue are alike treated with considerable vigor of expression. The method of question and counter-question may, to our way of thinking, seem like evasion tactics, but it was a common form of debate in Hellenistic and later rabbinic times as well as in Greek practice as early as the fifth century B.C. The form was specifically designed to establish the truth of a matter, and could even involve an opponent in giving an answer which the proponent could not elicit by a direct first question.

23. *these things*. The question about authority revolves round two considerations: the popular cry “son of David” and “prophet” (vss. [9–11](#)), followed by Jesus’ implicit claim to know God’s will for the temple (vss. [12–13](#)). Jesus’ reply, as indicated above, is no mere evasion. His questioners had never faced the implications of the popular assessment of John the Baptist.

as he was teaching. This is omitted in some Latin and Syriac manuscripts (cf. [Luke 20:1](#)), but cf. the reference to teaching in the temple at [26:55](#).

24. Only those who have submitted to John’s call for repentance and baptism can understand the mission of Jesus.

25. *from heaven*. I.e., God-given, as contrasted with *from men*, in the sense of a self-assumed vocation.
believe. I.e., be loyal to, submit to, John’s ministry.

27. “*We do not know*.” This is a confession of unwillingness to make any commitment either about John or about Jesus.

79. THREE PARABLES

(21:28–46)[†]

21 ²⁸ “But what do you think? A man had two sons, and he went to the first and said, ‘Son, go and work in my vineyard today.’ ²⁹ He replied, ‘I will not,’ but later changed his mind and went. ³⁰ He went to the second and said the same. He replied, ‘Yes, sir,’ and did not go. ³¹ Which of the two did as his father wished?” They said, “The first.” Jesus said to them, “I solemnly tell you that tax collectors and prostitutes enter God’s Kingdom before you. ³² For John came to you in the path of righteousness, and you did not believe him, while the tax collectors and the prostitutes did. Even when you saw that, you did not later change your minds and believe him.

³³ “Listen to another parable. There was a householder who planted a vineyard, fenced it, dug out a wine press in it, built a lookout post, and turning it over to tenant farmers, went to another country. ³⁴ When the vintage season approached, he sent his slaves to the tenant farmers to get his fruit. ³⁵ The tenant farmers took his slaves, beat one, killed another, and threw stones at a third. ³⁶ Again he sent some other slaves, more in number than the first, and they did the same to them. ³⁷ Finally, he sent his son to them, thinking, ‘They will respect my son.’ ³⁸ But when the tenant farmers saw the son, they said to themselves, ‘This is the heir. Let us kill him, and we shall have the inheritance.’ ³⁹ So they took him, threw him out of the vineyard, and killed him. ⁴⁰ When therefore the

owner of the vineyard comes, what will he do to those tenant farmers?” ⁴¹ They said to him, “He will put those wicked men to a miserable death, and will let out the vineyard to other tenant farmers, who will render him the harvests in season.” ⁴² Jesus said to them, “Did you never read in the Scriptures:

‘The stone which the builders rejected,
that same stone has become the head of the corner.
This was the Lord’s doing,
and it is a wonderful thing to us’?

⁴³ Therefore I tell you that the Kingdom of God will be taken from you, and given to a people which will be productive.” [⁴⁴ “Whoever falls over this stone will be injured, but as for the man on whom it falls, it will crush him.”]

⁴⁵ When the chief priests and the Pharisees heard his parables they realized that he was speaking about them,
⁴⁶ but while seeking to arrest him they feared the crowds, because they regarded him as a prophet.

NOTES

There are parallels in this first parable to other sayings of Jesus in quite different contexts—cf. 7:21, 12:50.

21:28–31a. The manuscripts have considerable variation as to which comes first in this saying, the obedient or the disobedient son. We have chosen to follow the reading of Codex Sinaiticus and other early authorities, partly on the grounds explained in the NOTE on vs. 30. The [NEB](#) has chosen the other reading.

28. *what do you think?* This is a typical Matthean introduction. Cf. 17:25.

vineyard. Cf. NOTE on 20:1, and below on vs. 33.

29. *changed his mind* ([Gr. metamelesthai](#)). The word is used only in Matthew in our gospels, and can also mean “repent.”

30. *sir* ([Gr. kurie](#)). Also “Lord”; the connection with 7:21 is apparent. It is the disobedient son who says “Lord, Lord.”

31. *tax collectors*. Cf. NOTE on 9:10. It signifies a class of people whose allegiance to the Law was at best suspect.

God’s Kingdom. Commentators are occasionally puzzled to know why Matthew, if he was indeed dependent on Mark, did not change this to Kingdom of *heaven*. We have pointed out in the Introduction that the evangelist makes a clear and careful distinction between the two phrases, and it is important to remember that distinction here. What is at issue is not the entrance of Jesus’ presently unbelieving hearers into the Messianic Community (the Kingdom of heaven). We know from Acts that numbers of people who had not committed themselves to allegiance to Jesus in the time of his ministry did so after the first apostolic preaching. The saying looks beyond the present situation, beyond possible entrance into the Messianic Kingdom, to the ultimate possibility of rejected entrance into the Father’s Kingdom. Matthew’s use here is wholly consistent with what we have observed elsewhere in this gospel. *Enter* is quite indeterminate ([Gr. proagousin](#)): the tax collectors and the prostitutes “enter,” leaving open the question as to whether his hearers do, or do not, enter the final inheritance of the Father’s Kingdom.

33. The imagery in the opening of the parable is from [Isa 5:2](#). The immediate recognition by the hearers of their own place in the allegory is confirmation not only of the persistent use of the imagery of the vine and the vineyard to describe Israel, but also of the “case law” understanding of parable.

tenant farmers. In the first century, many landowners were absentees, letting out their holdings to tenants. The best parallel in our society is the share-cropping system practiced in various parts of the United States.

34. *approached*. The verb is reminiscent of the words with which Mark opens the ministry of Jesus (1:15); cf. [Matt 3:2](#) and [4:17](#).

slaves (or servants). The Matthean plural clearly calls for equating the slaves with the prophets, sent as God’s representatives.

fruit. The term is constantly used, in one form or another, in both OT and NT, to denote the duty Israel owes to God (cf. [Isa 5:4](#)).

35–36. Luke has three servants, plus a beloved son; Mark has three servants plus “many others” and a beloved son, while Matthew is more indefinite. Attempts by commentators to fix precise details from the OT to correspond to the precise details of the parables (cf. the stoning of Zechariah, [2 Chron 24:20 f.](#) as an example) must be considered useless; the essential meaning of this parable is clear enough.

37. *his son*. Suggestions occasionally made that this is an ecclesiastical addition to the text are usually vague as to when this post-apostolic manipulation took place, and unless we are to rule out [3:13–17](#) (cf. [Mark 1:9–11](#); [Luke 3:21–22](#); [John 1:29–34](#)) then it is hard to see what the objection is to the authenticity of this passage. Granted a Messianic consciousness on the part of Jesus, the title “son” was a common designation of the anointed king in the OT. Cf. Part VII of the Introduction.

39. Note that Matthew’s tradition here arranges the details in the light of the death of Jesus, who was crucified *outside* the city. Cf. [Mark 12:8](#); [Luke 20:15](#).

41. *They said to him*. In Mark (12:9) and Luke (20:15–16) Jesus answers his own question. Matthew has

the listeners answer, condemning themselves as they did in vs. 31.

42. The quotation is from Ps 118:22–23, and from the text of the LXX. The whole psalm is a vindication of God’s purpose, declared as through the agency of a chosen servant. Here again (cf. Part IV of the Introduction) it is the context of the whole psalm which must be taken into account in this quotation. The entire drama of this final week is seen in the light of God’s victory snatched from the jaws of defeat, an assertion of the vindication of God’s selection of his own. This choice is narrowed into the person of the Son, and with him the nascent Messianic Community. It is against this background that the whole of the psalm should be read at this point.

43. This verse is not found in Mark or in Luke. It is almost impossible to reject the argument that this verse and the one which follows it are secondary commentary. *Kingdom of God*, meaning as it does in Matthew (and in 1 Cor 15:24–58) the ingathering of the elect into the Father’s Kingdom, is inappropriate here. Moreover, the parable makes no judgment of the kind suggested in this verse, and the verse itself interrupts the connection between vs. 42 and vss. 44, 45–46.

44. The builders of Israel’s national life, those who might have been expected to welcome the ministry of John and the proclamation of Jesus, had rejected both John and Jesus, and the Messiah would build on another foundation—cf. 16:18—that of allegiance to himself. This verse, which is not found in all manuscripts, carries the thought a stage further. Jesus, as the cornerstone of the new community, gives offense to those who ought to have welcomed him. The verse has some puzzling features. It is found in Luke, but not in Mark. In both Matthew and Luke the Greek has *sunthlasthēsetai*, (“will be injured”) but in view of its rarity and the extraordinary difficulties of pronouncing this word it perhaps ought to be *sumblēthēsetai*, “to be smitten or injured” (which we have translated *will be injured*). Copyists, whether working from a written uncial text, or from dictation, often confused the Greek uncial *beta* with *theta*.

But it is the difficulty of context which is paramount. The connection between vss. 42 and 45 is obvious, and we have already called attention to the very awkward interposition of vs. 43. Since, however, the verse under consideration, 44, is found in two synoptic evangelists, it would seem at first sight as though it is being reported as a saying of Jesus. That the saying about the building stone in vs. 42 exercised considerable influence in early Christian exposition is evidenced by 1 Peter 2:4–8. At this point, the close parallel between both passages and similar thoughts in Isa 8:5–9:1 and 28:14 ff. is striking. (Gundry—cf. *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew’s Gospel*—thinks the vision of the stone in Dan 2 is the background here. This seems to us to be altogether too slender a hypothesis.) Both the Isaian passages are of great significance in determining the place of this saying. In both there is a contrast drawn between the work of God and the attempts of men to deny or frustrate that work. Yet although there is in Isa 28 an opposition described between the attitude of official Jerusalem on the one hand and God’s purposes on the other, it is certain that the background of this verse must be seen in the light of Isa 8. That chapter begins with the refusal of official Israel to put trust and confidence in God’s own act, and refers to the conspiracy (historically the Syro-Ephraimite coalition) which blinds men’s eyes to God’s will.

The “stone of offense,” the “rock of stumbling” in Isa 8:13 ff. is God himself, refuge and sanctuary to those who trust, a snare to the faithless. Most significantly, the prophet refers in vss. 16 ff. to the disciples who have understood and will cherish his teaching, and both he and they will be signs from God who dwells on Mount Zion. All that remains for the faithless is distress and darkness (cf. vss. 21–22 and Matt 23:37, 27:45–51).

It seems clear that this present verse is an allusive commentary by Matthew on the decisive point in the ministry of Jesus which had been reached by his entry into Jerusalem. The public ministry is virtually ended, the disciples have for the most part been instructed, and all that remains is the playing out of the final act in the drama of God’s redemptive act. To pursue the Isaian context into chapter 9 is to be assured that the future is not in doubt, whatever may lie in the days immediately ahead.

Part IV of the Introduction is concerned with Matthew’s use of the OT and Gundry makes much of OT allusions in Matthew. It seems to us that the present vs. 44 is such an allusion. Its present context in both Matthew and Luke provokes questions as to origin and provenance. If it was a saying of Jesus, then it is seriously out of context, and interrupts the flow of the end of this present chapter. If it is a saying of Jesus

placed here as commentary on the end of the public ministry of Jesus, then it is yet another piece of evidence for the consuming interest in the prophecies of Isaiah so well known to us from the Qumran discoveries.

One rather tantalizing question remains. The method of OT interpretation which we know to have been commonplace among the Essenes was also Matthew's method, as pointed out first by Stendahl. But it is not that of Luke, who—although having access to hymns which predate the ministry of Jesus—does not use Matthew's allusive commentary methods. We are therefore faced with an intriguing problem of priority in this verse, and the indications would seem to exclude a dependence of Matthew on Luke. Perhaps this kind of text, an allusive reference back to OT material, is the nearest firm indication that we have of a collection of "logia" or sayings of Jesus, from which both Matthew and Luke drew. But it emphatically does not, on the usual documentary hypothesis, explain why this particular verse should have been inserted into the narrative at precisely the same point in Matthew and Luke, and at the same time omitted in Mark.

COMMENT

The three parables (21:28–22:14) all have to do with the place of Israel in the purpose of God, seen against the background of the ministry of Jesus (cf. Part XI of the Introduction). If, as we have seen reason to suppose, the incident of the fig tree was “acted parable,” or prophetic parable, then the whole complex from 21–22:14 is a unity. Everything in this part of the gospel is concerned with summing up the attitude of Jesus’ own people, on the semiofficial level, to his ministry and proclamation. It is evident from 22:15 that to all intents and purposes there is no longer room for argument, and room only for the best way in which Jesus’ enemies can accomplish his removal from the scene.

80. PARABLES OF THE KINGDOM

(22:1–14)[†]

22 ¹ Jesus once more addressed them in parables: ² “The Kingdom of heaven may be compared with a king who gave a wedding feast for his son. ³ He sent his slaves to call those who were invited to the feast, but they would not come. ⁴ Once more he sent other slaves with the message: ‘Tell those who have been invited: See, I have prepared the dinner, my oxen and fat calves have been killed, and everything is ready. Come to the wedding.’ ⁵ But they treated it lightly and went away, one to his own farm, another to his business, ⁶ while the remainder seized his slaves, treated them brutally and killed them. ⁷ The king was angry, sent his soldiers and wiped out those murderers and burned down their city. ⁸ He then said to his slaves, ‘The wedding is indeed ready, but the invited guests were unsuitable. ⁹ So go into the main streets and invite as many as you find to the wedding.’ ¹⁰ The slaves went out into the streets and collected together all whom they found, both bad and good, and the wedding hall was filled with guests. ¹¹ However, when the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man without suitable wedding garb, and he said to him, ¹² ‘Friend, how did you get in here without proper wedding garb?’ and he was speechless. ¹³ The king then said to his attendants, ‘Bind him hand and foot, and throw him into outer darkness, where there will be shrieking and grinding of teeth.’ ¹⁴ Many, indeed, are called, but few are chosen.”

NOTES

22:1. *once more*. This is simply an introduction to the material and not a chronological note.

2. *a king*. I.e., God (cf. 5:35). In the parable below, which is a separate story (cf. vs. 11) and in 25:34, it is Jesus who is depicted as king.

wedding feast. The theme is used again to describe the Kingdom in 25:10. Cf. Rev. 19:7 ff.

5–6. Compared with the Lukan tradition, it is more than likely that there has been assimilation to the narrative of 21:33 ff. The Lukan parable (14:18–20) makes it clear that the reasons proffered for absence were not frivolous; they were such as to excuse a man from military service under the Mosaic Law.

10. *bad and good*. This parable deals with the Messianic Kingdom, The Man's Kingdom, and therefore all kinds of people will respond to the invitation.

11. This obviously begins a separate parable. But whatever assimilation may have taken place in vss. 5–7, there seems small justification for saying that it took place when the Church wished to accommodate the parable to the events of the first Jewish War and the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. It is well to remember that the Zealots were founded shortly after A.D. 8. There is no reason to deny to Jesus in the explosive situation of the second quarter of the first century the insights of an Isaiah or a Jeremiah in like circumstances.

wedding garb. The scene depicted is that of the Son judging his own Kingdom. The man in question had attempted to enter that Kingdom without prior repentance. It is fruitless to discuss whether there was a custom demanding that the giver of a wedding feast had an obligation to provide special clothing. No such custom is known to us, and—cf. Yohanan ben Zakkai's parable in COMMENT below—it is probable that only clean clothes were expected.

12. *Friend*. Cf. NOTE on 20:13.

13. *attendants*. The Greek word is different from the word for “slaves” in previous verses, and presumably in the interpretation means “angels.” Cf. the distinction in Hebrew between *‘ebed* and *shammāsh*.

Bind him ... Cf. the similar injunctions in 8:12, 13:30, 42, 50, 24:51, 25:30.

14. *called*. The Greek is derived from the same verb as “invited” in vs. 3. Many are *called* into the Messianic Kingdom, but few will be finally *chosen* for the Father's Kingdom at the judgment.

COMMENT

The Lukan reference at the head of this section is not a true parallel, and is given only for the sake of comparison. Both the language and the details are quite different.

There seems to be an attempt to equate this parable to the parable about the tenant farmers (22:33–41), as though underlining the lessons of the rejection of Jesus by official Judaism. There would appear to be traditional material behind this present example. There is attributed to Yohanan ben Zakkai a story of a king who invited some servants to a wedding feast, but (purposely?) omitted to supply any details of time. Those with foresight not only dressed in clothes suitable for the occasion, but also waited at the door of the king's house. The unthinking servants, on the other hand, went on with their work. Without warning, the king announced that the time of the wedding had come, and the servants who had been waiting went in to the feast. The unwise, still wearing working clothes, were made to stand and watch the others eat the feast ([TB](#), *Shabbath* 153 a).

81. QUESTIONS

(22:15–46)[†]

22 ¹⁵ Then the Pharisees went to discuss how to trap him in discussion, ¹⁶ so they sent to him their disciples, with the Herodians, with the question: “Teacher, we know that you are an honest man, and teach God’s will truly, without worrying what men think, for you pay no attention to external appearance. ¹⁷ Tell us, then, what you think. Is it lawful to pay taxes to Caesar, or not?” ¹⁸ Jesus, aware of their malice, said, “You casuists! Why put me on trial? ¹⁹ Show me the tax money.” They brought him a denarius, ²⁰ and Jesus asked them, “Whose representation and inscription is this?” “Caesar’s,” they said. ²¹ “Then pay to Caesar what belongs to Caesar,” he said, “and pay to God what belongs to God.” ²² When they heard this, they wondered, left him, and went away.

²³ On the same day, Sadducees—who deny the resurrection—came to him with a question. ²⁴ “Teacher,” they said, “Moses said, ‘If a man dies having no children, his brother must marry the widow so that he can produce children for the brother.’ ²⁵ Now there were among us seven brothers; the oldest married, and died without children, leaving his widow to his brother. ²⁶ The same thing happened with the second brother, and then the third, and finally with all seven. ²⁷ Last of all the woman died. ²⁸ Now in the resurrection, of the seven whose wife will she be, for all had married her?” ²⁹ “You are wrong,” Jesus answered them, “because you do not know either

the Scriptures or God's power, ³⁰ for in the resurrection they will neither marry nor be given in marriage, but will be as angels are in heaven. ³¹ But as to the resurrection of the dead: have you not read God's word to you—³² 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob'? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living."

³³ When the crowds heard this, they were greatly impressed by his teaching.

³⁴ The Pharisees, having heard that he had silenced the Sadducees, came together, and ³⁵ one of them (a lawyer) tried to trap him with a question. ³⁶ "Teacher," he said, "which is the greatest commandment in the Law?" ³⁷ He replied, " 'You must love the Lord your God with your whole heart, your whole self, your whole mind.' ³⁸ This is the first and greatest commandment. ³⁹ The second is like it: 'You must love your neighbor as yourself.' ⁴⁰ The whole Law, and all the Prophets, depend on these two commandments."

⁴¹ While the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus put a question to them: ⁴² "What do you think about the Messiah? Whose son is he?" They replied, "David's son."

⁴³ "Why then," Jesus asked, "does David in the Spirit call him 'Lord,' when he says:

⁴⁴ 'The Lord said to my Lord,
Sit here at my right hand,
until I have put your enemies under your feet'?

⁴⁵ If then David called him 'Lord,' in what way is he

David's son?" ⁴⁶ No one was able to answer Jesus at all, nor did anyone from that day venture to question him any more.

NOTES

22:16. *with the Herodians*. The introduction of the Herodian party makes the question a pointed one. The Herodians were supporters of the family of Herod the Great, ruling only by favor of the occupying Roman authority. Anxious to maintain the *status quo*, the Herodians would certainly have supported the payment of taxes to Rome where the patriotic Pharisees emphatically would not. *Disciples* of the Pharisees occurs here and at Mark 2:18.

17. *Is it lawful ...?* The questioners hope to provoke a reply which will identify Jesus either with the Zealots who refused payment, or with those who had accommodated their life to Roman authority.

18. *casuists*. Cf. Appendix to Part IX of the Introduction.

20. “*Whose representation ...?*” The denarius of Tiberius (A.D. 14–37) would carry the emperor’s portrait, and also an inscription which accorded him divine honor.

21. *pay to God*. The Greek here (*apodote*) is different from the “pay” (*didonai*) of vs. 17 and has the sense of giving back what is due. The civil rulers therefore receive taxes as a due, not a gift. Similarly, as in 21:33 ff., God must be given what is his due.

Later Christian attempts to reduce Jesus’ statement of principle to exact legislation provided most of the material for the mediaeval conflicts between church and state.

23. *Sadducees*. Matthew provides his readers with minimal information for background, almost as a reminder. It is clear that he assumes that his readers will be fully aware of the main position of the Sadducees. Like the Samaritans, the Sadducees held to the “canonical” status of the Pentateuch, the five books of Moses (=the Law), and placed the rest of the Hebrew Bible on a far lower level or rejected it entirely. The Sadducees must have developed their own case law, but they rejected the oral law which had grown up around the Pentateuch, or any belief which was not clearly held in the Law.

24. “*Moses said ...*” Lev 18:16, 20:21 forbid sexual relations with the wife of a brother (referring to adultery); but in some circumstances (Deut 25:5–10) such a marriage with a brother’s widow is imposed on a man as a duty (referring to Levirate marriage).

having no children. This is the LXX version, where the Hebrew has simply “son”—i.e., male children.

28. *in the resurrection*. The imaginary test case, assuming a resurrection, seeks to prove the absurdity of the idea.

29. “*You are wrong ...*” Jesus’ reply is based on two premises: (a) The Sadducees are wrong because they are transferring to the resurrection-life considerations which properly belong only to life before death, a mistake which Scripture, for all its imagery, poetic or homespun, never makes. (b) God, who gave the Law, a Law which contains provisions for the regulation of marriage and the raising of children, cannot be unaware of considerations posed by the test case. On the main question of resurrection, the same two premises apply. The power of God is not confined by the mundane considerations adduced by the Sadducees, and in the resurrection-life marriage and birth are irrelevant to the discussion. Moreover, the fact that the Scriptures acknowledged by the Sadducees do not specifically mention resurrection cannot be said to eliminate all idea of it. The argument of vss. 31–32, perhaps not very cogent to us, but certainly impressive in its own time setting, is simply that when God speaks of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to Moses in Exod 3:6 he speaks of them as still living.

The question of the extent of belief in a resurrection-life in first-century Judaism is complicated, as is also the question of the universality or otherwise of resurrection-life among groups who acknowledged such a life. The Samaritans denied a resurrection, along with the Sadducees. The rabbinic writers went so far as to accuse the Samaritans of deleting possible references to resurrection from the Pentateuch, and the same writers appeal to the Pentateuch for support for a doctrine of resurrection.

33. This verse might well be found at any point in the teaching ministry. Mark places it (11:18) after the account of the cleansing of the temple. The suggestion, sometimes made, that Matthew omitted it in the Markan context and then later placed it here in his own narrative, is most unlikely. It not only attaches far too much weight to a single verse, but it also fails to see that a comment of this character may easily be out

of context in all three synoptic gospels.

34. The Markan framework of this narrative is so different from the Matthean and Lukan traditions, and is so vivid, that we must assume it to be an eyewitness account, in contrast with the other two. Matthew and Luke have an account of the question and its answer, without regard to context or the person(s) involved. Matthew and Luke agree that the questioner was a lawyer, and we can only surmise that Matthew placed the incident here in order to gather all the hostile questions into one part of his narrative. Neither Matthew nor Luke knows anything of the approbation expressed by Jesus in the Markan narrative. There is another of Matthew's OT allusions here: *came together* is from the LXX of Ps 2:2, and is used again at 26:3.

37. The first statement is from Deut 6:5, and Matthew's quotation assimilates to the Hebrew text.

39. This quotation is from Lev 19:18, and is also found in Matt 19:19. In negative form a saying similar to it is ascribed to Rabbi Hillel the Elder: "What is hateful to you do not do to your neighbor. That is the whole Law, and all else is commentary" (TB, *Shabbath* 31a).

41–42. The next question is about Messiahship, and begins with Greek words which reflect Ps 2:2: *gathered together* (vs. 41) and *about the Messiah* (vs. 42). We are accustomed to regarding this questioning by Jesus, together with the quotation from Ps 110 in vs. 44, as though it was used by Jesus as proof of his Davidic descent. It is in fact just as easily interpreted as deliberately casting doubt on the whole idea. That the expected Messiah would be of Davidic descent was a commonplace in certain sectors of Judaism and could claim OT support. Among the Essenes, a kingly Messiah and a priestly Messiah were expected. In either case, publicly to court a Messianic title was to invite Roman intervention. In asking this question Jesus compels his critics to question at least one possible assumption—that he was a nationalist seeking to rally popular support. By the time our gospels were committed to writing the events of Holy Week had been overshadowed by the Jewish revolt against Rome, Jewish Christians had either fled or were under pressure to declare for or against the nationalist cause, and the Davidic genealogies of Matthew and Luke were no longer the inflammatory material which they would have been earlier.

42. *David's son*. Cf. Isa 9:2 ff., 11:1 ff., etc. Cf. NOTE on 1:1.

43. *David*. The psalms were commonly ascribed to David, though it is now known that much of the Psalter was written both before and after David's time. David was, however, the patron of temple music in Israel, and the musical guilds go back to his time. Cf. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, pp. 14 f., 125 ff., etc.

in the Spirit. I.e., by divine inspiration.

44. The quotation is from Ps 110:1, but not in the LXX translation.

45. The answer to the question is implied: that there is far more to Messiahship than Davidic descent.

46. The conclusion provided by Matthew and Mark emphasizes that the opposition to Jesus has now taken on far more sinister forms.

On the whole question of Davidic messiahship in this chapter, cf. now Fitzmyer, "The Son of David Tradition and Mt 22:41–46 and parallels," in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament*, pp. 113–27.

COMMENT

Our interpretation of 21:44 is in a very important sense the key to the questions which occupy the remainder of this chapter 22. In no way seeking elucidation of the questions posed (and the first was of crucial importance in the political climate of the times), Jesus' interrogators were simply seeking a pretext for a criminal charge.

82. WARNINGS AGAINST LEGALISM

(23:1–36)[†]

23 ¹ Jesus then spoke to the crowds and to his disciples:
² “The scribes and the Pharisees are the appointed teachers of Moses’ Law, ³ and so you must obey and follow everything they tell you to do, but do not imitate their deeds, for they do not practice what they preach. ⁴ They make up heavy loads and tie them to men’s backs, while they themselves will not lift a finger to help carry the loads. ⁵ They do everything simply so that people will see them. They make large phylacteries, broaden the hem of their garments, ⁶ love the best places at feasts and the principal seats in the synagogues; ⁷ (they love) to be greeted in public places, and to be called ‘Teacher’ by men. ⁸ You must not be called ‘Teacher,’ for you have but one Teacher, and you are all brothers; ⁹ and you must not call anyone on earth ‘Father,’ for you have but one Father—in heaven. ¹⁰ And do not call anyone ‘Leader,’ for your one Leader is the Messiah. ¹¹ The greatest among you must be your servant. ¹² Whoever makes himself great will be humbled, and whoever humbles himself will be raised. ¹³ Away with you, you pettifogging Pharisee lawyers! You shut the door of the Kingdom of heaven in men’s faces; for you yourselves will not go in, nor will you allow those who are entering to do so.

[¹⁴ “Away with you, you pettifogging Pharisee lawyers! You rob widows’ houses, and make a show of long prayers. For this, your punishment will be the more

severe.]

¹⁵ “Away with you, you pettifogging Pharisee lawyers! You traverse sea and land to make a single convert, and when you have done it, you make him twice as bad as you are.

¹⁶ “Away with you, you blind guides, you who say, ‘If a man swears by the temple, it is not binding, but if he swears by the gold in the temple, he is liable.’ ¹⁷ Blind fools! Which is greater—the gold, or the temple which makes the gold holy? ¹⁸ Again: ‘If a man swears by the altar, it is not binding, but if he swears by the offering on it, he is liable.’ ¹⁹ Blind men! Which is greater—the offering, or the altar which makes the offering holy?

²⁰ When therefore anyone swears by the altar, he swears by it and by all the offerings on it. ²¹ He who swears by the temple swears by it and by him who dwells there, ²² and a man who swears by heaven swears by the throne of God and by him who sits on it.

²³ “Away with you, you pettifogging Pharisee lawyers! You give to God a tenth of herbs like mint, dill and cummin, but the important duties of the Law—judgment, mercy, honesty—you have neglected. Yet these you ought to have performed, without neglecting the others. ²⁴ You blind guides! Straining a fly out of your drink, and then swallowing a camel!

²⁵ “Away with you, you pettifogging Pharisee lawyers! You clean the outside of a cup and a plate, but inside they

are filled with (thoughts of) robbery and greed. ²⁶ You blind Pharisee! First clean the inside of the cup and plate, so that its outside may be clean, too.

²⁷ “Away with you, you pettifogging Pharisee lawyers! You are like whitewashed tombs, which outwardly look beautiful, but inside they are full of dead men’s bones and every kind of ritual defilement. ²⁸ In the same way, you appear outwardly good to men, but inside you are full of casuistry and lawlessness.

²⁹ “Away with you, you pettifogging Pharisee lawyers! You build the tombs of the prophets and decorate the monuments of the righteous ones, saying, ³⁰ ‘If we had been living in the time of our fathers, we would have had no part with them in the killing of the prophets.’ ³¹ In so doing, you witness against yourselves that you are sons of those who murdered the prophets. ³² Make up, then, what is lacking of what your fathers began. ³³ You snakes, you vipers’ brood! How will you escape being sentenced to Gehenna?

³⁴ “See, on this account I send you prophets and wise men and scribes, some of whom you will kill and crucify, some you will beat in your synagogues and harry from town to town, ³⁵ so that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of Abel the righteous to the blood of Zechariah, the son of Barachiah, whom you murdered between the sanctuary and the altar. ³⁶ I solemnly tell you, all this will come upon

this generation.”

NOTES

23:2. *appointed teachers of Moses' Law*. Cf. "Every council of three in Israel is like the council of Moses" (TB, *Rosh ha-Shanah* 25a). "Moses' seat" (which is the literal translation) is the name given to the seat in the synagogue from which discourses were given.

3. *everything they tell you ... do not imitate their deeds*. The oral law, and the inferences commonly drawn from the written Law, came under heavy criticism in 15:1–20, and the same considerations apply here. The verb which we have translated *they preach* carries the implication that the Pharisees did profess to live by the precepts of the Law, but that in effect they made an idol of the Law by often surrounding it with casuistry and cavil, so obscuring real principles (cf. 12:7) and neglecting the very compassion which the Law itself taught (cf. 15:4–5). The minutiae were observed, but God's love, of which the Law was an expression, was easily forgotten.

4. Oral law has a tendency to generate a life of its own, to feed upon itself. The Mosaic Law, given as God's gracious gift to Israel, was more and more obscured by the proliferation of commentary. Experience has shown with what tenacity the traditionalist will defend provisions which have long been irrelevant. In the light of the sayings in 16:19 and 18:18 about "bind" and "release," it is possible that Jesus here castigates the legalism which can impose regulations but cannot or will not give relief to the lawbreaker.

5. This is directed against religious ostentation in a common Jewish form.

phylacteries. This is the only mention of them in the New Testament. They were texts of the Law written on sheepskin, enclosed in small containers, and worn on forehead and forearm while praying. Numbers of these have turned up at Qumran.

hem of their garments. I.e., fringes or tassels which were prescribed for the four corners of the outer garment; cf. Num 15:38 ff.; Deut 22:12.

7–11. *to be greeted*. For the material which follows in these verses, the reader is referred to the essay by Moses Aberbach, "The Relations between Master and Disciple in the Talmudic Age," in *Essays presented to Chief Rabbi Israel Brodie on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, London, 1965. Here there are examples of the obligation of the disciple to follow a recognized teacher without question, to afford him the highest possible honor; and precise rules were made as to the conduct of a group of disciples when walking with their teacher. (They must never, for example, presume to walk beside their teacher.)

Nothing illustrates better than these five verses (7–11) our contention that what we have in this gospel is a very substantial amount of private teaching addressed to the inner circle of the disciples. These five verses are totally misunderstood if they are interpreted as being addressed to the whole community. Aberbach (*ibid.*, p. 13) adduces examples of the warnings given to disciples never to presume to greet their masters, since this implied a certain equality. It is in this sense, and in this sense alone, that the prohibitions in vss. 8–10 must be understood. The relationship of the inner circle of the disciples to Jesus was such that they could not be greeted (*You must not be called 'Teacher'*) as though they were occupying a place which was Jesus' alone. So too with *you must not call anyone on Earth 'Father'*; for the inner circle of disciples this would imply the formation of a hierarchy which was not proper during the earthly ministry of Jesus.

12. Cf. Proverbs 29:23.

13–32. This passage is commonly known as the Seven Woes, from the usual translation of the Gr. *ouai* by "woe." The reader is referred to Part IX of the Introduction, together with its appendix on the word *hupokritai/hupokritēs* (which has, as we pointed out, drastically changed its meaning). It is not necessary to do more than reiterate our warning against reading moral judgments into these verses. Jesus is here concerned with that casuistry which so easily brings law into disrepute. His charge here is that Pharisee lawyers, by their concern for minute analytical commentary on the Law, and for regulating precisely all human conduct under the Law, had made the Law increasingly burdensome.

13. *the door of the Kingdom of heaven*. This is certainly the reading in our text, but Luke 11:52 has "you took away the key of knowledge. You yourselves did not enter, and you prevented those who were going in." In view of the precise interpretation given to *Kingdom of heaven* in this gospel, it may be doubted

whether this saying in Matthew is wholly original. In all other areas of this gospel it is The Man who calls men into his Kingdom, and it is not easy to see what is meant by this saying as it stands. It can only be justified as an accusation that men will be dissuaded from throwing in their lot with the new community by supposing that it is simply another manifestation of Pharisaic Judaism. Certainly the Lukan saying is easier, carrying with it the implication that the Pharisee lawyers' attitude of superior wisdom did not foster love of the Law.

14. This verse is not found in the best manuscripts, and in others it stands after vs. 12. It appears to be a later insertion taken either from [Mark 12:40](#) or [Luke 20:47](#).

15. It is well known that there was widespread interest in Judaism on the part of Gentiles in the NT period. Acts speaks often of "God-fearers"—men who attached themselves to synagogues for worship but who had not taken the final step of submitting to Judaism by formal conversion. Hellenistic literature from Jewish authors is witness to the attempts made by Jews of the Dispersion to attract Gentiles to Judaism. But none of this kind of effort would have commended itself to the extreme legalists here castigated by Jesus. When such legalism does succeed in securing a convert, the history of Christianity and Judaism alike is evidence enough for the extremes to which the zeal of the convert for his new faith may drive him.

twice as bad as you are. Literally, "twice as much a child of Gehenna as you are"—i.e., twice as much subject to condemnation.

16–22. This material repeats in more emphatic form the substance of [5:33–37](#). There is no rabbinic material known which would give us precise evidence for the distinction in oaths which is described here. The purpose of an oath was to bind by something greater than oneself (cf. [Heb 6:16 ff.](#)), and as the temple is greater than its treasure, and the altar than its offerings, then oaths taken *by the temple* or *by the altar* are binding. However, the same teaching applies as in the material in chapter 5, and distinctions in oaths are to be avoided. Incidentally, the saying in vs. 16 can only have come from a time before A.D. 70, when such oaths as are here described necessarily came to an end with the destruction of the temple.

23. The herbs mentioned were all used in cooking, while dill and cummin were also used for medicinal purposes. On *judgment* cf. [Isa 1:17](#); [Jer 22:3](#); on *mercy* cf. [9:13](#); on *honesty* cf. [Hab 2:4](#).

24. Cf. [Lev 11:41 ff.](#)

25. The judgment of Jesus is not against ordinary cleanliness but against excessive concentration on ritual cleanliness or defilement of eating and drinking vessels.

26. There is here a very obvious difference of tradition between Matthew and Luke ([11:40–41](#)). It is not clear how far the two evangelists saw the polemic of Jesus as directed solely against an excessive concern with ritual cleanliness. Matthew's *its* (literally "its outside," [Gr. autou](#)) in this verse would have to be omitted if, as in Luke, the reference were to outward legalism contrasted with impure intention. Luke's "your" (literally "your inside") in [11:39](#) seems to imply such a contrast, whereas in vs. 41 he appears to return to consideration of ritual purity and impurity. Considering the care with which Matthew has preserved his tradition about Jesus' sayings on the Law, it is possible that by the time Luke set his own material in order, the meaning of the saying had become obscure.

27–28. It is important not to read exclusively moral judgments into these verses—an all too common proceeding. Such moral judgments may be proper in a later context and against a background of later concerns. Here in the present context there is a contrast between the *legal* rectitude of those whose principal interest or livelihood lies in a proliferating oral law on the one hand, with lack of respect for the Law which such self-conscious rectitude often produces in others. Of course, self-conscious legal rectitude *can* lead, and often does, to a sinful sense of superiority. Luke's version ([11:44](#)) militates against any theory of a common original source at this point.

29–31. It is not necessary to examine the charges made by the prophets against the official custodians of the Law. (Cf. Bruce Vawter, *The Conscience of Israel: Pre-Exilic Prophets and Prophecy*, New York: Sheed, 1961.) Jesus' charge is that the Pharisee lawyers pay honor to the dead, but this is simply lip service. While condemning their ancestors for persecuting the keepers of Israel's conscience, they nevertheless condemn themselves—they are the sons of "our fathers" (i.e., share their fathers' characteristics).

It should be noted that the parallelism here in Matthew links *the prophets* with *the righteous ones* (cf.

13:17), a common association in the Dead Sea scrolls and the intertestamental literature. The reader is referred to our discussion of 10:41, for in that verse there is no question of any hendiadys. Moreover the titles for the Messiah in that verse appear to have been an archaism or were rapidly becoming so even when spoken, and were almost certainly out of use when our NT sources were committed to writing. While there are more references in the NT to the Righteous One as a Messianic title than is commonly recognized, such lack of recognition is hardly surprising, in view of generally accepted translations of 10:41. We shall meet the *righteous ones* again in the account of the resurrection.

The custom of venerating the prophets by paying honor to their grave sites was certainly well established in the time of Jesus, as was also the custom of adorning the graves of pious men with sepulchral monuments. Many tombs of pious men around Jerusalem from the Herodian period have been excavated in recent years. Cf. Joachim Jeremias, *Heiligengräber in Jesu Umwelt*, Göttingen, 1958, and also C. C. Torrey, *The Lives of the Prophets*, JBL Monograph Series, Vol. I, Philadelphia, 1946. (Incidentally, Torrey's contention seems to be wholly correct: that the original was written in Hebrew, and that the place names—irrelevant because abandoned after the fall of Jerusalem—are important evidence for a pre-A.D. 70 date.)

32. The saying is ironical: "Complete what your fathers began."

33. On *Gehenna*, cf. NOTE on 5:22.

34. Luke 11:49 ascribes this saying to "the Wisdom of God," which may be an editorial addition to denote Jesus. Alternatively, the words may be a quotation by Jesus in the Lukan tradition, in which case they are from an unknown source. There is no suggestion in Matthew that the words are a quotation.

prophets and wise men and scribes. The missionaries of the new Kingdom are described in Jewish terms, and *prophets* as a function of the early Christian ministry were familiar to Paul. Precise rules were laid down in the (Syrian? second part of the first century) *Didache* for the treatment of prophets (*ibid.*, xiv, xxii, xxiv, xxvi). Cf. also the article by Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., IDB, III (K–Q), s.v. "Prophet in the NT."

35. It might seem natural to see in *Abel* and *Zechariah* the first and the last martyrs of the OT Scriptures (Gen 4 and 2 Chron 24:20 ff.). Not only, however, was this Zechariah not *the son of Barachiah* (he was the son of Jehoiada), but Baruch (the shortened version of Berachiah) was a very common name in the end of the OT period. The Zechariah of this passage may well refer to a person of whom otherwise we have no knowledge. It is always possible that two patronymics have been confused in the tradition, but rather than assume such a circumstance, it appears more reasonable to us to assume that this Zechariah was a person of whom otherwise we have no knowledge.

36. Cf. 24:34; the "coming" of The Man to the Father will certainly happen in *this generation*, when The Man is exalted in the glory of his passion-resurrection. The coming sufferings Jesus sees as judgment upon official Judaism for its refusal of him and his ministry.

generation (Gr. *genea*). This word may certainly mean "lifetime," and not simply "generation" in our sense of the term. Cf. Donald W. Prakken, *Studies in Greek Genealogical Chronology*, London: Mitre Press, 1944, for the fullest treatment. There is the same fluctuation of meaning in Biblical Heb. *dōr* and Syr. *dārā*.

COMMENT

The relationship of the material in this chapter to similar material found in Luke makes it clear that this is Matthew's own ordering, and that Matthew and Luke did not draw upon a common written source. Luke 11:39–52 contains sayings addressed to a Pharisee (cf. 11:37) or Pharisees, or lawyers, all of whom are found here in Matthew without any distinction as to audience. Matthew's language is considerably different from that of the Lukan material.

The material in this section should be read in the light of the examination made in Part IX of the Introduction on Jesus' attitude to the Law. It would be foolish to assume Matthew is entirely responsible for the critical attitude taken towards the Pharisees in this chapter, and that Jesus himself could not possibly have seriously misrepresented the Pharisees or even caricatured them. Certainly it is possible that early Christians, in the interest of polemics, deliberately changed the character of some of Jesus' sayings; and if Matthew is as late as some think (A.D. 80 or even later), then this may have happened. But it does seem clear that Jesus had strong feelings about the "hypocritical" nature of many of the Pharisees. While Jesus does not condemn all Pharisee lawyers out of hand, he does condemn those who made the Law an end in itself. This chapter does not deny at all that there were many—probably most—Pharisees who were devout, God-fearing men, devoted to Israel, its religion, and its Lord. Nevertheless the chapter stands as clear warning that there are varieties of impiety and idolatry which are not confined to those who fashion graven images. The disciple is just as liable to fall into the sins castigated here.

It is clear that Matthew intended this collection of material to be included in the final section of teaching; it moves from the temple and the crowds to final private instruction to the inner circle.

Most recently, an attempt has been made to see some primitive "wisdom" (Gr. *sophia*) material underlying the "Q" tradition, with the further suggestion that Matthew's use of such material was a crucial factor in primitive Christology. Cf. M. Jack Suggs, *Wisdom, Christology and Law in Matthew's Gospel*, Harvard University Press, 1970. The book has a very full bibliography, and there is obvious room for further discussion on the suggestions which its author advances.

83. LAMENT OVER JERUSALEM

(23:37–39)[†]

23 ³⁷ “O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! You who murder the prophets and stone those who are sent to you! How often did I wish to gather your children together, just as a bird gathers her brood under her wings, but you would not let me! ³⁸ See—your house is forsaken [and desolate]. ³⁹ For I tell you that from this moment you will not see me until you say ‘Blessed is he who comes in the Lord’s name.’ ”

NOTES

[23:37–39](#). It is not possible to make any firm statement as to whether the sayings in these three verses are in context or not. Luke has them in a wholly different context. Possibly they belong historically to an earlier occasion in the ministry, when Jesus was leaving Jerusalem for the last time before his triumphal entry. In that case we must assume a situation similar to that found in [John 10:22–39](#), when some had attempted to stone Jesus. Both mission and message having been alike rejected, Jesus will not visit the temple again (*your house is forsaken*) and they would not see him again until he was greeted with the words of [Ps 118:26](#).

[38](#). *your house is forsaken*. Cf. [Jer 12:7](#), [26:6](#). It is possible that Jesus used these words with deliberate reference to the desolation and destruction so vividly portrayed in [Jer 12](#), particularly in view of the *you would not let me* of vs. [37](#).

[39](#). *from this moment*. The Greek is far stronger than the usual English translations. Cf. also [26:64](#).

84. THE FUTURE OF THE TEMPLE

(24:1–2)[†]

24 ¹ Jesus left, and was going away from the temple, when the disciples came to him to show him the temple buildings. ² He said to them in reply, “You see all these things? I solemnly tell you that there will not be a single stone standing upon another which will not be thrown down.”

NOTES

During the ministry of Jesus the temple of Herod was still under construction. The upsurge of nationalism after the rise of the Zealot movement in A.D. 8 eventually led to the disastrous Jewish revolt of A.D. 64.

[24:2](#). *not be a single stone*. Josephus states that the temple was destroyed by fire. So much for the idea of prophecy after the event, or accommodation by apostolic manipulation to fit the event. (See COMMENT [b].)

COMMENT

It is a simple matter to lump together the material in chapters 24 and 25 and label the result “signs of the end,” or “the end of the Age.” Such a procedure is simple, but wholly fails to do justice to the material. Three distinct matters are dealt with in these chapters 24–25:

(a) The destruction of Jerusalem in the near future, seen by Jesus as judgment on the rejection of his vocation and ministry by official Judaism;

(b) The persecution of the infant community by authorities and groups inside and outside Judaism;

(c) The continuing life of the Messianic Community, looking to “the End,” whether the end of the present age or the end of the natural order.

With regard to (b), it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the rise of the fiercely nationalist Zealot movement in Palestine and throughout parts of the Eastern Mediterranean after ca. A.D. 40 came to face Jewish Christians with exceedingly hard choices. Were they to throw in their lot with the nationalists or remain aloof? Whatever decisions were made would certainly evoke hostility from either Roman or Jews, and often both. We have called attention before in this commentary to the increasingly explosive situation in Palestine in the decades before A.D. 64. Jesus’ prophecy of the fall of both city and temple was not an extraordinary feat of prescience, and to write off the saying in vs. 2 as prophecy after the event is wholly unjustified.

The expectation of “the End” is a more difficult matter to cover in a commentary of this size. Not only is there confusion in many commentaries about what Jesus meant when he spoke of the “coming,” of The Man, but the confusion is further compounded by reference to 24:34. It is not likely to further our understanding of the gospels, still less of the milieu in which the words of Jesus were uttered, to examine every clause and sentence of the sayings of chapters 24–25 for precise prediction, and then attempt to match this with known or supposed events after the passion. Certainly Paul in his earlier letters looked for an early consummation of the natural order and a manifestation of the reign of God over both just and unjust, yet in the later letters (especially if Ephesians is included) we see that he was no longer expecting such a cataclysmic happening in the immediate future. J. A. T. Robinson has argued (in *Jesus and His Coming*) that the expectation of a “return” of Jesus was derived not only from a misunderstanding of Jesus’ own words but also from uncertainty about the precise nature of Jesus’ Messiahship (cf. *idem.*, “The Most Primitive Christology of All?” in [TNTS](#)).

A great deal of the prediction-seeking on the part of NT students has come

from a lack of understanding of the forms and imagery of Jewish apocalyptic. It is not very clear why precise prediction should be looked for in Matt 24–25 and allied synoptic material, and not, for example, at the same time in 1 Thess 4:13 ff., or some of the more imaginative passages in Revelation. It would demand a library of references to list all that has been written on the subject of apocalyptic. Here we can only refer to those works which contain all the relevant information in easily accessible form: H. H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, 3d ed., London: Lutterworth Press, 1963, New York: Association Press, 1964; D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, London: SCM / Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964. The latter, a very important book, takes great care to distinguish between pre- and post-Qumran material, as also does Rowley's work. R. H. Charles's *Eschatology* (1899) is even today a most useful book; its learned author would certainly have appreciated the immense importance of the Dead Sea discoveries to his subject. It must not be forgotten that crisis of any kind in both political and social circumstances tends to produce a particular kind of thinking, speaking and writing; this was the subject of U. E. Simon's *Theology of Crisis*, London: SPCK, 1948.

So far as the present chapter is concerned, we must remind the reader that for all its apparently homogeneous character as a block of material, it is in fact a collection of sayings from different occasions, which reflects the three distinct stages of crisis indicated in the opening paragraph above.

The present collected material represents what would be expected in the process of sifting and ordering an oral tradition. Yet comparison with collections of similar or parallel material in Mark and Luke displays the same process at work—i.e., the collecting under one broad heading of all sayings which reflect the various stages of crisis in, or connected with, or following upon, the ministry of Jesus.

In no area has the confusion been more widespread than in the interpretation given to the “coming” of The Man. This is a point which we have emphasized repeatedly, both in the Introduction and in the commentary. We do no more here than remind the reader of this real danger of confusion. It is necessary to add this: When sayings specifically dealing with the “coming” of The Man are seen in what we hold to be their proper context—i.e., The Man's coming to the Father—then the task of interpreting this material is correspondingly far simpler.

There is one matter which must be discussed here, and it concerns the understanding by commentators of the person of Jesus himself. Albert Schweitzer's a priori argument that Jesus expected an imminent cataclysm in which both he and his mission would be vindicated implied, in effect, that Jesus' expectation of “the End” was mistaken and that his hopes were proved wrong by

events. On the other hand, there are those who take an ultra-conservative view of the recorded words of Jesus as inerrant, or who force considerations of creedal and conciliar orthodoxy as to the person and/or divinity of Jesus on the NT material. The results have been unhappy. In both cases there has been a failure to do justice to the first-century Jewish milieu in which Jesus spoke, taught, and acted. Allied with this failure has been a tendency to invest each word of the apocalyptic language of Jesus with a precise predictive meaning which would have been alien to orthodox and sectarian Judaism alike. Similarly, both for those committed to a view of verbal inerrancy (in the last analysis depending on the possibility of discovering a “definitive” Greek text), and also for those committed to Nicene and Chalcedonian orthodoxy, there has often been a failure to deal adequately (if at all) with the human nature and human thinking of Jesus. As a result, a good many presuppositions have unconsciously gone into the work of commentators on the material immediately before us.

The work of form-critics distributing all sayings along a line of evolutionary development, from a reconstructed “primitive” preaching, through an assumed “Hellenistic” reordering of the material (on good Hegelian lines), down to the systematic teaching of the Church of the second century A.D., has been very one-sided. The NT writings claim to rest on historical tradition centered on a person.

The history of NT study of the apocalyptic material can be simply stated. From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards it has been generally agreed that the material is composite, gathered from various occasions and contexts. G. R. Beasley-Murray (*Jesus and the Future*, London: Macmillan / New York: St. Martin’s, 1954; and *A Commentary on Mark Thirteen*, London: Macmillan, 1956; New York: St. Martin’s, 1957) sums up the accepted theory that the whole discourse in Mark (and therefore, on the usual premises, in Matthew also) is based on a “little apocalypse” of Jewish origin. Vincent Taylor (*The Gospel according to St. Mark*, London: Macmillan / New York: St. Martin’s, 1952), in our view rightly, argues that the evangelist has grouped together whole series of sayings, not all of which have an apocalyptic content, instead of merely editing a Jewish-Christian apocalypse. It is true that we must somehow account for the widespread belief in the early church in an anticipated early return of Jesus (cf. the third paragraph of this COMMENT). The discovery of an exact, tightly knit, precise body of belief in the primitive Christian community would be most surprising, and it is even more surprising to have writers on the New Testament apparently confident that they have found such a body of belief.

A note of caution must be added here. In order to keep this commentary within reasonable limits it was felt imperative not to place too great a burden

upon the general reader. In no case was this more necessary than in the present chapter 24. The highly technical nature of the discussion of this material among NT scholars, and the very considerable body of literature accumulated around it, has ruled out any detailed treatment. That Matt 24:4–36 (=Mark 13:5–37; Luke 21:8–36) is free commentary on Daniel (7:8–27, 8:9–26, 9:24–27, and 11:21–12:13) both in ideas and actual quotations, seems to be generally agreed. Beyond that, there is no large consensus of opinion. The student is recommended to consult Lars Hartman's excellent *Prophecy Interpreted*, Coniectanea Biblica, New Testament Series, I (Lund: Gleerup, 1966), especially Part II. The book has an exhaustive bibliography.

It is hoped that the reader will see the necessity of placing this COMMENT here when reading the NOTES on the ensuing sections.

85. THE COMING PERSECUTION

(24:3–14)[†]

24 ³ As Jesus sat on the Mount of Olives, the disciples came to him privately. “Tell us,” they said, “when all this will happen, and what will be the sign of your coming and the end of the age.” ⁴ “Watch,” replied Jesus, “and see that no one deceives you. ⁵ Many will come in my name, declaring ‘I am the Messiah,’ and they will deceive many people. ⁶ You are going to hear of wars, and rumors of wars; take care not to be troubled. These things must happen, but the end is not at once. ⁷ For one people will rise against another, one kingdom against another, and in various places there will be famines and earthquakes. ⁸ All these things are only the beginning of sufferings. ⁹ Then men will give you over to punishment and will kill you, and on my account you will be hated by all men. ¹⁰ Many will fall by the way, betray one another, hate each other; ¹¹ many false prophets will arise and lead many astray. ¹² Because lawlessness is increased, the loyalty of many will grow cold, ¹³ but the one who stands firm to the end will be saved. ¹⁴ This proclamation of the Kingdom will be made throughout the world, as a witness to all nations, and then the end will come.

NOTES

24:3. There is a highly significant divergence in Matthew from the parallels in Mark and Luke. Matthew alone has *the sign of your coming*. Bearing in mind the care which this evangelist takes in ordering his material, this phrase is of considerable importance. It is possible that the disciples' request, especially in view of the Matthean clause, may be in all three gospels a question introduced at this point in the narrative to gather together the apocalyptic and eschatological material. By the time oral tradition began to take fixed form the passion and the resurrection would have been seen in perspective as the pivotal apocalyptic moment of the ministry.

R. H. Fuller (*The Message and Achievement of Jesus*, Naperville, Ill.: A. R. Allenson / London: SCM, 1954) sums this up in the phrase "the cruciality of the cross." There is a further point to be noted. In the rapidly swelling amount of intertestamental writings we find increasing evidence for conventional formulae to introduce the content and sequence of apocalyptic. Such an example is now before us in the request put on the lips of the disciples. Similar devices are found in Revelation and Thessalonians. The Habakkuk commentary from Qumran (1QHab) (7:1–2, following Habermann's vocalization) supplies us with the following: "And God told Habakkuk to write what things would befall the last period, but the end of the age he did not make known to him." Aside altogether from the fact that Qumran yields the Hebrew background for *the end of the age*—a phrase which some NT scholars have been reluctant to ascribe to Jesus—this is firm evidence of such an introductory formula from Essene practice. Similar phrases occur in the intertestamental writings (preserved in Greek); cf. "the consummation of the times" (Apocalypse of Baruch xiii 3; cf. also xxvii 15, xxix 8, xxx 3, liv 21, lvi 2, lix 8, lxxxii 2, lxxxvii 7, 23). Enoch xvi 1 speaks of "until the day of the consummation ... in which the age is consummated." The Testament of Levi (x) has "the end of the ages." Cf. also Dan 12:4, 13. Without any question, the Qumran Heb. *gemar ha-qeš* is the source of the phrase.

The ensuing sections collect together sayings which bear directly on the fall of Jerusalem, the nationalist uprisings in the period after the passion, The Man's coming, and the end of the age.

5–6. The Qumran discoveries have emphasized just how much Messianic expectation was in the air prior to and contemporary with the ministry of Jesus. Acts 5:36 ff. has an account of a Messianic pretender. The position of Jewish Christians, regarded for some time as a sectarian group on the fringes of Judaism, was one of considerable peril. Possible assurances by Zealot and patriotic groups that they were after all acting with Jesus' authority (*in my name*) cannot have made that position easier.

These things must happen. Cf. Dan 2:28. One need hardly be reminded of the frequency with which war and consequent suffering introduce apocalyptic material in the prophetic writings of the OT. We referred in the preceding COMMENT to the widespread nature of Jewish nationalist uprisings, and it was during this time of rumor, of war and doubt that the oral tradition was fixed and committed to writing. The warning *but the end is not at once*, from whatever historical context in the teaching ministry of Jesus, must have taken on added urgency in the days of the infant community's growth. Its place in this collected material is therefore natural.

7–8. Cf. Isa 19:2; 2 Chron 15:6. Paul's second Thessalonian letter is eloquent proof of the manner in which some members of the early community concluded that "the end" was imminent and abandoned regular habits of work to await its advent.

beginning of sufferings. Literally, the "beginnings of birth-pains," an almost technical term for the sufferings which would immediately precede a new age. (Cf. 1QH iii, the *Hôdayôt*, or Thanksgiving Psalms, from Qumran for similar phrases.) The age of the Messiah's reign, seen in the context of the upheavals which surrounded the spread of the community, was certainly ushered in with much suffering. Cf. Frederick C. Grant, *Ancient Judaism and the New Testament* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd, 1960), especially pp. 68–95; TWNT, II, pp. 26–27, 30–31; K. A. Kuhn, "Πειράσμος-ἀμαρτία-σαρξ in Nt." ZTK 49 (1952), pp. 200–22; and John Pryke, "Eschatology in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Scrolls and Christianity*, ed. Matthew Block, London: SPCK, 1969.

9–14. These verses adequately underline the way in which one tradition collected sayings as compared with another parallel tradition. There are Markan parallels only in [Mark 13:9a, 13b, 10](#), and Matthew has the material of [Mark 13:9b–13a](#) (except 10) in his [10:17–21](#).

10. *fall by the way* (literally, “be made to stumble”). Cf. [13:21](#). Those looking for an immediate vindication, an immediate triumph of the Messianic Age, will fall by the way through disappointment.

betray one another. This may refer either to divisions within the community, or—in the circumstances of nationalist unrest—to those outside the community reporting believers as traitors.

11–12. Hopes aroused by the proclamation of the Messianic Age, coupled with the upsurge of nationalism, provided all the ingredients necessary not only for self-appointed prophets (cf. [Acts 20:30](#)) but also for disappointed hopes and ambitions (cf. [1 John 2:18](#)). The result in a time of upheaval is a severe strain on faith. Idealistic pictures of the early community need to be balanced by the view recorded in the first three chapters of Revelation.

There are prophecies of apostasy during upheavals and persecution in the intertestamental writings: cf. [2 Esd 5:2](#); Enoch xci 7. Similarly, the promise of salvation for those who persevere is also found in those writings. Cf. “... whoever remains after all these things ... shall be saved” ([2 Esd 6:25, 9:7–8](#)).

14. It is simply not possible to refer this saying to the fall of Jerusalem, as do some writers, who then attempt to make sense of a *proclamation ... throughout the world*. While it is true that the events of A.D. 70 were of cataclysmic dimensions to Jews and Jewish Christians alike, it is equally true that “the end” (*to telos*) in vs. 6 cannot easily be reconciled with the view outlined in the first sentence of this NOTE. Disorder, chaos, and persecution did not end with the sack of the city and the destruction of the temple. Moreover, the Pauline use of *to telos* in [1 Cor 15:24](#) specifically refers “the end” to the time of the final judgment. That there is a sense in which any disaster is an “end,” and the expectation of it a call to detachment, is clear. Paul’s ethical and moral injunctions in I Corinthians were delivered against the background of a call to detachment, against a call for awareness that the believer’s final *politeia* (“loyalty,” “citizenship”; cf. [Philip 3:20](#), where *politeuma*, a synonym, is used) was in heaven. In the same sense [1 Peter 4:7](#) can speak of “the end” being at hand.

Some commentators have apparently fastened upon A.D. 70 and the preceding war as a fixed historical datum. Then, having concluded that the eschatological and apocalyptic material in our gospels all belongs to a single occasion, they attempt to explain the material in question as best they can. This procedure is in direct opposition to the confident assertions of many of the same commentators that the so-called “Sermon on the Mount” is in fact a miscellany.

86. IMMEDIATE SIGNS

(24:15–28)[†]

24 ¹⁵ “So when you see the abominable sacrilege, of which Daniel the prophet spoke, standing in the holy place” (let the reader take note), ¹⁶ “then those in Judea must go to the mountains, ¹⁷ the one who is on the housetop must not go down to take his household property, ¹⁸ while the man in the field must not return to get his himation. ¹⁹ Alas for those who will be pregnant or nursing children in those days! ²⁰ Pray that your flight is not either in the winter or on a Sabbath, ²¹ for there will be great suffering, such as has not occurred from the foundation of the world to the present—no, nor ever will be. ²² Unless those days are shortened, no human being can be saved; however, for the sake of the chosen, those days will be shortened. ²³ Then, if anyone says to you, ‘Look! Here is the Messiah!’ or ‘There he is!’ do not believe it, ²⁴ for pseudo-messiahs and false prophets will arise and show great signs and wonders, so as to lead astray (if it were possible) even the chosen. ²⁵ See—I have told you beforehand. ²⁶ So if they say to you, ‘He is in the desert,’ do not go out; and if they say, ‘Look in the storehouses!’ do not believe it, ²⁷ For as lightning comes from the east and flashes across to the west, so will be the coming of The Man. ²⁸ Wherever the carcass is, there the vultures will be gathered.

NOTES

This section is composed of sayings which have a direct bearing on the impending fate of Jerusalem, others of a more general character, and one which deals with The Man's coming.

24:15. *abominable sacrilege.* Matthew's tradition here makes explicit what is only hinted in Mark, who does not mention the prophetic oracle. In addition, Matthew speaks of the *holy place* and so emphatically refers to the temple. The quotation is from [Dan 9:27](#). Cf. the idol altar of [1 Macc 1:54, 59](#). With the example of Antiochus Epiphanes in mind, Jesus required neither prescience nor unusual insight to see where the rise of nationalism under Roman occupation would lead. Whether the *abominable sacrilege* refers to actual idolatry, or to the entrance of Roman imperial-eagle standards into the temple area, is immaterial. It was common practice then and for long centuries before, to assert sovereignty over a nation by dethroning its gods and replacing them by those of the conqueror. In the NT writings idolatry of any kind was a warning of distress and judgment to come. Cf. [Rom 1:25](#); [2 Thess 2:3 ff.](#); [Rev 13:4](#).

let the reader take note. This is an editorial note and bears the same meaning as a somewhat similar exhortation in [Rev 13:18](#). It may also indicate to the reader that the Messianic Community must now face a challenge similar to that faced by Israel in the time of the Seleucid kings.

16–20. The sayings here were dramatically illustrated in the time of the war of A.D. 66–70 and again in the revolt of 130–135. How many Christians made their escape in the year before A.D. 70 we do not know. The tradition of Eusebius is that many Christians fled to Pella, and we have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the tradition. Archaeological discovery provides ample evidence for the destruction wrought on Jewish towns by Roman punitive expeditions during the war.

21. This saying is an echo of a similar description of distress in [Dan 12:1](#). Cf. also [Jer 30:7](#). Those inclined to dismiss the sayings as exaggerated or hyperbolic would do well to bear in mind that crises of a national or international character have been repeatedly described in terms of doom in our own lifetime. Few commentators on this chapter today can fail to recognize the similarity between the premonitions of Jesus and the preoccupations of our own time.

22. Cf. Enoch lxxx 2: "In the days of sinners the years will be shortened."

23–25. We have more than enough evidence to demonstrate the fever pitch of Messianic expectation for a century and a half before Jesus and in the century following his passion. The crucial test for the disciples, as all the gospels emphasize, is to see the dignity and honor of the Messiah in the circumstances of humiliation and apparent defeat.

26. This saying (which in all probability comes from a quite different historical setting) seems to reject two specific approaches to Messianic expectation. Jesus may be ruling out an Essene view that only *in the desert*, among their communities, could salvation be found. Similarly he may be rejecting the suggestion that his community make common cause with the Zealots (*Look in the storehouses*) in making provision for war.

storehouses. This word may imply storehouses of a military character (as excavated in Masada) which would include weapons as well as food.

27. Given the circumstances of a collection of apocalyptic and eschatological material, the presence of this saying is natural. It is natural also, given the present context of the saying, that there was more than a slight possibility of misunderstanding. The Man's coming will be sudden, with few premonitory signs. The suggestion that *as lightning comes* indicates universal visibility, runs counter to all the warnings in the gospels that men must watch and look for The Man's coming. To what extent primitive liturgical practice shaped common expectations of a "second" coming was nowhere better expressed than by the late Gregory Dix (in *The Shape of the Liturgy* [London: Dacre, 1944], p. 265): "By cataloguing, as it were, the metahistorical and eternal facts (of the resurrection, ascension, session and judgement) side by side with an historic event in time (the passion) the whole notion of the *eschaton* is brought in thought entirely *within time*, and split into two parts, the one in the historic past and the other in the historic future, instead of both in combination being regarded as a single fact of the eternal present. In the primitive conception there is but

one eschaton, one ‘coming’, the ‘coming to the Father’ of redeemed mankind, which is the realisation of the Kingdom of God.”

28. In context this saying (which may be proverbial in character and origin) appears to have possible reference to two events—either to the prostrate hopes of Judaism after A.D. 70, or to the apparent defeat of the Messiah in his death. Bearing in mind the composite character of this chapter, either interpretation is possible, though we prefer the former.

87. THE MAN'S COMING

(24:29–44)[†]

24 ²⁹“Immediately after the distress of those days,
‘The sun will be darkened,
the moon will not give its light,
the stars will fall from the sky,
and the powers of heaven will be shaken.’

³⁰Then will appear the standard of The Man in heaven, all the tribes of the earth will then mourn, and they will see The Man coming on the clouds of heaven, with power and great honor. ³¹With a loud trumpet he will send out his angels, who will gather his chosen from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other. ³²Learn a lesson from the fig tree. When its branches become green, and it produces leaves, you know that summer is near. ³³In the same way, when you see all these things, you will know that he is at the threshold. ³⁴In solemn truth, I tell you that this generation will not pass away until all these things happen. ³⁵Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words will not pass away. ³⁶But no one knows that day or that hour—neither the messengers of heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father. ³⁷The appearing of The Man will be like the time of Noah; ³⁸for just as in those days before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noah went into the ark, ³⁹and did not know until the flood came and swept them all away, so will be The Man’s coming. ⁴⁰Then, two men will be in the field; one

is taken and the other left. ⁴¹ Two women will be grinding at the mill; one is taken and the other left. ⁴² Therefore watch. You do not know on what day your Lord is coming. ⁴³ But realize that if the householder had known at what time of night the thief was coming, he would have watched and would not have allowed his house to be broken into. ⁴⁴ Therefore you also must be ready, for The Man is coming at a time you do not expect.

NOTES

The material in this section illustrates very well the miscellaneous character of the sayings grouped together in this chapter. No less than three separate themes are treated in the first three verses.

24:29. Cf. [Isa 13:10](#) (natural disorders at the fall of Babylon), [34:4](#) (at the downfall of Edom); [Ezek 32:7–8](#) (signs attending the distress of Egypt). Cf. also [Joel 2:31](#). In the intertestamental literature such natural phenomena are associated with the last times; cf. [2 Esd 5:4](#); [Enoch lxxx 4](#). It is important to remember that all these natural portents in the apocalyptic literature are signs of God's power and overruling providence; they are a terror only to the faithless. The presence of the following verses, particularly with the prefix *then* (a favorite Matthean device, but no more than a stylistic device) has naturally led to the supposition that what is being predicted is a period of world disorder, to be followed at once by a return of Jesus in triumph.

The trouble with all rationalizing efforts to arrange the eschatological predictions in Matthew in a "logical" order and to fit them into subsequent world history is that they were delivered at different times and under different circumstances, and are apocalyptic, not necessarily addressed to specific events in the future. For this very reason they apply to many different historical situations and human needs. Millions of people today find them inexpressibly comforting in world crises which often seem to foreshadow a final catastrophe to *Homo sapiens sapiens* and all his works.

30. It is clear, as we shall see later in [26:64](#), that men were asked to see The Man's coming, and we reiterate that this was his coming to the Father in the glorious exaltation of passion-resurrection. The test of faith is to see all this in The Man's *standard*, the cross. Such is also the Johannine understanding; cf. [John 3:14](#), [8:28](#), [12:32](#).

The second part of the verse is from [Dan 7:13](#)—crucial for all understanding of what Jesus means when he speaks of his "coming."

31. Another theme is introduced in this saying—that of the calling of the chosen. Reminiscent as it is of [Isa 27:13](#) and [Zech 9:14](#), the saying may be (in the light of OT references) interpreted as The Man calling men into his Kingdom. However, the use of such words as *his angels* and *his chosen* indicates that this saying refers to the final judgment; cf. Part VII of the Introduction, and also [1 Cor 15:52](#) and [1 Thess 4:16](#). For the apocalyptic trumpet cf. [Isa 27:13](#); [Ps Sol 11:1–3](#).

32–35. These sayings may be taken together, though there is no indication of their original context. The *lesson from the fig tree* bears out the warning of vs. 30: men must be constantly on the alert for The Man's coming. Verse 33 could well be applied as commentary on [John 12:34](#), where Jesus' hearers express doubts both about the "lifting up" and The Man's identity. Only faith alone will recognize the signs of The Man's exaltation by the Father. Seen thus, Matthew's vss. 34–35 are a simple statement of fact. On vs. 34 cf. [16:28](#) and on vs. 35 cf. [5:18](#), both of which serve as a warning against treating this chapter as an original unity.

36. Here again is a factual statement, though without indication of its original context. If it is in context at this juncture of the ministry, it is still quite factual. Jesus knew that the testing ground of his ministry had been reached, but the exact timing of its final moments was, of course, unknown to him.

37 ff. Verses 37–41 are paralleled in [Luke 17:26–27](#), 30, 34–35—yet another indication of the varied historical contexts from which the sayings of this chapter came.

The sayings emphasize again the completely unexpected nature of The Man's coming. Men and women pursue their ordinary occupations, wholly unaware that the decisive moment in the Messianic ministry has been reached in passion-exaltation. Verse 42 summons Jesus' immediate circle to watchfulness; in spite of all their protestations of belief, and all their association with him in his ministry, it is possible for them, too, to miss the decisive moment. At Matthew's vs. 42 the Markan tradition ([13:33–36](#)) has an exhortation to vigilance together with the simile of an absent householder. The remainder of this chapter has been attracted into its present context by vs. 43. It is hoped that enough was said in the COMMENT and NOTES to the preceding sections to indicate that, properly understood, we need not accuse the evangelist/various later hypothetical editors of free invention. Nor need we ascribe to Jesus hopes, aspirations, and ambitions

destined to be shattered. Even if such were known, they could scarcely have survived the sifting process of oral tradition. It is necessary simply to take The Man's "coming" seriously, as identified with the "coming" of The Representative to God in [Dan 7:13](#), as the background for Jesus' sayings.

In this connection, cf. [Rev 1:7](#). The emphasis there is that of the *present* triumph of the Messiah Jesus, with its consequences for those who failed to recognize his exaltation in his passion. It also looks to a final judgment and triumph when the reign of the Messiah will be finally declared and made open.

88. PARABLES OF THE KINGDOM

(24:45–25:13)[†]

24 ⁴⁵ “Who then is a faithful and intelligent slave, whom his master has appointed over his household, to give them their food at the proper time? ⁴⁶ That slave is fortunate whom the master at his coming finds doing so, ⁴⁷ for I solemnly tell you that he will appoint him over all his goods. ⁴⁸ But if the wicked slave begins to say to himself: ‘My lord is delayed,’ ⁴⁹ and begins to beat his fellow slaves, eats and drinks with drunkards, ⁵⁰ the master of that slave will come on a day when he does not expect him, and at a time which he does not know, ⁵¹ and will punish him. His lot will be with the timeservers, where there will be shrieking and grinding of teeth.”

25 ¹ “Then the Kingdom of heaven may be compared with ten maidens, who took their lamps and went to meet the bridegroom and the bride. ² Five of them were silly and five sensible, ³ for the silly ones took their lamps, but took no oil with them, ⁴ but the sensible ones took flasks of oil with their lamps. ⁵ As the bridegroom was delayed, they all dozed and lay down, ⁶ but in the middle of the night there was a shout: ⁷ ‘The bridegroom! Come out to meet him!’ Then all those maidens got up and trimmed their lamps, ⁸ the silly ones saying to the sensible ones, ‘Give us some of your oil; for our lamps are going out.’ ⁹ But the sensible ones replied, ‘Perhaps there will not be enough for us and you. It would be better to go to the dealers and buy for yourselves.’ ¹⁰ While they went to buy,

the bridegroom arrived, and those who were ready went in with him to the wedding feast and the doors were closed. ¹¹ Afterwards the other maidens came too, with the words, ‘Sir, sir, open up for us!’ ¹² But he replied, ‘I solemnly tell you that I do not know you.’ ¹³ Therefore be on your guard. You know neither the day nor the hour.

NOTES

The attraction of the first parable to its present position is explained by vss. 43–44. Such attraction also dictated the presence of the remainder of the final block of parable teaching. The present context of this material is part-cause of a certain ambivalence in Christian belief with respect to the “return,” or “second coming,” of Jesus. The use of phrases such as *My lord is delayed* (24:48), or *the bridegroom was delayed* (25:5), and *the master (of the slaves) returned* (25:19) all illustrate this ambivalence. Cf. in this connection 2 Peter 3:4.

24:45–51. This parable, presumably addressed to the inner circle, is a vivid illustration of the adaptability of this “case law” method of teaching. Warnings against irresponsible use of the disciples’ ministry can easily be adapted to serve the wider circle of the continuing community. Cf. 1 Cor 4:1–5, 12:12–31.

Considering the way in which so many parables are used in Matthew, it is likely that in its original context the story may have been used to illustrate the OT lessons and warnings about Israel’s use and misuse of her calling by God. As it stands, the parable is marked by a wide use of specifically Matthean language (much of it used again in the next parable).

Luke has the parable in a wholly different context (12:41–48), but uses it in practically identical form. This may be an indication that Luke had access to the same Palestinian tradition as Matthew, or even that he knew the parable in Matthew’s written form.

25:1–13. Here again we are faced with a parable which is capable of almost infinite variation in interpretation. Several commentators have said that this parable is one which deals with the Messiah’s return, and this explains why the figure of the bride is missing from many texts. For what bride, it has been said, could the Messiah bring from heaven? In this kind of interpretation, the emphasis is on a triumphant “return” of the Messiah—a concept unknown to subsequent Judaism. The interpretation has only been possible because commentators have been influenced by the present context of the parable. But if we are to be faithful to the OT tradition in which Jesus both lived and taught, then another interpretation is imperative.

The primary meaning of the parable certainly revolves around the figure of the bridegroom. It is a commonplace in the OT to refer to Israel as the bride of Yahweh, a figure used with telling effect by Hosea. A similar figure appears in Revelation to describe the Messianic Community. What is odd in our present text is the presence of attendant *maidens* (vs. 1). Marriage attendants belong to very ancient Near Eastern custom, but they would always have been attendant on the bride, never the bridegroom. We must therefore conclude that the manuscripts which have *and the bride* at the end of vs. 1 represent the original text. The function of these bridal attendants was to await the arrival of the groom when he came to take the bride to his own house.

If we pursue the allegory with Israel being considered *the bride*, then the *maidens* are those whose function it was to keep watch against the time of God’s visitation, when God comes to claim his own bride, his Israel. There will then be those who have failed to keep trust (vs. 5) when others have maintained vigilance (vs. 4).

Jesus here unequivocally equates his ministry with God’s visit to claim his own; Israel, God’s bride, has been badly served by some of her custodians. It is obvious that this parable serves equally well, (in view of the immediate context) no doubt intended by Jesus, as a warning and exhortation to the custodians of the new Messianic Community.

Parables may be capable of almost unlimited adaptation and interpretation, but any interpretation of this parable which makes the maidens attendant on the bridegroom makes nonsense of any known marriage customs of the time of Jesus, or indeed of any other time known to us. Suggestions that this parable has been influenced by, for example, Rev 19:7 or 21:2 are ingenious and unconvincing. It is not necessary to find the origin of this parable anywhere except in the OT.

There is no parallel in Luke, but cf. Luke 12:35 ff., 13:23 ff.

2. *silly ... sensible*. Cf. [7:24 ff.](#)

3. *oil*. This is not only a sign of blessing in the OT, it is also used of repentance in this gospel—cf. [6:17](#).

12. *I do not know you*. I.e., I will have nothing to do with you.

13. Cf. [24:36](#), [42](#), [44](#), [50](#).

89. PARABLES OF THE KINGDOM (*concluded*)

(25:14–30)[†]

25 ¹⁴ “For it will be like a man going on a journey, who called his personal slaves and handed his property over to them, ¹⁵ giving to one five talents, to another two, and to another one, to each according to his ability, and then went away. ¹⁶ Immediately, the one who had received five talents put them to work and made five more, ¹⁷ as did the one who had two talents—he made two more. ¹⁸ But he who had received one talent dug in the ground and hid his master’s money. ¹⁹ After a long time, the master of the slaves came and settled accounts with them. ²⁰ The one who had received five talents came forward with five other talents. ‘Sir,’ he said, ‘you gave me five talents, and I have made five more talents.’ ²¹ The master said to him: ‘Well done, good and trustworthy slave. As you have been trustworthy in a small matter, I will set you over larger concerns. Share your master’s prosperity.’ ²² There came also the one with two talents. ‘Sir,’ he said, ‘you handed me two talents, and here I have made two more talents.’ ²³ His master said to him, ‘Well done, good and trustworthy slave. You have been trustworthy in a small matter. I will set you over larger concerns. Share your master’s prosperity.’ ²⁴ Then the one who had received one talent came forward. ‘Master,’ he said, ‘knowing you to be a hard man, reaping where you did not sow, and gathering up where you had not winnowed, ²⁵ I was afraid, and went and hid your talent in the ground. See—you

have what belongs to you.’²⁶ But his master answered him: ‘You worthless, lazy slave! You know that I reap where I have not sowed, and I gather where I have not winnowed,²⁷ so you ought to have invested my money with bankers, so that when I came again I should have received my own back, with interest.²⁸ Therefore take away from him the one talent, and give it to the man who has ten talents.²⁹ For to everyone who has, more will be given, and he will have plenty, but from the man who has nothing even what he has will be taken away.³⁰ Throw the worthless slave into the darkness outside, where there is shrieking and grinding of teeth.’

NOTES

Here again in the parable of the journeying property owner the emphasis is on the ministry of Jesus as the means by which God called Israel to account. Once more context has determined the customary interpretation, which sees here a parable of a “second coming” or final judgment. In the circumstances of the continuing Messianic Community, an interpretation emphasizing the final judgment seems much more likely than one which sees proof of a “second coming.”

25:15. The talent was originally a measure of weight, and later a monetary unit of the highest denomination (cf. NOTE on 18:24). The word passed into English usage in the Middle Ages as a synonym for abilities and/or natural endowments.

18. Cf. 13:44.

19. *After a long time*. I.e., in the original meaning of the parable the interval between God’s choice of Israel and his coming to make reckoning in the ministry of Jesus. Similar phraseology in 18:23 would certainly reinforce the feeling in the early Christian community that this parable had to do with the final judgment.

29–30. Cf. 13:12 and also 8:12, 22:13, 24:51.

90. JUDGMENT

(25:31–46)

25 ³¹ “When The Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, then he will sit on his glorious throne. ³² In front of him will be gathered together all the peoples; he will separate them from each other, just as a shepherd separates sheep from goats, ³³ and he will place the sheep at his right hand, but the goats on his left. ³⁴ Then the King will say to those at his right hand, ‘Come, you who have been blessed by my Father, inherit the Kingdom which has been prepared for you from the foundation of the world. ³⁵ I was hungry and you fed me, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me, ³⁶ naked and you clothed me. I was sick and you visited me, in prison and you came to me.’ ³⁷ Then the righteous will answer him, ‘Lord, when did we see you hungry and fed you, or thirsty and gave you drink? ³⁸ And when did we see you as a stranger and took you in, or naked and clothed you? ³⁹ And when did we see you sick, or in prison, and visited you?’ ⁴⁰ ‘I solemnly tell you,’ the King will reply to them, ‘that in so far as you did it for one of the most insignificant of these, who are my brothers, you did it to me.’ ⁴¹ He will then say to those on his left hand, ‘You accursed ones! Go away from me into the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his agents. ⁴² For I was hungry and you did not give me food, I was thirsty and you did not give me drink, ⁴³ I was a stranger and you did not welcome me, naked and you did

not clothe me, sick and in prison and you did not visit me.’⁴⁴ Then they in turn will answer: ‘Lord, when did we see you hungry, or thirsty, or a stranger, or naked, sick or in prison, and we did not serve you?’⁴⁵ He will answer them, ‘I solemnly tell you, that in so far as you did not do this for one of the most insignificant of these, it was to me that you failed to do it.’⁴⁶ And they will go into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life.”

NOTES

The theme of judgment in the ministry of Jesus which characterized the previous parables has determined the place of this discourse on the final judgment, a parable found only in Matthew.

If the preceding material illustrates the Johannine theme of Jesus' ministry as judgment (cf. [John 12:31](#), cf. [John 9:39](#)), it seems to cover another Johannine theme as well—that of the Father committing the task of judgment to the Son (cf. [John 5:22, 27](#)). We explored the theme of the Son's judgment in the Introduction, Part VII.

This parable is a fitting climax to patterns of thought which can be traced all through this gospel. This is no indication that this section is public instruction. But if it is instruction to the inner circle, then the climax of a developing series of teaching is striking. For the disciple, covenant-loyalty must far surpass that of the Pharisee lawyers ([5:20](#)), a covenant-loyalty which must be manifest in deeds ([7:20](#)). The Man would pass judgment on such deeds ([16:27](#)), principally upon charity shown or withheld from the insignificant ([18:5](#)), with his own ministry as exemplar.

Now that the passion narrative is about to be told, Jesus declares his identification with the suffering.

[25:31](#). *The Man*. There is a puzzling change in vs. [34](#) to *the King*. We have no textual evidence to suggest that a change was made from a lost original, to either *The Man* or *the King*. It is permissible to suggest, bearing in mind that The Man's "coming" in all other contexts is bound up with his coming to the Father in passion-exaltation, that there is some confusion here. If vs. [31](#) stands, and is in context, then there appears to follow immediately a picture of the final judgment, when the Son judges his own Kingdom and gives it to the Father (cf. Introduction, Part VII). Verse [31](#) seems to present an exaltation-enthronement theme, so we may have an assimilation to [16:27](#). But it is possible that the change from The Man to the King is not as surprising as may appear.

We begin by restating our position, outlined in Parts VI–VIII of the Introduction, that The Man in Matthew is a figure of glory, and that material which appears to contradict this is in our view later editing.

(a) There is an interesting history behind vs. [31](#), as a comparison between Matthew ([16:27, 19:28, 25:31](#)) and [Mark 8:38](#) and [Luke 12:8](#) demonstrates. Matthew is clear and consistent, and the coming of The Man in exaltation is what we have learned to expect from the evangelist. But in Mark, the emphasis is shifted from a consummation of the ministry to a "second coming." Luke's version seems to hesitate between the two concepts. It is possible to suggest here that if the Markan gospel is Petrine in inspiration, the shift in emphasis is explicable. II Peter—which, judging from the material and vocabulary employed, may possibly have been written by the apostle—betrays an anxiety for a return of Jesus; a return, moreover, which is evidently expected in a Petrine speech in Acts ([3:20](#)). Luke not only links Jesus and The Man (*me, The Man*) in [12:8](#)—which Matthew never does in a context of the ministry—but also seems to be capable of an interpretation of a return of Jesus as The Man in judgment. Was Luke aware of *both* traditions?

(b) It is often urged that what we have in Matthew is a final stage in a development, from Mark's "glory of his Father with the holy angels" through Luke's [12:8](#) to Matthew's The Man coming with his *angels* in *his glory*. The argument can be turned almost completely around, and we maintain that Matthew is faithful to the Hebrew tradition of [Dan 7:13 ff.](#), while Mark tries to reproduce his Petrine reminiscences, and Luke's presentation stands between the two.

(c) Links between the Matthean and Johannine traditions have already been noted. This dramatic picture of vss. [31–46](#) serves only to emphasize the links. The parables of Jesus in the Matthean tradition are almost totally concerned with the account that Israel must give in the day of God's visitation—a visitation clearly identified by Jesus with his own ministry.

(d) There is some confusion on the part of commentators who see in Matthew a final point in a developing theological theme. [Matt 19:28](#), for example, is said to represent the end of a working over of the tradition, so that Matthew depicts The Man enthroned, whereas in [Mark 8:38](#) and [Luke 12:8 f.](#), The Man is advocate before the throne. This misses a vital point. [Luke 22:28–30](#) speaks of a kingdom being assigned to Jesus by the Father, a kingdom in which the disciples will eat and drink with him. It is against all the OT

evidence, or any evidence elsewhere in the ancient world, to think of a kingdom in which its heir is not judge of his own dominion. Once more, we are back to the tradition of [Dan 7:17 f.](#) Here again Matthew is at one with the Johannine tradition in giving Jesus a judicial role as The Man.

(e) Some critics deny a pre-NT dating for Enoch, but the evidence now available militates against this view (cf., however, Cross, *Ancient Library of Qumran*, pp. 202–3). Aside from this consideration though, there is good reason to think that the parable material in chapters [24](#) and [25](#) is devoted to God’s visitation of Israel, and the background of [25:31](#) may lie in [Zech 14:5](#). Certainly it is used by Paul as the background of [1 Thess 3:13](#), though in the context (apparently) of a second coming. Now if the background of [25:31](#) is [Zech 14:5](#), with overtones of Enoch (cf. Part VII of the Introduction), then what we have here is Christology of a very developed order. Because it is characteristically pre-rabbinic in type, we maintain that so far from being the *end* of a line of development, it is early, and we suggest that it is Mark and Luke who miss the really incisive nature of their material. To this we may perhaps add, with more hesitation, that the Matthean tradition accurately reproduces the original material.

For some few years we have been working on problems of interrelationships of Messianic ideas in the early Qumran literature and early pseudepigraphical works such as Enoch, and we have reached the firm conclusion (which will be presented elsewhere) that the so-called Discourses of Enoch are roughly contemporary with the *Hôdayôt* of Qumran (Thanksgiving Psalms—[1QH](#)). Cf. Albright and Mann, “Qumran and the Essenes: Geography, Chronology, and Identification of the Sect,” in *The Scrolls and Christianity*, ed. Matthew Black, p. 25.

For purposes of present discussion it is quite irrelevant that the Enoch material (*Mêsalê Hanoch*) has hitherto not been found at Qumran—this can be purely accidental. Furthermore, it is simply impossible that Peter’s discourses in I and II Peter were uttered initially in Greek, since Peter was an unlettered fisherman. The Greek adaptation, though in a rather sophisticated literary Koine, is the work of hearers who wished to preserve Peter’s message for its kerygmatic value.

(f) The language of the whole section is Matthean, though there are parallels in the other synoptic writers. But what has apparently been the cause of continuing debate has been the juxtaposition of *The Man* in vs. [31](#) with *the King* in vs. [34](#). One suggestion is that the explanation is simple, and depends on ignoring the *then* of vs. [34](#), as a word used so frequently in Matthew as to constitute no more than a connective. In this case, however, the real meaning of the connective has not been seen.

(g) Our interpretation, as we have said, depends upon the consistent use by the evangelist of material depicting The Man in glory. This is the case in vss. [31–32](#). We have also seen that in all cases of The Man’s coming in glory, this is to be understood of his exaltation in passion-resurrection.

The scene here, therefore, is The Man’s exaltation—but then, why the gathering of *all the peoples* (vs. [32](#))? If we make this a scene of final judgment, we miss the point entirely. Here again there is a link with John ([John 12:23, 31, 13:1–20](#)). It is precisely in the consummation of his ministry, in the seal of death, and in resurrection-glory, that men will be separated by the response they make, or do not make, to that central, crucial event. This is the real acid test, for both Jew and Gentile.

(h) Coming now to the *then* of vs. [34](#), it is possible to see how important this apparently insignificant connective is. Far from being a link joining together two apparently disparate pictures of a final judgment, this link emphasizes challenge. Later in this gospel men will be confronted by Jesus with the irony that they will see the exaltation of The Man ([26:64](#)), in much the same way that in the Johannine tradition Jesus presents his hearers with the reality that they will exalt The Man to his glory ([John 12:32](#)). In both traditions the meaning is the same—the exaltation of The Man is to the throne of the cross.

“Then,” the Matthean tradition goes on to say, there is a real and continuing connection between one eschatological moment of The Man’s exaltation, when all peoples are faced with its challenge, judged as to what their response to that challenge will be, and the final eschatological moment of the last judgment. It is almost as though the evangelist on the eve of the passion “rests his case.” One immediate challenge, in which men must see or not see the exaltation of The Man in seeming defeat, and *then* a final challenge, in which The Man whom they have or have not “seen” in exaltation, will be the King in judgment. The first eschatological moment leads to the other. In the humiliation and apparent disaster of the exaltation-glory,

the one who suffers and so goes to his glory is still the Shepherd-figure, still the Judge and the Separator. For the time being that function needs the eye of faith by which to discern it—for how can the horror of torture and death be a judgment on those who merely witness it?

We may with justice admire the superb artistry with which Matthew concludes his story of the ministry, and by his own often-used *then* connects two major themes in his tradition. We may also pause to ask why this comparatively simple interpretation of the material in vss. 31–46 has not been recognized for what it is—commentary upon, and summary of, ministry, passion, and final judgment.

Whether the juxtaposition of the material is the result of contextual attraction in oral tradition we are in no position to know. But even allowing for the care and precision which we have come to expect from Matthew, the Johannine tradition is surely enough to warn us against any easy assumption that such juxtaposition is necessarily the evangelist's own. From what we can gather about the mind of Jesus from the gospels, especially as that mind is known to us from John, it is probably not too much to say that the juxtaposition of themes was most likely done by Jesus himself. The expectation of “the End” is part of Christian belief, is founded on the gospels, and is enshrined in credal statements. The “here-and-now” character of much modern thinking about eschatology, with its roots in the recall to a study of “realized eschatology” earlier in this century, ought not to blind our eyes to the very real emphasis on “the End” in the ministry of Jesus. We have again and again stressed in this commentary the vital links between Matthew and John on the immediacy of the demand upon men which the ministry and passion of Jesus make. That there is real need for a restatement of traditional eschatology, particularly with regard to the imagery with which it is clothed in our gospels, we do not deny. But to attempt to eliminate from the teaching of Jesus any tension between the elements of “now” and “not yet” would be to erode one vital strand of the kerygmatic ministry. The reader is referred to one modern examination of the problems involved, which does justice both to contemporary attempts at restatement, and also to the biblical imagery: U. E. Simon, *The End Is Not Yet*, London: Nisbet, 1964.

31. *angels ... glorious throne*. Cf. 13:41, 49, 16:27, 19:28, and 24:30 f.

32. *all the peoples*. Cf. 24:14, 28:19.

separate. Cf. 13:49.

33. *sheep ... goats*. If there is one feature in these opening verses which ought to have cautioned us against seeing here a picture of final judgment, it is the figure of sheep and goats. From remote antiquity sheep and goats have been kept together in Palestine, and the shepherd cares for both. No final disposition is being described here—simply the customary separation by the shepherd at night. What is here described is the separation which inevitably occurs when men are asked to see the cross as a throne of glory.

34. *Then*. The judgment produced by the passion is in anticipation (prolepsis) of the judgment of the End (*eschata*). But now the separation is final, and those *at his right hand*—who may well initially have been “on his left” in the first separation (vs. 33)—are being commended for acting precisely as he demanded within the framework of the Messianic Community. The comparisons in the material which follows bears this out.

inherit the Kingdom. Cf. 5:3, 5.

35–36. Cf. 10:40, 42, 18:5; Mark 9:37, 41; Luke 9:48.

40. Cf. 10:32; Mark 9:41.

41. Cf. 7:23; Enoch lxvii 13.

eternal fire. Cf. 13:40, 42, 50, 18:8.

91. PASSOVER: PLOT TO KILL JESUS

(26:1–5)[†]

26 ¹When Jesus had said all this, he said to his disciples,
²“You know that in two days the Passover is coming, and
The Man will be handed over to be crucified.”

³ Then the chief priests and the elders of the people
gathered in the palace of the high priest, named Caiaphas,
⁴and discussed seizing Jesus by treachery and killing him.
⁵ They said, however, “Not during the festival, so that it
may not cause unrest among the people.”

NOTES

26:1. *When Jesus had said.* Cf. the same formula, 7:28, 11:11, 13:53, 19:1.

2. *in two days.* In spite of Matthew's specific reference to the date here, there has always been disagreement as to exactly when these events happened. Mark 14:12 refers to both "Passover" and "Unleavened Bread," and the latter would be three days later, not two. Luke 22:1 opts for "was drawing near." The connection between the Passover and the impending passion of Jesus is made emphatic—the annual commemoration of the Exodus-deliverance also looked to the deliverance of the last days (cf. Targum on Exod 12:42, on which see NOTE on 26:19).

The Man will be handed over. In Greek the tense is futuristic present passive—"is being delivered," translatable "will be delivered." Whatever may be the case with the bulk of sayings about The Man in the remainder of this gospel, here The Man is emphatically a suffering figure. We have previously seen good reason to think that all descriptions of The Man as suffering were editorial except one—that at 20:25 ff. In that instance the tradition, with its vital theological import, controlled the insertion of a saying otherwise outside the evangelist's scheme. The same thing is true here. The saying is included, not solely because Matthew is guided by the earliest oral tradition (that of the passion narrative), but also because vital links must be established between Jesus as The-Man-in-glory, Jesus as The-Man-here-and-now, even in suffering, and Jesus as The-Man-in-kingly-judgment, and most of all because Passover demands all three interpretations. This we shall hope to see more clearly later in the chapter.

3. *chief priests and the elders.* Mark does not have this information, but speaks instead of "chief priests and scribes" (14:1), as also does Luke (22:2); but all three, together with John (11:45–53, "chief priests and Pharisees"), speak of secret planning to effect Jesus' removal. Matthew, by emphasizing the place of the meeting—in the palace of the high priest, and also the elders, appears to be underlining a quasi-official meeting of the Sanhedrin.

Caiaphas. He is mentioned by name in Matthew and John, but not in Mark and Luke. He was high priest from A.D. 18–36, according to Josephus.

4. *by treachery.* If *not during the festival* in the next verse is a correct rendering, then the plan went astray. Some have therefore seen in this verse a possible meaning of "not in the festival crowd." Cf. 21:46, John 11:53.

COMMENT

We have already observed that the whole subject of the proper dating of the events of this final week of Jesus' life is not only confused by the varying traditions in our gospels, but also, in the traditional pattern of the Last Supper and arrest on Thursday, by almost hopeless overcrowding. We shall not attempt to unravel here the various learned attempts which are currently being made to determine what recent discoveries may do to assist in clarification. This would take us far outside the scope of a general commentary, and would also make this part of the commentary almost as long as the rest of the book. We content ourselves instead by calling attention to two works, easily accessible and in English, in which the reader can see for himself the problems involved: Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*, and Ogg, "The Chronology of the Last Supper," in *Historicity and Chronology in the New Testament*, pp. 75–96.

The trial narrative will be dealt with in its own place. For our part, we would be prepared to say that the possibility of Jesus and his disciples' following an archaic calendar known to have been used by sectarian groups in the period immediately before the New Testament, greatly simplifies the chronology of this week.

92. PASSOVER: BETHANY

(26:6–13)[†]

26 ⁶ Now when Jesus was in Bethany, in the house of Simon the leper, ⁷ a woman came to him with an alabaster jar of very expensive ointment, and she poured it on his head as he sat at table. ⁸ But when the disciples saw it, they became indignant. ⁹ “Why this waste?” they asked. “This ointment could have been sold for a large sum, which might have been given to the poor.” ¹⁰ When Jesus knew of this, he said to them, “Why do you distress the woman? She has done a beautiful thing for me; ¹¹ for you always have the poor with you, but you will not always have me. ¹² She has poured this ointment on my body to prepare me for burial. ¹³ I solemnly tell you, wherever this proclamation is made in the whole world, what she has done will be told as a memorial of her.”

NOTES

Substantially Matthew's position here, with very minor variations, is that of Mark. The point of the narrative is obvious enough: Jesus knows already that he will die, and knows also that he will be buried without the customary anointing. What is not clear is the connection, if any, between this incident, recorded by Matthew and Mark, the account in [John 12:1–8](#), and the account in [Luke 7](#). In the accounts of Matthew and Mark we have the disciples' anger, in John, Judas' reaction, in all three, the anointing at the table, Jesus' sayings about the poor, his burial, and in Matthew and Mark, the connection of the woman's deed with the Proclamation. Beyond this we have Matthew's and Mark's statement that this happened in Simon's house against John's tradition that Jesus was a guest in the house of Lazarus. These are minor details, however, and in all three gospels the connection with Passover is firmly made. The difficulty lies with the account in [Luke 7:36 ff.](#), apparently in Galilee, at the house of a Pharisee named Simon. Of some significance is the omission by Luke of any account of an anointing at Bethany. But the language of Luke for the host at the dinner (cf. "one of the Pharisees," [Luke 7:36](#) and [39](#), with "Simon," [7:43](#)), in spite of the absence of any vital connection with the future burial (and the unwarranted assumption by later commentators that the Mary of Matthew, Mark, and John was Mary of Magdala) make it entirely possible that Luke's researches misplaced the incident.

6. *Simon the leper*. Cf. NOTE on 8:2.

8. Not only is there indignation on the part of the disciples; it is possible that the evangelist wishes to emphasize that they had overlooked the anointing of kings.

10–11. The woman has made what she can of this opportunity. To see in vs. 11 any blessing of Jesus upon failure to mitigate poverty is outrageous. The NT tradition consistently from the Jerusalem church onwards is emphatic about the obligation to provide for the poor.

12. [Mark 16:1](#) informs us that three women went to the tomb to perform the customary anointing of the body, but found on arrival that Jesus was already risen (cf. [Luke 23:55–24:3](#)). Matthew omits the mention of spices ([28:1](#)), as does John ([20:1](#)).

93. PASSOVER: BETRAYAL

(26:14–16)[†]

26 ¹⁴ Then one of the twelve—the one called Judas Iscariot—went to the chief priests. ¹⁵ “What are you willing to give me,” he asked, “if I hand him over to you?” They agreed to pay him thirty silver pieces, ¹⁶ and from that moment he looked for a chance to betray him.

NOTES

Reasons which may be adduced for the betrayal by Judas are as varied and as numerous as commentaries on the gospel. The last previous mention of Judas in this gospel was in [10:4](#), where he was numbered with the disciples. It must be remembered that we have the benefit of hindsight; there must have been features in the character of Judas which commended him to Jesus in the first instance. It is possible that [John 12:6](#) gives us a slight indication of one factor which may have led to the betrayal. In what sense was Judas a thief? We are not told that the money was used for personal gain. The explanation which sees Judas as a secret—and disappointed—Zealot, seeking to force Jesus into an immediate and dramatic public declaration of Messiahship by a contrived arrest, is possible. It must, however, be admitted that there is no proof for this and that we are unable to do more than guess at Judas' motives.

15. *thirty silver pieces*. Cf. [Zech 11:12](#) and its context. This was the traditional purchase price of a slave. The Markan and Lukan traditions speak simply of “money.” However accurate or inaccurate Matthew's tradition is at this point, what is important to the evangelist is the way in which the concluding drama of the ministry passes judgment on the false shepherds of Israel. In the final chapters of Matthew there are five allusions to the prophet Zechariah ([21:5](#) to [Zech 9:9](#); [24:3](#) to [Zech 14:4](#); [24:30–31](#) to [Zech 2:6](#); [26:28](#) to [Zech 9:11](#); and [27:9](#) to [Zech 11:12–13](#)). If all that we can find here is a “proof text,” we fail to understand the use of the OT in the time of Jesus, and certainly its use in this gospel. The accommodation of *thirty silver pieces* to the Zechariah text is of small importance against the background of the entire context of [Zech 11](#) and [13:7–9](#).

94. PASSOVER: THE LAST SUPPER

(26:17–29)[†]

26 ¹⁷ On the first day of Unleavened Bread, the disciples came to Jesus, asking, ¹⁸ “Where do you want us to make preparations for you to eat the Passover?” He said, “Go to a certain man in the city, and say to him, ‘The Teacher says: My time is almost here; I will observe the Passover at your house with my disciples.’ ” ¹⁹ The disciples did as Jesus directed them, and made preparations for the Passover. ²⁰ In the evening he sat at table with the twelve disciples, ²¹ and as they were eating, he said, “I solemnly tell you that one of you will betray me.” ²² They were very sad, and began to say to him one after the other, “Lord, is it I?” ²³ He answered, “One who has dipped his hand in the dish with me—he will betray me. ²⁴ The Man indeed goes, just as it has been recorded of him, but alas for that man through whom The Man is being betrayed! It would have been better for that man if he had not been born.” ²⁵ Judas, the traitor, replied, “Is it I, Master?” “The words are yours,” Jesus said to him.

²⁶ As they were eating, Jesus, taking the bread and giving thanks, broke it and gave it to the disciples with the words: “Take and eat it. This is my body.” ²⁷ And taking the cup, and giving thanks, he gave it to them with the words: “All of you drink from this, ²⁸ for this is my blood of the covenant, poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins. ²⁹ I tell you that from now on I will not drink wine again until that day when I drink new wine

with you in my Father's Kingdom.”

NOTES

From its beginnings as a domestic festival, the sacrificing of Passover had for many centuries been centralized for orthodox Judaism in Jerusalem. Our new information about sectarian calendars and places of worship is such, however, that the usual picture of a uniform, centralized Passover celebration in Jerusalem may require drastic revision. In any event, the Jewish colony in Elephantine evidently had no qualms about keeping Passover in exile, and the priestly authorities in Jerusalem, at least at one time, acquiesced in the situation (as we know from the famous Passover Papyrus of 419 B.C.). But how far a sectarian Passover was tolerated in Jerusalem itself we have no means of knowing. We shall have occasion to return to this in the following NOTE on vs. 17.

17. *On the first day of Unleavened Bread.* This would be Nisan 15, the day *after* the Passover, but Matthew certainly means to indicate that the preparations were being made on the day *before* Passover. Josephus (*Antiquities* II. 317) applies the name Unleavened Bread loosely when he speaks of the feast as lasting “for eight days.” (But cf. *ibid.*, III. 249.) Perhaps the expression as we have it here is not as simple as it appears. It is possible to translate the Greek by “With reference to the first day of Unleavened Bread ...”—i.e., the disciples were asking Jesus for guidance as to the procedures to be followed for the next day—or, the term is a generic one for both observances, since both required unleavened bread. The confusion over dating is found also in Mark and Luke. If we are to assume from this notation of time that it was indeed in the afternoon—or even the morning—of the day of the Passover sacrifice, then the interval for preparation seems altogether too short, even allowing for the fact that the *man in the city* (vs. 18) was partly aware of Jesus’ intention. Mark, indeed, adds “when they were sacrificing the Passover” (Mark 14:12). One of the merits—and that not the least—of Mlle. Jaubert’s suggestion (in *La date de la cène*) is that the confusion is removed by assuming (a) that Jesus and his disciples followed the old solar calendar, and so kept Passover on a fixed day, Tuesday, and (b) that when the infant Community reverted to the official, orthodox calendar the tradition became confused and remains confused in our sources. John 18:28 has the death of Jesus taking place at the time when the Passover lambs were being sacrificed—i.e., if the proposed new chronology is correct, then John represents the best historical tradition and the synoptic gospels have tried to adapt one chronology to the other.

18. *My time is almost here.* In Matthew as in John (cf. 10:18), Jesus is always master of events, and here he declares his conviction that the final moments of the ministry are upon him. Mark (14:13–15) has additional details here of a prearranged meeting, and the details serve to emphasize the secrecy with which Jesus surrounded his movements before the Supper. If recent suggestions for the chronology of Holy Week are correct, the desire to hold a secret sectarian Passover observance in Jerusalem is understandable. Nothing at this stage was to be allowed to compromise the moment when Jesus would consecrate himself for his sacrificial death (cf. John 17), nor hinder the inauguration of the New Covenant. (After a lapse of decades, it is still instructive to read Allen’s [ICC](#) *St. Matthew* commentary, pp. 270 ff. Without any of the indications which we now have from external sources, Allen endeavored to do full justice to the chronology.)

the Passover. Before the current debate on chronology was launched and to some extent even now, much discussion has taken place as to whether the occasion of the Last Supper was a Passover meal or not. Attempts to reconcile the Johannine and synoptic chronologies by making the occasion a quasi-religious meal, said to have been observed by small bands of teachers and disciples, are not convincing. (One such attempt provides the supposed meal with the title *Qiddûsh*, apparently unaware that this was simply the designation of a specific thanksgiving over a meal on particular occasions.)

Any attempt to find in the Last Supper an occasion other than the Passover celebration must accommodate several very awkward realities. Some of the problems are briefly listed here, and will not be argued, since this belongs more properly to a full-scale commentary:

(a) The persistent use of Passover imagery by the Apostle Paul in I Corinthians, together with allusions in other letters, in order to describe the passion of Jesus, is too marked to be overlooked.

(b) The phrase “Lamb of God” in John’s gospel, the Apocalypse and I Peter, must be explained if we are to reject the identification of the Last Supper with the Passover. (C. H. Dodd’s suggestion that “Lamb” when applied to Jesus means the “bell-wether of the flock” encounters too many difficulties: cf. *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* [Cambridge University Press, 1954], pp. 230 ff.) On the whole complex of ideas thought to be associated with “the Lamb,” cf. Brown, *John*, i–xii, COMMENT on §3, specifically on [John 1:29](#).

(c) The key phrase *blood of the (New) Covenant*, found in [Matt 26:28](#), [Mark 14:24](#) ([Luke 22:20](#), added in most manuscripts, making “two” cups), and [1 Cor 11:25](#) (source of the addition in Luke), is not easily explained apart from the dramatic rehearsal of the pre-Christian *Haggādā* to give it anchor and meaning. The emphasis given to the same phrase in Hebrews (9) links it firmly with Sinai but with no other Covenant.

(d) It is not germane to this commentary to discuss the phrase ([1 Cor 11:24–25](#) and also [Luke 22:19–20](#) by accommodation to the Pauline tradition) “for my memorial” (or, “in remembrance of me”). Nevertheless, unless the Last Supper was linked to a celebration which rehearsed God’s acts in vindicating his people, it is hard to see why the phrase was already fixed in traditional usage by the time Paul wrote to Corinth. (Cf. here, for the most useful summary in English, Max Thurian, *The Eucharistic Memorial*, tr. by J. G. Davies, Part II, *The New Testament*, London: Lutterworth Press / Richmond: John Knox Press, 1961.) In this connection it is worth a passing note that the Passover *Haggādā* clearly states that the annual commemoration was far more than a mental act of remembering: “In every single generation it is a man’s duty to regard himself as if he had gone forth from Egypt...”

(e) R. Le Déant, “De nocte paschali,” *Verbum Domini* 41 (1963), 189–95, calls attention to a Targum on Exod 12:42 which speaks of the four nights of Passover commemoration: “The night when God appeared in order to create the world, the night when he promised Isaac to Abraham and Sarah, the night when Egypt was destroyed, and the eschatological night when the world will end.” Here again is a link with [1 Cor 11:25](#), perhaps also with [John 13:30](#), and also a link with Essene views of the Covenant.

(f) Attention will be called below to David Daube’s important contribution on the links of the Passover meal with the scene in Gethsemane.

21. “... *betray me*.” The treachery of the act is underscored by *as they were eating* (vs. 21), which is further emphasized in the Markan tradition; cf. [Mark 14:18](#); [Ps 41:9](#); [John 13:18](#). Those who find in Matthew’s OT quotations mere proof texts will do well to ask why the evangelist omitted the striking quotation from the psalm, which John includes.

23. “*One who has dipped his hand ...*” I.e., one who has dipped his hand into the relish of herbs. At first sight this is not very striking to us, and there would appear to us to be no particular indication of treachery on the part of any one of the twelve. But an article by F. C. Fensham (“Judas’ Hand in the Bowl and Qumran,” *Revue de Qumrân* 5 [1964–65], 259–61), calls attention to some important information from Qumran. The Rule of the Community ([1QS vi 1–8](#)) provides that when food has been prepared, there is to be a hierarchic order in reaching out the hands. Fensham suggests that the definitive *with me* indicates that Judas, by not waiting his turn, deliberately denied the leadership of Jesus in the community, and so—to Jesus—marked himself as being in rebellion.

24. *The Man*. Cf. NOTE on 8:20. The passion narrative, it is generally agreed, was the first part of the oral tradition to achieve fixed form, and was in all probability the first part of that tradition to be committed to writing. Mathew is here following that fixed tradition and hence must depict The Man as being in the hands of enemies. Cf. Enoch xxxviii 2.

25. “*Is it I, Master?*” The words are more emphatic than can easily be rendered in English, and perhaps we could here translate rather more freely by “Surely not I?”

“*The words are yours*.” The saying is an ambiguous affirmative, throwing back to the interrogator the responsibility of an answer. Cf. [27:11–12](#), and NOTE on 26:64.

26. On the key words (*taking, giving thanks, broke it, gave it*) see COMMENT on 14:13–21 (§53).

28. Controversy often centers around the supposed impossibility of rendering the words of Jesus (*this is my blood of the covenant*) in Aramaic, but some work by J. A. Emerton has suggested new possibilities

about what is, or is not, impossible in Aramaic. Jesus, Emerton suggests, used the rare but perfectly permissible “construction of genitive after a noun with a pronominal suffix, because it avoided any ambiguity” (a very common construction in later Syriac). This, he goes on to emphasize, was to avoid any suggestion that the Covenant was of Jesus’ own making; he was but the instrument and the vehicle of its inauguration through his blood—the Covenant was of God’s own making. Cf. J. A. Emerton, *JTS* 13 (1962), 111–17. The construction is also found in Mishnaic Hebrew—if Jesus said the words in Hebrew rather than Aramaic.

covenant. Some manuscripts add the adjective “new,” but this is probably by assimilation to the text of [1 Cor 11:25](#). Cf. [Isa 42:6](#), [49:8](#); [Jer 31:31 ff.](#); and also Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, tr. by S. C. Guthrie and C. A. M. Hall (London: SCM, 1957), pp. 64 ff.; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959.

poured out for many. On the crucial importance of this clause, cf. NOTE on [20:28](#). The Last Supper (at which, according to [John 17](#), Jesus consecrated himself for his imminent death at the hand of others) is the one occasion in the synoptic gospels where Jesus gives his death a sacrificial interpretation. It is important at this juncture to choose words with care. The “New Covenant” of [Jer 31:31 ff.](#) does not mention sacrificial blood (cf. [StB](#), I, p. 991), and the conjunction of “blood” and “covenant” in the rabbinic writings is concerned with circumcision more often than with anything else—i.e., the blood of initiation into a Covenant already established. Plainly, several OT concepts underlie this apparently simple declaration of Jesus over the cup, and the basic understanding is that of the Servant who pours out his life for “the many,” the community of Israel (cf. [Isa 53:10, 12](#)).

We return now to the phrase *for many*. We have emphasized above that never in our NT sources is Jesus represented as inaugurating a separatist movement, and the Pauline letters, for all their insistence on the word “new” to describe God’s act in Jesus, never describe the Church as “the new Israel.” Jesus, then, voluntarily pours out his life for the community of Israel, and in so doing inaugurates a New Covenant for a Covenant Community already in being. The subsequent admission of Gentiles into the Messianic Community created by this New Covenant was therefore an admission into a community which believed itself to be the true heirs of the promises to Abraham (cf. [Rom 9–11](#)).

Bultmann, in his discussion of [Mark 10:45](#), together with the passage now under consideration, dismisses the whole complex as a “Hellenistic-Christian doctrine of salvation” (*Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, p. 154).

29. It is impossible to be certain whether this saying is in context, or whether it has been attracted to its present position by *the cup* of vs. 27. [Mark 14:25](#) does not have the emphatic *from now on* of Matthew, though [Luke 22:18](#) preserves it (in a parallel form). Perhaps Luke’s emphatic assertion that the occasion was a Passover meal ([Luke 22:15](#)), together with [1 Cor 11:26](#), provides us with the best meaning which we can achieve at this remove. The words are no solemn farewell, but a looking forward to the perpetual fellowship of the Messianic Age (cf. Enoch lxii 14 and see also [Rev 3:21](#)).

There is, however, considerable variation in different traditions. Matthew speaks of *my Father’s Kingdom* (which for Matthew looks beyond the Messianic Kingdom), where Mark and Luke speak of “the Kingdom of God.” [Luke 22:16](#) speaks of the Passover as being “fulfilled in the Kingdom of God,” and Paul’s [1 Cor 11:26](#) further complicates matters by speaking of the Lord’s Supper as “proclaiming the Lord’s death until he comes.” With the sources that we presently have, we can make two suggestions: (a) The uncertainty which is reflected in Acts and the earlier Pauline letters about the precise meaning of the “coming” of The Man may be at work in the two sayings as they are recorded in [Luke 22:16, 18](#). The “coming” of the Kingdom, in the exaltation of Jesus by the Father, certainly would mean the fulfillment of Passover. In [1 Cor 11:26](#) there is a shift from this primary meaning to an expected *second* coming of Jesus in glory. (b) Matthew’s tradition sees this fulfillment in terms which look beyond the Messianic Kingdom to the Father’s Kingdom, a differentiation which we examined in Part VII of the Introduction. Which of the two traditions is more original, we have no means of determining. One further note must be added: the vine as a symbol of Israel is well known throughout the OT. Behind the sayings as we now have them there may originally have been a saying of Jesus which spoke in terms (later misunderstood) of the fulfillment of

Israel in the Kingdom, in much the same way that Paul speaks of that fulfillment in [Rom 11](#).

95. PASSOVER: GETHSEMANE

(26:30–46)[†]

26 ³⁰ Having sung a hymn, they went to the Mount of Olives. ³¹ Jesus then said to them, “All of you will fall away from me tonight. For it is recorded: ‘I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock will be scattered,’ ³² but after I am raised up, I will go before you into Galilee.” ³³ Peter however answered: “Even though they are all ashamed of you, I will certainly not be ashamed.” ³⁴ “I solemnly tell you,” Jesus said to him, “that this very night, before cockcrow, you will three times deny me.” ³⁵ “Even if I must die with you,” Peter answered him, “I will not deny you,” and all the disciples made similar declarations.

³⁶ Then Jesus went with them to a place called Gethsemane, and he said to his disciples, “Sit here, while I go over there to pray.” ³⁷ Taking with him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, he began to be distressed and very troubled, ³⁸ and said to them, “I am troubled with deadly anguish—stay here and watch with me.” ³⁹ He went a little farther, prostrated himself, and prayed: “My Father, if possible, let this cup pass from me; notwithstanding, your will be done, not mine.” ⁴⁰ He went to the disciples, found them sleeping, and said to Peter, “So you could not watch with me for one hour? ⁴¹ Watch, and pray that you do not come into the fiery trial. The spirit is certainly willing, but mere humanity is frail.” ⁴² Going away for the second time, again he prayed: “My Father, if it is impossible for

this cup to pass away without my drinking from it, your will be done.”⁴³ On his return, he again found them sleeping, for their eyes were heavy,⁴⁴ and leaving them again, he prayed for the third time in the same way.⁴⁵ Then he went back to the disciples. “Are you still sleeping and resting?” he said to them. “See, the hour is almost here, and The Man is delivered up into men’s hands.⁴⁶ Get up, and let us go. My betrayer is near.”

NOTES

26:30. *Having sung a hymn.* It is of considerable interest here to take note of a suggestion made by Daube (*The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, pp. 186 ff.) that the present division of the Passover *Haggādā* represents changes which were early made in response to the interpretation of a new deliverance, wrought by Jesus, being made by Jewish Christians. Daube, accepting the commonly held view that the passion narrative was the first part of the tradition in fixed form, suggests that Jewish Christians, maintaining the original order of the Passover meal (ceremonial meal, questions, interpretation of the meal), so emphasized the changed character of the observance that the whole order was later deliberately changed by Orthodox Jews. “By relegating the meal to the end, the Rabbis took the life, or at least any undue vitality, out of it.... The change round was a very clever means of preventing any fundamentally new significance being attached to the meal ...” (pp. 194–95). It is also possible that the emphasis by the Essenes on their understanding of “covenant” may have served to accelerate the change. The *hymn* referred to here is the *Hallel* (**Pss 113–118**); it is still sung at the end of the formal Jewish rite, as it was in the time of Jesus.

they went ... The Passover celebration was not confined to a single location. The meal could be eaten in one place, and the recital of prayers, hymns, etc., could be held in another, always provided that the company remained together.

the Mount of Olives. Cf. **24:3**. Jesus quotes from **Zechariah 13:7**, and the mount is mentioned in **Zech 14:4**. The concluding part of Zechariah is much concerned with the failure of the shepherds of Israel. In ch. **24** Jesus speaks of such failure, and when he is again depicted as being in the same place, he once more speaks of the failure of the future shepherds of his own community in the face of the passion.

36. *Then Jesus went with them.* The Passover celebration was still in progress for Jesus and his disciples.

36–37. The presence of Peter, James, and John in intimate association with Jesus at critical moments of the ministry is emphasized in all three synoptic gospels.

38–45. Daube (*New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, pp. 333–35) reminds us of the rabbinic provision that if during the Passover celebration members of the company fell into a deep sleep, and could not answer at all, then the celebration was regarded as terminated. Distinctions were drawn between a mere doze and deep sleep, and Mark’s account of the Gethsemane episode, when Jesus returned the second time, bears this out (“they did not know what to answer him”). Matthew preserves the distinction for us in his words for “sleeping” (vss. **40** and **43**) and the addition of “and resting” in vs. **45**. Luke’s account fails to do justice to this ritual distinction. It was not that Jesus wished merely for companionship in his agony of prayer, but that he did not wish the Passover to be brought to an early close. Only in this light do the repeated visits and inquiries of Jesus make real sense.

39. *this cup.* The expression was commonly used in the ancient world (from Ugarit on) as destiny or fate, and is so found in the OT. As a symbol of suffering, cf. **Isa 51:17, 22; Lam 4:21; Ps 11:6**.

45–46. “... *the hour is almost here, and The Man is delivered ...*” Cf. NOTE on **26:24**. Jesus indicates by his “*Get up ...*” that the Passover celebration is ended.

96. ARREST OF JESUS

(26:47–56)[†]

26 ⁴⁷ While he was still speaking, Judas, who was one of the twelve, came with a great crowd from the chief priests and the elders of the people, (armed) with swords and clubs. ⁴⁸ The betrayer had given a sign, telling them, “The one whom I kiss is the man—take him.” ⁴⁹ Immediately he went up to Jesus and said, “Greetings, master!” and kissed him. ⁵⁰ But Jesus said to him, “Friend, you are here.” Then they came up, laid hands on Jesus, and led him away. ⁵¹ One of those who were with Jesus reached out his hand, drew his sword, and struck the high priest’s slave, cutting off his ear. ⁵² Jesus then said to him, “Put your sword back in its place, for all who take up the sword will die by the sword. ⁵³ Do you think that I cannot appeal to my Father, who would at once send me more than twelve legions of angels? ⁵⁴ But then how would the Scriptures be fulfilled, that it must be so?” ⁵⁵ At the same time, Jesus said to the crowds, “Have you come with swords and clubs to seize me, as you would a bandit? Day after day I sat in the temple teaching, and you did not seize me. ⁵⁶ But all this has happened so that the writings of the prophets may be fulfilled.” Then all the disciples abandoned him and fled.

NOTES

Matthew gives no indication as to when Judas left the group of disciples; John (13:30) tells us that it was during the Supper. The impression given here by the evangelist is of a scene of disorder, almost as if an already existing mob had been utilized by the priestly authorities.

26:48. “*The one whom I kiss ...*” Moses Aberbach has pointed out (see NOTE on 23:7–11) that in any group of teacher and disciples the disciple was never permitted to greet his teacher first, since this implied equality. Judas’ sign, therefore, was not only a final repudiation of his relationship with Jesus and a signal to the mob, but also a studied insult. We may have an indication in the Johannine account (John 18:4 ff.), which does not mention the kiss, that those who accompanied Judas were taken aback even at that stage by the treachery of a onetime disciple.

49. *master*. This occasion and that in 26:25 are the only ones in Matthew where the title *rabbî* is used, and in both instances it is used by Judas.

kissed him. The verb is a compound form of the one used in the previous verse (Mark’s verbs are the same two), and it is possible that it indicates a repeated or emphatic action.

50. “*Friend, you are here.*” On *Friend* cf. NOTE on 20:13. The meaning of the phrase in Greek, *eph’ ho parei*, is not certain. It may be rendered as a question, “Why are you here?” but this translation seems to make very little sense. By emending the Greek to *aire*, it would be possible to render “Take what you have come to get.” Luke’s tradition is here quite different.

51. *One of those ...* I.e., a disciple. Mark has “a bystander,” and it is John 18:10 which identifies Simon Peter.

Luke (22:51) adds an account of the healing of the man’s ear. Our sources reflect the confusion of the scene, and complete agreement among all four evangelists would destroy our historical perspective. In order to obtain the truest possible idea of what actually happened, we need independent eyewitness reports—the same is true of early oral tradition.

52–54. This incident is described by all four evangelists, so it obviously made an impression on all who witnessed it. The saying quoted by Jesus in these verses has no parallel elsewhere. An article by Hans Kosmala (NovT 4 [1960], 81–95) provides us with some background to Jesus’ saying. The quotation is from a Jewish Aramaic Targum (paraphrase) of Isa 50:11: “Behold, all you that kindle a fire, that take the sword: go, fall into the fire you have kindled, and fall by the sword you have taken. From my Word (*Mēmra*) you have this; you shall return to your destruction.” This is, then, not simply a proverbial saying, but a scriptural saying with eschatological meaning. God’s will is being fulfilled and nothing can hinder it.

53. To appeal for deliverance at this time (*at once*) would deny to authority its hour, and the purpose of God declared in the Scriptures must be accomplished (cf. Zech 13:7). Luke 22:53b preserves a similar meaning—“this is your hour.”

55. *Day after day*. Cf. the secret decision to arrest Jesus, in 26:4.

56. *the prophets*. Cf. NOTE on vss. 52–54 above, on Isa 50:11, and also Isa 53:12, which is quoted in John 16:32. Cf. also Zech 13:7.

abandoned him. Perhaps here again there is a reminiscence of Zech 13:17, but in this case the flock is abandoning its shepherd.

97. JESUS BEFORE THE COUNCIL

(26:57–68)[†]

26 ⁵⁷ Those who had seized Jesus led him to Caiaphas, the high priest, where the scribes and elders had assembled. ⁵⁸ Peter, however, followed them at a distance, as far as the high priest's courtyard, and entering, sat with the guards to see the end. ⁵⁹ The high priest and the whole gathering searched for perjured testimony against Jesus, on which basis they might kill him, ⁶⁰ but they did not find anything plausible, even though many perjured witnesses came forward. At last two came forward ⁶¹ and said, "This man said 'I can destroy God's temple and rebuild it in three days.' " ⁶² The high priest, standing up, said to him, "Have you no answer to what these men testify against you?" ⁶³ But Jesus was silent, and the high priest said to him, "I charge you by the living God that you tell us if you are the Messiah, God's Son." ⁶⁴ "The words are yours," Jesus said to him, "but more than that—I tell you that from now on you will see The Man seated at the right hand of power and coming on the clouds of heaven." ⁶⁵ Thereupon, the high priest tore his himation, with the words: "He has blasphemed! What further need have we of witnesses? Now that you have heard the blasphemy, ⁶⁶ how does it appear to you?" They all answered, "He deserves the death penalty."

⁶⁷ They spat in his face, struck him, and some slapped him, ⁶⁸ with the words, "Show us your prophetic power, you Messiah! Who struck you?"

NOTES

26:57. As in vs. 3, Matthew gives the name of the high priest.

58. *Peter*. However refracted, it is possible that much of the information about the trial before the Sanhedrin came from Peter and the beloved disciple ([John 18](#)).

59. *testimony*. [Deut 19:15](#) demands “the evidence of two or three witnesses” to sustain an accusation.

60–61. Evidently witnesses contradicted each other. Two remember Jesus’ prophecy of the destruction of the temple (cf. [23:38](#) and [24:2](#)). If we may judge from [John 2:21](#), the witnesses combined one prediction of Jesus with a rumor they may have heard of his passion-resurrection sayings. Matthew’s tradition is not without difficulty here. In [Mark 14:57–58](#) the charge of destroying the temple is dismissed because the witnesses could not agree. But Matthew, by emphasizing *two*, seems to indicate that this was part, at any rate, of the evidence used in condemnation in the following verse, [62](#).

63. Jesus is put under solemn oath to answer to a claim of being the Messiah. Whatever views the ruling party might have on the coming of the Messiah, it should be emphasized that the act of claiming to be the Messiah was not one which was in itself blasphemous. We have no evidence of what view was taken in ruling circles about the use of “God’s Son.”

64. *The words are yours*. This answer appears evasive in English; however, cf. [26:25](#) and NOTE there. (Mark records unambiguously, “I am!”) If the Sanhedrin was to carry a capital charge to Pilate, it had to be such as to leave no doubt in the mind of the governor. John’s gospel is clear that it was a charge of making himself a king which constituted the principal accusation, though the point is made far more directly than in the synoptic gospels. There were, in any case, so many theological interpretations of Messiahship, that Jesus’ reply does not commit him to one view or another. Cf. for Jesus’ answer the reply of Bar Kappara to questions as to whether Rabbi Judah the Patriarch (late second century A.D. and editor of the Mishnah) was dead or not. Bar Kappara, aware that it had been proclaimed that anyone who announced Rabbi Judah’s death was to be killed, discovered that the patriarch was dead. He said to the crowd, “Angels and mortals took hold of the holy ark. The angels overpowered the mortals and the holy ark has been captured.” To a direct question as to whether that meant that Rabbi Judah was dead, Bar Kappara replied, “You said it; I did not say it.”

Messiahship might mean a number of things to Pharisees, to Essenes, and to Zealots, including the possibility of an armed revolt. To Sadducees it clearly meant a threat to their entrenched position. Jesus throughout his ministry saw Messiahship in terms which he had used only in speaking to the inner circle. He could not now make a simple affirmative without compromising his whole ministry and teaching.

from now on ... The Greek is quite emphatic. Those listening to Jesus are asked to see in the person surrounded by enemies The-Man-in-glory, the cloud rider of [Dan 7:13 ff.](#) (cf. also [Ps 110:1](#)). In a very real sense this is the climax of all that Matthew’s tradition has so carefully preserved for us in the sayings about The Man. Though Jesus does not say “You will see *me*,” the identification is plain enough to his hearers.

65. The tearing of one’s clothes on hearing blasphemy was well known in this period. In the OT such a gesture was commonly associated with great grief and distress. However, such a gesture was forbidden to the high priest (cf. [Lev 21:10](#)).

He has blasphemed. If Caiaphas was a Sadducee, then aside from Jesus’ unspoken claim to be seen as The-Man-in-glory, which he would regard as blasphemy, the mention of angels together with a report of an implied possible resurrection was certainly heretical to him.

66. “*He deserves the death penalty*.” There is no suggestion that such a sentence was in fact given by the Sanhedrin, and the scene which follows in vss. [67–68](#) seems to represent an outburst of angry frustration.

67. Cf. [Isa 50:6](#).

68. Cf. [27:27–31](#).

COMMENT

It is now necessary to say something for the general, non-technical reader about current debate on the trial of Jesus. The publication by Paul Winter of his *On the Trial of Christ*, Leiden: Brill, 1961, has in many ways provided the focus for this debate. Broadly speaking, the issues are these:

(a) Was the appearance of Jesus before the responsible leaders of his own people a legally constituted hearing by the Sanhedrin?

(b) Was the Sanhedrin in the time of Jesus legally entitled, under Roman occupation, to pass and carry out the death sentence?

(c) Are the evangelists seeking, for reasons of their own, to exculpate the Roman authorities of any responsibility for the death of Jesus and fasten that responsibility on the Jews?

(d) Are the discrepancies in detail between the gospel narratives such as to cast doubt on the veracity of the whole story?

It is best to dispose of the last question first. If there were solid agreement, item by item and step by step, throughout the whole narrative, then there would be grounds for the gravest suspicion. Luke (who was not a disciple) tells us of the care he took in gathering information (1:1–4). There are items in the traditions of the other evangelists which Luke did not know, while he alone preserved the account of an appearance before Herod (23:6–12). John's version is very widely different, and makes the theological charge the principal burden of accusation. Here again John has details, mainly concerned with Pilate, which the three synoptic gospels do not have or did not even know. What emerges from a reading of all the accounts is an effort by the evangelists to piece together conflicting and puzzling traditions, often preserved in all probability by men who had not close contact with the processes of either Jewish or Roman law, but who clung tenaciously to what they knew or had heard. The atmosphere of noise and confusion, of hurried and secret consultation, is well marked. If this seems to be at variance with the relative calm which we have learned to associate with our own courts, it is well to emphasize not only that few "eyewitnesses" or "special correspondents" can be found to agree in detail even in these days of television reporting, but also that many recent trial scenes have been anything but scenes of calm detachment. In considering the other questions generally raised with regard to Jesus' trial, the reader is referred to an important book, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*, by the distinguished student of Roman law A. N. Sherwin-White, Oxford University Press, 1963. His principal arguments are reproduced here, as they apply to the questions we raised.

(a, b) Certainly the Sanhedrin possessed absolute police control over the

temple area, including the power to pass sentence of death on Gentiles (even Roman citizens) who were found guilty of violating the innermost temple court. But this was a special case, and is described as such by Josephus (*Jewish War* VI. 2. 4), because of the extreme delicacy of the political situation in Jerusalem. If the Sanhedrin really did have powers of capital jurisdiction, then this explicit Roman provision was quite unnecessary. The mere fact of the provision proves that apart from this instance no power of capital sentence resided with the Sanhedrin at this period. It was precisely under this provision that Paul was accused (Acts 21:27–29), but even with this special provision the Sanhedrin could not act on its own and had to bring the case to the procurator. In all our gospels the appearance of Jesus before the Sanhedrin is treated very briefly, and it is clear from the accounts that, however solid-seeming the charge of blasphemy, the Sanhedrin could not impose a capital sentence, no matter how great the pressure. The contradiction in the case of Stephen (Acts 7) is only apparent. Sherwin-White observes that there was no permanent civil service to assist the provincial governor, that even in Jerusalem Paul had a narrow escape, and that the only Roman officials of whom we hear in the gospels and Acts, apart from the prefect or procurator, are three centurions and Claudius Lysias (cf. Acts 21–23—he was military tribune of the cohort in Jerusalem). Essentially, Roman authority in the provinces meant military presence. In the absence of the governor, it was not difficult to evade the law.

(c) John's gospel concentrates all the force of the argument for the condemnation of Jesus on a theological charge, even before Pilate, where Matthew and Mark both emphasize the charge of civil rebellion. Luke's tradition combines both, though with less emphasis on the theological charge before Pilate. Here again Sherwin-White maintains that those who represent the evangelists as seeking to shift responsibility from Roman authority to Jewish mob-violence have missed an essential point. It is that any Roman provincial administrator was entirely free to make his own criminal rules, there being no criminal code for the provinces, and for "trials outside the system" (*extra ordinem*) he could accept or reject charges as he saw fit. Though most governors tended to follow the code as they knew it in Italy, there was no law—only custom—in the procedure to be followed. This demanded that the governor hold trials in public, seated on the tribunal, and that charges had to be made by the interested parties as prosecutors. The accused had an opportunity to defend himself (cf. Acts 25:16). There was no jury, though the governor usually took the advice of a committee of assessors (*consilium*). The verdict was given, if the charge was proved, by way of sentence to a particular punishment. These procedures were faithfully followed in the Roman trials of Paul (cf. Acts 21:27–

28, 24:1–2, 25:6–7, 10, 12). Roman officials are seen in Acts as refusing to “take knowledge” (a technical law term) of cases concerned specifically with the Jewish Law (cf. Acts 18:14 ff. and 25:18 ff.).

We wish to state quite clearly that the above comment is only a brief summary of a very considerable subject, and it would be a mistake to assume that the subject is either basically simple or easily settled. Two final notes may be added. First, we are not in possession of nearly enough material evidence to be as confident as Paul Winter seems to be. Sherwin-White holds that Winter (cf. COMMENT above), though himself trained in Roman law, depends on the mistaken views of two authors—Hans Lietzmann and Jean Juster, in 1931 and 1914, respectively—neither of whom was a professional Roman legal historian. Secondly, if the gospels rest (as we hold that they do) upon early fixed oral sources, then there was absolutely no point in attempting to shift responsibility from the procurator to the Sanhedrin, before the Jewish War of 66–73 posed weighty problems of allegiance. (In this respect, cf. Acts 3:17 ff.) We may reasonably entertain the suspicion that much of the debate about the trial of Jesus, as with so much of the debate about the New Testament, really derives from an a priori assumption that all our sources are late and unreliable, where not tendentious or deliberately untruthful.*

John, with the sectarian sympathies of its author, certainly betrays prejudices against *orthodox* Judaism. The constant reiteration in that gospel of “the Jews” ought to have warned us long ago, but the work of Abram Spiro (cf. Appendix V in Munck, *The Acts of the Apostles*) has made it very clear that sectarian sympathizers sharply distinguished in this period between “Hebrews” (i.e., the Samaritans) or “Israel” (i.e., the Essenes) and “Jews.” It is worth adding at this point that neither archaeological finds nor the discoveries at Qumran have contributed anything to our knowledge of the processes of Roman or Jewish law in the time of Jesus. At this time, all we are entitled to say is that our gospels clearly place the responsibility for deciding capital criminal cases upon the Roman imperial authority, in Palestine at any rate. Any exercise of jurisdiction in this area by Jewish authorities could apparently only be undertaken in an interregnum. Mob violence, rather than judicial process, seems to have been at work in the death of Stephen (Acts 7:54–60).

98. PETER'S DENIAL

(26:69–75)[†]

26 ⁶⁹ Peter sat outside in the courtyard and a girl came up to him, asserting, “You were also with Jesus the Galilean.” ⁷⁰ But before them all he denied it: “I do not know what you mean,” he said. ⁷¹ Then when he went out to the porch another girl saw him, and said to the bystanders, “This fellow was with Jesus of Nazareth.” ⁷² Again he denied it with an oath: “I do not know the man.” ⁷³ A short time later the bystanders came up and said to Peter, “Certainly you are one of them, for your accent gives you away.” ⁷⁴ He then began to call down a curse on himself, and to swear, “I do not know the man.” Immediately the cock crowed. ⁷⁵ Peter remembered Jesus’ words, “Before cockcrow you will deny me three times.” And he went out and wept bitterly.

NOTES

Unless the figure of Peter overshadowed the early Community to the extent depicted for us in the early chapters of Acts, it is difficult to see why this account of his denial of Jesus should be given so prominent a place in such a comparatively extended form in all the gospels. The differences between the various accounts are minor.

26:70. *before them all*. This is perhaps a reference back to 10:33.

74. This probably points to the standard oath formula: "May God dispose of me as he will, if I am not telling the truth." Cf. 1 Kings 19:2.

75. Cf. vs. 34.

wept bitterly. Cf. 2 Cor 7:10 for the difference between two kinds of sorrow. Peter's led to repentance, that of Judas led to suicide.

99. JESUS TAKEN TO PILATE

(27:1–2)[†]

27 ¹When day came, all the chief priests and the elders of the people made plans against Jesus to kill him, ²and putting him in chains they took him and handed him over to Pilate the governor.

NOTES

Whether or not the Sanhedrin had the power to pass and carry out the death sentence, its members evidently decided to rely on the discretionary powers of the Roman authority to “take knowledge” of any particular case, and so took Jesus as prisoner to Pilate. The death of Jesus was to be encompassed by some means, and the varying statements of John and the synoptic writers as to the precise charges before Pilate certainly add up to a determination to have the matter dealt with by the occupying power. The governor had discretion in dealing with matters which concerned Jewish internal polity; he also (like Gallio in a later instance) had power to dismiss such things as being peripheral. One difference must be noticed. Gallio (pro-consul of Achaia A.D. 53–?64—cf. [Acts 18:12–17](#)) could afford to dismiss such issues as seemed to arise from internal dissension within Judaism, for he was dealing with a minority group in a largely Hellenistic environment. No such option was open to Pilate. However conflicting the testimony may appear to us as between the synoptic gospels and John, Pilate could not, dared not, ignore an issue which threatened the security of Jerusalem during the tense circumstances of a Passover celebration.

[27:2](#). *Pilate the governor* ([Gr.](#) *hēgemōn*). This is the first mention of Pilate in Matthew. He was procurator of Judea from A.D. 26–36. According to Josephus (*Antiquities* XVIII. 4.1 f.), he was recalled because of his cruelty. Contrary to some writers, nothing is proved by the supposed conflict between the description of Pilate as “procurator” in this gospel and the evidence from a recently discovered inscription of Pilate (in Caesarea, which was his capital) as “prefect.” This was his own official title, *prefectus judeae*, and we may suppose that the title “procurator” was a later promotion in dignity. In both cases, the powers reserved to the local representative of Rome were the same. Tacitus (*Annals* XV. 44) describes Pilate as “procurator in the reign of Tiberius.” It is also possible that the designation was loosely applied; cf. R. M. Grant, [IDB](#), III (K–Q), s.v. “Procurator.”

100. DEATH OF JUDAS

(27:3–10)[†]

27 ³ Then Judas the traitor, seeing that Jesus had been condemned, repented and took the thirty silver pieces to the chief priests and elders of the people. ⁴ “I have sinned by betraying an innocent man!” he said. ⁵ But they replied, “How does that concern us? That is your affair.” Throwing down the silver pieces toward the Most Holy Place, he withdrew and went away and hanged himself. ⁶ Picking up the silver pieces, the chief priests said, “It is unlawful to put this into the treasury, for it is blood money.” ⁷ Therefore, after coming to an agreement about it, they used the money to buy Potter’s Field as a burying place for foreigners, ⁸ and to this day that field is known as “The Field of Blood.” ⁹ Then there was fulfilled the saying of the prophet Jeremiah:
“And they took the thirty silver pieces,
the amount the people of Israel had agreed to pay for him,
¹⁰ and used them to buy Potter’s Field,
as the Lord commanded me.”

NOTES

The incident here recorded by Matthew is not paralleled in the other gospels. The account agrees only in part with Luke's tradition in [Acts 1:18 f.](#) We can merely surmise that there were varying traditions about Judas' death. Matthew's purpose is not to provide information for the sensation monger, but once again to call attention to "fulfillment." The context in [Zech 11:13](#), from which the quotation in vss. [9–10](#) comes, is important, as are all the contexts in which Matthew's quotations are set. The Shepherd of Israel has been valued at a paltry sum by the rulers, and hence that derisory sum should be cast away.

[27:5](#). *toward the Most Holy Place*. The Greek word here used (*naos*) is that used to denote the Holy of Holies, the innermost shrine of the temple—pagan temples as well as the temple in Jerusalem.

[6](#). *treasury* ([Gr. korbanas](#)). The word is Hebrew/Aramaic, and is found in Josephus (*Jewish War* II. 175) for the money kept in the temple; it also appears in an Aramaic inscription from Jerusalem from before A.D. 70, though the exact sense is disputed. In place of *yôṣēr*, "potter," in [Zech 11:13](#), the Syriac translates "treasury of the Lord's house," rendering [Heb. 'ôṣār](#); this reading has been accepted by many modern scholars.

[9](#). *Jeremiah*. The quotation is from Zechariah ([11:12–13](#)). The Greek is not that of the [LXX](#), and is a loose translation. We are in no position to determine whether the evangelist's original had Zechariah or Jeremiah. If Allen's suggestion (in his *St. Matthew* commentary, p. 288) is correct, then the confusion may have been introduced by the recollection that Jeremiah purchased a field and also visited a potter ([Jer 18:2 ff.](#) and [32:6–15](#)).

101. JESUS QUESTIONED BY PILATE

(27:11–14)[†]

27 ¹¹ Jesus stood before the governor, who questioned him, asking, “Are you the king of the Jews?” ¹² Jesus replied, “The words are yours,” but when he was accused by the chief priests and the elders he made no reply. ¹³ Then Pilate said to him, “Do you not hear all the accusations they bring against you?” ¹⁴ But he did not answer, even with a single word, so that the governor was astounded.

NOTES

[27:11](#). “*Are you the king of the Jews?*” The Sanhedrin had demanded an acknowledgment of Messiahship, and in spite of Jesus’ reply seized on this issue as a means to bring the case to the governor. It was a simple matter to explain the term “Messiah” as “king.” Pilate was therefore confronted, not only with a possible charge of treason against the Roman imperial authority, but also with a possible claimant to the throne of Herod. Cf. [Luke 23:2](#).

[12–13](#). Cf. [26:62](#). Presumably the accusers were making charges of treason, and it is in this sense that John’s gospel reports the matter ([John 18–19](#)).

102. JESUS SENTENCED TO DEATH

(27:15–26)[†]

27 ¹⁵ At the time of the festival the governor was accustomed to release for the crowd any prisoner whom they wished, ¹⁶ and they held then a notorious prisoner called [Jesus] Barabbas. ¹⁷ Therefore when they had gathered together, Pilate asked them, “Whom do you wish me to release for you—[Jesus] Barabbas, or Jesus known as Messiah?” ¹⁸ (for he recognized that they had handed him over out of spite). ¹⁹ While he was sitting on the judgment seat, his wife sent to him the message, “Have nothing to do with that Righteous One, for I have suffered a good deal in a dream about him.” ²⁰ But the chief priests and the elders had persuaded the people to ask for Barabbas and destroy Jesus. ²¹ The governor again said to them, “Which of the two do you want released to you?” They replied, “Barabbas.” ²² “What then,” Pilate returned, “shall I do with Jesus who is called Messiah?” They all said, “Let him be crucified!” ²³ But he said, “Why? What evil has he committed?” But they shouted all the more “Let him be crucified!” ²⁴ Pilate, recognizing that he could do nothing, but rather that a riot was in the making, took water and washed his hands in the sight of the crowd, with the words: “I am innocent of this man’s death; see to it yourselves.” ²⁵ To this all the people answered, “Let the guilt rest upon us and upon our children!” ²⁶ He then released Barabbas, and having flogged Jesus handed him over to be crucified.

NOTES

We know nothing from external sources of the custom described for us by Matthew, Mark, and John, and this account of a (local?) custom has from time to time been used to discredit the whole narrative of the trial of Jesus. Apart altogether from the agreement of three evangelists on this point, it is necessary to emphasize once again how meager and fragmentary is our information on the operation of Roman administration in provincial jurisdictions. Luke speaks of the savage punishment visited by Pilate on some Galileans. It is possible that this was a suppression of Zealots or other insurgents. Such insurgent activity must always have posed a problem for any Roman administrator in Palestine, and [Mark 15:7](#) may give us a hint of what lay behind this reported custom of Pilate. It is at least likely that in the explosive and turbulent conditions of the Passover celebration in Jerusalem, the governor thought to assuage the emotions of the crowd by an annual display of clemency to one of their imprisoned countrymen.

[27:16](#). We have preferred the reading *Jesus Barabbas* on the grounds that the dropping of the name “Jesus” by a later editor (or scribe) is far more likely than the addition of that name. It is Mark who gives us the information that Barabbas had been involved in insurrection.

[17](#). Mark depicts the governor as asking whether the crowd wishes him to release the king of the Jews. This scornful attempted dismissal of the issue accords well with [vs. 18](#). Matthew has called attention before to the spite of the native leaders—cf. [21:15 f.](#) and [45](#).

[19](#). This incident, reported only by Matthew, has one interesting feature. It is the use by Pilate’s wife of *that Righteous One*. We have called attention elsewhere to this old Messianic title, which was becoming archaic by NT times, but we have no means of determining why Pilate’s wife is here said to have used the designation. In [Acts 7:52](#) we have the title used by one who may have been a Jewish sectarian, and its use elsewhere (e.g., in the Johannine letters, [1 John 2:1](#)) may indicate a sectarian background for the author of at least one of the Johannine letters.

[20](#). Mark simply records the demand of the crowd to have Barabbas released. Only Matthew has the added detail of *the elders*.

[22–23](#). The Lukan tradition represents Pilate as having sent Jesus to Herod, and with the result of that abortive examination before him, declares his intention of releasing Jesus. John’s gospel tells of the crowd confronting Pilate with twin charges against Jesus of blasphemy and potential rebellion, implying that the release of Jesus would seriously compromise the governor’s loyalty to Rome.

We must emphasize again that we are dealing here not with the studied calm of a dispassionate legal examination, but with a mob scene outside the crowded city of Jerusalem at Passover. The recollected traditions preserved in all three synoptic evangelists, as well as in John, must therefore be seen against a confused scene of mounting disorder, in which no single person present could hope to preserve all details.

Let him be crucified! It is difficult to see why the Matthean tradition of the verb (cf. Mark’s “Crucify him!”) should be thought to place responsibility for the death of Jesus on the mob rather than on Pilate.

[24](#). The possibility of riot in an overcrowded Jerusalem was always present. In such circumstances the governor might all the more readily bow to the demands of the crowd. From his point of view the death of one man was the lesser evil.

washed his hands. The incident is recorded by Matthew alone.

this man’s death. Many manuscripts have “I am innocent of the blood of this Righteous One.” Cf. NOTE on [vs. 19](#).

[25](#). *Let the guilt...* It is almost certain that this cry was remembered and preserved by tradition because of the events of A.D. 66–70. It was emphatically not remembered as a condemnation of generations unborn, and ought never so to be used. Cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, “Antisemitism and the Cry of ‘All the People’ (Matt 27:25),” [TS](#) 26 (1965), 667–71.

103. THE MOCKING

(27:27–31)[†]

27 ²⁷ Then the governor's troops took Jesus into the praetorium, and the whole battalion paraded together before him; ²⁸ they stripped him, put a scarlet robe on him, ²⁹ and plaiting a circlet of thorns they put it on his head, and placed a reed in his right hand. Kneeling before him, they mocked him with the words "Hail, King of the Jews!" ³⁰ They spat on him, took the reed and hit him on the head. ³¹ When they had made a mockery of him, they stripped him of the robe, and put his own clothes on him, and led him away to crucify him.

NOTES

There are some minor differences in this account from the tradition as recorded by Mark. Luke's account (23:11 f.) has a tradition of mock-homage by Herod's men.

27:27. *praetorium*. The official residence of the governor.

the whole battalion. I.e., a cohort, about six hundred men, and the tenth part of one legion.

28. *stripped him*. Some manuscripts have the word *endusantes* (*clothed him*). Jesus would have been stripped already for the flogging.

scarlet robe (Gr. *chlamuda kokkinē*). The robe here referred to, the *chlamus*, was usually a military cloak. The word used for "scarlet" does not mean "royal purple," i.e., "deep red," but suggests that a cheaper red cloak may have been substituted for the expensive robe of deep red.

29. It is possible that the *circlet of thorns* was meant as a cheap (and painful) imitation of the radiant circlet depicted on the coins of Tiberius Caesar. The *reed* would similarly correspond to the scepter, which the same coins depict in the emperor's hand.

"Hail, King of the Jews!" Cf. the common contemporary greeting of the emperor, "Ave Caesar!"

104. THE CRUCIFIXION

(27:32–44)[†]

27 ³² As they were going out they found a Cyrenian named Simon, and they compelled this man to carry his cross. ³³ When they came to a place called Golgotha, which means the Place of a Skull, ³⁴ they offered him wine to drink, mingled with gall, but when he tasted it he would not drink it. ³⁵ When they had crucified him, they divided his clothes, casting lots, ³⁶ and then sat down there and watched him. ³⁷ Over his head they placed the charge against him, which read: “This is Jesus, the King of the Jews.” ³⁸ Then two bandits were crucified with him, one on his right hand, and the other on the left. ³⁹ The passers-by derided him, shaking their heads: ⁴⁰ “You who would destroy the temple and build it in three days,” they said, “save yourself! If you are God’s son, come down from the cross!” ⁴¹ In similar fashion the chief priests, with the scribes and elders, mocked him with the words: ⁴² “He saved others, but he cannot save himself. If he is the king of Israel, then let him come down from the cross, and we will believe in him. ⁴³ Does he trust in God? Then let him deliver him now, if he wants him, for he said, ‘I am God’s son.’ ” ⁴⁴ The bandits who were crucified with him also heaped scorn on him.

NOTES

27:32. *As they were going out.* This is an allusion to the parable in 21:39. The position of the traditional site of the crucifixion inside the present city is deceptive, since the present northern city limits are outside those of the city in the time of Jesus.

a Cyrenian named Simon. To this detail of the man's name, Mark (15:21) is able to add information about his family, presumably because he was known to some Christians and may have become a convert himself.

compelled. The Greek means "pressed into service." The same sense applies as in 5:41.

Golgotha. The name may have been given to the place from its resemblance to a skull, or it may have been so named as a regular place of execution.

34. *wine to drink mingled with gall.* The latter was a stupefying drug (cf. Ps 69:21).

35. *divided his clothes.* The soldiers who carried out the sentence had a right to the clothes of the criminal. Cf. Ps 22:18 and below on vs. 46.

36. Mark at this point adds the detail that it was about 9 A.M. Matthew's *watched him*, when taken in combination with vss. 62–66, and 28:4, 11–15, may be intended to emphasize that Jesus truly suffered physical death and burial. We know from the Johannine letters how early the Docetic belief was propagated that Jesus only appeared to be in the flesh.

37. It was usual for the charge against the criminal to be publicly displayed.

38. *Bandits* are attested in all the gospels. The fact that the execution of Jesus was but one of three underlines the confusion attending the pre-crucifixion scene and the execution itself. Luke's tradition (23:39 ff.) is that one bandit repented.

39. *the passers-by.* Cf. Lam 2:15; Ps 22:7.

40. Much of the material here is broadly reminiscent of Wisd Sol 2. Cf. 26:61.

"If you are God's son," Cf. 4:3, 6.

41. Once again Matthew adds the detail of *the elders*.

43. Although this verse as it stands appears to be part of the crowd's mockery, it is composed of allusions to Ps 22:8 and Wisd Sol 2:18. It is possible that it reflects the evangelist's meditations rather than the taunts of the crowd.

105. DEATH OF JESUS

(27:45–56)[†]

27 ⁴⁵ From noon there was darkness over all the land until three o'clock, ⁴⁶ and around three o'clock Jesus called in a loud voice, "*Eli, Eli, lema sabachthani*," which means "My God, my God, why have you abandoned me?" ⁴⁷ Some of the bystanders, when they heard this, said, "This man is calling for Elijah." ⁴⁸ At once one of them ran, took a sponge, filled it with sour wine, and putting it on a reed, gave it to him to drink, ⁴⁹ but the rest said, "Let things take their course; let us see whether Elijah will come to save him." ⁵⁰ Jesus again gave a loud cry, and yielded up the spirit. ⁵¹ Then the curtain of the Most Holy Place was torn in two, from top to bottom, the earth shook, rocks were shattered, ⁵² the tombs were opened as well, and many bodies of the saints who had died were raised, ⁵³ and coming out of the tombs at the time of his resurrection they went into the holy city and appeared to many people. ⁵⁴ When the centurion and his companions who were keeping watch over Jesus saw the earthquake and what happened, they were awestruck, and said, "Truly this was God's son." ⁵⁵ There were also many women, looking on from a distance, who had followed Jesus from Galilee and looked after him. ⁵⁶ Among them were Mary of Magdala, Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of Zebedee's sons.

NOTES

45. *darkness over all the land*. Matthew's narrative is here closer in the Greek to [Exod 10:22](#) than is that of Mark. Cf. below in COMMENT.

46. The Greek manuscripts of both Matthew and Mark vary in this verse. It is possible that Mark had *Eloi*, which may be an old Hebrew form still used at that time for "my God." In later times the vocalized Hebrew form was *Elohai*, literally "my Gods," used as a plural of majesty, where Matthew has *Eli*, closer to the Hebrew of [Ps 22:1](#) (2H). It may also be an unusually early case of Aramaic "obscuration" of *ā* to *ō* in normal late Western Aramaic. There are other allusions to [Ps 22](#) in vss. 35, 39, and 43. This is the only utterance of Jesus recorded by Matthew and Mark during the crucifixion. The fact that it was in Aramaic may suggest that Jesus knew and remembered the Psalms in Aramaic.

47. *Elijah*. According to the OT, Elijah did not die but was translated, and the common belief was that the prophet would come to the aid of the distressed. The onlookers misheard Jesus' cry, which in the circumstances is hardly surprising.

48. Matthew's narrative agrees with Mark's against Luke's, which is here obscure: it was one of the onlookers, not a soldier, who ran to Jesus' help.

49. Mark makes it appear that it was the helper who wished to wait and see what would happen.

50. *yielded up the spirit*. This is a very different expression from Mark's "expired," or "breathed his last." In the light of what will be said in the COMMENT, it is important to attempt to penetrate the evangelist's meaning more fully. In the first instance, the only examples in classical Greek for "give up the ghost" in the sense of "to die" and using the formula employed here, seem to be in Euripides and Aeschylus. In those instances there is no definite article before the Gr. *pneuma*. The real background of this expression in Matthew would seem to be [Gen 35:18](#) (LXX), though there the word is not *pneuma* but *psychē*. It is clear, however, that the interest of the Genesis account is wholly focused on the fact of a new birth at the time of Rachel's death. Two other OT contexts are also significant—[Ps 104:30](#) and [Ezek 37](#), though [Ps 104:30](#) (LXX 103:30) has the verb *exapostelēs* and not as in Matthew, *aphēken*. [Ezek 37](#), as is well known, speaks of the renewal of Israel through the "spirit" (or, "breath," Gr. *pneuma*).

Secondly, the NT understanding of God's act in and through Jesus is that those in the Messianic Community are "born through the Spirit," that it is the Spirit who is the "life-giver" in the Kingdom, and who "dwells in" the members of the Community, and who is also the source of truth to the Community.

Without going into details of exegesis, it is vital to call attention to [John 19:30](#) (Gr. *paredōken to pneuma*), which can be—and perhaps ought to be—translated "he handed on the Spirit" or "gave over the Spirit."

Only Luke provides us with an account of both an exaltation ([Acts 1:1–12](#); cf. [Luke 24:50–52](#)) and a gift of the Spirit ([Acts 2:1–36](#); cf. [Luke 24:49](#)). Certainly [Luke 24:49](#) is in complete agreement with John in speaking of the Spirit as the Father's promise, but it is impossible *historically* to reconcile the Acts account with the tradition of the gift of the Spirit in John (cf. [John 20:22](#)). This is not the end of our difficulties, for John has Jesus speaking of his "ascension" to the Father at his resurrection (cf. [John 20:17](#)). Cf. C. S. Mann, "The New Testament and the Lord's Ascension," *Church Quarterly Review* 158 (1957), 452–65. The exaltation of Jesus is regarded by Matthew and John as being bound up with the cross and resurrection, and in the light of all NT writings (apart from Luke), it is certain that Luke has "theologized" the last appearance of Jesus to his disciples. Moreover, long Christian liturgical usage has not only given the Pentecost narrative of [Acts 2](#) a wholly misleading interpretation as the "birthday" of the Community, obscuring the salient fact that the community of the New Covenant was born in the cross and resurrection, it has also given to that local Jerusalem manifestation a universal application which it did not at first possess.

We conclude that Matthew's *aphēken to pneuma* is completely in agreement with the Johannine tradition—i.e., the gift of the Spirit is bound up with the passion and the resurrection. Cf. C. S. Mann, "Pentecost, the Spirit, and John," in *Theology* 62 (1959), 188 ff.

51–53. It is certainly no service to scholarship to find in these verses an imaginative piece of fiction on

the part of the evangelist, or simply an attempt to garnish the account of the passion with improbable details. Enough has surely become known in the course of the past fifty years about the language and forms of apocalyptic to evaluate this material seriously. W. G. Essame (“Matthew 27:51–54 and John 5:25–29,” [ET](#) 76 [1964–65], 103) is certainly correct in seeing here a dramatization of a saying preserved in the Johannine tradition. It is worth noting that Essame is following the lead of a much underrated NT scholar, W. K. Lowther-Clarke, who saw the verses as a triumphant assertion in OT language that the resurrection of Jesus was a divine act. The whole complex of these verses is reminiscent of the triumph of the saints described in [Dan 7:18, 21, 22, 25, and 27](#). We call attention here to the NOTE on vs. 50. At the time of the death of Jesus a new community was born.

51. *the curtain of the Most Holy Place*. Matthew and Mark report this detail. In the absence of any firm dating for the crucifixion from external sources, coupled with a lack of historical evidence for an earthquake coincidental to the crucifixion, it is not possible to say whether this detail was intended to be read as history, or whether by this means the evangelists are further pursuing symbolism. [Eph 2:14](#) is the Pauline assertion that in the community of the New Covenant Israel now embraces both Jew and Gentile, while [Heb 9:8 ff.](#) expresses the way “opened by the sacrifice of the cross.” The position of the saying in Matthew certainly seems to indicate a symbolic meaning. Josephus (*Jewish War* VI. 299) has an account of an earthquake before the fall of Jerusalem, while a letter of Jerome (120.8) recalls that the now lost Gospel according to the Hebrews speaks of a cleavage in the masonry of the temple porch, which might have left the Most Holy Place open to view. The Talmud ([TB](#), *Yoma* 39b) has an interesting story concerned with Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai, which reports that the doors of the temple opened of their own accord forty years (*sic*) before the fall of Jerusalem, so portending the end of the temple.

54. “*Truly this was God’s Son.*” Matthew and Mark both report this saying. [Luke 23:47](#) has a saying which may reflect an assertion that Jesus was indeed “the Righteous One,” although the Greek is capable of meaning “acquitted.” Dr. Garry Wills of the Johns Hopkins University informs us that *dikaïos* in classical Greek can only with the greatest difficulty be rendered “innocent.” There is a whole new area of exegesis to be carried out in the Pauline letters with respect to this enigmatic word, and it may well be that investigation will prove that the apostle was more concerned with the incorporation of the individual Christian into the community of the Righteous One than he was with the forensic meanings which have often been fathered on it. In the case of the two synoptic traditions, the saying in this verse is not particularly surprising. The centurion would certainly have learned enough from bystanders, both friendly and hostile, to be aware of what had been said about Jesus as the Righteous One, and to have attempted to render this in his own idiom.

55. *many women*. It is John who provides us with most of our information as to what happened immediately before and after the death of Jesus. But all the gospels agree in the tradition that it was the women who had followed from Galilee who also watched to the end. Of the disciples, only the “disciple whom Jesus loved” is mentioned after Peter’s denial, and he only in John’s gospel.

looking on from a distance. Cf. [Ps 38:11](#). It is Luke ([23:49](#)) who makes the allusion to the psalm much clearer in the Greek.

56. The women are mentioned again in [27:61](#) and [28:1](#).

Mary the mother of James and Joseph. Mark has “the mother of James the younger and of Joses” ([15:40](#)), the “mother of Joses” at [15:47](#), and “mother of James” at [16:1](#). Though Matthew informs us in [13:55](#) that two of Jesus’ brothers were named James and Joseph, it is quite impossible to determine whether Matthew’s second Mary is meant to imply the mother of Jesus.

mother of Zebedee’s sons. Cf. [20:20](#). Mark supplies the detail that her name was Salome.

COMMENT

The evangelists say almost nothing of the physical sufferings of Jesus. Their interests are wholly centered on the way in which this physical act of crucifixion was used by God to inaugurate the Kingdom and the New Covenant. The allusions to the Old Testament in the passion narrative underline the emphasis which is laid all through the gospels on God's act. Medieval and post-medieval concentration on the physical agony of the crucifixion steadily obscured the early Christian proclamation of the cross as a "trophy" and sign of victory. The harm done by such concentration is still with us. The cry of triumph which John (19:30) records Jesus as uttering (*tetelestai*—"it is completed") is unhappily still misunderstood by some as an utterance of patient resignation.

Matthew's quotations from, and allusions to, Pss 22 and 69, are calls to understand the passion as Jesus' obedient response to the Father's will, not the bewildered musings of one caught up in circumstances beyond his control. The cry from the cross in vs. 46 must be seen in the context of the whole psalm. Ps 22, for all its meditation upon immediate suffering, is a triumphant vindication of the ways of God to a "people yet unborn." (Cf. NOTE on vs. 50.)

There are also allusions to OT expectations in the gospel accounts of the crucifixion. The darkness from noon to 3 P.M. may be a reference to the darkness over Egypt before the first Passover, or perhaps a reference to Amos 8:9. In either case, whatever the historical background of the narrative, the emphasis both with reference to the darkness of Egypt and to the darkness in Amos is to God's act. In both cases "the day" belongs to God and not to the forces of evil.

106. BURIAL OF JESUS

(27:57–66)[†]

27 ⁵⁷ At evening there came a rich man from Arimathea, named Joseph, who was attached to Jesus, ⁵⁸ and he went in to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus, and Pilate ordered it to be given to him. ⁵⁹ Joseph took the body, wrapped it in clean linen, ⁶⁰ laid it in a new tomb of his own which he had dug out of the rock, rolled a great stone to the door of the tomb, and went away. ⁶¹ Mary of Magdala and the other Mary were there, sitting opposite the tomb.

⁶² On the next day, that is, after the day of Preparation, the chief priests and the Pharisees went to Pilate with the request: ⁶³ “Sir, we recall that that impostor, while still living, said, ‘After three days I will rise again.’ ⁶⁴ Therefore order the tomb secured until the third day, in case his disciples go and steal him away and tell the people ‘He has arisen from the dead,’ and the last imposture will be worse than the first.” ⁶⁵ “You have a guard of soldiers,” said Pilate, “go and make it as secure as you can.” ⁶⁶ So they went and made the tomb secure by sealing the stone and setting a guard.

NOTES

27:57. *Arimathea* (Gr. *Arimathaia*). The name of this town appears as *Rāmethā* in the Syriac version (probably the Ramathaim-sophim of Samuel, where the family of the latter lived). The Greek form of the name may stand for an Aramaic *Rāmēthayyā*, “The (Two) Heights,” also called simply *Rāmēthā* (if correctly vocalized) as in the Peshitta. Later the name was partly Hellenized as *Remtis* (following a common practice; cf. *Emmaus* for *Ḥammātā*) in the Syro-Palestinian recension based substantially on the Peshitta. Hence modern Arabic *Rentīs*. (The native name at the time of Christ may have been *Hārematay(in)*, an aramaized Hebrew form.)

Joseph. All our gospels give us an account of this man who had attached himself to Jesus. [John 19:38](#) provides the additional information that Joseph’s attachment to Jesus was secret. Similarly, it is John who tells us that in his work of piety he was joined by Nicodemus. [Mark 15:43](#) asserts that Joseph was a member of the Council, while to this information Luke adds that Joseph had not consented to Jesus’ death ([23:50–51](#)). Mark also adds the information that it was “the Preparation,” i.e., Friday. Matthew’s *at evening* means before sunset, before the Sabbath began. [John 19:14](#) identifies this Friday with the eve of the (orthodox) Passover. Josephus (*Jewish War* IV. 5.2) informs us that the bodies of crucified criminals were taken down and buried before evening, mentioning this as an example of the care taken by Jews to obey the Law. Cf. [Deut 21:22–23](#). It is worth noting here that the incident reported in [John 19:31–33](#) precisely fulfills the legal requirements of one executed on the eve of the Sabbath. Care was taken that the criminal being executed could not be secretly rescued during the Sabbath period. It was not unknown for those crucified to survive in agony for days. Hence in order to hasten the death of a criminal suffering execution who might still be living, such criminals’ legs were broken.

58. Mark adds that the request to Pilate called for courage on the part of Joseph. Pilate is said to be surprised that Jesus is reported as already dead. See NOTE above, and cf. [Mark 15:44 ff.](#)

59–60. We are indebted to Matthew alone for the information that the tomb was *new*, that it was *his own*, and that a *great stone* was required to seal the entrance. The last decades of the second temple have provided archaeology with contemporary examples of tombs with a large circular stone rolled in a trough to seal the entrance (notably the tomb of Helen the queen mother from the land of Adiabene, a convert to Judaism). [John 19:40 ff.](#) gives additional details about the burial, implying (cf. [Luke 24:1](#)) the urgency of burying the body before the Feast.

61. Matthew’s detail about the women, like that on the guards in the ensuing paragraph, is included to emphasize the identity of the person who died, was buried, and vanished from the tomb.

62–66. There is no parallel to this incident in the other gospels. Matthew has mentioned the Roman soldiers watching Jesus in vss. 36 and 54, the women at the tomb in vs. 61, and now goes even further to make it clear that no deception was possible.

62. *On the next day ... Preparation*. This is a confusing note of time, since Matthew could very easily have said “on the Sabbath” or have omitted *after the day of Preparation*. It is possible that we have here an example of the fidelity of the evangelist to his sources. Matthew may well have thought that taking all these precautions on the Sabbath was unlikely but felt that, however unlikely, the tradition must be recorded. [Mark 15:42](#) refers to “the day of Preparation” which Matthew does not have. There is also another possibility with which to reckon, that Matthew’s tradition here represents a subsisting uncertainty as to whether Jesus and the disciples did or did not observe the orthodox Jerusalem calendar.

63. *impostor*. The Greek word is from the same root as *imposture* in vs. 64.

65. *You have a guard*. I.e., take a guard—the soldiers would be Roman, not Jewish.

107. THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS

(28:1–15)[†]

28 ¹ After the sabbath, and towards dawn on the first day of the week, Mary of Magdala and the other Mary went to see the tomb. ² There was a great earthquake, for an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, came and rolled back the stone, and sat on it. ³ His appearance was like lightning, and his clothing was as white as snow; ⁴ for fear of him the guards were paralyzed with fright. ⁵ To the women, however, the angel said: “Do not be afraid, ⁶ for I know that you are looking for Jesus, who was crucified. But he is not here. He is risen, as he said. Come and see the place where he lay. ⁷ Go quickly, and tell his disciples, ‘He is risen from the dead,’ and ‘He is going before you into Galilee, and you will see him there.’ See, I have told you.” ⁸ They therefore left the tomb quickly, with awe and great joy, and ran to tell his disciples. ⁹ And Jesus met them: “Hail!” he said. They came up, took hold of his feet and worshiped him. ¹⁰ Then Jesus said to them, “Do not be afraid; go and tell my brethren to go to Galilee, and they will see me there.”

¹¹ While they were on their way some of the guard came into the city to tell the chief priests all that had happened. ¹² When they had assembled with the elders and discussed it, they gave money to the soldiers. ¹³ “Tell people,” they said, “ ‘His disciples came by night and stole him away while we were asleep.’ ¹⁴ If this reaches the governor’s ears, we will satisfy him and keep you out of trouble.”

¹⁵ They took the money and did as they were told, and this story is told among Jews to this day.

NOTES

28:1. *After the sabbath* (Gr. *opse de sabbatōn*). We must remember that the sabbath ended at sunset on Saturday. This phrase appears to be parallel to Mark's *diagenomenou tou sabbatou* (the Sabbath having passed), but Mark then goes on to describe something which happened on the evening after the sabbath (Mark 16:1) which Matthew does not record. It is hard to understand the opening phrase in this verse as meaning other than "as the sabbath ended," or "when it had ended." In context Matthew goes on to describe events which belong in all the traditions to Sunday morning. Thus, the next clause *towards dawn* must be understood as meaning "when the sabbath had already passed into the next day."

The proliferation of recent studies on the calendar, both sectarian and orthodox, prompts us to add a note of caution here. The Greek phrase which we have translated *the first day of the week* and which is found in all four gospels (*mia sabbatou* or *mia tōn sabbatōn*) is not as obvious an indication of a particular "day" of a "week" as the English suggests. By the time we reach the *Didache* the plural *sabbata* certainly meant "week," and the enumeration of the days certainly makes Sunday the "first day" of the week; cf. *Didache* vi. But the notes of time in our gospels concerning the resurrection, together with the confused chronology of Holy Week, make it hazardous to say with any confidence whether the evangelists wished us to understand Saturday or Sunday at this point.

to see the tomb. Mark, having no tradition of a sealed and guarded tomb, says that the women went "to anoint him."

2–4 Matthew's tradition is radically different from Mark's here. Mark records the women as questioning how the stone over the tomb is to be moved. Matthew and Luke record the women finding the tomb open, while John attributes a similar experience to Mary Magdalene.

2–3. *earthquake.* Cf. NOTE on 27:51–53. It is not possible to say whether the evangelists held these three verses as historical, or whether the *earthquake* and the appearance of the angel as *lightning* are meant as symbolic dramatizations of God's act in raising Jesus.

4. *paralyzed with fright.* The expression indicates faces waxen and immobile with fear. Matthew's account of the resurrection appearances is brief compared with those of Luke and John, and his tradition is at variance with that of Mark. Cf. vss. 1–2 and Mark 16:3. There is no mention of Peter—surprising, in view of the prominence which that disciple otherwise has in this gospel (cf. Mark 16:7; John 20:1–10). In Matthew the women obey the angelic injunction, whereas in Mark they are bewildered and afraid.

7. *Galilee.* B. H. Streeter, followed later by L. E. Elliott-Binns (*Galilean Christianity*, Naperville, Ill.: A. R. Allenson, 1956; London: SCM, 1957), argues that the varying emphases in the gospel accounts of the appearances of Jesus in Jerusalem and Galilee provide a key to the later tensions among Jewish Christians. Briefly, the suggestion is that the earlier followers of Jesus in Galilee, including some of the inner circle, were more open and outward-looking than the rather narrower Judaistic Christians centered in Jerusalem around James. Elliott-Binns finds this reflected in the varying traditions of the resurrection appearances, and even in the earlier gospel narratives. He finds contrasts in both earlier narratives and the resurrection narratives as between Mark and material peculiar to Matthew, on the one hand, and John, some parts of Luke, and the early chapters of Acts on the other. If all this is a welcome change from the familiar Hegelian dialectic of the Tübingen school, with its conflict between Paul and the Twelve (especially Peter), it is no freer from arbitrary reconstruction. Streeter, for example, finds some material in Matthew a "later Judaistic reaction against the Petro-Pauline liberalism" (*The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins, Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, and Dates* [London: Macmillan, 1924], p. 512). However, once explain John's polemic against "the Jews" throughout his gospel as perhaps indicating that John had been strongly influenced by Jewish sectarianism, then the related theses of Streeter and Elliott-Binns cease to be persuasive. That there were tensions in the primitive community only the singularly uncritical will deny, and there may well have been much tension between Galileans and Judeans. But in the light of our present knowledge of Judaism in the time of Jesus, it is as well to beware of underestimating the divisions within Judaism, which has become so characteristic of much NT criticism.

9–10. Apart from the final commission in vss. 16–20 (§108), this is Jesus’ only resurrection appearance to the disciples in this gospel.

11–13. This tradition is found only in Matthew. The chief priests and the elders used the deception which they expected of the disciples; cf. 27:64.

11. *chief priests*. The soldiers (a Roman guard, cf. 27:65) presumably reported the matter to the chief priests, because they were aware that this was a matter of some concern to the Jewish authorities.

On the surface, the story appears to be directed against those who did not believe in the reality of the resurrection. But it is equally possible that the tradition in question served only to emphasize the one point on which both believers and non-believers were agreed—that the tomb was empty. Cf. Justin Martyr *Dialogue with Trypho* CVIII.

COMMENT

We are not concerned with theology in this commentary except as required to convey the plain meaning of the words used by the evangelists. This is particularly true when we deal with the resurrection of Jesus. For all the confusing chronology, for the manifest variations in tradition, the one thing upon which all four evangelists are agreed is that the tomb of Jesus was empty. Only Luke and John attempt to explain how the body of Jesus, in his appearances to his disciples, differed from that body as they had known it in the days of the ministry. We are not here immediately concerned with the differences in tradition, but we must use this opportunity to say once more that complete agreement by the evangelists on details and chronology of the story would put the whole NT record under grave suspicion of collusion on the part of eyewitnesses and recorders of tradition or possibly editors of the gospels.

We confine ourselves to the single assertion that the Messianic Community for which Jesus had made provision during his ministry, and for which he was the instrument of a New Covenant, believed not only that the tomb was empty but that God had raised Jesus from the dead. Apart from that faith, there is no understanding of the New Testament.

108. JESUS' FINAL COMMISSION

(28:16–20)[†]

28 ¹⁶ The eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the mountain to which Jesus had directed them, ¹⁷ and seeing him they worshiped him, though some were doubtful. ¹⁸ Coming to them, Jesus said, “All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. ¹⁹ Therefore go and make disciples of all peoples, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, ²⁰ teaching them to observe everything I have commanded you; and I am with you always, to the end of the age.”

NOTES

Matthew is the only gospel which has anything that can properly be called an ending. The ending of Mark is still a matter of dispute; Luke's gospel looks to its completion in the second part of the author's work, while the ending of John may originally have been at [20:31](#) (see Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, xiii–xxi, [AB](#), vol. 29A [New York: Doubleday, 1970], COMMENT on §70 [20:30–31]). This final paragraph of Matthew's gospel looks forward to the continuing work of the Messianic Community, making explicit what has already been hinted elsewhere about a mission to those outside the Old Covenant community of Israel.

[28:16](#). *Galilee*. Cf. the NOTE on vs. 7 (§107). In the light of [4:15 f.](#) it is likely that Galilee here represents *all peoples* in vs. [19](#); cf. “Galilee of the nations” in [Isa 9:1](#).

the mountain. In spite of various later traditions, the mountain is not identified.

[17](#). *some were doubtful*. Matthew is apparently aware of the tradition recorded by Luke ([24:22 ff.](#) and [36 ff.](#)) and John ([20:8 ff.](#), [11 ff.](#), [24 ff.](#)). Apart from such awareness of other traditions, it is not possible to find any good reason for this assertion, especially in the light of [28:8](#).

[18–19](#). Cf. [26:64](#). Here again Jesus expresses himself in the words of Daniel (cf. [Dan 7:14](#)). The mission which had been limited to Israel in the days of his ministry (cf. [15:24](#)) is now extended to *all peoples*.

[19](#). *baptizing them*. In the New Testament *baptizein* (to “baptize,” literally used for dyeing of cloth) is the verb used to describe the act of initiation into the Messianic Community. But the verb—and the derived noun “baptism”—includes considerations which are always presupposed in the New Testament. This lustration with or in water assumed (a) repentance on the part of the person being baptized, the baptism itself conveying or implying forgiveness (cf. [Acts 2:38](#)); (b) faith in Jesus as Messiah and Lord.

There are two kinds of formal statements about baptismal status in the New Testament, one speaking of baptism “in the name of” and the other “into the name of” the Messiah. Without setting hard and definite limits, we may understand the first formula (“in the name of”) as including both the neophytes’ expressed faith in Jesus as Lord, and also the ceremonial action which accepted this profession of faith—i.e., the baptismal rite. “Into the name of,” however, seems in its various contexts to demand an interpretation which calls attention to the results of the baptismal rite. The neophyte baptized *into the name of* the Messiah thus not only pledges allegiance to Jesus as Messiah and Lord, but is also incorporated into fellowship with him. Hence the expression used in this verse describes an entrance into fellowship with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

Father, ... Son, ... Holy Spirit. If we approach this verse with a fully developed post-Nicene orthodoxy in our minds, we shall be just as unsympathetic to our sources as are those who find in this verse a highly sophisticated and much later stage of doctrinal formulation retrojected into the text. For all we know, such a saying may have stood in the now-lost ending of Mark. Even apart from such speculation, the concept of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is clearly as old as the Messianic Community as it is known to us in the New Testament. Cf., for example, [1 Cor 12:4–6](#); [2 Cor 13:14](#); [1 Peter 1:2](#); [1 John 3:23–24](#). In Mark we have “Father” and “Son” so obviously antithetical that—allowing for Jewish beliefs about “the Spirit”—it plainly opened the way to trinitarian belief. The antithesis Father-Son is found in [Matt 16:27](#) and is very common in John. But what is also common in John is the emphasis on the Paraclete, clearly represented as being neither Father nor Son.

It seems plain from the early material in Acts that baptism was performed “in the name of” and also “into the name of” Jesus as Lord and Messiah. The mistake of so many writers on the New Testament lies in treating this saying as a liturgical formula (which it later became), and not as a description of what baptism accomplished. The evangelist, whom we must at least allow to have been familiar with the baptismal customs of the early Messianic Community, may well have added to *baptizing them* his own summary of what baptism accomplished.

It is as well to remember that the *Didache* also has this summary of baptism (*Didache* vii) and its reference to “running water” reflects an earlier Essene preoccupation.

20. *teaching them*. Elsewhere in this gospel Jesus commands the inner circle to *heal* (10:1, 8) and to *proclaim* (10:7). Now that Jesus' ministry is over, the command to *teach* is given.

I am with you always. Cf. 1:23 and 18:20.

to the end of the age. Cf. 13:39 f. and 49, and 24:3. The presence of this old sectarian formula at the end of this passage is additional evidence that the passage belongs to the earliest stages of the tradition.

¹Cf. recently U. E. Simon, "The Problem of the Biblical Narrative," *Theology* 72 (1969), 588 ff.

[NEB The New English Bible, 1961, 1970](#)

²For a thorough examination of the place of oral tradition in the early Christian community, the reader is referred to the following invaluable works by Birger Gerhardsson: *Memory and Manuscript*, Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis, XXII, 1961, and *Tradition and Transmission in Early Christianity*, Coniectanea Neotestamentica, XX, 1964. (Both are published by Gleerup, Lund, and Munksgaard, Copenhagen.) The author's work perhaps makes oral transmission too rigid, but it is a very valuable corrective to the view that the gospel material was almost a free compilation of the early community.

³On the so-called "testimonies" from Qumran see: J. M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," JBL 75 (1956), 174–87; *idem*, "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological *Midrāšîm*," JBL 77 (1958), 350–54; *idem*, "A Recently Discovered Fragment of a Commentary on Hosea from Qumran's Fourth Cave," JBL 78 (1959), 142–47; William R. Lane, "A New Commentary Structure in 4Q Florilegium," JBL 78 (1959), 343–46; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "'4Q Testimonia' and the New Testament," TS 18 (1957), 513–37.

[Gr. Greek](#)

[TS Theological Studies](#)

[Gr. Greek](#)

⁴A recent article—"The Oral Tradition that Never Existed," by Howard M. Teeple, JBL 89 (1970), 56–68—is useful as a summary of views which are, or have been, propounded on oral tradition in the gospels. Unhappily, the author makes no mention at all of Rabbinic oral tradition. Enough is now known to make such an omission a fatal flaw in his argumentation.

⁵On "John the Elder" see C. Stewart Petrie, "The Authorship of 'The Gospel according to Matthew': A Reconsideration of his External Evidence," NTS 14 (1967), 15–32, and our view, below, Part XIII, Appendix A.

⁶Cf. E. P. Sanders, "The Argument from Order and the Relationship between Matthew and Luke," NTS 15 (1968–69), 249–61.

⁷The reader who is interested in pursuing this matter of synoptic relationships further must not expect to arrive at any easy conclusions. Some recent articles only serve to demonstrate how complicated the discussion is at present. Not even the most elaborate of modern statistical methods does more than underline the uncertainty of arriving at firm conclusions simply on the basis of documentary evidence. Cf. in this connection A. M. Honoré, "A Statistical Study of the Synoptic Problem," NovT 10 (1968), 95–147. Similarly, attempts to arrive at new solutions of the relationship between Matthew and Luke only serve to emphasize the relative poverty of the "Q" hypothesis: cf. R. T. Simpson, "The Major Agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark," NTS 12 (1965–66), 273–84.

⁸In Part XIII below it will be shown that the Aramaic personal and place names preserved in the Greek gospel tradition were in virtually every instance correctly transmitted by the Syriac recensions, dating in their extant text to the second-fifth centuries A.D. Where there is a marked divergence in form, the Syriac is nearly always to be preferred.

⁹Unimpressive attempts have been made to find some kind of OT numerology in Matthew, as though a common formula ending each of five sections (7:28, 11:1, 13:53, 19:1, 26:1) automatically provides us with a NT Pentateuch. This, the suggestion of B. W. Bacon (*Studies in Matthew*, London: Constable / New York: Holt, 1930), is unlikely because of the difficulty of finding any parallel to Leviticus. Austin M. Farrer's *St. Matthew and St. Mark* (London: A. & C. Black, 1954) goes so far as to propose a Matthean Hexateuch, apparently forgetting that this combination of OT books was purely a nineteenth-century invention. There is no limit to similar possibilities. Why not a "Genesis" in ch. 1, an "Exodus" in ch. 2, a "Numbers" in chs. 3 and 4, and so on? Most artificial numerology is obviously ludicrous.

¹⁰ See NOTE ad loc. In the kind of scheme here under discussion the change to The Man as suffering is important. However, our own view of the framework of Matthew does not depend on such a change. Cf. NOTES on 17:12, 23, 20:17–19, 28.

¹¹This is emphatically not numerology, but a familiar and successful pedagogical device.

[ICC International Critical Commentary](#)

[BA Biblical Archaeologist](#)

[LXX The Septuagint](#)

[MT Masoretic Text](#)

¹²A full discussion of these Middôth of Hillel can be found in Hermann L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959), especially pp. 93 ff.

¹³ On the characteristics of *pēsher* commentary method see the list drawn up by Brownlee (BA 14 [1951], 54–76), as well as Stendahl, *School of St. Matthew*, pp. 183 ff.

¹⁴"Proof texts": the practice of attempting to establish theological teaching by reference to often arbitrarily selected texts.

[TNTS Twelve New Testament Studies](#), by John A. T. Robinson, London: SCM, 1962

¹⁵Cf. *The Acts of the Apostles*, AB, vol. 31 (New York: Doubleday, 1967), Appendices VII and VIII.

[Heb. Hebrew](#)

[KJ The King James, or](#) Authorized Version of 1611

¹⁶This material we believe to be later editorial intrusions, which we shall examine in proper context (cf. commentary on 17:12, 22 ff.).

[TWNT Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament](#), eds. Gerhard Kittel et al., Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933–

[NTS New Testament Studies](#)

[1QS Qumran Manual of Discipline](#)

[LXX The Septuagint](#)

[17](#)

On any showing, Dan 7:13 is of outstanding importance for the concept of The Man as it appears in the gospels and Acts. But recent study has convinced us that the existing translations of that crucial passage are wholly misleading. In contrast with the designation of the prophet in Ezekiel as “The Man”—i.e., a figure of authority in his relationship with Yahweh and his people—translations of Dan 7:13 have customarily rendered the phrase as “one like a son of man.” This translation is generally seen as an attempt to do justice to the Aramaic but with a misunderstanding of the Greek. Whether it can stand must now be questioned.

To begin with, the *hōs* of LXX had, of course, no accent mark, and a choice had therefore to be made between the word as adverb of manner and as a supposed relative or demonstrative. Our present translations all opt for the latter dubious usage. Professor James H. Oliver of Johns Hopkins University, who has an extremely wide and exact knowledge of Greek usage in all periods, has examined the passage carefully and states unequivocally that the ordinary English translation is not acceptable Greek of any known type. We therefore propose that the English translation read: “And behold on the clouds of heaven how The Man was coming!” This does full Justice to the Greek and also to the Aramaic if we assume that there was haplography of two letters before the *k* following the word “heaven.” The *yodh* and *aleph* at the end of “heaven” should have been followed by *aleph*, *yodh*, and the *kaph* which still stands, but the second *yodh* and *aleph* were accidentally dropped. The Aramaic word *’eyk* is common also in Ugaritic and Hebrew; note several occurrences in Lamentations, e.g., 1:1, “How lonely sits the city that was full of people!” (RSV).

[RSV The Revised Standard Version, 1946, 1952](#)

[Heb. Hebrew](#)

¹⁸ See W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1948), especially p. 66; cf. Acts, AB, vol. 31, Appendix VIII.

[StB H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck](#), *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 6 vols., Munich: Beck, 1922–61

[KJ The King James, or Authorized Version of 1611](#)

[Gr. Greek](#)

[TWNT](#) *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, eds. Gerhard Kittel et al., Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933–

[Gr. Greek](#)

[LXX The Septuagint](#)

[NEB The New English Bible, 1961, 1970](#)

[Heb. Hebrew](#)

[RSV The Revised Standard Version, 1946, 1952](#)

[AB The Anchor Bible, 1964–](#)

[1QS Qumran Manual of Discipline](#)

[Syr. Syriac](#)

¹⁹ Cf. especially H. Montefiore, “A Comparison of the Parables According to Thomas and the Synoptic

Gospels,” NTS 7 (1960–61), 220 ff.

²⁰ For a reasoned critique of the operation of Hegelian dialectic in F. C. Baur and his successors down to the present, see Johannes Munck, *The Acts of the Apostles*, pp. xxx ff.; cf. also W. F. Albright, *History, Archaeology and Christian Humanism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), pp. 272–84, for an analysis of Bultmann’s philosophical presuppositions.

[StEv](#) *Studia Evangelica*. Papers from the Oxford International Congresses of NT Studies, published at Berlin, Akademie-Verlag

²¹ Matthew uses the phrase “Kingdom of God” only once (at 12:13), for which see commentary, ad loc.

[JBL](#) *Journal of Biblical Literature*

[Gr. Greek](#)

[Heb. Hebrew](#)

* Cf. now the important recent article: F. Charles Fensham, “Father and Son as Terminology for Treaty and Covenant,” in *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. Hans Goedicke (Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), pp. 121–35.

[NovT](#) *Novum Testamentum*

[NTS](#) *New Testament Studies*

[TNTS](#) *Twelve New Testament Studies*, by John A. T. Robinson, London: SCM, 1962

²² W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann, “Two Texts in 1 Corinthians,” NTS 16 (1970), 271–76.

[RB](#) *Revue Biblique*

²³ Instead of the obviously haplographic *dei oun* of the present text.

²⁴ See against this common assumption Kurt Aland, in *The Bible in Modern Scholarship*, ed. J. Philip Hyatt (Nashville: Abingdon, 1965), pp. 334 ff.

[CBQ](#) *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*

[NTS](#) *New Testament Studies*

[ZNW](#) *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*

[Gr. Greek](#)

[TWNT](#) *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, eds. Gerhard Kittel et al., Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933–

[LXX](#) *The Septuagint*

[Aram.](#) *Aramaic*

[StB](#) H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 6 vols., Munich: Beck, 1922–61

[CBQ](#) *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*

[StEv](#) *Studia Evangelica*. Papers from the Oxford International Congresses of NT Studies, published at

Berlin, Akademie-Verlag

[ZNW Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche](#)

[NTS New Testament Studies](#)

[ET Expository Times](#)



Matt 1:1–17 || Luke 3:23–38.

[LXX](#) The Septuagint

[Gr.](#) Greek

[Aram.](#) Aramaic



Matt 1:18–25 || Luke 2:1–7.

[Gk.](#) Greek

[TB Talmud Babli](#)

[RSV](#) The Revised Standard Version, 1946, 1952

[NEB](#) The New English Bible, 1961, 1970

[AB](#) The Anchor Bible, 1964–

* Cf. [Joseph Bidez and Franz Cumont](#), *Les Mages hellénisés: Zoroastre, Ostanés et Hystapes d'après la tradition grecque*, Paris, 1938, and Franz Cumont, *L'Égypte des Astrologues*, Brussels, 1937.

[JBL](#) Journal of Biblical Literature

[Heb.](#) Hebrew



Matt 3:1–12 || Mark 1:1–8, Luke 3:1–9, 15–17, John 1:19–28.

[Gr.](#) Greek

[KJ](#) The King James, or Authorized Version of 1611

[AB](#) The Anchor Bible, 1964–

[TNTS](#) *Twelve New Testament Studies*, by John A. T. Robinson, London: SCM, 1962

[Heb. Hebrew](#)



Matt 3:13–17 || Mark 1:9–11, Luke 3:21–22, John 1:29–34.

[LXX](#) The Septuagint

[TB](#) Talmud Babli



Matt 4:1–11 || Mark 1:12–13, Luke 4:1–13.

[NTS New Testament Studies](#)

 [Matt 4:12–17](#) || Mark 1:14–15, Luke 4:14–15.

 [Matt 4:18–22](#) || Mark 1:16–20, Luke 5:1–11.

 [Matt 4:23–25](#) || Luke 5:17–19.

 [Matt 5:3–12](#) || Luke 6:20–23.

[StB](#) H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 6 vols., Munich: Beck, 1922–61

* [Our own](#) interest in this theme was renewed by a recent lecture delivered by Raymond E. Brown to a meeting of the Catholic Biblical Association.

 [Matt 5:13–16](#) || Mark 9:50, Luke 14:34–35.

[Aram.](#) Aramaic

[ICC](#) International Critical Commentary

[RSV](#) The Revised Standard Version, 1946, 1952

* Cf. Jehoshua M. Grintz, “Hebrew as the Spoken and Written Language in the Last Days of the Second Temple,” *JBL* 79 (1960), 32–47.

 [Matt 5:25–26](#) || Luke 12:57–59.

[TWNT](#) *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, eds. Gerhard Kittel et al., Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933–

[ET](#) Expository Times

 [Matt 5:29–30](#) || Mark 9:43–48, Matt 18:8–9.

 [Matt 5:31–32](#) || Matt 19:9, Mark 10:11–12, Luke 16:18.

[TB](#) Talmud Babli

 [Matt 5:38–42](#) || Luke 6:29–30.

[Gr.](#) Greek

[RSV](#) The Revised Standard Version, 1946, 1952

[NEB](#) The New English Bible, 1961, 1970

[Heb.](#) Hebrew

†
— **Matt 5:43–48** || Luke 6:27–28, 32–36.

LXX The Septuagint

KJ The King James, or Authorized Version of 1611

†
— **Matt 6:5–14** || Luke 11:2–4.

†
— **Matt 6:19–21** || Luke 12:33–34.

†
— **Matt 6:22–23** || Luke 11:34–36; **24** || Luke 16:13; **25–34** || Luke 12:22–34.

IDB The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, 4 vols., New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962

†
— **Matt 7:1–6** || Luke 6:37–38, 41–42; **7–12** || Luke 11:9–13; **13–14** || Luke 13:24.

†
— **Matt 7:15–20** || Luke 6:43–44.

†
— **Matt 7:21–23** || Luke 13:25–27; **24–29** || Luke 6:47–49.

ICC International Critical Commentary

†
— **Matt 8:1–4** || Mark 1:40–45, Luke 5:12–16; **5–13** || Luke 7:1–10, John 4:43–54; **14–18** || Mark 1:29–34, Luke 4:38–41.

StB H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 6 vols., Munich: Beck, 1922–61

†
— **Matt 8:19–22** || Luke 9:57–62.

JBL Journal of Biblical Literature

†
— **Matt 8:23–27** || Mark 4:35–41, Luke 8:22–25.

†
— **Matt 8:28–9:1** || Mark 5:1–20, Luke 8:26–39.

* On this, and other place names, cf. Part XIII of the Introduction.

†
— **Matt 9:2–8** || Mark 2:1–12, Luke 5:17–26.

†
— **Matt 9:9–13** || Mark 2:13–17, Luke 5:27–32.

†
— **Matt 9:14–17** || Mark 2:18–22, Luke 5:33–39.

[Gr.](#) Greek



[—](#) **Matt 9:18–34** || Mark 5:21–34, Luke 8:40–56.

[Heb.](#) Hebrew

[ICC](#) International Critical Commentary

[LXX](#) The Septuagint



[—](#) **Matt 10:1–4** || Mark 3:16–19, Luke 6:12–16; **5–15** || Mark 6:7–13, Luke 9:1–6.

[*](#) On the names of some of the apostles, cf. Part XIII of the Introduction.

[Aram.](#) Aramaic

[1QS](#) Qumran Manual of Discipline

[TB](#) Talmud Babli



[—](#) **Matt 10:16–25** || Mark 13:9–13, Luke 21:12–17.

[RSV](#) The Revised Standard Version, 1946, 1952

[NEB](#) The New English Bible, 1961, 1970



[—](#) **Matt 10:26–31** || Luke 12:2–7.



[—](#) **Matt 10:32–34** || Luke 12:8–9; 34–39 || Luke 12:51–53, 14:26–27; 40 || Mark 9:41.

[1QH](#) Qumran Hymns of Thanksgiving

[NTS](#) New Testament Studies

[KJ](#) The King James, or Authorized Version of 1611



[—](#) **Matt 11:2–19** || Luke 7:18–35.

[TNTS](#) *Twelve New Testament Studies*, by John A. T. Robinson, London: SCM, 1962

[BA](#) Biblical Archaeologist

[NTS](#) New Testament Studies



[—](#) **Matt 11:20–24** || Luke 10:13–15.



[—](#) **Matt 11:25–27** || Luke 10:21–22.

[Gr.](#) Greek

[LXX](#) The Septuagint

[TB](#) Talmud Babli

[TWNT](#) *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, eds. Gerhard Kittel et al., Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933–

[JBL](#) Journal of Biblical Literature

[CBQ](#) Catholic Biblical Quarterly



Matt 12:1–8 || Mark 2:23–28, Luke 6:1–5; **9–14** || Mark 3:1–6, Luke 6:6–11.



Matt 12:22–32 || Mark 3:20–30, Luke 11:14–23, 12:10; **33–37** || Luke 6:43–45.

[1QS](#) Qumran Manual of Discipline



Matt 12:38–39 || Mark 8:11–12; **38–42** || Luke 11:29–32; **43–45** || Luke 11:24–26.



Matt 12:46–50 || Mark 3:31–35, Luke 8:19–21.

[RSV](#) The Revised Standard Version, 1946, 1952



Matt 13:1–9 || Mark 4:1–9, Luke 8:4–8; **10–12** || Mark 4:10–12, Luke 8:9–10; **18–24** || Mark 4:13–20, Luke 8:11–15; **31–33** || Mark 4:30–32, Luke 13:18–21; **34** || Mark 4:33–34.



Matt 13:53–58 || Mark 6:1–6, Luke 4:16–30.



Matt 14:1–12 || Mark 6:14–29, Luke 9:7–9.



Matt 14:13–21 || Mark 6:30–44, Luke 9:10–17, John 6:1–14.



Matt 14:22–27 || Mark 6:45–52, John 6:15–21; **34–35** || Mark 6:53–56.



Matt 15:1–20 || Mark 7:1–23.

[Heb.](#) Hebrew

[StB](#) H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 6 vols., Munich: Beck, 1922–61

[LXX](#) The Septuagint



Matt 15:21–28 || Mark 7:24–30.



Matt 15:32–39 || Mark 8:1–10.

†
— **Matt 16:1–4** || Mark 8:11–13, Luke 12:54–56; **5–12** || Mark 8:14–21.

[NEB](#) The New English Bible, 1961, 1970

†
— **Matt 16:13–20** || Mark 8:27–30, Luke 9:18–21.

[Gr.](#) Greek

[RSV](#) The Revised Standard Version, 1946, 1952

[KJ](#) The King James, or Authorized Version of 1611

[TNTS](#) *Twelve New Testament Studies*, by John A. T. Robinson, London: SCM, 1962

[Syr.](#) Syriac

[TB](#) Talmud Babli

[Aram](#) Aramaic

[TWNT](#) *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, eds. Gerhard Kittel et al., Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933–

[NovT](#) *Novum Testamentum*

†
— **Matt 16:21–28** || Mark 8:31–9:1, Luke 9:22–27.

†
— **Matt 17:1–13** || Mark 9:2–13, Luke 9:28–36.

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— **Matt 17:14–21** || Mark 9:14–29, Luke 9:37–43a.

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— **Matt 17:22–23** || Mark 9:30–32, Luke 9:43b–45.

[IB](#) The Interpreter's Bible, 12 vols., New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1951–57

[NTS](#) *New Testament Studies*

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— **Matt 18:1–5** || Mark 9:33–37, Luke 9:46–48; **6–9** || Mark 9:42–48, Luke 17:1–2.

†
— **Matt 18:10–14** || Luke 15:3–7.

†
— **Matt 18:15** || Luke 17:3.

[Gr.](#) Greek

†
— **Matt 19:1–12** || Mark 10:1–12.

[ICC](#) International Critical Commentary

[CBQ](#) Catholic Biblical Quarterly



[Matt 19:13–15](#) || Mark 10:13–16, Luke 18:15–17.



[Matt 19:16–30](#) || Mark 10:17–31, Luke 18:18–30.

[LXX](#) The Septuagint

* See Introduction, Part XIII, Appendix B.



[Matt 20:17–19](#) || Mark 10:32–34, Luke 18:31–34.



[Matt 20:20–28](#) || Mark 10:35–45.

[Heb.](#) Hebrew

[1QS](#) Qumran Manual of Discipline

[1QH](#) Qumran Hymns of Thanksgiving



[Matt 20:29–34](#) || Mark 10:46–52, Luke 18:35–43.

[Aram.](#) Aramaic



[Matt 21:1–11](#) || Mark 11:1–11, Luke 19:28–38, John 12:12–19.

[Heb.](#) Hebrew

[AB](#) The Anchor Bible, 1964–

[LXX](#) The Septuagint



[Matt 21:12–17](#) || Mark 11:15–19, Luke 19:45–48, John 2:13–22.



[Matt 21:18–22](#) || Mark 11:12–14, 20–24; [23–27](#) || Mark 11:27–33, Luke 20:1–8.



[Matt 21:33–46](#) || Mark 12:1–12, Luke 20:9–19.

[NEB](#) The New English Bible, 1961, 1970

[Gr.](#) Greek



[Matt 22:1–14](#) || Luke 14:15–24.

[TB Talmud Babli](#)



[Matt 22:15–22](#) || Mark 12:13–17, Luke 20:20–26; [23–33](#) || Mark 12:18–27, Luke 20:27–40; [34–40](#) || Mark 12:28–34, Luke 10:25–28; [41–46](#) || Mark 12:35–37, Luke 20:41–44.

†
— **Matt 23:1–5** || Mark 12:38–40, Luke 20:46–47; **11** || Mark 9:35, 10:43, Luke 9:48, 22:26; **12** || Luke 14:11, 18:14; **13** || Luke 11:52; **23–24** || Luke 11:42; **25–26** || Mark 7:4, Luke 11:39–41; **27–28** || Luke 11:44; **29–32** || Luke 11:47–48; **33** || Luke 3:7; **34–36** || Luke 11:49–51.

[JBL](#) Journal of Biblical Literature

[IDB](#) The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, 4 vols., New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962

[Syr.](#) Syriac

†
— **Matt 23:37–39** || Luke 13:34–35.

†
— **Matt 24:1–2** || Mark 13:1–2, Luke 21:5–6.

[TNTS](#) *Twelve New Testament Studies*, by John A. T. Robinson, London: SCM, 1962

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— **Matt 24:3–14** || Mark 13:3–13, Luke 21:7–19.

[1QH](#) Qumran Hymns of Thanksgiving

[TWNT](#) *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, eds. Gerhard Kittel et al., Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933–

†
— **Matt 24:15–28** || Mark 13:14–23, Luke 21:20–24.

†
— **Matt 24:29–31** || Mark 13:24–27, Luke 21:25–28; **32–35** || Mark 13:28–31, Luke 21:29–33; **36–44** || Mark 13:32–37, Luke 17:26–30, 34–36.

†
— **Matt 24:45–25:13** || Luke 12:41–48.

†
— **Matt 25:14–30** || Luke 19:11–27.

†
— **Matt 26:1–5** || Mark 14:1–2, Luke 22:1–2, John 11:45–53.

†
— **Matt 26:6–13** || Mark 14:3–9, John 12:1–8.

†
— **Matt 26:14–16** || Mark 14:10–11, Luke 22:3–6.

†
— **Matt 26:17–25** || Mark 14:12–21, Luke 22:7–14, 21–23, John 13:21–30; **26–29** || Mark 14:22–25, Luke 22:15–20, 1 Cor 11:23–25.

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Munich: Beck, 1922–61

 [Matt 26:30–35](#) || Mark 14:26–31, Luke 22:31–34, John 13:36–38; **36–46** || Mark 14:32–42, Luke 22:39–46.

 [Matt 26:47–56](#) || Mark 14:43–50, Luke 22:47–53, John 18:3–12.

[NovT](#) Novum Testamentum

 [Matt 26:57–68](#) || Mark 14:53–65, Luke 22:54–55, 63–71, John 18:12–14, 19–24.

* [Cf. most recently](#) *The Trial of Jesus: Cambridge Studies in Honour of C. F. D. Moule*, ed. B. Bammel, Cambridge University Press, 1970.

 [Matt 26:69–75](#) || Mark 14:66–72, Luke 22:56–62, John 18:15–18, 25–27.

 [Matt 27:1–2](#) || Mark 15:1, Luke 23:1–2, John 18:28–32.

[Gr.](#) Greek

[IDB](#) The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible, 4 vols., New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962

 [Matt 27:3–10](#) || Acts 1:18–19.

[Heb.](#) Hebrew

[LXX](#) The Septuagint

 [Matt 27:11–14](#) || Mark 15:2–5, Luke 23:3–5, John 18:33–38.

 [Matt 27:15–26](#) || Mark 15:6–15, Luke 23:13–25, John 18:39–19:16.

[TS](#) Theological Studies

 [Matt 27:27–31](#) || Mark 15:16–20, John 19:2–3.

 [Matt 27:32–44](#) || Mark 15:21–32, Luke 23:26–43, John 19:17–27.

 [Matt 27:45–56](#) || Mark 15:33–41, Luke 23:44–49, John 19:28–30.

[ET](#) Expository Times

[TB](#) Talmud Babli

 [Matt 27:57–66](#) || Mark 15:42–47, Luke 23:50–56, John 19:38–42.

†
— **Matt 28:1–15** || Mark 16:1–8, Luke 24:1–12, John 20:1–10.

Gr. Greek

†
— **Matt 28:16–18** || Mark 16:14–18, Luke 24:36–49, John 20:19–23, Acts 1:9–11.

AB The Anchor Bible, 1964–

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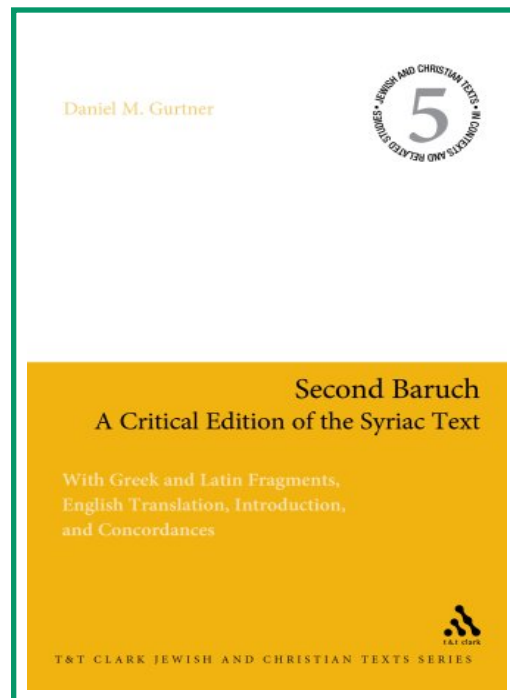


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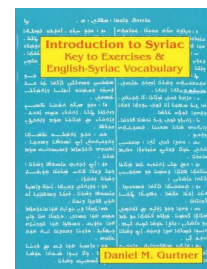
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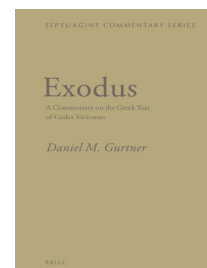
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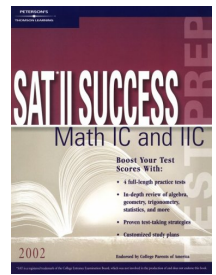
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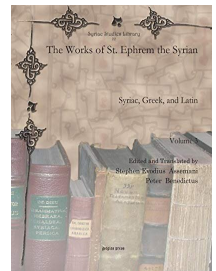
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To Craig A. Evans

Scholar, Mentor, and Friend

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FOREWORD

The Scintillating Wisdom and Promise Preserved in the Apocalypse of Baruch (2 Baruch)

The most devastating loss for the Jews in antiquity occurred in the late summer of 70 C.E. Nine years before Mount Vesuvius captured Pompeii and Herculaneum in 79, the Roman army, directed by Titus, a future emperor, conquered Jerusalem, the center of the world for most Jews (*Jubilees*).

In September of 70, the Holy City and the Temple fell to the most hated enemy of first-century Jews. The loss of the Holy City, the Temple, and the Land promised to Abraham and his descendants had a devastating effect on Jews all over the Mediterranean world; it hit them like a tsunami, wreaking havoc like the devastation wrought by a volcanic eruption. The author of the *Sibylline Oracles* hailed the eruption of Vesuvius as God's judgment on the Romans because they destroyed "the blameless tribe of the pious" (*Sib. Or.* 4:136; Collins in *OTP* 1.387).

In the three decades after the loss of the Land and the place where YHWH dwelt, three major apocalypses were composed: *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, and the Revelation of John. These masterpieces of revelatory literature sought to explain how an infidel could defeat God's people. While only the latter apocalypse was canonized within the Christian Bible, *2 Baruch* is preserved within the earliest complete Syriac Bible, *Codex Ambrosianus*, which was copied in the sixth or seventh century C.E. As Daniel M. Gurtner clarifies in the following pages, *2 Baruch* also appears in Jacobite lectionaries. The apocalypse was thus considered *sacra scriptura* and liturgically important in many eastern churches.

The author of *4 Ezra* had no answers to the questions frustrating him. He composed perhaps the masterpiece in the history of theodicy. God had made three irrevocable promises: the Land would belong to Abraham's posterity; Abraham's descendants would be innumerable; they would be God's elect people who prosper and enjoy life in the Land. Now, the Romans owned the Land, the Temple (God's House) had disappeared in smoke, and God's people were massacred or taken as slaves to Rome. In the land of the conquerors, the Jews built the Coliseum; they even left inscriptions at Herculaneum and Pompeii—but only inelegant scratches in slave quarters.

The author of *4 Ezra* could not contemplate that God was powerless. He could not imagine that God had made no promises. He could not conclude that Jews had been unfaithful to God's covenant with them. His questions are so direct, frank, and uncompromising that he will not accept the answer from God that he will be saved, among the few, while the many go to destruction. That would render God unjust and unfaithful. Messianic belief is no answer. The Messiah will come and reign with the just for a thousand years; but he will die and all those with him. He will not fulfill God's promises or drive the heathen from the Land. Ezra continues questioning the archangel, Uriel [the Light of God]; but this archangel must confess: *sed nescio*, "but I do not know" (*4 Ezra* 4:52). This confession is rather exceptional—an archangel confesses ignorance (cf. Mark 13:32).

Like the author of *4 Ezra*, the author of Revelation thinks in a Semitic language. But unlike the author of *4 Ezra*, he has an answer. Rome is evil Babylon. The Messiah has come. He is Jesus Christ. He is the Lamb slain for all who believe in Jesus' Messiahship. The blood on the lamb comes from his own body; he has died so those being conquered will become conquerors. Wars raging in heaven and on earth will cease. Satan, the Dragon and the Serpent, will be defeated completely and finally. There will be a new heaven and a new earth. The eternal city, Jerusalem, will appear from above. In it there is no need for a Temple, because God will be dwelling with his elect ones.

The author of *2 Baruch* also has an answer to Ezra's seemingly damning questions. The author of *4 Ezra* portrays Ezra screaming out:

Oh, Adam, what have you done? For though it was you who sinned, the fall was not yours alone, but ours also who are your descendants. For what good is it to us, if an eternal age has been promised to us, but we have done deeds that bring death? And what good is it that an everlasting hope has been promised us, but we have miserably failed? [*4 Ezra* 7:48[118]–51[121]; Metzger in *OTP* 1.541]

The author of *2 Baruch* seems to be familiar with this cry but turns lament into exhortation:

Adam is, therefore, not the cause, except only for himself, but each of us has become our own Adam. [*2 Bar.* 54:19; Klijn in *OTP* 1.640]

What is the relation of *2 Baruch* to *4 Ezra*? Is one author dependent on the other's composition? Daniel M. Gurtner wisely avoids the problems encountered in trying to ascertain a literary relationship among the complex passages in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*. He astutely draws attention to the vast amount of sources that antedate and inform each apocalypse that clearly postdate 70 C.E. and predate Bar Kokhba (132–136 C.E.). This approach avoids overinterpreting each apocalypse and clarifies the central role Adam

played in ancient Jewish sources, especially in the attempt to understand the possible interrelationships among sin, forgiveness, and acceptance.

As F. Rosenthal pointed out in 1885, *2 Baruch* is similar to the School of Akiba; the author of this apocalypse and Akiba were near contemporaries. The author of *2 Baruch* finds the answer to all questions in obedience to Torah, God's will, referring more than once to the "lamp of the eternal law." In the Jeremiah-Baruch tradition and cycle of texts, he perceives that Israel's faithlessness caused the loss of Temple and Land in 70: "your Law . . . they have transgressed" (48:47). Hope is restored by this recognition: "And we also have gone from the land, and Zion has been taken from us, and we have nothing now except the Mighty One and his Law" (85:3).

Rome did not defeat Israel; Israel's unfaithfulness caused all losses. The future will be blissful, if God's faithful followers obey God's will revealed in Torah. The New Age will be a return to Eden and Paradise; the imagery is stunning and preserves some of the best apocalyptic eschatology ever written. Observe the beautiful poetry in the Apocalypse. The author begins by emphasizing the importance of the Land and then continues:

The earth also will yield its fruit ten thousandfold, and on each vine there will be a thousand branches, and each branch will produce a thousand clusters, and each cluster will produce a thousand grapes, and each grape will produce a cor of wine. And those who have been hungry will rejoice; and also they will see wonders every day. [29:5–6]

Note the vision of this approaching time preserved in the *Letter of Baruch*:

For the youth of this world has passed away, and the strength of the creation is already exhausted. And the coming of the times is very short and has passed by. And the pitcher is near to the cistern, and the ship to the port, and the course of the journey to the city, and life to (its) end. [85:10]

For the author of *2 Baruch*, unlike the author of *4 Ezra* and similar to the author of Revelation, the Messiah is perceived to fulfill God's promises: "And it will be after these things, when the time of the appearance of the Messiah is fulfilled, that he will return in glory. Then all who have fallen asleep in hope of him will rise" (30:1).

Gurtner correctly sees that *2 Baruch* is a thoroughly Jewish work (thus following J. Davila and rejecting N. Rivka's conclusion that the work is Christian). Gurtner takes literally *2 Bar.* 1:1 and dates the composition to about 95 C.E. This date is plausible. Against those who claim that never in ancient Judaism is there works-righteousness is the translation of 51:7, "But those who have been saved by their works, and to whom the Law has been a hope, and understanding an expectation, and wisdom a trust, will see marvels in their time."

Now, Gurtner presents a critical edition of the Syriac text [the major witness] to 2 *Baruch*. The script is presented in an attractive Estrangela and the English faces it. Gurtner rightly points out that the message of 2 *Baruch* "is timeless," and that it provides "an important gap between Temple-centered Judaism and rabbinic Judaism." All scholars will be grateful to him for providing a critical text of 2 *Baruch*, with Greek (2 *Bar.* 12–14 of the fourth or fifth century) and Latin (2 *Bar.* 48:36, 33–34 in Cyprian) fragments, and a fresh English translation (the Arabic manuscript does not improve our understanding of the Syriac). The concordance will also assist those who wish to study this complex composition.

Gurtner rightly isolates the *Epistle of Baruch*. It has a history that is attached to the Apocalypse and one that is separate from it. The latter version was canonized within the ancient Syrian Orthodox Church.

Gurtner wisely concludes that the Syriac text of 2 *Baruch* is most likely translated from a Greek manuscript, but he cautions against proceeding to conclude that the original language is Greek. One cannot close out the option that 2 *Baruch* was composed in a Semitic language (Hebrew or Aramaic). The data is opaque; as I have often said, one cannot argue from Semitisms in a Syriac text to a putative Semitic original; they are inherent in the Syriac itself. In summation, Gurtner provides scholars with data that greatly facilitate our study of ancient Jewish apocalyptic thought generally and 2 *Baruch* specifically.

James H. Charlesworth
Princeton

PREFACE

2 Baruch is an ancient document offering the careful reader a puzzling array of issues. It is preserved in two sections, an apocalypse (*2 Bar.* 1–77, here SAB) and an epistle (*2 Bar.* 78–87, here Ep2B).¹ As a thoroughly Jewish text written shortly after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in 70 C.E., *2 Baruch* seeks to make theological sense of a historical tragedy—what is often called theodicy. It reveals the plight, hardships, and tensions of faith of the Jewish people in a time of enormous uncertainty. In this respect, its message is timeless.

My interest in this book initially stems from a comparison with the Christian canonical Gospels. These also concern themselves—albeit with varying purposes—with the destruction of the temple in particular and God’s activities in first-century Palestine in general. Comparisons and contrasts are numerous, but beyond the scope of the present volume. Instead, it is my primary intent here to provide an accessible edition of the Syriac text, with some emendations proposed by myself, other scholars, and other manuscript traditions with both the apocalypse (*2 Baruch* 1–77) and the epistle (*2 Baruch* 78–87) together, and a corresponding English translation. Secondly, I have provided a modest introduction to *2 Baruch*. New proposals are limited, and more innovative work in *2 Baruch* is anticipated in the forthcoming *Commentary on Early Jewish Literature* (CEJL) volume. The present critical text is accompanied by the few locations where *2 Baruch* is preserved in Greek and Latin accompanying the Syriac text. Corresponding to each ancient text is an exhaustive concordance. It is my hope that my presentation and translation of the text are both accurate and clear and my introduction is sufficiently thorough to be of use for further research, facilitating the development of scholarship in the respective fields of scholarly inquiry for which *2 Baruch* is important.

Several people have made contributions to the production of this book. First, I am grateful to Burke Gerstenschl ger of T & T Clark for his immediate interest in the project and encouragement toward its inclusion in this series. Second, I am grateful to Prof. James H. Charlesworth for his acceptance of my work into the important series that he oversees. Third, I am grateful to Mr. Seth Ehorn for his diligent research, proofreading, and preparation of the Latin and Greek concordances. Fourth, I am grateful for the skills, encouragement, and expertise on a number of fronts of Dr. Matthias Henze, Dr. Jonathan Moo, Dr. Jonathan Loopstra, Mr. Christopher Brenna,

1. As a point of clarification, *2 Baruch* includes the *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* (*2 Baruch* 1–77), and the *Epistle of 2 Baruch* (*2 Baruch* 78–87). Scholars sometimes refer to the *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* when they really mean the entirety of *2 Baruch*.

and Mr. Mark Batluck. Thanks go to my beloved family; my wife, Beth, and my dear children, Matthew, Kyra Lynn, and Elisha Faith, for enduring my frequent departures to the basement to undertake this work, and creating a climate of sheer joy to keep my heart light and my mind fresh for the meticulous work that went into this book. Finally, I am grateful to my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, for whose glory all my labors are undertaken (Col 3:17).

I am pleased to be able to offer this project in dedication to Dr. Craig A. Evans. He is a model of Christian scholarship at its highest level while working capably and respectfully with Jewish texts of antiquity. Moreover, Prof. Evans has been a constant source of encouragement in my own professional development. It is with gratitude that I dedicate this book to him.

ABBREVIATIONS

General

(?)	designates uncertainty	mss	manuscripts
B.C.E.	Before the Common Era	MT	Masoretic Text
C.E.	Common Era	NAS	New American Standard
fol.	folio	OG	Old Greek
Lat	Latin	Pesh	<i>Peshitta</i>
Lect	Lectionary	Syr	Syriac
LXX	Septuagint	Theod	Theodotion
ms	manuscript		

Secondary Literature

<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i>
<i>APOT</i>	R. H. Charles, ed., <i>Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English</i>
<i>AUSS</i>	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
<i>BDAG</i>	Walter Bauer, William Arndt, Wilbur Gingrich, and Frederick Danker, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
<i>BIOSCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
<i>CRINT</i>	<i>Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>CSCO</i>	<i>Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium</i>
<i>DNTB</i>	Craig Evans and Stanley Porter, <i>Dictionary of New Testament Background</i>
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>DTC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i>
<i>FRLANT</i>	<i>Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments</i>
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>

<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
<i>JSJSup</i>	<i>Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSPSup</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha, Supplement Series</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>Judaica</i>	<i>Judaica: Beiträge zum Verständnis des jüdischen Schicksals in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart</i>
<i>JWSTP</i>	<i>Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period</i>
<i>OOT</i>	M. de Jonge, ed., <i>Outside the Old Testament</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)
<i>OTP</i>	J. H. Charlesworth, ed., <i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>PS</i>	R. Payne Smith, ed., <i>Compendious Syriac Dictionary. Founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith</i>
<i>PTS</i>	Patristische Texte und Studien
<i>PVTG</i>	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RBL</i>	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>SBL</i>	Society of Biblical Literature
<i>SBLDS</i>	SBL Dissertation Series
<i>SBLSP</i>	SBL Seminar Papers
<i>SC</i>	Sources chrétiennes
<i>Sem</i>	<i>Semeia</i>
<i>SR</i>	<i>Studies in Religion</i>
<i>Str-B</i>	Strack, H. L., and P. Billerbeck, <i>Kommentar zum neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash</i> . 6 vols. Munich: Beck, 1926-1963.
<i>SVTP</i>	<i>Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigraphica</i>
<i>TANZ</i>	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>VTSup</i>	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZWT</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

Ancient Literature

HEBREW BIBLE

Gen	Genesis	Eccl	Ecclesiastes
Exod	Exodus	Song	Song of Solomon
Lev	Leviticus	Isa	Isaiah
Num	Numbers	Jer	Jeremiah
Deut	Deuteronomy	Ezek	Ezekiel
Josh	Joshua	Lam	Lamentations
Judg	Judges	Dan	Daniel
1 Sam	1 Samuel	Hos	Hosea
2 Sam	2 Samuel	Jon	Jonah
1 Kgs	1 Kings	Mic	Micah
2 Kgs	2 Kings	Nah	Nahum
1 Chron	1 Chronicles	Hab	Habakkuk
2 Chron	2 Chronicles	Zeph	Zephaniah
Neh	Nehemiah	Hag	Haggai
Esth	Esther	Zech	Zechariah
Ps(s)	Psalms(s)	Mal	Malachi
Prov	Proverbs		

EARLY CHRISTIAN

Matt	Matthew	1 Tim	1 Timothy
Mark	Mark	2 Tim	2 Timothy
Luke	Luke	Titus	Titus
John	John	Phlm	Philemon
Rom	Romans	Heb	Hebrews
1 Cor	1 Corinthians	Jas	James
2 Cor	2 Corinthians	1 Pet	1 Peter
Gal	Galatians	2 Pet	2 Peter
Eph	Ephesians	1 John	1 John
Phil	Philippians	2 John	2 John
Col	Colossians	3 John	3 John
1 Thess	1 Thessalonians	Jude	Jude
2 Thess	2 Thessalonians	Rev	Revelation

APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHIA

<i>Apoc. Zeph.</i>		SAB=	<i>Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch</i> (= 2 Baruch 1–77)
	<i>Apocalypse of Zephaniah</i>		
Bar	Baruch (LXX)	3 Bar.	3 (Greek) Baruch
2 Bar.	2 (Syriac) Baruch	4 Bar.	4 Baruch
	Ep2B= <i>Epistle of 2 Baruch</i>	4 Ezra	4 Ezra [2 Esd. 3–14]
	(= 2 Baruch 78–87)	1 En.	1 (Ethiopic) Enoch

<i>2 En.</i>	<i>2 (Slavonic) Enoch</i>	<i>Sib. Or.</i>	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>
<i>Jub</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>	<i>Sir</i>	<i>Sirach</i>
<i>LAB</i>	<i>Liber antiquitatum biblicarum</i> (Pseudo-Philo)	<i>T. Abr.</i>	<i>Testament of Abraham</i>
<i>LAE</i>	<i>Life of Adam and Eve</i>	<i>T. Jos.</i>	<i>Testament of Joseph</i>
<i>1 Macc</i>	<i>1 Maccabees</i>	<i>T. Jud.</i>	<i>Testament of Judah</i>
<i>2 Macc</i>	<i>2 Maccabees</i>	<i>T. Levi</i>	<i>Testament of Levi</i>
<i>3 Macc</i>	<i>3 Maccabees</i>	<i>T. Mos.</i>	<i>Testament of Moses</i>
<i>4 Macc</i>	<i>4 Maccabees</i>	<i>T. Zeb.</i>	<i>Testament of Zebulun</i>
<i>Odes</i>	<i>Odes of Solomon</i>	<i>Tob</i>	<i>Tobit</i>
<i>Pss. Sol.</i>	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>	<i>Wis</i>	<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>

OTHER EARLY JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

<i>m. Abot</i>	<i>Abot (Mishnah)</i>	<i>1QH</i>	<i>Hymns/Hodayot</i>
<i>Apos. Con.</i>	<i>Apostolic Constitutions</i>	<i>1QM</i>	<i>War Scroll</i>
<i>1 Clem.</i>	<i>1 Clement</i>	<i>1QpHab</i>	<i>Habakkuk Pesher</i>
<i>Apoc. Pet.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i>	<i>1QS</i>	<i>Community Rule/Manual of Discipline</i>
<i>Barn.</i>	<i>Epistle of Barnabas</i>	<i>CD</i>	<i>Cairo Genizah copy of Damascus Document</i>
<i>Cyrian, Test.</i>	<i>Cyprian, Testimoniorum adversus Judaeos</i>		
<i>Irenaeus, Adv. Haer.</i>	<i>Irenaeus, Against Heresies</i>	<i>PHILO</i>	
		<i>Praem. et Poen.</i>	<i>De praemiis et poenis</i>
<i>Tg. Ps.-J.</i>	<i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i>	<i>Rer. Div. Her.</i>	<i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit</i>
<i>b. Zeb.</i>	<i>b. Zebahim (Babylonian Talmud)</i>	<i>Spec. Leg.</i>	<i>De specialibus legibus</i>
<i>DEAD SEA SCROLLS</i>		<i>Vit. Mos.</i>	<i>De vita Mosis</i>
<i>1Q27 (1QMyst)</i>	<i>Book of Mysteries</i>	<i>JOSEPHUS</i>	
<i>1Q28b, 1Q5b</i>	<i>Community Rule</i>	<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antiquities of the Jews</i>
<i>1QapGen</i>	<i>Genesis Apocryphon</i>	<i>B.J.</i>	<i>Bellum Judaica</i>
		<i>C. Ap.</i>	<i>Against Apion</i>

CLASSICAL SOURCES

<i>Sophocles</i>	
<i>Oed. Rex</i>	<i>Sophocles, Oedipus the King</i>
<i>Tacitus</i>	
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Tacitus, The Histories</i>

INTRODUCTION

§1 INTRODUCTION

Throughout most of the history of the Jewish people, the city of Jerusalem has been the center of political, cultural, and cultic life. Its centrality in religious contexts accounts for the diversity of religions—Jews, Christians, and Muslims—who in our day vie for a share of it in their respective religious traditions. In antiquity, Jerusalem was no less central. It was, indeed, the “Holy City.” Given its importance, it is small wonder that the prophet Jeremiah should speak so lamentably about its destruction in the Hebrew Scriptures. Obviously, Jeremiah was a pivotal figure in the generation enduring the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 587 B.C.E. Scholars have recognized that the events of that tragedy cast a long shadow over the history of Judaism well into the Second Temple period. It is not surprising, then, that when the catastrophe of 587 B.C.E. was repeated at the hands of the Romans in 70 C.E., traditions from the prophecy of Jeremiah were evoked in response. Specifically, the prophet’s scribe, Baruch, is called from his role as companion and secretary to the prophet (Jer 36:4–10, 26, 32) and placed as a nobleman (Jer 21:12; 43:2–3; 51:59). Here he resumes his role of dedicated service (Jer 45:2) not as a scribe to a prophet but as the recipient of a prophetic revelation himself. J. E. Wright asserts that this tradition envisaged Baruch “as Jeremiah’s prophetic successor.”¹ It seems natural, then, that the close associate of the revered prophet would himself be named among the apocalyptic visionaries of the Second Temple period.²

Among other works bearing the name of Baruch is the Septuagintal *Book of Baruch*. This work, preserved in Greek, is closely associated with the Greek version of Jeremiah and circulated with that book. It places Baruch among exiles in Babylon, exhorts people with a series of divine revelations (Bar 1:1–14), and offers an extended prayer (Bar 1:15–3:8). A poetic section (Bar 3:9–4:4) sings the praises of wisdom, which is followed by an exhortation to the exiles to remain faithful to God amidst their hardships (Bar 4:5–5:9). In that work Baruch appears as a Danielic interpreter of Torah. *Third Baruch* is a Greek apocalypse set, like *2 Baruch*, in the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E., though it surely was written as much as two centuries after the 70 C.E. disaster. It consists of the seer’s tour of five heavens in response to his angst over the tragedy wrought on the holy

1. J. E. Wright, “Baruch: His Evolution from Scribe to Apocalyptic Seer,” in M. E. Stone and T. A. Bergren, eds., *Biblical Figures outside the Bible* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1998), 266.

2. His memory endures among the devout of Eastern Christianity, who celebrate a feast to this saint on September 28 or November 15. W. Speyer, “Baruch,” *JAC* 17 (1974): 185, 189. For an excellent summary of Baruch and literature bearing his name, see J. E. Wright, “Baruch, Books of,” *DNTB* 148–51.

city. In these visions Baruch is let in on heavenly secrets and God's sovereign control of history is affirmed, thus comforting Baruch. *Fourth Baruch*, also called *Paraleipomena Jeremiou* (*Par. Jer.* = "Omissions of Jeremiah") or "The Rest of the Words of Baruch," was likely written in the early second century C.E. and is heavily dependent on *2 Baruch*. Its story recounts how Abimelech awoke after a sixty-six-year sleep to find Jerusalem destroyed by the Babylonians and its people taken into captivity. He is told, though, that God will restore his people, and learns that cultic vessels survived the Temple's destruction and will be put into service again when the Temple is one day restored. The role of Baruch is magnified in *2 Baruch*, where he is an apocalyptic visionary and crucial leader of God's people in a time of crisis. *Second Baruch* is thought by some to be preserved and read among Syriac-speaking Jews recalling the destruction of Jerusalem.³

§1.1 Introduction to the Study of *2 Baruch*

The study of *2 Baruch* has been largely neglected for some time. Recently Mark Whitters has suggested its recent discovery, obscure language, and complex structure and symbolism contribute to the problem.⁴ Indeed, the Syriac of *2 Baruch* often has some very difficult syntax, and the imageries meant to clarify matters to the ancient reader often further muddy the waters to the modern reader. Nevertheless, *2 Baruch* occupies a unique and important place in biblical scholarship on a number of fronts. That it is a purely Jewish text (see §4) dating from the Second Temple period (see §6) lends to its importance in reconstructing historical and theological structures of that shadowy era in history. Moreover, that it relates to the appropriation of the Jewish religion shortly after the destruction of its Temple in 70 C.E. suggests that it bridges an important gap between Temple-centered Judaism and rabbinic Judaism. *Second Baruch* also speaks to the adaptation and appropriation of prophetic traditions from the Hebrew Bible for its own context. It serves as an important document for the description and defining of the slippery genre of "apocalypse" in the ancient Mediterranean world and, along with the books of *4 Ezra* and *Revelation*, could be considered among the most important early examples of this genre. Finally, *2 Baruch* provides some helpful points of comparison on a number of subjects pertinent to the study of the New Testament and earliest Christianity. The present volume will by no means address all or even most of these subjects. Instead, the present volume is intended to make a carefully reconstructed Syriac text of all *2 Baruch*, with Greek and Latin fragments, in conjunction with a fresh English translation and concordance to all the ancient languages in which the book—save Arabic—is extant. That is, it is intended to be a tool for the development of further scholarship in the respective fields to which *2 Baruch* contributes. I will, though, attempt to provide some discussion of introductory matters here.

3. P.-M. Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch, introduction, tradition du Syriac et commentaire* (SC 144 and 145; Paris: Cerf, 1969), 1.448–51.

4. Mark F. Whitters, *The Epistle of Second Baruch: A Study in Form and Message* (JSPSup 42; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), vii.

§1.2 History of Research to P. Bogaert

Modern study of the Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch* begins with the monumental work of P. Bogaert. His two-volume work (1969) includes both an extended introduction to issues pertaining to 2 *Baruch* and a full commentary on the Syriac text. In the introduction to his work, Bogaert provides an important summary of the history of scholarship in the study of 2 *Baruch* to date which, along with input from some other sources, will guide us in the history of the study of 2 *Baruch*. Bogaert notes his own work as part of a continuum of studies that spans three centuries. Critical study began with the epistle in volume 9 of the Paris Polyglot in 1645 (and, subsequently, in the Walton Polyglot of London [1657]), which disclosed the existence of an epistle of Baruch to the West that was distinct from the “canonical” manuscript of the same name transmitted in Syriac only. Gabriel Sioniti was responsible for the editing and providing a Latin translation.⁵ The transmitters of the Paris Polyglot clearly thought it differed from the canonical text,⁶ which also existed in Syriac.⁷

Theories of the origins of the manuscript of the epistle arose quickly, followed by published editions. Pierre-Daniel Huet⁸ (1630–1721) regarded it as the work of a Syrian monk. Augustin Calmet (1672–1757) disagreed on the grounds of differing angelologies.⁹ In 1723, the Latin translation of the letter was republished in a later edition of *Codex Pseudepigraphus* by J. A. Fabricius. W. Whiston produced an English translation in 1727 and recognized its Jewish origins. A French translation did not appear until the work of J. P. Migne in 1858. The first of the critical editions was provided in 1861 by P. A. de Lagarde (1827–1891).

Credit for the discovery of the *Apocalypse of Baruch* goes to another scholar. It was A. M. Ceriani (1828–1907) who dubbed the book “The Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch*” upon his discovery of the document in the Ambrosian Library in Milan in the nineteenth century.¹⁰ In 1866, he made the apocalypse known, of which the pseudepigraphic letter is a part. The Syriac text was published in 1871. Later, the 1907 edition by M. Kmoskó in the *Patrologia Syriaca* provided a complete edition of the original text.

Concurrently, 2 *Baruch*’s Jewish character was also recognized. F. Rosenthal (1885) attributed the work to the school of Rabbi Aqiba, the “very heart of Judaism.”¹¹ The year 1892 saw the publication of the respective works of Eugène de Faye (1860–1929) and R. Kabisch (1868–1914). These scholars argued on

5. Cf. I. Ziadé, “Sionite,” *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* (ed. I. Gabriel ; Paris : Letouzey et Ané, 1941), vol. 14.2, cols. 2167–70.

6. A header on the Paris Polyglott reads “*Haec Epistola differt omnino a Vulgata et LXX.*”

7. The canonical version was published for the first time in Syriac according to two manuscripts then in England.

8. *Demonstratio Evangelica* (Leipzig: J. Thomam Fritsch, 1694), 450–51.

9. *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l’Ancien et du Nouveau Testament* (Paris: Emeryl Saugrin/Martin, 1726), 6:324.

10. Whitters, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 3.

11. Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, 1.28; F. Rosenthal, *Vier apokryphische Bücher aus der Zeit und Schule R. Akiba’s* (Leipzig: Otto Schulze, 1885).

theological and literary grounds that 2 *Baruch* was the product not of an author but of an editor. For them, it was an amalgamation. The problem of the composition and unity of 2 *Baruch* has been revisited on several occasions, as we will see below.

The first commentary on 2 *Baruch* appeared in 1896 and was the work of R. H. Charles (1855–1931).¹² Charles also viewed the work as the product of an editor or editors rather than a single, unified whole. Charles also published a critical edition to the letter and was the first to discuss its textual history from thirteen manuscripts and the Walton and Paris Polyglots. Charles's work is noted for its attention to source-critical matters pertaining to 2 *Baruch*. He finds inconsistencies and contradictions throughout to indicate that we should think not of an author of 2 *Baruch*, but rather an editor of its disparate traditions. Indeed, it is this incoherence that led Charles to look closely for evidence of sources,¹³ which was very much "in vogue in Charles' day."¹⁴ His work finds six distinct literary sources that make up SAB alone, which then leads to problems of incoherence within the apocalypse. (Surely more work must be done on the Syriac stylistic features to aid in isolating these distinctions with more sophistication.) The theme that unifies these disparate sources, he indicates, is the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. He finds three sources from prior to that event, A¹, A², and A³. These are characterized by optimism about a future messianic age. Later sources, B¹, B², and B³, are more pessimistic and do not articulate a future intervention by the Messiah. Whittiers cogently summarizes Charles's views: "The A materials vary according to how active a role the Messiah plays in Israel's deliverance, while B traditions have given up hope for the Messiah and show various responses to the downfall of Jerusalem."¹⁵ So detailed is Charles's work on these sources that he even speculates on their geographical origins (B²—Judea and B³—Babylon). Charles sees Ep2B as a counterpart of a letter used as a source in the LXX Baruch.¹⁶ By Bogaert's time, literary unity was doubtful and expected to be proven rather than assumed. A few scholars, though, including P. M. J. Lagrange and P. J. B. Frey, advocated literary unity.

12. In English work, in contrast, Charles's work was widely disseminated in his "Apocalyptic Literature" article in *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (ed. T. K. Cheyne and J. C. Black; London: A. C. Black, 1899) and in his well-known *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*.

13. R. H. Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch: Translated from the Syriac* (London: A. & C. Black, 1896; repr. Eugene, Or.: Wipf & Stock, 2005), lxii.

14. Whittiers, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 25.

15. Whittiers, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 24.

16. See Whittiers, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 25–26 for a summary; Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, lxxv–lxxvii for further details. Whittiers's criticism (*Epistle of Second Baruch*, 26) is surely correct that Charles's fragmentation of 2 *Baruch* as a whole fails to make adequate sense of the literary whole in which it has come to us. This is underscored by J. H. Charlesworth, who shows that both Jewish and Christian apocalypses are replete with what strikes the modern reader as redundancies and inconsistencies that were inherent to the genre ("Qumran in Relation to the Apocrypha, Rabbinic Judaism and Nascent Christianity: Impacts on the University Teaching of Jewish Civilization in the Hellenistic-Roman Period," in *Jewish Civilization in the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (ed. S. Talmon; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991), 172; see also F. J. Murphy, *The Structure and Meaning of Second Baruch* (SBLDS 78; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 3.

In 1924 Bruno Violet, having studied *4 Ezra* at length, published a German translation of both apocalypses with copious notes and critical introduction. Bogaert hails it as the most comprehensive work to date.¹⁷ Violet advocated the literary unity of each apocalypse, while highlighting their close resemblance. For Violet, *2 Baruch* was a coherent book carefully comprised of its various sources. The work is accompanied by a philological appendix by Hugo Gressmann, which reveals in *4 Ezra* a familiarity with *2 Baruch*.¹⁸ The matter of the literary relationship between *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* has also been the subject of some discussion and will be dealt with later (§5). Gressmann's work is also important for evaluating the potential *Vorlagen* of the Syriac of *2 Baruch*.¹⁹

§1.3 History of Research since Bogaert

Bogaert's work sets the standard for modern study of *2 Baruch*. He views the book as a coherent unit, putting into question Charles's work that *2 Baruch* originated from various inconsistent sources. Bogaert rather focuses on the work's unity and the relation between *2 Baruch* and rabbinic Judaism, specifically Judaism following the catastrophes of 70 C.E.²⁰ Whitters describes Bogaert's concerns as primarily historical and theological, using *2 Baruch* as a source for understanding Judaism at the time of Jesus. Indeed, Bogaert's attention to the theological matters of *2 Baruch* is seen in the 439-page introduction to his 157-page exegetical commentary!²¹

Since Bogaert, a dissertation on *2 Baruch* was presented in the 1970s,²² and two others in the 1980s, the latter concerned with literary matters pertaining to *2 Baruch*.²³ These will be discussed with literary features below. Several articles have also made contributions to the study of *2 Baruch*. Other advances have been made in recent years that, while not primarily addressing just *2 Baruch*, are nonetheless foundational for our understanding of this fascinating document. Foremost among these is the delineation of the genre and other issues pertaining to the term "apocalyptic," appropriately used of *2 Baruch*. Of equal importance is the development of more sophisticated methodologies for determining the provenance of numerous pseudepigrapha, including *2 Baruch*. Both of these issues will be addressed below. What remains for other scholars is to incorporate developing study

17. Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, 1.30.

18. Also in the third edition to W. Bousset's *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1926).

19. Whitters, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 28.

20. The limited availability of documents from Qumran accounts for Bogaert's inattention to them.

21. Whitters, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 29.

22. A. B. Kolenkow, "An Introduction to 2 Baruch 53, 56–74: Structure and Substance." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1971.

23. G. B. Sayler, *Have the Promises Failed? A Literary Analysis of 2 Baruch* (SBLDS 72; Missoula, Mont: Scholars Press, 1984); and Murphy, *Structure and Meaning*.

of Syriac lexicography, relating *2 Baruch* to extended work on the diversity and (at times) unity of Second Temple Judaism, particularly the enormous investigation currently under way on Josephus, who provides the most substantive historical account of the events surrounding the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. to which *2 Baruch* is written in response.

§2 The Text of Second Baruch

2 Baruch is found in the earliest whole Syriac Bible manuscript, Codex Ambrosianus (ms 7a1),²⁴ though it is absent in all later Syriac biblical manuscripts.²⁵ Some texts, however, were preserved fragmentarily in lectionaries. The manuscript was found under A. M. Ceriani's curatorship of the Ambrosian library in 1855, and he is credited with bringing its significant cache of Syriac Bible manuscripts to light.²⁶ Whitters describes the manuscript as vellum, measuring 36 by 26 cm, in three neat columns of Estrangela script, about fifty-two lines per column. The text is partially pointed, lacks vowels, and is punctuated. The fact that there are wide margins on the manuscript devoid of scribal notations suggested to Ceriani that the manuscript may have not been in circulation within ecclesiastical usage.²⁷ Ceriani's discovery was the first of its existence, a 330-folio document that is the oldest Syriac biblical manuscript. The text of *2 Baruch* is comprised of about 8,800 Syriac words in all. It consists of two parts, the Syriac Apocalypse (= SAB; *2 Baruch* 1–77) and an Epistle (=Ep2B; *2 Baruch* 78–87). Discussion of the text of the Apocalypse (SAB) and Epistle (Ep2B) are best dealt with separately.

§2.1 Text of SAB

The primary text for SAB is a single Syriac manuscript, though other versions—in part and in full—are also extant.

§2.1.1 Syriac Text of SAB

The text of SAB is extant in full in a single Syriac manuscript, which remains the best and earliest full text of the apocalypse.²⁸ The manuscript is *Bibliotheca Ambrosiana* B. 21 Ins, in Milan, folios 257f–265b, #7a1. It dates from the sixth or

24. Whitters, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, vii, 4. See D. Bundy, "Pseudepigrapha in Syriac Literature," *SBLSP* 30 (1991), 745–65.

25. Whitters, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 5.

26. Whitters, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 5.

27. A. M. Ceriani, *Translatio Syra Pescitto Veteris Testamenti ex codice Ambrosiano* (Milan: Pogliani, 1876–1881), 8.

28. The Arabic version is also extant, though it is thought to be a free rendering of the Syriac. See §2.1.4.

seventh century.²⁹ Moreover, four Jacobite lectionaries and an additional manuscript contain small sections of the Apocalypse:

1. Lectionary 1312 (British Library, Addit. MS 14.686), dated 1255, fol. 77a, c. 1, l. 14—77b, c. 2, l. 9, contains 44:9–15.
2. Lectionary 1313 (British Library, Addit. MS 14.687), dated 1256, fol. 157b, c. 1, l. 6—158a, c. 2, l. 3, contains 72:1–73:2.
3. Lectionary 1313 (British Library, Addit. MS 14.687), dated 1256, fol. 175a, c. 1, l. 1, contains 72:173:2–.³⁰
4. Lectionary 1515 (A. Konath Libr. [Pampakuda, Kerala, India], MS 77[4]), dated to 1423 C.E., contains SAB 44:9–15 and 72:173:2–.³¹

All are lectionaries from the Jacobite tradition of Syriac Christianity. The first published edition of a critical text of SAB was in 1973. At that time the Peshitta Institute of Leiden presented a text, without 2EpB, edited by S. Dederling.³² Dederling omitted 2EpB because he intended to address it where it commonly appears in the Syriac tradition, after Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah and before 4 Ezra. Dederling's untimely death meant that a critical text of 2EpB was yet to be published.³³

§2.1.2 Greek of SAB

Also extant are excerpts from 2 Bar. 12–14 in Greek on a single fragment—verso (11:1–13:2) and recto (13:11–14:3) from the Oxyrhynchus papyri cache. It dates to the fourth or fifth century.³⁴ It is presented here without comment, in parallel to the extant Syriac text.³⁵

§2.1.3 Latin of SAB

Also extant is a Latin excerpt, perhaps translated from the Greek. The one surviving Latin fragment of 2 Baruch is a single citation found in Cyprian, *Test.* 3.29, which corresponds to 2 Bar. 48:36, 33–34. This fragment is presented here without comment and in parallel to the extant Syriac.³⁶

29. A. F. J. Klijn, “2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch,” *OTP* 1.615.

30. On lectionaries 1312 and 1313, see W. Baars, “Neue Textzeugen der syrischen Baruchapokalypse,” *VT* 13 (1963): 476–78.

31. S. Dederling, ed., “Apocalypse of Baruch,” in *The Old Testament in Syriac* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), par. 4, fasc. 3. iii.

32. Dederling, “Apocalypse of Baruch.”

33. Whitters, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 7.

34. Whitters, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 8, and n. 17. Cf. A.-M. Denis, *Concordance grecque des pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament* (Concordance, corpus des textes, indice; Louvain: Peeters, 1987), 905. Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, 1.40–43; K. Aland, *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri* (1. Biblische Papyri: Altest Testament, Neues Testament, Varia, Apokryphen; PTS 18; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1976), 367.

35. For notes on the texts and versions, see B. Violet, *Die Apokalypsen des Esra und des Baruch in deutscher Gestalt* (GCS 32; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1924), 219–20, 222–23, 357–63.

36. R. Weber, in A.-M. Denis, *Concordance latine des pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 631.

§2.1.4 Arabic of SAB

An Arabic manuscript is also extant (Sinai no. 589), which has only been published and discussed since 1975.³⁷ Discovered in the 1970s in photographs of its codex from the library of the Monastery of St. Catherine,³⁸ the manuscript itself is 28 by 17 cm and contains sixty-eight folios—thirty-three of 2 *Baruch* and thirty-five of 4 *Ezra*.³⁹ The first folio and colophon are both missing, which leads scholars to determine its history from internal evidence.⁴⁰

Klijn's preliminary observations suggest that this manuscript is a translation of a Syriac document, but probably not the same text as present in Bibliotheca Anzbrosinno B. 21 Inf: "The translation is rather free and thoroughly adapted to Muslim ideas."⁴¹ Its dating must be determined from its Arabic syntax and orthography, which seem to reflect best that of Christian Middle Arabic.⁴² The dates have ranged from the tenth or eleventh century⁴³ or perhaps a century or two earlier.⁴⁴ F. Leemhuis argues for a Muslim origin of the manuscript,⁴⁵ though not all would agree. Surely, however, Klijn⁴⁶ and others⁴⁷ are correct that the Syriac and Arabic documents are sufficiently distinct so as to warrant study of their own textual traditions in isolation from each other. That is, the Arabic manuscript does not significantly improve our understanding of the Syriac text, but it is sometimes useful in evaluating conjectured improvements to the Syriac proposed by former

37. P. S. van Koningsveld, "An Arabic Manuscript of the Apocalypse of Baruch," *JSS* 6 (1975): 205–7.

38. Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai: A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts and Scrolls Microfilmed at the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai*, 1 (Baltimore: Publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Man, 1955); A. Drint, ed. *The Mount Sinai Arabic Version of IV Ezra* (CSCO 564; Scriptores Arabici tom. 49; Leuven: Peeters, 1997). Whitters (*Epistle of Second Baruch*, 9 n. 21) notes that, in the latter, "Apocalypse of Baruch" denotes the entirety of 2 *Baruch*, not just the apocalypse.

39. Whitters (*Epistle of Second Baruch*, 9, and n. 22) makes some fascinating observations on the manuscript. He notes that the last page consists of handwritten notes by a monk, which reveal that the author of the document visited the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, though the notations are of a differing hand from the manuscript itself and likely written much later. Cf. Drint, *The Mount Sinai Arabic Version of IV Ezra*, vi.

40. See F. Leemhuis, A. F. J. Klijn, and G. J. van Gelder, *The Arabic Text of the Apocalypse of Baruch* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 4–5.

41. Klijn, "2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch," 1.615; cf. F. Leemhuis, "The Arabic Version of the Apocalypse of Baruch: A Christian Text?" *JSP* 4 (1989): 19–26; A. F. J. Klijn, "Recent Developments in the Study of the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch," *JSP* 4 (1989): 3–17; F. Leemhuis, "The Mount Sinai Arabic Version of the Apocalypse of Baruch," in *Actes du Deuxième Congrès International d'Études Arabes Chrétiennes* (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1986), 73–79.

42. Whitters, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 9; cf. J. Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic* (CSCO 267, 279, 276; Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus CSO, 1966–1967).

43. Atiya, *Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*.

44. Drint, *The Mount Sinai Arabic Version of IV Ezra* ii, xxvi; cf. Whitters, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 10 and n. 28.

45. Leemhuis, "Arabic Version of the Apocalypse of Baruch," 19–20. For a summary, see Whitters, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 10–11.

46. Klijn, "Recent Developments," 4.

47. Whitters, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 12.

editors of this pseudepigraphon. No critical edition of both is possible, and no Arabic is reproduced here.

§2.2 *Text of Ep2B*

The Epistle of 2 *Baruch* (Ep2B) is preserved in numerous Syriac manuscripts, thirty-six in all.⁴⁸ The oldest codex of the Syriac Bible, manuscript 7a1, has two forms of the letter: the first is incorporated into the apocalypse proper, the second occurs as an independent form of the epistle placed near the book of Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah. It was this latter form that was widely circulated and present in medieval Syriac Bible manuscripts. The manuscript evidence for Ep2B is distinct from that of the rest of 2 *Baruch* (SAB). The letter that was canonized by ancestral communities in the Syrian Orthodox ecclesiastical traditions differs from that discovered in Ceriani's manuscript.⁴⁹

The thirty-six manuscripts of the epistle occur in two recensions: that of 7a1 and all the rest. Whittiers comments that though there is no exhaustive critical edition of Ep2B in print, following Charles he conjectures that there are likely no radical differences between the two recensions.⁵⁰ Bogaert contended that the recension of Ep2B attached to the apocalypse is older than the other, suggesting that the discrepancies from the independent recension are best explained by being detached from the apocalypse at a later date. This leaves the recension affixed to the apocalypse, designated "c," the likely oldest version in his view.⁵¹ For convenience, the alphabetic designation of manuscripts employed by Charles and others is followed here:

Ms a: Codex Ambrosianus, fols. 176b–177b

Ms b: British Library, Addit. MS 17.105, fols. 116a–121a (ca. sixth century; twelfth century?)

Ms c: *Bibliotheca Ambrosiana* B. 21 Ins, in Milan, folios 265a – 267b, #7a1 (ca. sixth century).

Ms d: Codex Ambrosianus A 145.

Ms e: Codex Bodley, No. 1, Syr. MSS, fol. 430, 432 (ca. 1627)

Ms f: Codex British Museum Egerton 704, fol. 373a–374a (ca seventeenth century)

Ms g: Codex British Museum Addit. 12.172, fol. 192b–195b (ca tenth–eleventh century)

Ms h: Codex British Museum Addit. 18.715, fol. 242b–244a (ca twelfth century)

Ms i: Codex Bodley, No. 2, Syr MSS (ca. 1614)

Ms k: Codex Bodley, No. 20, Syr., fol. 37–38,

Ms l: Codex British Museum Addit. 12.178, fol. 111b (ca. ninth–tenth century)

48. Klijn, "2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch," 1.616.

49. Whittiers, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 6.

50. Whittiers, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 14.

51. Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, 1.67–72.

Ms m: Codex British Museum 14.482, fol. 47b–48a (ca. eleventh–twelfth century)

Ms n: Codex British Museum 14.684, fol. 24 (ca. twelfth century).

Ms o: Codex British Museum 14.485 fols. 64v, 119v (ca. 824).⁵²

Ms P: Paris Polyglot (1645)

Ms W: Walton Polyglot (1657)

§2.3 Text Presented Here

For this edition I have chosen to reproduce, almost in its entirety and with very little alteration, the single whole manuscript of *2 Baruch*, 7a1. I have also incorporated, however, some very slight alterations to the text for syntactical clarity, and collated suggested emendations proposed by various scholars in footnotes.⁵³ Where possible, I have tried to limit the adoption of emendations to ms 7a1 to features of grammatical and/or syntactical errors only. Emendations proposed by other scholars, such as the choice of one word over another, the inclusion or omission of a relative pronoun, etc., have been referenced in footnotes but not incorporated in the primary text. Furthermore, the few readings from other Syriac manuscripts for various portions of the text are noted in footnotes. The few extant Greek and Latin texts are presented in full and parallel to the corresponding Syriac text.

§3 Original Language

There is some question as to the original language of *2 Baruch*. The superscript to *2 Baruch* 1:1 indicates that the Syriac is a translation from the Greek (ܡܬܬܪܝܡ ܡܢ ܗܝܠܐܢܐ; “translated from Greek into Syriac”). Scholars widely recognize this to be the case.⁵⁴ Some, though, suggest that the Greek itself may have been a translation of a Semitic original.

§3.1 Arguments in Favor of a Greek Original

Scholars from the 1800s, beginning with Ceriani, generally posited a Greek original.⁵⁵ Bogaert continues that tradition with a thorough discussion of the matter.⁵⁶

52. According to Violet (*Die Apokalypsen des Esra und des Baruch*, lvii), this ms is omitted by Charles because of its identity with ms m.

53. Charles and others are known to make extensive emendations to such texts. See the criticism by J. H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament: Prolegomena for the Study of Christian Origins* (rev. ed.; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1998), 15–16.

54. See Klijn, “2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch,” 1.616.

55. Whitters, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 15, n. 46.

56. *Apocalypse de Baruch*, 1.353–80.

He claims to have found LXX citations in *2 Baruch*. All this really shows, though, is that the Greek *Vorlage* was influenced by the LXX and does not necessarily suggest Greek as the original language.⁵⁷ Moreover, as Bogaert argues, alleged Semitisms are likewise found in texts of unquestionably Greek origin in the New Testament.⁵⁸ The decisive element for Bogaert, however, is his contention for a diaspora milieu for *2 Baruch*, which, in his view, necessitates a Greek original.

§3.2 Arguments in Favor of Semitic Original

Other scholars (Charles, Violet, Gressmann, Schürer, Wellhausen, Ryssel, Ginzberg, Torrey, Strugnell, Klijn, and Hadot) argue for a Hebrew or even an Aramaic original.⁵⁹ Charles and Violet/Gressmann have particularly challenged the notion of a Greek original in favor of a Semitic original. They argued this on a number of grounds: *2 Baruch*'s references to texts from the Hebrew Bible follow the Hebrew rather than the Greek traditions (LXX); some Syriac expressions are intelligible only when retroverted to Hebrew; numerous Hebraisms throughout; and affinities with rabbinic writings. For Violet, the primary reason for favoring a Semitic origin is that the extant Syriac tradition does not coalesce with the extant Greek fragment.⁶⁰

Klijn also argues for a Semitic original for slightly different reasons. First, he argues that the many parallels between *2 Baruch* and other Jewish writings composed in Hebrew or Aramaic suggest that *2 Baruch* has the same Semitic origin. Second, in some cases, the Syriac text is intelligible only after translating it into Hebrew. Finally, a translation of the Syriac text into Hebrew restores a play on words apparently contained in the original.⁶¹ None of these arguments are in themselves convincing. The language of similar literature is hardly sufficient for contending for the same language. The notion of reconstructing a Hebrew retroversion is highly subjective especially because the Syriac would seem to be a rather free rendering of its alleged *Vorlage*.

57. Similarly, Whitters, *Epistle of Second Baruch*, 17 n. 56.

58. See F. Zimmerman, "Textual Observations on the Apocalypse of Baruch," *JTS* 40 (1939): 151–56; Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, xliiv–lii; and esp. Violet, *Die Apokalypsen des Esra und des Baruch*, 344–50. See, recently, Karen H. Jobes, "The Syntax of 1 Peter: Just How Good Is the Greek?" *BBR* 13, no. 2 (2003): 159–74.

59. See Strugnell's review of Bogaert in *JBL* 89 (1970): 484–85; Klijn, "2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch," 1.616; J. Hadot, "Le problème de l'Apocalypse Syriacque de Baruch d'après un ouvrage récent," *Sem* 20 (1970): 59–76 (esp. 63–64). The various scholars and their views on the issue are outlined by Bogaert (*Apocalypse de Baruch*, 1.353–54). Charles suggests that the Syriac bears evidence of transliterations of Greek words, and "renderings explicable only on the hypothesis that the translator followed the wrong meaning of the Greek word before him" (Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, 1).

60. Violet, *Die Apokalypsen des Esra und des Baruch*, lxii–lxiv.

61. Klijn, "2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch," 1.616.

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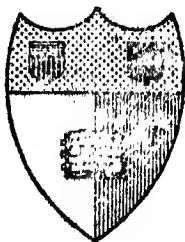
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THE APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

EDITED, WITH A TRANSLATION FROM THE SLAVONIC
TEXT AND NOTES

BY

G. H. BOX, M.A.

LECTURER IN RABBINIC HEBREW, KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON;
HON. CANON OF ST. ALBANS

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

J. I. LANDSMAN

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EDITORS' PREFACE

THE object of this series of translations is primarily to furnish students with short, cheap, and handy text-books, which, it is hoped, will facilitate the study of the particular texts in class under competent teachers. But it is also hoped that the volumes will be acceptable to the general reader who may be interested in the subjects with which they deal. It has been thought advisable, as a general rule, to restrict the notes and comments to a small compass; more especially as, in most cases, excellent works of a more elaborate character are available. Indeed, it is much to be desired that these translations may have the effect of inducing readers to study the larger works.

Our principal aim, in a word, is to make some difficult texts, important for the study of Christian origins, more generally accessible in faithful and scholarly translations.

In most cases these texts are not available in a cheap and handy form. In one or two cases texts have been included of books which are available in the official Apocrypha; but in every such case reasons exist for putting forth these texts in a new translation, with an Introduction, in this series.

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An edition of *The Apocalypse of Abraham* is included in the present volume. The explanatory notes, in this case, given in the commentary on the

text, are rather longer and fuller than usual. This was rendered necessary by the fact that the Book is made accessible here to English readers for the first time; and the difficulties and obscurities in the text are not inconsiderable.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

G. H. BOX.

INTRODUCTION

SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK

The Apocalypse of Abraham, which has been preserved in old Slavonic literature, falls into two distinct parts (cf. the somewhat similar case of *The Ascension of Isaiah*). The first part, contained in chaps. i.–viii., consists of a Midrashic narrative based upon the legend of Abraham's conversion from idolatry, which has several peculiar features.¹ The second part (chaps. ix.–xxxii.) is purely apocalyptic in character, and contains a revelation made to Abraham about the future of his race, after his (temporary) ascent into the heavenly regions, under the guidance of the archangel Jael, who here seems to play the part of Metatron-Michael. It is based upon the account of Abraham's trance-vision described in Genesis xv.—a favourite theme for apocalyptic speculation. In the Book, as it lies before us, the two parts are organically connected. Thus in chap. x. the archangel says: *I am the one who was commissioned to set on fire thy father's house together with him, because he displayed reverence for dead (idols)*—an allusion to the narrative of chap. viii.; and the general plan of the whole work seems to be based upon the idea that Abraham's dissatisfaction with the idol-worship by which he was surrounded, which found vent in his strong protest to his father Terah (chaps. i.–viii.), appealed so much to the divine favour, that the archangel Jael was specially sent

¹ See Appendix I, esp. p. 93.

by God to instruct him and initiate him into the knowledge of heavenly mysteries. Whether the apocalyptic portion ever existed in a shorter and independent form will be discussed below.

The Book opens with a description of Abraham's activities as a maker and seller of idols, his father Terah being a manufacturer of idols. His doubts as to the justifiable character of the idol-worship are roused especially by an accident that befell the stone image called Merumath, and by a similar accident that happened to "five other gods," by which they were broken in pieces (chaps. i.-ii.). Reflecting on this, he is led to protest to his father against the unreality of asking a blessing from such helpless images, thereby rousing Terah's anger (chaps. iii.-iv.). He is led to test further the powers of the idols by placing a wooden god *Barisat* before the fire, and telling the idol to see that the fire must not be allowed to die down during his absence. On returning he finds *Barisat* fallen backwards and "horribly burnt" (chap. v.). He again protests to his father against the futility of such worship, sarcastically contrasting the relative merits of gold, silver and wooden idols (chap. vi.). He then proceeds to show that the elements of fire, water, earth, and the heavenly bodies (sun, moon, and stars) are more worthy of honour than the idols, and yet, as each is subjected to some superior force, they can none of them claim to be God (chap. vii.). While he was yet speaking to his father a voice came from heaven bidding him leave his father's house. He had scarcely left the house when fire descended and consumed all within it.

The apocalyptic part opens with a divine command to Abraham to prepare a sacrifice with a view to receiving a divine revelation concerning the future (chap. ix.). Abraham, terrified at the experience, is confronted by the angel Jaoel, who encourages him, and explains his commission to be with Abraham, and act as his celestial guide. Under the direction of the angel he proceeds to Horeb, the Mount of God, a

journey of forty days (chaps. x.-xii.), and there, with the help of Jael, accomplishes the sacrifice. At this point Azazel, the fallen archangel and seducer of mankind, intervenes and attempts to dissuade Abraham from his purpose. In the form of an unclean bird he flies down "upon the carcasses" (cf. Gen. xv. 11), and tries to induce Abraham to leave the holy place, but in vain. Jael denounces the evil spirit, bidding him depart, and telling him that the heavenly garment which was formerly his has been set aside for Abraham (chaps. xiii.-xiv.).

After this Abraham and the angel ascend on the wings of the unslaughtered birds (of the sacrifice) to heaven, which is described at length. It is filled with "a strong light" of power inexpressible, and there they see the angels who are born and disappear daily, after singing their hymn of praise (chaps. xv.-xvi.). At this point Abraham, hearing the divine voice, falls prostrate, and, taught by the angel, utters the celestial song of praise, and prays for enlightenment (chap. xvii.). He sees the divine throne with the Cherubim and the holy Creatures (*hayyoth*), of whom a description is given, and particularly of their rivalry which is mitigated by the activity of Jael (chap. xviii.). God now speaks and discloses to Abraham the powers of heaven in the various firmaments below (chap. xix.). God promises him a seed numerous as the stars (chap. xx.). In answer to a question by Abraham about Azazel, God shows him a vision of the world, its fruits and creatures, the sea and its monsters (including Leviathan), the Garden of Eden, its fruits, streams, and blessedness. He sees also a multitude of human beings "half of them on the right side of the picture, and half of them on the left" (chap. xxi.). The fall of man is explained to him, being traced to the sin of Adam and Eve in the Garden, a vision of which appears in the picture and also of its results upon the destinies of mankind, who are divided into the people on the right side of the picture, representing the Jewish

world, and the people on the left representing the heathen world. In particular the sin of idolatry resulting in impurity and murder is sketched and made manifest (chaps. xxii.—xxv.). The question, why sin is permitted, is answered by God (chap. xxvi.), and this is followed by a vision of judgement in which the destruction of the Temple is portrayed. In answer to Abraham's anguished question it is explained to him that this is due to the sin of idolatry on the part of his seed. At the same time a hint is given him of coming salvation (chap. xxvii.). In answer to the question, how long shall the judgement last? a description is given of the troubles preceding the Messianic Age, and the dawn of the latter (chaps. xxviii.—xxix.; the latter chapter contains a long Christian interpolation). At this point Abraham finds himself "upon the earth," but receives a further disclosure regarding the punishment of the heathen and the ingathering of Israel (chaps. xxx.—xxxi.). A short paragraph repeating the promise of the chosen people's deliverance from oppression closes the Book (chap. xxxii.).

The character of the Book, as a whole, is thoroughly Jewish. Its original language was probably Hebrew or Aramaic, from which a Greek version (underlying the Slavonic) was made; and the date of the original composition may be placed at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century A.D.

THE SLAVONIC TEXT AND MSS ¹

The Slavonic version, or rather translation, of *The Apocalypse of Abraham* (*Ap. Abr.*) has been preserved in a number of MSS. The oldest and most valuable of these is the famous Codex Sylvester,²

¹ The substance of this section of the Introduction has been contributed by Mr. J. I. Landsman.

² Sylvester, after whom the MS. is named, was a prominent priest in the early years of the reign of Ivan the Terrible,

which now belongs to the Library of the Printing-department of the Holy Synod in Moscow. The MS., which dates from the first half of the fourteenth century, is written on parchment, with two columns on each page, and contains 216 leaves in all, our Apocalypse occupying leaves 164-182.¹ It contains a collection of lives of different saints, and *The Apocalypse of Abraham* stands in it as a work complete in itself, without any connexion with the works which precede and follow it.

The text of our Apocalypse according to Codex Sylvester (cited as S) has been edited by Professor N. Tikhonravov in his *Memorials of Russian Apocryphal Literature* (*Pamyatniki otrechennoi russkoi literatury*), Moscow, 1863, Vol. I. pp. 32-53; and also Professor J. Sreznevsky in his *Ancient Monuments of Russian Writing and Language* (*Drevnie Pam'yatniki russkovo pis'ma i yazyka*), Petrograd, 1863, I. pp. 247^b-256^a, with readings from the Uvaroff MS., which apparently is a mere copy of S. Tikhonravov has supplied his edition with corrections of the numerous clerical mistakes which abound in S, thereby earning the gratitude of students, while Sreznevsky has satisfied himself with producing a mere copy of the text, with all its mistakes. Apart from these editions there has also been published by the Imperial Society of Bibliophiles a facsimile edition of the text of our Apocalypse, according to S (Petrograd, 1890), thus affording students the means of consulting the MS. itself. Apart from S the

upon whom he for some years exercised a salutary influence. He was an author and lover of books, and the Codex was one of a collection of MSS. which remained after his death in the Kirillo monastery, whither he was banished: see Sreznevsky, *Narratives about the Saints Boris and Gleb* (*Skazan'ia o sv'yatykh Borisě i Glěbě*), Petrograd, 1860, Pt. I., and *The Orthodox Encyclopædia* (*Pravoslavnaya Bogoslovskaya E.*) iv. 1195 (s.v. *Domostroi*).

¹ A full description of S is given by Sreznevsky, *op. cit.*, pp. i-viii.

text of *Ap. Abr.* is also contained in many *Palæas*.¹ The *Palæa*, as its name indicates (ἡ παλαιά sc. διαθήκη), deals with the Old Testament, especially with the historical part of it, beginning with creation and ending with David or Solomon, the biblical narratives being enlarged and embellished with apocryphal and pseudepigraphical matter. The origin of the Slavonic *Palæa* must be sought in some Greek prototype,² which by way of Bulgaria and Serbia had, at an early date, found an entrance into Russia, where for centuries it enjoyed great popularity—at least so long as a translation of the whole Bible had not been made accessible to both clergy and people, that is up till the sixteenth century.

There are two kinds of *Palæas*, the historical and the expository, the former being also known as the “eyes” of the *Palæa*, because it contains the text upon which the expository *Palæa* comments. The expositions are of a polemical character, the polemic being invariably directed against the Jews (*Zhidovin*), to whom it is demonstrated that all the prophecies and the manifold types had found their true fulfilment in Christ. The *Palæa* draws richly upon the Jewish Midrashic Literature, and then uses the material as an argument against the Jews from whom it was borrowed.

Originally our Apocalypse had no place in the *Palæa*, as may be seen from the oldest *Palæa* MS., which dates from the fourteenth century, and is preserved in the Alexander-Nevsky Monastery (Petrograd). Later, it was inserted, but still retained its original character of an independent work (as is the case in the Uvaroff *Palæa*); but later still

¹ On the subject of the *Palæa* see the works of N. S. Tikhonravov (*Sochinenia*), Moscow, 1898, Vol. I. pp. 156–170, and the valuable notes at the end of the volume; cf. also the article *Palæa* in the Russian Encyclopædia published by Brockhaus—Efron.

² A MS. of a Greek *Palæa* is known to exist in the Vienna Library, and has been edited by A. V. Vasil'eff in *Anecdota græco-byzantina*, I. pp. 188–192 (Moscow, 1892).

(from the sixteenth century and onwards) the text of *Ap. Abr.* loses its original character of an independent work, the material being worked into the life of Abraham. The title of the Book is dropped, and the first person in which Abraham speaks in S is altered into the third, that is, it is changed into a narrative about Abraham, though the scribe often forgets himself and retains the first person of the original.

The apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings must have been introduced into Russia at a very early date. Large parties of devout Russians, conducted by some learned monk, made frequent pilgrimages to Constantinople and the Holy Land. It was on such pilgrimages that the people were, for the first time, made acquainted with these writings, and the learned monk would, on the spot, translate the book, which had enriched his knowledge concerning the Patriarchs or the Apostles, into Slavonic, and then bring it back, as a most precious treasure to his own country, to the great delight of his fellow-monks in the monastery. It may, therefore, be taken for granted that the Greek original of our Apocalypse had never been brought to Russia, and that there never existed more than one translation of it into Slavonic, for S and the Palæa do not represent different translations, but only different types or recensions of one and the same version. The differences between the Palæa and S are very slight, the former only modernising here and there the style and the orthography. The Palæa is, therefore, of great value for the reconstruction of the original text, especially as it has preserved, in many cases, a more correct copy than is the case with S. The Palæa version is, however, disfigured by the many interpolations made by subsequent scribes which are all absent from S, and which are easily discernible as being interpolations.¹

¹ Matter which is not found in S is, in the translation printed below, enclosed in square brackets, and printed in smaller type.

The Palæa version of our Apocalypse has been edited by Tikhonravov¹ from a MS. which once belonged to the Joseph-Monastery in Volokolamsk, whence it has been transferred to the Library of the Moscow Academy of Divinity,² the MS. dating from the fifteenth century. Then I. Porfir'ev edited it in his *Apocryphal Narratives about Old Testament Persons and Events* (*Apokrificheskia skazania o vetkhozavetnykh litsakh i sobytiakh*), Petrograd, 1877, pp. 111-130,³ from a MS. dating from the seventeenth century, originally the property of the Library of the Solovetzk-Monastery, whence it was transferred to the Library of the Kasan Academy of Divinity.⁴ A and K are closely related to each other, and represent a type of text common to them both. Thus the same mistakes are found in both, and also the same additional matter, not extant in S.⁵

Another Palæa-text, containing part of the text of our Apocalypse, viz. the legendary narrative in chaps. i.-viii. only, has been edited by A. Pypin in *Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha of Russian Antiquity* (*Ložnyja i otrechennaja knigi russkoi stariny*) in the third volume of Kuselev-Bezborodko, *Memorials of Old Russian Literature* (*Pam'yatniki starinnoj russkoi literatury*), Petrograd, 1882, pp. 24-26. This is from the Palæa of the Rumjancov Museum, dating from the year 1494.⁶

In S the end of the Book is missing, but is, fortunately, extant both in A and K. K also has at the end a short paragraph not found in A, which forms an appropriate conclusion to the whole Book. The reader will find it given in the notes on

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 54-77.

² Cited below as A.

³ Forming part of Vol. XVII, published by the Department of the Russian Language and Literature of the Imperial Academy of Sciences.

⁴ Cited below as K.

⁵ For some examples of identical errors in the text which appear in both A and K see Bonwetsch, p. 8.

⁶ Cited as R below.

the concluding passage. See further Appendixes II. and III.¹

DATE OF COMPOSITION AND ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE BOOK

The Slavonic text, it is obvious, was made from a Greek version which, no doubt, was current in Constantinople. It is probable, however, that the Greek text underlying the Slavonic was itself a translation of a Semitic original. A number of indications suggest this. The simple co-ordination of the sentences, the naïve repetitions, and the frequency of the phrase "Here am I" (= Hebrew *hinnēnî*), which characterise all parts of the Book, point in this direction. Then, too, the sarcastic names given to the idols in the first part (chaps. i.-viii.)—the stone idol *Merumath* (= 'eben *Mērūmā*, "stone of deceit"), the wooden idol *Barisat* (= *bar 'ishtā* "son of the fire," Aramaic)—presuppose a knowledge of Hebrew or Aramaic, or both, on the part of the original readers which would hardly be likely in a purely Greek composition. The fact, too, that Abraham is supposed to be the speaker throughout may lend some weight to the argument for a Hebrew original. The cumulative effect of these considerations taken in conjunction with the intensely Jewish character of the Book as a whole makes a Semitic original highly probable. Perhaps the Book was composed in Hebrew, with a slight admixture of Aramaic, such as occurs in the early Palestinian Midrashim.

The date of the composition of the Book can be determined, within narrow limits, with some probability. Clearly the *terminus a quo* is the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 70 A.D. which is bewailed by Abraham in the apocalyptic part of the Book. The fact, too, that it forms the central

¹ See further, Bonwetsch, pp. I-II.

point of the picture, that the revelation leads up to it as a sort of climax, and that the apocalyptist is so deeply moved at the disclosure, suggests that the event is fairly recent. Ginzberg (*J.E.*, i. 92) thinks "the last decades of the first century" are probably the period to which the composition of the Book should be assigned, at any rate in its earliest form. In any case the *terminus ad quem* can hardly be later than the first decades of the second century. The fact that the Book won acceptance in Christian circles, and was adapted by slight interpolation to Christian purposes—though its intensely Jewish character is manifest on every page—strongly supports the early date. Such a Book would have appealed to Jewish-Christians in Palestine, when Jewish-Christianity was still in close touch with a non-Christian Jewish community in the Holy Land—and it may be assumed, in view of the Semitic character of its original language, that the Book was of Palestinian origin. It must, therefore, have been produced at a time when early apocalyptic literature was still being written in Hebrew or Aramaic, *i. e.* not later than the early decades of the second century.¹

The question as to the existence of the Book at first in a shorter and much simpler form is discussed below.

EARLY ATTESTATION OF THE BOOK

That the Book must have enjoyed some considerable vogue and popularity in certain Christian circles is proved by its survival, in more than one form, in old Slavonic literature. And this must be equally true of the Greek form of the Book from which the Slavonic was derived. There is, as we should expect, some early evidence of the Book's existence, though some of it is vague and uncertain. What seems to

¹ See *E.A.*, p. lviii ff.

be the clearest and most explicit piece of evidence of this kind is found in the *Clementine Recognitions*, I. 32, which carries us back to at least the early part of the fourth century, and which, not improbably, through the sources of the Clementine Literature, may go back to an earlier period, still, perhaps another century.¹ The section in the *Recognitions* deals with Abraham, and the part which specially concerns us runs as follows :

From the first this same man [Abraham], being an astrologer, was able, from the account and order of the stars, to recognise the Creator, while all others were in error, and understood that all things are regulated by His providence. Whence also an angel, standing by him in a vision, instructed him more fully concerning those things which he was beginning to perceive. He shewed him also what belonged to his race and posterity, and promised them that those districts should be restored rather than given to them.

Here the first sentence clearly refers to some form of the legend of Abraham's conversion from idolatry ; but it agrees rather with Philo's account in *de Abrahamo*, § 15 (see Appendix I.) than with that embodied in the first part of our Book, which depicts Abraham in his early days as a maker and seller of idols rather than as an astrologer. But the second sentence forms a good description of the second or apocalyptic part of our Book, and may be taken as a reference to it. That in fact a book known as " the Apocalypse of Abraham " existed in his time is explicitly stated by Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxxix. 5) where, in speaking of the Gnostic sect called " the Sethians," he says they possessed a number of books " written in the name of great men," seven in the name of Seth, and among others one " in the name of Abraham which they also declare to be an apocalypse," and which is " full of all wickedness " (*πάσης κακίας ἐμπλεών*). Schürer thinks that this heretical book cannot be identified with our Apocalypse.

¹ Cf. Hort, *Clementine Recognitions*, pp. 80 ff.

Dr. M. R. James, however,¹ is inclined to believe "that Epiphanius on his authority is here going too far, and is fathering on the Sethians a book, which they may well have used, but which they did not manufacture." It is quite possible, and not improbable that this Gnostic sect made use of our Book in an interpolated form. As we shall see, there are Gnostic features in it in the form in which it has reached us, and Ginzberg is inclined to regard these as interpolations from a Gnostic book bearing the same name. A heretical Book (or Apocalypse) of Abraham may also possibly be referred to in a passage in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, vi. 16 (compiled in its present form probably in the second half of the fourth century), which runs as follows:

And among the Ancients also some have written apocryphal books of Moses, and Enoch, and Adam, and Isaiah, and David, and Elijah, and of the three patriarchs, pernicious and repugnant to the truth (φθοροποιὰ καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρά).

It will be noticed that this is a list of Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, most of the items of which are easily recognisable. By "the three patriarchs" can only be meant Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Thus the passage attests the existence, at the time when the compiler wrote, of an apocryphal Book of Abraham, which may well be identical with our Apocalypse.² Lastly there is the evidence of the lists of books (containing the bare names) included in the *Synopsis of Pseudo-Athanasius* (compiled probably about 500 A.D.) and the *Stichometry of Nicephorus* (drawn up in Jerusalem perhaps about 850 A.D.). The latter is identical with the former, except that it attaches to the name of each book the number of *stichoi* or lines contained in it. The first six names

¹ *The Testament of Abraham* (Cambridge "Texts and Studies"), p. 14.

² It might, of course, refer to some other apocryphal Book of Abraham; Dr. M. R. James thinks the reference may be to *The Testament of Abraham*.

on these lists are as follows: (1) *Enoch*; (2) *Patriarchs*; (3) *Prayer of Joseph*; (4) *Testament of Moses*; (5) *Assumption of Moses*, (6) *Abraham*. The second list adds to the sixth name "stichometry 300," thus giving us "a book [of Abraham] rather shorter than the Greek Esther, which has 350 *στίχοι*." Dr. M. R. James¹ is of opinion that the word *ἀποκάλυψις* is to be supplied before *Ἀβραάμ* here, and this view we may safely accept. We have thus another piece of evidence of the existence of a Book called "the Apocalypse of Abraham," which was of sufficient importance to be included in a list of books of Old Testament apocrypha containing such well-known names as the Book of Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Assumption of Moses.

From a survey of this evidence it may be concluded that an apocryphal book (or books) under the name of Abraham was current in the early Christian centuries; and that our Apocalypse is one product or form of this literature. The so-called *Testament of Abraham* is, no doubt, another. The possibility remains to be considered that our Apocalypse may have assumed different forms (by enlargement or curtailment) and have been adapted at different times for different purposes.

GNOSTIC ELEMENTS IN THE TEXT

Among the Gnostic features in the text of our Book may be reckoned the significant emphasis laid upon "right" and "left" in the apocalyptic representation (cf. xxii. (end), xxiii.), the "right" side being the source of purity and light, the "left" that of impurity and darkness. This idea is ancient,² depending upon the dualism which insists upon the category of light and darkness, and can be traced back to ancient Zoroastrianism. But it was developed in the early Gnostic systems (see Irenæus, *adv. Hæres.* I., xi. 2; II. xxiv. 6), and in the Jewish

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 9. The synopsis embraces eleven items.

² Cf. Matt. xxv.

Ḳabbalah, where "right side" and "left side" (*siṭrā yēmīnā wē-siṭrā 'ahārā*) become technical terms. In the Emanistic system of the Zohar, the whole world is divided between "right" and "left," where pure and impure powers respectively operate—on the right side the Holy One and His powers, on the left the serpent Sammael and his powers (cf. Zohar, *Bereshith*, 47*b*, 53*f*, 169*b* and following, 174*b*). When, therefore, we find our Book dividing mankind into two hosts, one on the right side (= the Jews) and one on the left (= the heathen), the presence of Gnostic influence seems clear. At the same time, it may well be an original feature of the Book, as the idea had already been assimilated by the ancient Jewish mystical tradition (Ḳabbalah), and if our Apocalypse was of Essene origin there would be nothing surprising in the presence of such an element.

The opposition between light and darkness seems also to be present in an obscure passage in chap. xiv., which is absent from S. It runs as follows (Azazel is being addressed):

For thy heritage is (to be) over those existing with thee being born with the stars and clouds, with the men whose portion thou art, and (who) through thy being exist; and thine enmity is justification.

Perhaps by those "being born with the stars and clouds" is meant those who by birth and creation belong to the sphere of night and darkness, as opposed to the righteous who belong to the sphere of light. This again accords with the ancient dualistic conception referred to above, and may very well be an original feature. The absence of the clause from S may be due to excision. It can hardly be an interpolation from Slavonic sources.

On the other hand, there are two passages where the original text may have been modified under Christian Gnostic influence (apart from the obvious interpolation indicated by italic type in chap. xxix.). In chap. xx. God, addressing Abraham, says: "As the number of the stars and their power, (so will) I

make thy seed a nation, and a people set apart for me in my heritage *with Azazel*." And again in chap. xxii. : " But those which are on the right side of the picture—they are the people set apart for me of the peoples *with Azazel*." Here God is represented as sharing His heritage (= the Jewish people) with the evil spirit Azazel. " This," says Ginzberg (*J.E.*, i. 92), " is no doubt the Gnostic doctrine of the God of the Jews as kakodaimon," *i. e.* that the God of the Old Testament is an inferior deity, whose work was fused with evil elements. Still, these Gnostic elements in our Book are not very pronounced; there are no clear and explicit allusions to any of the full-blown doctrines of the Ophites or kindred Gnostic sects. The phenomena suggest that the Book is an essentially Jewish one, which may have been used and read by Gnostic Christians, and adapted by slight revision to make it acceptable to such readers.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK AND INTEGRITY OF ITS TEXT

The Book is essentially Jewish, and there are features in it which suggest Essene origin; such are its strong predestinarian doctrine, its dualistic conceptions, and its ascetic tendencies. It may well have passed from Essene to Ebionite circles—the interpolation in chap. xxix. certainly looks like the work of a Jewish-Christian—and thence, in some form, have found its way into Gnostic circles.

Is the Book as it lies before us—apart from the interpolation in chap. xxix.—substantially in its original shape? To this question an affirmative answer may, with some probability, be given. Ginzberg, it is true, suggests a different view. He says (*J.E.*, i. 92) :

It is quite probable that certain parts of the heretical Apocalypse of Abraham, which was in circulation among the Gnostics (Epiphanius, xxxix. 5), were incorporated in the

present text [of our Apocalypse]. Subtracting, then, the first part [*i. e.* chaps. i.-viii., containing the "Legend"], which does not belong to the Apocalypse, and the Gnostic and Christian interpolations, only about three hundred lines remain, and this number would exactly correspond with the number which, according to the stichometry of Nicephorus, the Apocalypse of Abraham contained.

There are considerable difficulties attaching to this theory. It is difficult to suppose that the Book in its original form was without the opening chapters (i.-viii.) narrating Abraham's conversion from idolatry. There are several allusions in the later chapters to this opening narrative, which come in quite naturally. The chapters form a good introduction to what follows, and, as such, were probably put into their present shape by the original author of the Book. The material of the legend was, of course, much older; but it is to be noticed that our author has handled this material in a very free way, and this fact also suggests that these chapters were no mere addition to the Book, borrowed from one of the current forms of the legend. It seems more probable that the shorter "Apocalypse of Abraham" implied by the Stichometry of Nicephorus was a shortened recension of the original book, probably adapted for orthodox Christian purposes. It is by no means impossible that a shorter recension may have existed side by side with the fuller original form at a later date. The latter may have survived and have been read in certain circles by preference, and thence have passed over into the old Slavonic Church literature. Whether the heretical "Apocalypse of Abraham" referred to by Epiphanius which, according to him was "full of all wickedness" was another and independent recension, it is impossible to say. On the whole it seems more likely that the older form of the Book—especially if it had grown up in Ebionite (Jewish-Christian) circles—was the form in which it was read by the Sethian Gnostics. The mere fact that it was read in such circles would make it suspicious in the eyes of a later orthodoxy, which may

have endeavoured to suppress it by issuing a shorter recension of the text. But the older form was too popular to be eliminated in this way entirely—though it has almost disappeared from Christian literature, and in its Greek and Semitic forms has, in fact, disappeared, only surviving in its old Slavonic dress.

That such a Jewish-Christian Book would have been acceptable to Sethian Gnostic readers is not surprising. This Gnostic sect held the doctrine that the *Sophia* “found means to preserve through every age, in the midst of the Demiurge’s world, a race bearing within them the spiritual seed which was related to her own nature” . . . they “regarded Cain as a representative of the Hylic; Abel, of the Psychical; and Seth, who was finally to reappear in the person of the Messiah, of the Pneumatic principle.”¹

The emphasis laid in our Book (chap. xxiv.) upon the lawlessness of Cain, “who acted lawlessly through the Adversary,” and its evil consequence in the slaughter of Abel would appeal to such Gnostic readers no less than the division of mankind into “right” and “left,” and the assignment of the latter to the dominion of the “lawless Adversary” Azazel. Abraham, too, the hero of the Book, was in the line of Seth, and it is from him that the Messiah springs (chap. xxix.). All this would be read by such Gnostic readers in the light of their own presuppositions.

We conclude, then, that the Book, substantially as it lies before us, is a Jewish and Essene production, like the related *Testament of Abraham*. It depicts the initiation of Abraham into the heavenly mysteries associated with the Divine “Chariot” (cf. Ezek. i.). Its angelology is in line with Essene speculation, and in chap. xvii. Abraham is taught by the archangel, in the form of the celestial hymn, the mystery of the Divine Name. We have reached the stage

¹ Neander, *Church History*, ii. 154.

when Enoch has fallen into the background, and Abraham, like Moses, has become the centre of mystic lore, that is "when the seal of circumcision had become the pledge of life."¹ It is noteworthy that the Kabbalistic book *Sefer Yeširā* (? second century A.D.) was attributed to Abraham.

It may occur to some readers as an objection to this view that the prominence assigned to Abraham's sacrifice in the Book, and to the destruction of the Temple, regarded as the supreme calamity, is inconsistent with Essene authorship, since the Essenes rejected animal sacrifices. But, as Kohler has shewn,² the Essenes, who accepted the Mosaic Law, were not opposed to such sacrifices on principle. What they opposed was the priesthood in the Temple "out of mistrust as to their state of holiness and purity, rather than out of aversion to sacrifice." To Abraham, the Essene saint, acting under direct divine command, no such objection would apply.

It should be added that the Slavonic MSS. yield a text which is markedly shorter than the texts of the Palæan MSS. Some of the omitted passages are perhaps cases of deliberate excision, and others of accidental omission. But there remain a substantial number where the shorter text is probably original, and the presence of glosses or later amplifications is to be suspected. All such passages are indicated in the text of the translation given below.

THEOLOGY OF THE BOOK

The apocalyptic part of the Book is based upon the story of Abraham's sacrifice and trance, as described in Gen. xv. This experience is interpreted to mean that Abraham received a divine disclosure as to the destinies of his descendants, which is also the view of the Rabbinical Midrash (cf. *Bereshith rabba*, xlv. 15 f.). This scheme provides the framework in which our apocalypse is set.

¹ Cf. Kohler in *J.Q.R.*, vii. 594 (July 1895).

² In *J.E.*, v. 230 (s.v. *Essenes*).

Abraham, after completing the prescribed sacrifice, ascends to heaven, under the guidance of the angel, and from thence sees below him the drama of the world's future, and also the various powers and forces that operate in the celestial sphere. In exactly the same way the Midrash (*Bereshith rabba*, xlv. 14) interprets Abraham's experience as an ascension. According to a saying of R. Jehuda, citing the authority of R. Johanan, God *caused him* [Abraham] *to ascend above the vault of the firmament*, and said to him: "*Look now toward heaven*": "*looking*" [here] *means nought else but from [the height] above to [what is] below*. This is a continuation of a comment on the sentence: *And He brought him forth outside* (Gen. xv. 5) interpreted to mean: "And He (God) brought him (Abraham) forth outside the world."

The angel who conducts Abraham on his celestial journey is the archangel Jael, who plays an all-important rôle. As is pointed out in the notes, he fulfils the functions elsewhere assigned to Michael and Metatron. Just as Metatron bears the tetragrammaton (cf. Ex. xxiii. 21, "My Name is in him"), so Jael here (chap. x.) is possessed of the power of the Ineffable Name. The name Jael itself is evidently a substitute for the tetragrammaton, which was too sacred to be written out in full. This angelic being is thus God's vicegerent, second only to God Himself. Yet he may not be worshipped, but rather himself sets Abraham the example of worshipping God. He is thus the supreme figure in Jewish angelology. Like Enoch, who was also transformed into Metatron, Jael acts as celestial guide. Jael is also the heavenly choir-master (chap. xii. "Singer of the Eternal"; cf. also chap. xvii.), a function assigned elsewhere to Michael; like Michael he is the guardian of the chosen race (chap. x., end), and is potent to subdue "the attack and menace of every single reptile" (*ibid.*).

It is this supreme angelic being who in one line

of apocalyptic tradition becomes the heavenly Son of Man—a conception that exercised an important influence on Christological development.¹

Over against Jaoel stands Azazel, who here appears as the arch-fiend,² and as active upon the earth (chap. xiii.), though his real domain is in Hades, where he reigns as lord (chap. xxxi.). In fact, according to the peculiar representation of our Apocalypse, Azazel is himself the fire of Hell (cf. chap. xiv. "Be thou the burning coal of the furnace of the earth," and xxxi., "burnt with the fire of Azazel's tongue"). He is the source of all wickedness and uncleanness (chap. xiii.), and the godless are his heritage (*ibid.*). He is denounced as the slanderer of truth and the seducer of mankind, having "scattered over the earth the secrets of heaven," and "rebelled against the Mighty One" (chap. xiv.). The radical dualism of the Book comes out not only in the sharp division of mankind into two hosts, which stand for Jewry and heathendom respectively, but also in the clearly defined contradistinction of two ages, the present Age of ungodliness and the future Age of righteousness (cf. chap. xxix. and ix.). The present Age—called "this æon" (chap. xxxi.)—is "corruptible" (chap. xvii.), "the Age of ungodliness" (chap. xxix., xxxii.), during which the heathen have the dominion over the Jews (chap. xxxi.); it is to last "twelve" years or "hours" (chap. xxix.). Over against it stands "the coming Age" (chap. xxxi.), or "Age of the righteous" (chap. xvii., xxix.). The origin of sin is traced to the Fall, which is described in chap. xxiii. The agent is, of course, the serpent, who is merely the instrument of Azazel. Indeed, the twelve wings of the latter are given in the description to the serpent. The evil spirit, who is described as

¹ Cf. *E.A.*, p. 284. The name Jaoel (Yahoel) occurs as the name of a principal angel (over fire) in the Kabbalistic Book *Berith Menuḥa* 57a, and below him are seven others, including Gabriel: see Lueken, *Michael*, p. 54.

² So in one form of the tradition in 1 Enoch, Azazel stands at the head of the fallen angels.

being "between" the human pair in the Garden, "representeth ungodliness, their beginning (on the way) to perdition, even Azazel," and the seer proceeds to ask why God has given "power to such to destroy the generation of men in their works upon the earth." In some sense, then, according to the representation of our Apocalypse, the sin of Adam affects the destinies of all his descendants. The moral poison of sensuality (Heb. *zôhāmā*) with which the serpent infected Eve (T. B., *Yēbāmôth*, 103 *b*) passed on to all generations (cf. *Wisdom* ii. 24, 4 *Ezra* iii. 21).¹ This has an important bearing on the Pauline doctrine of original sin. At the same time, our Apocalypse, in spite of its strong expression of predestinarian views elsewhere, insists with marked emphasis upon the freedom of man's will (cf. chap. xxvi.).

The Book apparently knows nothing of a resurrection. The righteous dead, it would seem, proceed straight to the heavenly Paradise ("the Garden of Eden"), where they enjoy heavenly "fruits and blessedness" (chap. xxi.), while the wicked dead go immediately to the underworld and Azazel. Nothing is said of an intermediate state. The more usual view is that the heavenly Paradise is reserved for the righteous dead, who will enter it after the final judgement (except for a few privileged saints like Enoch, who are allowed to enter it beforehand). The nearest parallel to the idea of our Book, seems to occur in 1 Enoch lx. 8, 23, lxi. 12, lxx. 4, where the elect righteous already dwell in the garden of life.

"A judgement" is spoken of "at the end of the

¹ In T.B. *Aboda zara* 22b R. Johanan refers to this as follows: *At the moment when the serpent came upon Eve he infected her with sensuality (zôhāmā).* Was this also the case with Israel (generally)? *When the Israelites stood upon Mount Sinai their infection (impulse to sensuality, zôhāmāthān) ceased, the aliens (heathen) who did not stand upon Mount Sinai—their infection (of sensuality) did not cease.* The Covenant on Mount Sinai annulled the effects of the Fall.

world," but it is a judgment upon the heathen nations effected by Israel at the end of the present age of ungodliness¹ (cf. chap. xxii., xxix.).

A detailed eschatological description of the end of the present age of ungodliness and the coming in of the age of righteousness is given in chap. xxix.—xxx. In chap. xxix. it is stated that before the beginning of the new Age God's judgement will be effected on the ruthless heathen nations by God's people²; ten plagues come upon all creatures of the earth on account of sin; those who are of Abraham's seed survive according to a pre-determined number, hasten to Jerusalem, wreak vengeance on their foes, and rejoice before God, to whom they return (chap. xxix.). In the following chapter (xxx.) a detailed description is given of the ten plagues which visit the heathen "at the twelfth hour of the present Age." Chap. xxxi. describes the trumpet-blast which announces the mission of God's Elect One (the Messiah), who gathers together the dispersed of Israel, and the annihilation and horrible doom of the godless foes of Israel and of God's enemies both within and without Israel (the former renegade Jews), and the joy which the downfall of these wicked people and the signal manifestation of God's righteousness cause.

It will be noticed that chaps. xxx. and xxxi. duplicate to some extent the contents of chap. xxix. They read like an appendix. Moreover, the figure of the Messiah first emerges here, and his rôle is a somewhat limited one. The last words of chap. xxix. ("And lo! I am with you for ever") may well have formed the conclusion of the Apocalypse.

It should be noted also that in the Christian addition in chap. xxix. no emphasis is laid upon Christ's divinity. The description reads like an Ebionitic one.

¹ The "judgement of the Great Assize" mentioned in chap. xxiv. occurs in a clause which is absent from S, and may be an interpolation.

² According to chapter xxii. these peoples are destined "some for judgement and restoration, and others for vengeance and destruction at the end of the world."

In this connexion it may be noted that the identification of the fruit of the forbidden tree in chap. xxiii. with the grape may reflect the ascetic tendency, which grew up in Jewish (and Jewish-Christian) circles after the destruction of Jerusalem, to abstain from wine as a mark of mourning. This feeling may have stimulated the view that wine was the source of woe to mankind (see note on passage). Apparently the Essenes regarded Jonadab, the founder of the sect of "water-drinkers" (Rechabites), as a prototype of the Essene order (see *J.E.*, v. 230b).

As has been pointed out above, our Apocalypse, like the companion one of *The Ascension of Isaiah*, and other examples in the apocalyptic literature, expresses the mystical tradition and experience associated with the mysteries of the Divine Chariot or Throne. The speculation which gave rise to this tradition starts from Ezekiel's Chariot-Vision (Ezek. i.), and is embodied in a fairly extensive literature especially in i. and ii. Enoch in the earlier Apocalyptic, and in the neo-Hebraic "Hekalot" literature (eighth to tenth centuries A.D.). The material of which it is composed, and which is constantly re-shaped, consists mainly of descriptions of the seven heavens "with their hosts of angels, and the various store-houses of the world, and of the divine throne above the highest heaven."¹ Heaven is pictured as filled with light of inexpressible brilliance, and the Divine Chariot is surrounded by fiery angels of warlike aspect. The mystic who is allowed to enter the celestial sphere usually receives divine disclosures about the future or the spiritual world.

In order to enjoy this experience the mystic has to prepare himself to enter the ecstatic state which is brought about especially by ablutions and fasting, but also sometimes by fervent invocations and by other means. He is rewarded by "the vision of the Merkabah" or "Divine Chariot" (*šēfiyyath ha-merkābā*). Those who thus imagined themselves entering the Heavenly Chariot and floating through the air were called *Yōrēdē Merkābā*, i. e. "those

¹ Cf. *J.E.*, viii. 499b.

who go down (embark) into the ship-like chariot " (Jellinek). " In this chariot they are supposed to ascend to the heavens, where in the dazzling light surrounding them they behold the innermost secrets of all persons and things otherwise impenetrable and invisible." ¹ The heavenly charioteer is Metatron (according to Kohler suggested by Mithra), the angel next the Throne, whose name is like God's, and who possesses all knowledge, and imparts it to man. Metatron, as we have seen, is Enoch transformed. In our Book he seems to appear under the name Jaobel. It is interesting to note that according to the late Jewish " Hekalot " the initiated one who is admitted to the heavenly regions, in order to be allowed to step before the Divine Throne must recite certain prayers until God Himself addresses him, if he be worthy; cf. with this the Hymn-Prayer which Abraham is taught to recite in chap. xvii. of our Book. According to Kohler ² the Merkabah-mysteries " remained the exclusive property of the initiated ones, the *Ṣenû'im* or *Ḥashshā'im*," whom he identifies with the Essenes.

[The emphasis that is laid throughout all parts of the Book upon the sin of idolatry is noteworthy, and especially that the Temple-sacrifices had been polluted by idolatrous rites (cf. chap. xxiv.). Perhaps this is intended to suggest a reason why the sanctuary was destroyed.]

LITERARY AFFINITIES AND SPECIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE BOOK

Our Apocalypse has affinities, as has already been pointed out, with such books as *The Ascension of Isaiah*, which like it deals with the mysteries of the heavens ² and is set in a similar mystical framework.

¹ Cf. *J.E.*, viii. 499b.

² The seven heavens are referred to, and partly described in our Apocalypse in chap. xix. Another point of contact is the reference to the " heavenly garment " in chap. xiii.,

But the latter work has a pronouncedly Christian element, and is a production of Jewish-Christian origin in its present form, whereas in our Book the Christian element is confined to a short interpolated passage in chap. xxix.

With the *Testament of Abraham*, there is a certain affinity, and this work, like our Apocalypse, may be of Essene origin. But the two books are quite distinct, and their historical setting is different. The *Testament*, though it contains an apocalyptic element in the parts which describe Abraham's "ride" through the heavenly regions when he sees the fate of departed souls, is based upon the idea of Abraham's death; moreover, the chief angelic figure in the *Testament* is Michael, and the eschatology is different. Possibly the eschatology of the two Books may be regarded as complementary, the *Apocalypse* giving the national, and the *Testament* the individual aspects of it from the Essene standpoint.

There is, too, a certain affinity with the Clementine literature (*Homilies* and *Recognitions*), which is highly important for the history of Gnostic Judæo-Christianity. Thus in the Clementine *Homilies* the doctrine of contrasts is much elaborated. The ruler of this world is Satan, the ruler of the future world is the Messiah. The divinity of Christ is not recognised, no stress is laid upon the doctrine of the atonement, and strict asceticism is enjoined.

Our Book is important as illustrating the Jewish ideas that lie behind the doctrine of original sin in connexion with the story of the Fall, and in its angelology and demonology. In the angelic figure of Jaoel (= Michael = Metatron), God's vicegerent and the impartor of divine revelation to man (in the person of Abraham) we have one more illustration of the range of conceptions on the Jewish side which

end. For a discussion of the theological affinities of these ideas with the New Testament writings cf. Introduction to *The Ascension of Isaiah*, pp. xxi.-xxiv.

influenced the Logos-idea and Christological development. The pessimistic estimate of the world as it is—"the æon of ungodliness—which to a large extent is under the dominion of Azazel, illustrates such phrases as "the god of this world" (2 Cor. iv. 4), "the ruler of this world" (John xii. 31) which are applied to Satan. These probably reflect popular Jewish feeling. The earth is the Lord's, as St. Paul himself insists (1 Cor. x. 26), but has fallen under the dominion of the evil one, and can only be redeemed therefrom by God's Messiah.

Our Book is specially important as one more interesting example of the apocalyptic ideas of late Judaism, and, more particularly, as throwing a welcome light on the ideas specially congenial to early Jewish-Christianity when it had already become, to some extent, detached from the common stream of Church life.

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SHORT TITLES, ABBREVIATIONS, AND BRACKETS USED IN THIS EDITION

1 Enoch = The Ethiopic Book of Enoch.

2 Enoch = The Slavonic Book of Enoch.

Ap. Bar. = The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch.

The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch = The Apocalypse edited under this title (and based upon a Greek and also a Slavonic text) by Dr. H. Maldwyn Hughes in the Oxford Corpus of *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ii. pp. 527-541.

Asc. Is. = The Ascension of Isaiah.

Pirke de R. Eliezer is cited according to the edition (English translation and notes) of G. Friedlander (London, 1916).

Beer = *Leben Abraham's nach Auffassung der jüdischen Sage*, von Dr. B. Beer (Leipzig, 1859).

Bonwetsch = *Die Apokalypse Abrahams . . .* herausgegeben von G. Nathanael Bonwetsch (Leipzig, 1897, in the series *Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche*).

Volz = *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*, dangesammelt von Paul Volz (Tübingen und Leipzig, 1903).

Weber = *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften*: von Dr. Ferdinand Weber (Leipzig, 1897).

S = Codex Sylvester (first half of fourteenth century): Facsimile Edition, Petrograd, 1890 (edited also by Tikhonravov).

P = Palæa (Old Testament narratives and expositions in Slavonic).

A = a Palæa-text of *Ap. Abr.*, edited by Tikhonravov from a MS. of the fifteenth century.

K = a Palæa-text of *Ap. Abr.*, edited by I. Porfir'ev from a MS. of the seventeenth century.

R = a Palæa-text of *Ap. Abr.*, i.-viii., edited by A. Pypin from a MS. dated 1494.

See further
the second
section of the
Introduction.

Lueken = *Michael: eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael*: von Wilhelm Lueken (Göttingen, 1898).

E.A. = *The Ezra-Apocalypse*, edited by G. H. Box (1912).

J.Q.R. = Jewish Quarterly Review.

D.B. = Dictionary of the Bible.

J.E. = Jewish Encyclopædia.

M.T. = Masoretic Text.

[] Square brackets enclosing words in smaller type indicate additional, and in most cases presumably interpolated, matter, which is absent from S.

() Round brackets enclosing words in *italic type* indicate glosses or editorial additions.

() Round brackets enclosing words in ordinary type indicate additions to the text of the translation made for the sake of clearness.

For the works cited under the following names—

Tikhonravov, see pp. xi, xiv.

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Pypin, see p. xiv.

Porfir'ev, see p. xiv.

[The translation that follows has been prepared with the assistance of Mr. J. I. Landsman, who has consulted

for this purpose the Facsimile Edition of Codex S, and the various printed editions referred to above. For the form of the translation here given Mr. Landsman takes full responsibility. No previous translation or edition of the Book has been published in English so far as the Editor is aware.]

THE APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

PART I

THE LEGEND (Chapters I.-VIII.)

Title ¹

The Book of the Revelation of Abraham, the son of Terah, the son of Nahor, the son of Serug, the son of Roog (Reu ²), the son of Arphaxad, the son of Shem, the son of Noah, the son of Lamech, the son of Methuselah, the son of Enoch, the son of Jared (Arad).

Abraham's Conversion from Idolatry (Chapters I.-VIII.).

I. On the day when I planed the gods of my father ³ Terah and the gods of Nahor *his brother*,⁴ when I was searching as to who the Mighty God in truth is—I, Abraham, at the time when it fell to my lot, when I fulfilled the services (*the sacrifices* ⁵) of

¹ The whole of the title occurs only in S.

² Some links in the genealogical chain are omitted: Reu son of Peleg, son of Eber, son of Shelah, son of Arphaxad (Gen. xi. 10-16); Abraham was thus "the tenth from Noah" (Josephus, *Ant.*, i. 6, 5).

³ Abraham is represented as having followed the occupation of his father, that of an idol-maker; cf. *Bereshith rabba* on Gen. xi. 28 (see Appendix, p. 90).

⁴ *his* (*i. e.* Abraham's) *brother*; probably a gloss (the structure of the narrative demands "my"); A omits.

⁵ Probably a gloss (so Tikhonravov); or read *of the altar for sacrifices* (Bonwetsch).

my father Terah to his gods of wood and stone, gold and silver, brass and iron; ¹ having entered into their temple for service, I found the god whose name was Merumath ² (which was) hewn out of stone, fallen forward at the feet of the iron god Nahon. ³ And it came to pass, when I saw it, my heart was perplexed, and ⁴ I considered in my mind that I should not be able to bring him back to his place, I, Abraham, alone, ⁵ because he was heavy, being of a large stone, ⁶ and I went forth and made it known to my father. And he entered with me, and when both of us moved him (the god) forward, so that we might bring him back ⁷ to his place, his head fell from him ⁸ while I was still holding him by the head. And it came to pass, ⁸ when my father saw that the head of Merumath ⁹ had fallen from him, he said to me: "Abraham!" And I said: "Here am I." And he said to me: "Bring me an axe, of the small ones, ¹⁰ from the house." And I brought it to him. ¹¹ And he hewed aright another Merumath out of another stone, without head, and the head which had been thrown down from Merumath he placed upon it, and the rest of Merumath he shattered. ¹¹

II. And he made five other gods, and gave them to me [and] ¹² commanded me to sell them outside in the street of the town. And I saddled my father's ¹³

¹ Cf. Dan. v. 4.

² The stone idol Merumath (= Heb. 'eben mērûmā, "stone of deceit") was the chief object of Abraham's worship at this period.

³ So A; S has *Naritson*; K, by name *Nahin*.

⁴ and omitted by S.

⁵ *I Abraham alone*: K omits; S, + *and lo!*

⁶ *being of a large stone*: R omits.

⁷ *so that we might bring him back*: R omits.

⁸⁻⁸ R omits.

⁹ + *his god*, K.

¹⁰ *of the small ones*: K omits.

¹¹⁻¹¹ K reads: *And he cut off the head of another god of stone and fastened it upon the god Merumath which fell before, and the head which fell down from him and the rest of the other god he shattered.*

¹² *and*: S K omit.

¹³ *father's*: A omits.

ass, and placed them upon it, and went towards the inn to sell them. And lo! merchants from Fandana¹ in Syria were travelling with camels going to Egypt,² to trade.³ And I spoke with them. And one of their camels uttered a groan, and the ass took fright and sprang away and upset the gods; and three of them were smashed, and two were preserved. And it came to pass, when the Syrians saw that I had gods, they said to me: "Why didst thou not tell us [that thou hadst gods? Then we would have bought them]⁴ before the ass heard the sound of the camel, and they would not have been lost. Give us, at any rate, the gods that remain, and we will give thee the proper price⁵ for the broken gods, also for the gods that have been preserved."⁵ For I was concerned in my heart as to how I could bring to my father the purchase-price;⁶ and the three broken ones I cast into the water of the river Gur, which was at that place, and they sank into the depths,⁷ and there was nothing more of them.

III. When I was still going on the way, my heart was perplexed within me, and my mind was distracted. And I said in my heart: ["What evil deed is this that my father is doing? Is not he, rather, the god of his gods, since they come into existence through his chisels and lathes, and his wisdom, and is it not rather fitting that they should worship my father, since they are his work? What is this delusion of my father in his works?]⁸ Behold, Merumath fell and could not rise in his own temple, nor could I, by myself, move him until my father came, and the two of us moved him; and as we were thus too weak, his

¹ *Fandana* probably = Paddan-Aram (Gen. xxv. 20).

² Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 25.

³ K reads: *in order to buy from thence papyrus from the Nile. And I questioned them, and they informed me.*

⁴ S omits.

⁵⁻⁵ A K omit; they read instead: *And I deliberated in my heart, and they gave me the value.*

⁶ K reads: *and he took the pieces of the broken gods and cast them in the Dead Sea, from which it could never emerge.*

⁷ A K, + *of the river Gur.*

⁸ This passage is given by A K, but is absent from S; apparently it is a later interpolation.

head fell from him, and he (*i.e.* my father) set it upon another stone of another god,¹ which he had made without head. And the other five gods were broken in pieces down from the ass, which were able neither to help themselves,² nor to hurt the ass, because³ it had broken them to pieces; nor did their broken fragments come up out of the river."⁴ And I said in my heart: "If this be so, how can Merumath, my father's god, having the head of another stone,⁵ and himself being made of another stone,⁵ rescue a man, or hear a man's prayer and reward him?"⁶

IV. And while I cogitated thus, I reached my father's house; and having watered the ass, and set out hay for it, I brought the silver and gave it into the hand of my father Terah. When he saw it he was glad, [and]⁷ he said: "Blessed art thou, Abraham, of my gods,⁸ because thou hast brought the price of the gods, so that my work was not in vain." And I answered and said to him: "Hear, O my father, Terah! Blessed are the gods⁹ of thee, for thou art their god, since⁹ thou hast made them; for their blessing is ruination, and their power¹⁰ is vain;¹¹ they who did not help themselves,¹² how shall they, then, help thee or bless me¹³? I have been

¹ Cf. *Wisdom* xiii. 10 ("a useless stone, the work of an ancient hand"); K reads: *and set upon him the stone head of another god*.

² Cf. *Wisdom* xiii. 16 ("knowing that it is unable to help itself").

³ = ? *although* (Heb. 'aph kî; Rabbinic 'aph 'al pî).

⁴ According to the Mishna 'Abôdâ zārâ iii. 3 it was the duty of Jews to destroy an idol by sinking it in the waters of the Dead Sea, from which it could never emerge.

⁵⁻⁵ Omitted by K.

⁶ Cf. *Wisdom* xiii. 17 f. (the whole chapter should be compared in this context).

⁷ S omits.

⁸ Lit. *to my gods*: read ? *of (by) my god* (Bonwetsch).

⁹⁻⁹ Text of S here corrupt.

¹⁰ A, *help*.

¹¹ K, *powerless*.

¹² Cf. note ² in previous chapter.

¹³ For the thought cf. Heb. vii. 7.

kind to thee in this affair,¹ because by (using) my intelligence, I have brought thee the money for the broken gods." And when he heard my² word, he became furiously angry with me, because I had spoken hard words against his gods.

V. I, however, having thought over my father's anger, went out; [and after I had gone out]³ my father⁴ cried, saying: "Abraham!" And I said: "Here am I." And he said: "Take and collect the splinters of the wood out of which I made gods of pine-wood before thou camest; and make ready for me the food of the mid-day meal."⁵ And it came to pass, when I collected the splinters of wood, I found under them a little god which had been lying among the brush-wood on my left, and on his forehead was written: GOD BARISAT.⁶ And⁷ I did not inform my father that I had found the wooden god Barisat under the chips. And it came to pass, when I had laid the splinters in the fire, in order that I might make ready food for my father—on going out to ask a question regarding the food, I placed Barisat before the kindled fire,⁸ saying threateningly to him: "Pay careful attention, Barisat, [that]⁹ the fire do not die down until I come; if, however, it dieth down, blow on it that it may burn up again." And I went out and accomplished my purpose.¹⁰ And on returning I found Barisat fallen backwards, and¹¹ his feet surrounded by fire and horribly burnt.¹² I burst into a fit of laughter, and I said to myself: "Truly, O Barisat, thou

¹ Lit. *transaction*.

² K, *this*.

³ S omits.

⁴ S, *he*.

⁵ Cf. Is. xlv. 15, *Wisdom* xiii. 12 f.

⁶ *Barisat* = probably *bar 'ishtā*, "son of the fire."

⁷ A K, + *it came to pass, when I found him, I kept him and*.

⁸ Lit. *kindling of the fire*.

⁹ S omits.

¹⁰ Lit. *did my counsel*: a Hebrew phrase, 'āsā 'ēšā, "execute a plan" (Is. xxx. 1).

¹¹ S, + *before*.

¹² A, + *And it came to pass when I saw it*,

canst kindle the fire and cook food!" And it came to pass, while I spake (thus) in my laughter ¹ he (*i.e.* Barisat) was gradually burnt up by the fire and reduced ² to ashes. And I brought the food to my father, and he did eat. And I gave him wine and milk, ³ and he was gladdened and blessed his god Merumath. And I said to him: "O father Terah, bless not thy god Merumath, and praise him not, but rather praise thy god Barisat because, loving thee more, he hath cast himself into the fire to cook thy food!" And he said to me: "And where is he now?" [And I said:] ⁴ "He is burnt to ashes in the violence of the fire and is reduced to dust." And he said: "Great is the power of Barisat! I (will) make another to-day, and to-morrow he will prepare ⁵ my food."

VI. When I, Abraham, however, heard such words from my father, I laughed in my mind and sighed in the grief and in the anger of my soul, and said: ⁶ "How then can that which is made by him—manufactured statues—be a helper of my father? Or shall the body then be subject to its soul, and the soul to the spirit, and the spirit to folly and ignorance!" ⁷ And I said: ⁶ "It is fitting once to endure evil. So I will direct my mind to what is pure and lay my thoughts open before him." [And] ⁸ I answered and said: "O father Terah, whichever of these thou praisest as a god, thou art foolish in thy mind. Behold the gods of thy brother

¹ A, *mind*; K, *in my mind and laughed*.

² Lit. *became*.

³ Wine was sometimes mixed not only with water, but with milk, in Palestine; cf. *Cant.* V. 1 (*I have drunk my wine with my milk*); cf. also *Is.* lv. 1.

⁴ S A omit.

⁵ Lit. *make*.

⁶ *i. e.* thought ("said in my heart"). The sentence that follows ("It is fitting once to endure evil") means: "It is well to suffer in this way for a good cause."

⁷ In this sentence the text of S is not in order, and has been corrected by Tikhonravov in accordance with A and K.

⁸ Omitted by S.

Ora,¹ which stand in the holy temple, are more worthy of honour than [these of]² thine. For behold Zucheus, the god of thy brother Oron,³ is more worthy of honour than thy god Merumath, because he is made of gold which is highly valued by people, and when he groweth old in years he will be re-modelled; but if your god Merumath is changed or broken, he will not be renewed, because he is a stone; the which is also the case with the god Joavon⁴ ⁵ [who standeth with Zucheus over the other gods—how ⁶ much more worthy of honour is he than the god Barisat, who is made of wood, while he is forged of silver! How ⁶ is he made, by adaptation of man, valuable to outward appearance! But thy god Barisat, while he was still, before he had been prepared, rooted up (?) ⁷ upon the earth and was great and wonderful with the glory of branches and blossom,⁸ thou didst hew out with the axe, and by means of thy art he hath been made into a god. And lo! his fatness is already withered and perished, he is fallen from the height to the ground, he hath come from great estate to littleness, and the appearance of his countenance hath vanished, and he] Barisat himself is burnt up by fire and reduced to ashes and is no more; and thou sayest: “To-day I will make another which ⁹ to-morrow shall make ready my food!”¹⁰ “He hath perished to utter destruction!”¹⁰

VII. ¹¹ “Behold, the fire is more worthy of honour

¹ *i. e.* Haran (so S); A has *thy father Nahor*, K *my brother Nahor*.

² Omitted by S.

³ Another form of Haran (so S); A and K read as indicated in the previous note.

⁴ So S: A, *Joauv*; K, *Joav*; R, *Jav*.

⁵ The long passage in brackets which here follows is extant in A and K, but is wanting in S. It consists of a long comparison between the gods Joauv (Joavon) and Barisat, and is very obscure. It is probably a later interpolation.

⁶ *Lit. that.*

⁷ ? read *rooted*.

⁸ *i. e.* while it was growing as a tree. ⁹ *Lit. and he.*

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ *Hath he not abandoned this (once for all) by perishing to utter destruction?* A (K).

¹¹ A K insert at the beginning of this chapter: *Having thought thus, Abraham came to his father, saying: “Father Terah,”* forgetting that Abraham was already speaking to him. The sentence is wanting in S.

than ¹ all things formed because even that which is not subjected is subjected unto it, and things easily perishable are mocked by its flames.¹ ² But even more worthy of honour is the water,² because it conquereth the fire and ³ satisfieth the earth.³ But even it I do not call God, because ⁴ it is subjected to the earth under which the water inclineth.⁴ But I call the earth much more worthy of honour, because it overpowereth the nature (*and the fulness*)⁵ of the water. Even it (*viz. the earth*), however, I do not call god, [*because*]⁶ it, too, is dried up by the sun, [*and*]⁶ is apportioned to man to be tilled.⁷ [*I call the sun more worthy of honour than the earth,*]⁸ because it with its rays illumineth the whole world⁹ and the different atmospheres.⁹ [*But*]⁶ even it I do not call god, because at night¹⁰ and by clouds its course is obscured.¹⁰ Nor, again, do I call the moon or the stars god, because they also in their season obscure [*their*]¹¹ light at night.¹² [*But*]¹¹ hear [*this*],¹¹ Terah my father; for ¹³ I will make known to thee¹³ the God who hath made everything, not these we consider as gods. Who then is He? or what is He?

Who hath crimsoned the heavens, and made the sun golden,

¹⁻¹ So S; for this A K have *thy honoured gods of gold, silver, stone, and wood, because it burneth up thy gods; yea, thy gods are burnt up in subjection to the fire, while the fire mocked them, devouring thy gods.*

²⁻² A K read: *But that* (*viz. the fire*) *I do not call god, because it hath been subjected to the water, while the water is more worthy of honour than it (i. e. the fire).*

³⁻³ A K, *maketh the fruits of the earth sweet.*

⁴⁻⁴ A K, *the water inclineth under the earth.*

⁵ So S; but A K omit—it is probably a gloss.

⁶ S omits. ⁷ Lit. *for work* (= Heb. *la'ābōd*).

⁸ Omitted by S; but it must have belonged to the original text. It is attested by A K.

⁹⁻⁹ So S; A K omit: *atmospheres* (? lower and upper) = *'āēpes*; cf. 4 Ezra vi. 4, *altitudines aerum*.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ A K, *it is obscured by the darkness.*

¹¹ S omits. ¹² Or by (*through*) night.

¹³⁻¹³ Lit. *I will investigate* (or *examine*) *before thee concerning*. The question that follows, *Who then is He?* etc., gives the subject of the investigation.

And the moon lustrous, and with it the stars;
And hath made the earth dry in the midst of many
waters,

And set thee in ¹ ² [and tested me in the
confusion of my thoughts]²

"Yet may God reveal Himself to us through
Himself!"

VIII. And it came to pass while I spake ³ thus to
my father Terah in the court of my ⁴ house, there
cometh down ⁵ the voice of a Mighty One ⁶ from
heaven in a fiery cloud-burst,⁷ saying and crying :
"Abraham, Abraham!" And I said: "Here am
I." And He said: ⁸ "Thou art seeking in the under-
standing of thine heart the God of Gods and the
Creator;⁸ ⁹ I am He:⁹ Go out from thy father
Terah, and get thee out from the ¹⁰ house, that thou
also be not slain in the sins of thy father's house."
And I went out. And it came to pass when I went
out, that before I succeeded in getting out in front
of the door of the court, there came a sound of a
[great]¹¹ thunder¹² and burnt ¹³ him and ¹³ his
house,¹³ and everything whatsoever in his house,
down to the ground, forty cubits.¹⁴

¹ Something has to be supplied here.

²⁻² So A K; S omits.

³ S K, *reflected*.

⁴ A K, *his* (i. e. Terah's), rightly. At this point there follows in A K (R) an insertion which contains, among other things, a version of the well-known legend about Abraham's burning of the idol-temple, and with it his brother Haran; cf. Appendix I.

⁵ Lit. *falleth* (S); K, *fell* (A omits).

⁶ = LXX. *δ ἰσχυρός* (frequent as a rendering of Heb. *hā'ēl*, "God"); cf. 4 Ezra ix. 45, etc.

⁷ K, *flame*.

⁸⁻⁸ The text of S is not in order; Sreznevsky reads: *Cogu Coisya, God thou dost fear, and the Creator thou art seeking*.

⁹⁻⁹ A omits.

¹⁰ K, *his*.

¹¹ S omits.

¹² K, + *and there fell fire from heaven*.

¹³⁻¹³ A (K R) omit.

¹³ K, + *and the dwellers therein, both men and beasts*.

¹⁴ Here R ends. The Midrashic story about the burning of Terah's house is really based upon an interpretation of the Biblical "Ur of the Chaldees" (Gen. xi. 31, xv. 7). Here "Ur" is interpreted as = "fire"; Abraham was brought out of "Ur" ("fire") by the Lord.

PART II

THE APOCALYPSE (Chapters IX.-XXXII.).

Abraham receives a Divine Command to offer Sacrifice after Forty Days as a Preparation for a Divine Revelation (Chapter IX.; cf. Gen. xv.).

IX. Then a voice came to me speaking twice : " Abraham, Abraham ! " And I said : " Here am I ! " And He said : " Behold, ¹ it is I ¹; *fear not*,² for I am before the worlds,³ and a mighty God who hath created ⁴ the light of the world.⁴ *I am a shield over thee*,² and I am thy helper. Go, take me a young heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtledove and a pigeon,⁵ and bring me a pure sacrifice. And in this sacrifice I will lay before thee the ages (to come), and make known to thee what is reserved, and thou shalt see great things which thou hast not seen (hitherto) ; ⁶

¹⁻¹ K, *I am with thee*.

² Cf. Gen. xv. 1.

³ Or *ages* (" æons ").

⁴⁻⁴ A, *the first light* ; K, *in the beginning heaven and earth and then the first luminary of light and of the world* (cf. Gen. i. 1 f.). The reference is apparently to the created (not the uncreated) light. For the latter cf. note on chap. xvii.

⁵ Cf. Gen. xv. 9.

⁶ The revelation made to Abraham which is described in Gen. xv. 9 f. early became a favourite theme for apocalyptic speculation, and an intimation was discovered in the passage of Israel's later captivity and subjection to the four oppressive world-powers of the Book of Daniel (see the Targums *ad loc*). This apocalyptic experience of Abraham is referred to in 4 Ezra iii. 14 (*and unto him [Abraham] only didst thou reveal the end of the times secretly by night*). According to the *Ap. Bar.* iv. 4 the heavenly Jerusalem was shown to Abraham " by night among the portions of the victims."

because thou hast loved to search me out, and I have named thee my Friend.¹ But abstain² from every form of food that proceedeth out of the fire, and from the drinking of wine, and from anointing (thyself) with oil, forty days,"³ and then set forth for me the sacrifice which I have commanded thee, in the place *which I will shew thee, on a high mountain*,⁴ and there I will shew thee the ages which have been created and established,⁵ made and renewed,⁵ by my Word,⁶ and⁷ I will make known to thee what shall come to pass in them on those who have done evil and (practised) righteousness in the generation of men.

**Abraham, under the Direction of the Angel
Jael, proceeds to Mount Horeb, a Journey
of Forty Days, to offer the Sacrifice
(Chapters X.-XII.).**

X. And it came to pass, when I heard the voice of Him who spake such words to me, (and)⁸ I looked hither and thither and lo! there was no breath of a

¹ Or "lover." Abraham, as God's chosen friend (or "lover of God," cf. 2 Chron. xx. 7, Is. xli. 8, Ep. James ii. 23) can receive special revelation; for the juxtaposition of the two ideas cf. 4 Ezra iii. 14.

² Or *refrain thyself*. By every form of food that *proceedeth out of the fire*, flesh-meat is no doubt meant.

³ Fasting as a preparation for the reception of a divine revelation was much practised by the apocalyptists. In 4 Ezra four fasts of seven days followed in each case by a divine revelation are referred to. Here, it is to be noted, the period is one of forty days. For the terms here used cf. 4 Ezra ix. 24. Anointing the body (especially the face) with oil was a mark of joy used in connexion with feasting (cf. Eccles. ix. 8, Ps. xxiii. 5, Amos vi. 6), and omitted in mourning as a sign of grief (cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 2, Dan. x. 3).

⁴ Cf. Gen. xxii. 2.

^{5,5} A omits.

⁶ The "Word" of God here has a quasi-personal significance; cf. 4 Ezra vi. 38 ("and thy Word, O Lord, perfected the work"), 43, etc.

⁷ and omitted by A.

⁸ Omit (a Hebraism? marks apodosis).

man,^{1 2} and my spirit was affrighted, and my soul fled from me, and I became like a stone, and fell down upon the earth, for ² I had no more strength to stand on the earth.^{3 4} And while I was still lying with my face upon the earth,⁴ I heard the voice of the Holy One speaking: "Go, Jaoel,⁵ and by means of my ineffable Name raise me yonder man, and strengthen him (so that he recover) from his trembling." And the angel came, whom He had sent to me, in the likeness of a man, and ⁶ grasped me by my right hand, and set me up upon my feet, and said to me: ⁷ " ⁸ Stand up,⁸ [Abraham,] ⁹ Friend of God who loveth thee; let not ¹⁰ the trembling of man seize thee! For, lo! I have been sent to thee to strengthen thee and bless thee in the name of God—who loveth thee—the Creator of the celestial and terrestrial. Be fearless and hasten to Him. I am called Jaoel¹¹ by Him who moveth that which existeth with me on the

¹ Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 29 ("omnes qui spiramentum habent hominis").

²⁻² K reads: *and he was affrighted in his spirit, and his soul perished in him, and he became like a dead man, and fell down like a stone upon the earth, and.*

³ Cf. Ezek. i. 28; Dan. viii. 17, x. 8 f.; 1 Enoch xiv. 14, 24; 4 Ezra x. 29 f.

⁴⁻⁴ K omits.

⁵ The name of the archangel Joel (Jaoel) is differently spelt in the various texts (cf. the Slavonic version of *The Book of Adam*, ed. by Jagić, in *Denkschriften des Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philol.-histor. Classe*, Vol. XLII.): S, Naoil, Iloil, A, Aol, K, Jaol, Book of Adam, Joil = Joel. Jaoel (= Heb. Yahoel) is represented in our Apocalypse as a being possessed of the power of the ineffable name, a function assigned in the Rabbinical writings to Metatron, "whose name is like unto that of God Himself" (T.B. *Sanh.* 38b). The name Yahoel (Jaoel) is evidently a substitute for the ineffable name *Yahweh*, the writing out of which in full was forbidden. In chap. xvii. below God Himself is addressed as *Jaoel*. For Jaoel as the heavenly choirmaster cf. note on chap. xvii.

⁶ A omits.

⁷ Cf. 4 Ezra x. 30.

⁸⁻⁸ A omits.

⁹ S omits.

¹⁰ A K, *if*.

¹¹ S, *Eloel*; A, *Aol*; K, *Ioal*.

seventh¹ expanse upon² the firmament,³ a power in virtue of the ineffable Name that is dwelling in me.⁴ I am the one who hath been given to restrain, according to His commandment, the threatening attack of the living creatures of the Cherubim against one another,⁵ and teach those who carry Him⁶ the song of the seventh hour of the night of man.⁷ I am ordained to restrain the Leviathan, for unto me are subject the attack and menace of every single reptile.⁸ [I am he who hath been commissioned to loosen

¹ A, *middle*.

² *i. e.* ? "over."

³ The angel sent to Isaiah to conduct him through the various "heavens" had "come from the seventh [*i. e.* the highest] heaven"; cf. *Asc. Is.* vi. 13, vii. 27.

⁴ Cf. Ex. xxiii. 21 ("my name is in him," *i. e.* the angel of Jahveh); here Jaël seems to play the rôle of Michael (see Introduction, p. xxv).

⁵ By "the living creatures of the Cherubim" are meant the "holy *hayyoth*" of Ezek. i. who are expressly identified with the [heavenly] Cherubim in Ezek. x. 20. They are four in number (each with four faces), and are the bearers of the divine throne (see next note). Apparently they are here represented as of threatening aspect and in danger of menacing attack upon one another, so that a restraining influence was necessary. According to the Midrash (*Exodus rabba* v.) envy and mistrust are absent from the angelic world, though the angels envied Israel the possession of the Law; but cf. *Asc. Is.* vii. 9.

⁶ *i. e.* "the holy *hayyoth* ['living creatures'] who carry the throne of glory" (*Sifra* on Lev. i. 1).

⁷ According to T.B. *Abôdâ zârâ* 3b, "God sits [at night] and listens to the song of the living creatures [*hayyoth*], as it is said (Ps. xlii. 8): *By day the Lord commandeth His loving-kindness* [*i. e.* judges and sustains the world, and occupies Himself in the study of the Law], *and in the night His song is with me.*" In T.B. *Hag.* 12b it is said that the companies of ministering angels in the fifth heaven "utter His song in the night, and are silent in the day for the sake of the glory of Israel." In *Pirke de R. Eliezer* iv. Michael is represented as the head of the first of four bands of ministering angels who utter praise before the Holy One; cf. also *Mekilta* to Ex. xv. 1; and in the New Testament Luke ii. 13 (the angelic song at night).

⁸ Michael is represented in Kabbalistic literature as the angel-prince who is set over the element of water (cf. Lueken, *Michael*, p. 54); this conception is probably old, for on it rests the haggadic story that when Solomon married Pharaoh's

Hades, to destroy him who stareth at the dead.]¹ I am the one who was commissioned to set on fire thy father's house together with him, because he displayed reverence for dead (idols).² I have been

daughter, Michael drove into the bed of the sea a stick, around which slime gathered, and on which Rome was ultimately built (*Midrash rabba* on Cant. i. 6, in the name of R. Levi, end of third century A.D.). Michael is also the prince of snow, which belongs to the element of water (*Deut. rabba* v. 12). Leviathan as the sea-monster *par excellence* would be subject to him, with all reptiles, though the task of slaying the monster is assigned, by Jewish legend, to Gabriel; but Michael and Gabriel are often confused in these connexions. [For the "spirit of the sea" that restrains it cf. 1 Enoch lx. 16.] The representation here is parallel in a sense with that which depicts Michael as the enemy and conqueror of Satan (cf. Rev. xii. 7 ff.) and in later Christian tradition as the vanquisher of the dragon (cf. Lueken, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 ff.). It should be noted that according to the Kabbalistic book *Raziel* fol. 4a the name of Michael is a powerful charm against the reptiles (cf. Lueken, p. 28).

¹ The bracketed clause is omitted by S. One of Michael's functions (with Gabriel) is to open the gates of Hell and release the sinners therein; see *Yalqut Shim.* on Is. xxvi. 2, and cf. Lueken, *op. cit.*, p. 52. What is meant by "destroying" him who stareth at the dead is not clear. It might conceivably refer to the duty of burying the dead. To allow a corpse—even an enemy's—to remain unburied was considered an impiety (cf. Ps. lxxix. 2 f.; Tobit i. 17, ii. 7; Josephus, *Apion*, ii. 29), and it is notable that, according to *The Life of Adam and Eve*, xlvi. 4 f.; (cf. Charles, *Corpus* ii. 151), Michael and Uriel bury the bodies of Adam and Abel in Paradise. But the language of the phrase here hardly suits this. In view of the next clause, where "dead" = dead idols, the reference may perhaps be to idol-worship. In a Byzantine text the story of Michael's contest with the devil about the body of Moses is given a somewhat similar motive. The devil is represented as seeking to bring down Moses' dead body to the Israelites in order that they may worship it—and this may depend originally upon a Jewish source which in this way protested against the Christian worship of saints and relics (cf. Lueken, *op. cit.*, p. 121 f.). But perhaps *stareth at* should be altered to *terrifieth*, and the reference is to Death personified; cf. Add. Note, p. 86 f.

² In the Rabbinical form of the legend (see Appendix) Abraham is rescued from the fiery oven into which he had been cast by Nimrod by Michael, according to the opinion

sent to bless thee now, and the land ¹ which the Eternal One, whom thou hast invoked, hath prepared for thee, and for thy sake have I wended my way upon the earth.² Stand up, Abraham! Go without fear; be right glad and rejoice; and I am with thee! For eternal honour hath been prepared for thee by the Eternal One. Go, fulfil the sacrifices commanded. For lo! I have been appointed to be with thee and with the generation prepared (to spring) from thee; and with me Michael ³ blesseth thee for ever. Be of good cheer, go!"

XI. And I rose up and saw him who had grasped me by my right hand and set me up upon my feet: and the appearance of his body ⁴ was like sapphire, and the look of his countenance like chrysolite, and *the hair of his head like snow*, and the turban upon his head ⁵ like the appearance of the rainbow, and the clothing of his garments like purple; and a golden sceptre was in his right hand.⁶ And he said to me:

of Eliezer b. Jacob (*Genesis rabba* xliv. 16). Michael, according to the Rabbis, was the defender of the Patriarchs. Strictly it is Gabriel who is the prince of fire.

¹ *i. e.* the land of Palestine. In Mohammedan tradition Michael is the good angel who brings peace and plenty.

² It was Michael who, according to Rabbinic tradition, at various times appeared to Abraham, *e. g.* he told Abraham that Lot had escaped, protected Sarah from being defiled by Abimelech (*Pirke de R. Eliezer* xxvi.), announced to Sarah that she should have a son (Gen. xviii. 10), rescued Lot from Sodom (T.B. *Baba mesia*, 86b), and prevented Isaac from being sacrificed by substituting a ram. In *The Test. of Abraham* (i.) it is Michael who comes down and visits Abraham in order to take his soul.

³ Here Michael is associated with the speaker, the archangel Jaoel. This rather suggests that the latter is really fulfilling the rôle of Metatron (Michael and Metatron are companions, *Zohar* i. 149b). But Jaoel really combines the functions of both. The writer wishes to make it clear that Jaoel is closely associated with Michael.

⁴ K, + *his feet* (a gloss? suggested by Rev. i. 15).

⁵ Cf. Rev. xix. 12 ("upon his head many diadems").

⁶ Cf. Rev. i. 16 ("and he had in his right hand seven stars"). There is a general resemblance here to the description of the exalted Christ in Rev. i. 14-16, but the details

"Abraham!" And I said: "Here am I, thy servant." And he said: "Let not my look affright thee, nor my speech, that thy soul be not perturbed.¹ Come with me and I will go with thee, until the sacrifice, visible, but after the sacrifice,² invisible for ever. Be of good cheer, and come!"

XII. And we went, the two of us together, forty days and nights,³ and I ate no bread, and drank no water, because my food⁴ was to see the angel who was with me, and his speech—that was my drink.⁵ And we came to the Mount of God, the glorious Horeb. And I said to the angel: "Singer of the Eternal One! Lo! I have no sacrifice with me,⁶ nor am I aware of a place of an altar on the mountain: how can I bring a sacrifice?" And he said to me: "Look round!"⁷ ⁸ And I looked round,⁸ and lo! there were following us all the prescribed sacrificial (animals)—the young heifer, and the she-goat, and the ram, and the turtle-dove, and the pigeon.⁹ And the angel said to me: "Abraham!" I said: "Here am I."

are different except that both have the characteristic descriptive phrase, derived from Dan. vii. 9 ("the hair of his head like pure wool," here "like snow," cf. Rev. i. 14); cf. also 2 Enoch i. 5 (the description of the two angels who visit Enoch). The figure described is regal (notice the purple garments and the sceptre), and is invested with the divine glory; cf. Ezek. i. 26 f.

¹ Or "troubled"; cf. 2 Enoch i. 8, and often in apocalyptic writings.

² K, + *I will be*. The angel appears in visible form for the time being. So Michael appears to Abraham "like a very comely warrior" (*Test. Abrah.* i.).

³ Cf. 1 Kings xix. 8.

⁴ S, + *and my drink*.

⁵ Cf. John iv. 31-34. Elijah ate and drank before starting on his journey to Horeb, and "went in the strength of that meat forty days and forty nights" (1 Kings xix. 8); cf. Ex. xxiv. 18. There is a close parallel to our text in Philo, *Life of Moses*, Bk. III. 1, where it is said of Moses in the Mount: "he neglected all meat and drink for forty days together, evidently because he had more excellent food than that in those contemplations with which he was inspired from above from heaven."

⁶ Cf. Gen. xxii. 7.

⁷ A, *behind*.

⁸⁻⁹ A K omit.

⁹ Cf. Gen. xv. 9.

And he said to me : " All these slaughter, and divide the animals *into halves, one against the other*, but the birds do not sever ;¹ and (" but ") give to the men, whom I will shew thee, standing by thee, for these are the altar² upon the Mountain, to offer a sacrifice to the Eternal ; but the turtledove and the pigeon give to me, for I will ascend upon the wings of the bird,³ in order to shew thee in heaven, and on the earth, and in the sea, and in the abyss, and in the under-world, and in the Garden of Eden, and in its rivers and in the fulness of the whole world and its circle—thou shalt gaze in (them) all. " ⁴

Abraham accomplishes the Sacrifice, under the Guidance of the Angel, and refuses to be diverted from his Purpose by Azazel (Chapters XIII.–XIV.).

XIII. And I did everything according to the commandment of the angel, and gave the angels, who had come to us, the divided animals, but the angel⁵ took the birds. And I waited for the evening sacrifice. And there flew an unclean bird *down upon the carcasses*,⁶ and I drove it away. And the unclean bird spake to me, and said : " What doest thou, Abraham, upon the holy Heights, where no man eateth or

¹ Cf. Gen. xv. 10.

² Living men (or rather angels) take the place of the material altar; cf. the metaphorical use of " temple " as applied to the body (cf. John ii. 21; 1 Cor. iii. 16, vi. 19). But such a use of the term " altar " does not appear to have become current in Jewish literature.

³ The ascent to heaven is accomplished on the wings of a dove. The dove is appropriate in this connexion because of its swiftness (cf. Ps. lv. (6) 7, " Oh that I had wings like a dove," etc.; cf. also Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 190 ff.), and its purity. For the symbolism of the dove applied to Israel, and also to the Holy Spirit (Matt. iii. 16), cf. I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, pp. 47 ff.

⁴ The revelations here promised to Abraham correspond to the earlier models given in 1 and 2 Enoch.

⁵ K, + *Jaœl*.

⁶ Cf. Gen. xv. 11.

drinketh,¹ neither is there upon them (any) food of man, but these² consume everything with fire, and (will) burn thee up. ³ Forsake the man, who is with thee, and flee; for if thou ascendest to the Heights they will make an end of thee.³ And it came to pass, when I saw the bird speak, I said to the angel: "What is this, my lord?" And he said: "This is ungodliness,⁴ this is Azazel."⁵ And he said to it: "Disgrace upon thee, Azazel! For Abraham's lot is in heaven, but thine upon the earth. Because thou hast chosen and loved this for the dwelling-(place) of thine uncleanness, therefore the eternal mighty Lord made thee a dweller upon the earth⁶ and through thee every evil spirit of lies,⁷ and through

¹ *i. e.* they are in the domain of the spiritual sphere, where there is no eating and drinking; cf. *Test. Abrah.* (A) iv., "all the heavenly spirits are incorporeal, and neither eat nor drink."

² *i. e.* the heavenly beings.

³⁻³ Omitted by A K.

⁴ Cf. Zech. v. 8.

⁵ Azazel is the fallen archangel, the seducer of mankind, who here, as in the Book of Enoch, fills the rôle of Satan or Sammael. He is essentially the spirit of uncleanness, and, in this character, is depicted in our text as descending in the form of an unclean bird. It is interesting to note that the Palestinian Targum on Gen. xv. 11 interprets the unclean birds figuratively of idolatrous peoples ("And there came down idolatrous peoples which are like to unclean birds, to steal away the sacrifices of Israel; but the righteousness of Abram was a shield over them").

⁶ Azazel, who is here clearly a fallen archangel like the later Satan (cf. Bousset, *Relig. d. Judentums*², 386), has been expelled from heaven by God. According to 2 Enoch xxix. 5 Satan's domain, after his expulsion, was the air (cf. Eph. ii. 2), but here Azazel is a "dweller upon the earth," where he controls the evil powers (cf. John xii. 31, "prince of this world," Matt. iv. 8 f.). In *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (cf. also *Asc. Is.*) Beliar is the arch-fiend, the head of the evil spirits, and the source of impurity and lying. But Azazel, like all celestial beings, can fly through the air (*Gen. rabba* xix.) and assume any form, such as that of a bird (*T. B. Sanh.*, 107a).

⁷ Azazel's expulsion carried with it that of his hosts, of which he was the leader. [Note that in chap. xxxi. of our Book Azazel is depicted as the lord of hell.]

thee wrath and trials for the generations of ungodly men;¹ for God, the Eternal, Mighty One, hath not permitted that the bodies of the righteous should be in thy hand,² in order that thereby the life of the righteous and the destruction of the unclean may be assured.³ Hear, friend,⁴ begone with shame from me. For it hath not been given to thee to play the tempter in regard to all the righteous. Depart from this man! Thou canst not lead him astray, because he is an enemy to thee, and of those who follow thee and love what thou wilt. For, behold, the vesture which in heaven was formerly thine hath been set aside for him,⁵ and the mortality which was his hath been transferred to thee."⁶

XIV. The angel said to me: ⁷ ["Abraham!" And

¹ For the sin and misery brought upon the earth by the fallen angels cf. 1 Enoch viii. 2, ix. 6, 8, x. 7 f., etc.

² According to *T.B. Baba bathra*, 17a the "evil impulse" (*yeşer hā-ra'*) had no power over the three righteous men, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. In *The Test. Abrah.* Abraham is represented as sinless.

³ Notice the strong dualism. The activity of the evil powers makes perdition certain for their victims, while, on the other hand, by its very failure in the case of the righteous it makes their felicity more certain in the end.

⁴ [Lit. "counsellor," an idiomatic expression still found in Russian dialects (cf. Dalj's *Dictionary of the Russian Language*, s.v. *sovetnik*) meaning "friend," used in a good-humoured way.—J. I. L.]

⁵ The "heavenly garments" are here referred to "which are now stored up on high in the seventh heaven" according to *Asc. Is.* iv. 16. The idea, originally a realistic one, was gradually spiritualised, and came to mean the spiritual bodies in which the righteous will be clothed in heaven; cf. 1 Enoch lxii. 15 f. ("garments of glory," "garments of life"); cf. also 2 Enoch xxii. 8 f., where Michael is bidden by God to "take from Enoch his earthly robe . . . and clothe him with the garment of my glory." In *The Ascension of Isaiah* the seer is unable to ascend to the highest heaven until his "garment" has been brought to him (*Asc. Is.* ix. 1-2). There he sees the crowns and garments which are reserved for the righteous (*ibid.* ix. 13 ff.); cf. also *Asc. Is.* viii. 14; *Rev.* iii. 4, 5, 18, vi. 11, vii. 9; 2 Cor. v. 3 ff.

⁶ Azazel has thus lost his "garment of life," or robe of immortality, and become mortal, while Abraham gains it.

⁷ S, *Abraham*.

I said: "Here am I, thy servant." And he said: "Know from henceforth that the Eternal One hath chosen thee, (He) whom thou lovest; be of good courage and use this authority, so far as I bid thee, against him who slandereth truth;¹ should I not be able to put him to shame who hath scattered over the earth the secrets of heaven² and hath rebelled³ against the Mighty One?"]⁵ Say to him: 'Be thou the burning coal of the Furnace of the earth;⁶ go, Azazel, into the inaccessible parts of the earth;⁷ [for thy heritage is (to be) over those existing with thee being born with the stars and clouds,⁸ with the men whose

¹ Cf. John viii. 44 ("he [the Devil] is a liar and the father thereof"). Satan—here Azazel—is *par excellence* "the slanderer" (ὁ διάβολος), "he who slandereth truth."

² The fallen angels (1 Enoch vii., lxix. 6 ff.), and especially Azazel (1 Enoch viii. 1), are represented as having brought moral ruin upon the earth by teaching men the use of magic, astrology, and science (including the use of warlike weapons). A close parallel to our text exists in 1 Enoch ix. 6: "See what Azazel hath done, how he hath taught all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the secret things of the world which were wrought in the heavens."

³ So Sammael, "the great prince in heaven," is reproached by the Torah for rebellion against God (*Pirke de R. Eliezer* xiii.: "The Torah began to cry aloud saying: *Why, O Sammael! now that the world is created, is it the time to rebel against the Omnipresent? Is it like a time when thou shouldst lift up thyself on high* (Job xxxix. 18)?"). Thus the two chief sins of Azazel consist in "scattering the secrets of heaven upon the earth," and in devising rebellion against the Most High.

⁴ = probably LXX. ὁ ἰσχυρός (Heb. *hā 'ēl*); see chap. viii. note 1. Kohler suggests Heb. *'abîr*, "Mighty One" (of Jacob), Gen. xlix. 24 (LXX, ὁ δυνάστης), Is. xlix. 26 (LXX, ἰσχύς).

⁵ Bracketed clause attested by A K, omitted by S.

⁶ Azazel is condemned to be in himself the fire of Hell; cf. xxxi. ("burnt with the fire of Azazel's tongue"). Thus wherever he goes he, as it were, carries Hell with him—a conception that appears to be peculiar to our Apocalypse in early apocalyptic literature (cf. Volz, p. 291).

⁷ *i. e.* into those parts of the earth reserved for him till the final judgement. In 1 Enoch x. 4 Azazel is condemned to be bound and placed in Dudâêl, in the desert, and there to be imprisoned in darkness till the final judgement.

⁸ This expression is obscure. It apparently refers to the men who belong (? by birth) to Azazel, whose lot has been pre-determined (see next note).

portion thou art, and (who) through thy being exist; ¹ and thine enmity is justification. On this account by thy perdition disappear from me." And I uttered the words which the angel had taught me. And he said: "Abraham!" And I said: "Here am I, thy servant."] ²

And the angel said to me: "Answer him not; for God hath given him power (lit. will) over those who do answer him." ³ [And the angel spake to me a second time and said: "Now rather, however much he speak to thee, answer him not, that his will may have no free course in thee, because the Eternal and Mighty One hath given him ⁴ weight and will; ⁴ answer him not." I did what was commanded me by the angel;] ⁵ and however much he spake to me, I answered him ⁶ nothing whatsoever. ⁶

Abraham and the Angel ascend on the Wings of the Birds to Heaven (Chapters XV.-XVI.).

XV. And it came to pass *when the sun went down, and lo! a smoke as of a furnace.* ⁷ And the angels who had the portions of the sacrifice ⁸ ascended from the top of the smoking furnace. And the Angel took

¹ The wicked are Azazel's "portion," *i. e.* they have been assigned to him from the beginning. The idea seems to be predestinarian; cf. *Wisdom* ii. 24 ("by the envy of the devil death entered into the world, and *they that are his portion* make trial thereof"), *Ap. Bar.* xlii. 7 ("for corruption will take those that belong to it, and life those that belong to it"); *1 Enoch* xli. 8. [Does the phrase in the previous clause, "being born with the stars and clouds," mean those who by birth and creation belong to the sphere of night and darkness, as opposed to the righteous, who belong to the realm of light? See *1 Enoch* xli. 8 and Charles's note.]

² The bracketed clause is attested by A K, but is absent from S. It may be a later interpolation (but see Introduction).

³ A fine psychological touch.

⁴⁻⁴ The text may be corrupt. It might mean an overpowering will.

⁵ The bracketed clause is attested by A K, but is absent from S. It is obviously a parallel and alternative text to the preceding clause.

⁶⁻⁶ According to Sreznevsky's reading (*no se ni ti*, lit. "not this nor that").

⁷ Cf. *Gen.* xv. 17 (also xv. 12).

⁸ Cf. chap. xii. above.

me with the ¹ right hand and set me on the right wing of the pigeon, and set himself on the left ² wing of the turtle dove, which (birds) had neither been slaughtered nor divided. And he bore me to the borders of the flaming fire [and we ascended as with many winds to the heaven which was fixed upon the surface.³ And I saw on the air]⁴ on the height, to which we ascended a strong light, which it was impossible to describe,⁵ and lo! in this light a fiercely burning fire for people, many people of male appearance,⁶ all (constantly) changing in aspect and form, running and being transformed, and worshipping and crying with a sound of words which I knew not.⁷

XVI. And I said to the Angel: "Why ⁸ hast thou brought me up here now, because I ⁹ cannot now see, for I am already grown weak, and my spirit departeth from me?"¹⁰ And he said to me: "Remain by me; fear not! And He whom thou seest come straight towards us with great voice of holiness ¹¹—that is the

¹ A, *his*.

² A omits.

³ *i. e.* ? the heaven above the firmament.

⁴ Omitted accidentally in S by homoiotelenon ("ascended . ascended").

⁵ *i. e.* the uncreated light, which originally illuminated the earth, but was withdrawn when Adam sinned. See further notes on xvii. below.

⁶ K, *sex*.

⁷ The description refers to the host of angels who are born daily, sing their song of praise before God, and then disappear; cf. *Genesis rabba* lxxviii. 1: *Rabbi Helbo in the name of R. Samuel bar Nahman said: "One angel-host never repeats the song of praise, but every morning God creates a new angel-host and these cantillate a new song before Him and then disappear."* They are created daily out of the stream of fire that proceeds from the holy *hayyoth* (*ibid.*); cf. Ps. civ. 4. Cf. also 2 Enoch xxix. 3: "And from the fire I made the ranks of the spiritual hosts, ten thousand angels, and their weapons are fiery, and their garment is a burning flame"; see further Weber, p. 166 f.

⁸ S, *where*.

⁹ K, *mine eyes*.

¹⁰ The mortal man, conscious of his weakness, is blinded by the heavenly light. On the other hand, Adam, before he fell, was able to see by its aid "from one end of the world to the other" (T.B. *Hag.* 12a).

¹¹ *i. e.* proclaiming His holiness, so A; in S the word is corrupt. K (which may preserve the right reading here)

Eternal One who loveth thee; but Himself thou canst not see.¹ But let not thy spirit grow faint [on account of the loud crying],² for I am with thee, strengthening thee."

Abraham, taught by the Angel, utters the Celestial Song and prays for Enlightenment (Chapter XVII.).

XVII. And while he yet spake (and) lo ! fire³ came against us⁴ round about,⁴ and a voice was in the fire *like a voice of many waters*,⁵ like the sound of the sea in its uproar.⁶ And the angel bent his head with me and worshipped.⁷ And I desired to fall down upon the earth, and the high place, on which we stood, [at one moment rose upright,]⁸ but at another rolled downwards.⁹

has : " [with a great voice] saying : *Holy, holy, holy is the Lord.*" In 1 Enoch xxxix. 12 the trisagion (Is. vi. 5) is the song of the angelic watchers.

¹ God is Himself invisible.

² Omitted by S.

³ The Divine Presence is revealed by fire (Ex. iii. 2, Deut. iv. 36, Ps. lxxviii. 14), and God Himself is spoken of as " a consuming fire " (Deut. iv. 24, ix. 3). But here the fiery chariot which bore the Divine Presence is probably thought of; cf. Ezek. i. 4 (" a great cloud with a fire infolding itself ").

⁴⁻⁴ A omits.

⁵ Cf. Rev. i. 15 (Dan. x. 6). This feature is part of the supernatural colouring so characteristic of Apocalyptic—the heavenly light is of dazzling brilliance, the divine voice is like thunder (cf. 2 Enoch xxxix. 7 : " like great thunder with continual agitation of the clouds "); see Volz, *Der Geist Gottes*, p. 120 f.

⁶ Cf. Is. xvii. 12.

⁷ A strongly Jewish touch—divine honour may be paid to God alone, and to none other, even the most exalted of heavenly beings; cf. Rev. xxii. 9.

⁸ S omits.

⁹ This description is interesting. The seer has ascended " as with many winds " to heaven, and is standing " on the height " (chap. xv.). He experiences a strong feeling of desire to fall down upon the earth, because the high place on which he is standing with the angel, at one moment rose upright, at another plunged downward (cf. 4 Ezra vi. 29 and 13-16). The commotion is produced by the Divine Voice. In chap. xxx. the seer finds himself suddenly (while God is speaking) again upon the earth.

And he said : " Only worship, Abraham, and utter the song which I have taught thee ; " because there was no.¹ earth to fall upon. And I worshipped only, and uttered the song which he had taught me.² And he said : " Recite without ceasing." And I recited, and he³ also himself^{3 4} with me⁴ recited the song :⁵

Eternal, mighty, Holy, El,⁶

⁷ God only—Supreme !

Thou who art self-originated,⁷ incorruptible, spotless,

Uncreate, immaculate, immortal,

Self-complete, self-illuminating ;

⁸ Without father, without mother, unbegotten,⁸

Exalted, fiery One !

¹ A omits *no*.

² Only the angels understand how to utter the divine song of praise, though the blessed among mortals may (as here) be taught to sing thus in a state of ecstasy. Each of the angelic spheres has its own " Voice " (cf. 1 Enoch xl. 3 ff.), and the angelic language is incomprehensible to mortals (cf. chap. xv. above, end), though the illuminated and inspired seer may be taught both to understand and utter such " words " (as here; cf. ἐν γλώσσαις λαλεῖν in N.T.). The exalted Enoch in heaven underwent a similar experience (cf. 1 Enoch lxxi. 11 f. : " I fell on my face and my whole body melted away, but my spirit was transfigured, and I cried with a loud voice," etc.), as also did Isaiah (*Asc. Is.* viii. 17). According to Philo no beings can adequately express the praise due to God (*Life of Moses*, ii. xxxi. [§ 239]), contrast *Ecclus.* xxxix. 6. See further Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

^{3 3} A omits.

^{4 4} S omits. In *Asc. Is.* viii. 17 the inspired seer joins with the angel in the celestial song of praise.

⁵ K, + *the first song of Abraham which I, the holy angel Jaobel, taught him (while) moving with him in the air.*

⁶ A K omit *El*.

^{7 7} Cf. the opening lines of the Jewish mediæval hymn, 'Adon 'ôlām, " Lord of the world He reigned alone, while yet creation was unformed," and for " self-originated " the phrase " beginningless " (bēlî rē'shîth) applied to God in the same context. The divine name *Shaddai* was traditionally explained as = " the self-sufficient " (shē-dai hū lô). This idea may underlie the text here.

^{8 8} Cf. Heb. vii. 3, ἀπάτωρ ἀμήτωρ ἀγενεαλόγητος, of Melchizedek (= Heb. bē'ên 'āb bē'ên 'ēm bē'ên yaḥas). As Westcott remarks (*ad loc.*), " The words (ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ) were used

Lover of men,¹ benevolent,² bountiful,³
 jealous over me and very compassionate;⁴
 Eli, that is, My God—
 Eternal, mighty holy Sabaoth,⁵
 very glorious El, El, El, El, Jaoel!⁶
 Thou art He whom my soul hath loved!
 Eternal Protector, shining like fire,
 Whose voice is like the thunder,⁷

constantly in Greek mythology (e. g. of Athene and Hephæstus); and so passed into the loftier conceptions of the Deity, as in that of Trismegistus quoted by Lactantius (iv. 13): *ipse enim pater Deus et origo et principium rerum quoniam parentibus caret ἀπείρων ἀμήτωρ a Trismegisto verissime nominatur, quod ex nullo sit procreatus.*"

¹ = φιλόανθρωπον: cf. Wisdom i. 6 ("For Wisdom is a spirit that loveth men" [φιλόανθρωπον πνεῦμα]).

² = ? χρησπός.

³ = χαριστικός.

⁴ Cf. Deut. v. 9 f. The whole clause (from "lover of men" to "compassionate") contains a short summary of the divine attributes based upon Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7, a passage much used in later literature (cf. e. g. *Wisdom* xv. 1), and especially in the Liturgy; cf. 4 Ezra vii. 132–viii. 3 and the writer's notes thereon. These attributes are predicable especially of the Tetragrammaton (*Jahveh*), which connotes more particularly the elements of mercy and compassion, while *'Elôhîm* denotes multiplied power (the Almighty), and is associated with the idea of justice and fixed law; *'El* is part of *'Elôhîm* and denotes simply power.

⁵ The use of *Sabaoth* alone as a designation of God is unusual, but not unexampled; cf. *Ex. rabba* iii. 6 [in answer to Moses' question, *What is His name?* Ex. iii. 13]: "The Holy One, blessed be He, said: Dost thou seek to know my name? I am called according to my deeds. I am called at various times by the names *'El Shaddai, Sabaoth, Elohîm, Jahveh*. When I judge the creatures I am named *Elohîm*, and when I wage war against the wicked I am called *Sabaoth*, and when I suspend (the punishment) of man's sins I am called *'El Shaddai*, and when I compassionate my world I am called *Jahveh*, because *Jahveh* means nought else but the attribute of compassion, as it is said (Ex. xxxiv. 6 f.) *Jahveh, Jahveh a God full of compassion*," etc.

⁶ The fourfold *El* (attested only by S) looks like a substitution for the Tetragrammaton; *Jaoel* (here applied to God) is undoubtedly so. Elsewhere in this book it is the designation of the archangel.

⁷ Cf. Note ³ at beginning of this chapter.

Whose look is like the lightning, all-seeing,¹

Who receiveth the prayers of such as honour Thee !

[And turneth away from the requests of such as embarrass with the embarrassment of their provocations,

Who dissolveth the confusions of the world² which arise from the ungodly and righteous³ in the corruptible age,⁴ renewing the age of the righteous !⁵]

Thou, O Light, shinest⁷ before the light of the⁸ morning upon Thy creatures,

¹ Cf. Dan. x. 6 ("and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire") and Ezek. i. 13, 14.

² Lit. "the all" (Heb. *ha-kôl*); the expression is sometimes so used in the later Hebrew Liturgy.

³ The mixture of good and evil, or rather of the righteous and ungodly, in this world, makes the present æon "corruptible" (cf. 4 Ezra iv. 26-30); even the righteous themselves suffer from contact with the godless—their holiness is dimmed.

⁴ *i. e.* the present corruptible age (or "æon"); cf. 4 Ezra vii. 112, xiv. 13 ("the life that is corruptible").

⁵ The confusions of the present world will be overcome by the elimination of the godless; then the renovated world (*i. e.* the present world purified) will become the fit habitation of the righteous. This view harmonises with the Rabbinical, which contemplated a renovation of the present world; see further Volz, *Eschatologie*, p. 297, and cf. *Jubilees*, *passim*.

⁶ The bracketed clause is attested by A K, but omitted by S; it is probably an interpolation. The rhythm is much improved by its omission.

⁷ Or "Thou shinest as Light"; the original Semitic text should probably be rendered "Thou didst shine." Light is the most striking feature in the highest heaven (cf. 2 Enoch xx. i, "I saw there a very great light," and xxxi. 2); God is Light (cf. 1 John i. 5). His majesty is surrounded with light to make Him invisible to all beings (*T. B. Megilla*, 19b). It is this heavenly light which is referred to here (cf. also *Wisdom* vii. 26 f., where Wisdom is represented as the radiance of the everlasting light). The first act of creation was when God "robed Himself with light as with a garment" (Ps. civ. 2), while the "radiance of His glory" (Heb. *ziv hădārô*) illumined the earth from one end to the other (cf. *Gen. rabba* iii., *Pirke de R. Eliezer* iii.). This heavenly light was afterwards withdrawn; the luminaries receive their light from a spark of it. For light as a symbol of blessedness cf. Volz, *Eschatologie*, p. 328. Ps. xix. contrasts natural (created) and spiritual light.

⁸ Perhaps, as Ginzberg suggests, "before the morning light" is a mistranslation of the Semitic original "before

[so that it becometh ¹ day upon the earth,] ²
 And in Thy ² heavenly dwelling places there is no
 need of any other light
 than (that) of the unspeakable splendour from the
 lights of Thy countenance. ³
 Accept my prayer [and be well-pleased with it], ⁴
 likewise also the sacrifice which Thou hast prepared
 Thee through me who sought Thee !
 Accept me favourably, and shew me, and teach me,
 And make known to Thy servant as thou hast
 promised me ! ⁵

Abraham's Vision of the Divine Throne (Chapter XVIII.).

XVIII. And ⁶ while I still recited the song, the
 mouth of the fire which was on the surface rose up on
 high. And I heard a voice like the roaring of the

the primæval morning" ('ôr rîshôn or nêhôrâ kadmōniyyā).
 The meaning of the original line would be that God at first
 illumined the earth with the heavenly radiance.

¹ Render *became*.

² S omits.

³ Cf. Rev. xxii. 5, xxi. 23, Is. lx. 19 f. [The theme is
 expanded in the Synagogue Liturgy in connexion with the
 Benediction over light which precedes the recitation of the
Shema : " Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who formest light and
 createst darkness. . . . Yea, eternal light (Heb. 'ôr 'ôlām)
 in the treasury of life; for He spake, and out of darkness
 there was light."]

⁴ The bracketed clause is attested by A K; S omits.

⁵ Abraham prays that the sacrifice may be accepted, and
 as a result of this that the secrets of the future may be dis-
 closed by revelation. The prayer seems to be a personal
 addition to the song of praise on the part of Abraham. The
 structure of the whole with its opening invocation, made up
 of clauses describing the divine attributes and transcend-
 ence, and followed by a prayer, is similar to that of 4 Ezra
 viii. 20 ff. (cf. especially verses 20-27), which is also poetical
 in form. Here it is to be noticed that the "song" proper
 appears to be a midrashic development of the divine attri-
 butes and character as deduced from the various names of
 God (*El Shaddai, Elohim, Jahveh, Sabaoth*).

⁶ S omits.

sea; nor did it cease on account of ¹ the rich abundance ¹ of the fire.² And as the fire raised itself up, ascending into the height, I saw under the fire a throne of fire,³ and, round about it all-seeing ones,⁴ reciting the song, and under the throne four fiery living creatures singing, and their appearance was one, *each one of them with four faces*.⁵ And ⁶ such was the appearance of their countenances, *of a lion, of a man, of an ox, of an eagle*. ⁷ four heads [were upon their bodies] ⁸ [so that the four creatures had sixteen faces]; ⁹ and each had six wings; ¹⁰ from their shoulders, [and their sides] ¹¹ and their loins. And with the (two) wings from their shoulders they covered their faces, and with the (two) wings which (sprang) from their loins they covered their feet, while the (two) middle wings they spread out for flying straightforward.¹² And when they had ended the singing, they looked at one another and threatened one another.¹³ And it came to pass

¹⁻¹ So A K; S is corrupt here.

² *i. e.* ? the voice was still audible even through the crackling of the fire.

³ Cf. 2 Enoch xx. 3. The vision of God's throne of glory was the central point of the mystical experience.

⁴ "The watchfulness of many eyes" (2 Enoch xx. 1), cf. Ezek. i. 18, x. 12: the "Ophannim" ("Wheels") are so described, and are regarded as an order of heavenly beings (like the Cherubim). But here the Cherubim are probably meant.

⁵ Cf. Ezek. i. 5, 6.

⁶ S K omit.

⁷ Cf. Ezek. i. 10 (Rev. iv. 7).

⁸ S omits.

⁹ The bracketed clause is attested by A K; S omits. It looks like a scribal gloss.

¹⁰ So Rev. iv. 8 (based on Is. vi. 2); in Ezek. i. 6 the four "living creatures" have each four wings. Here S reads *three* (*i. e.* ? three pairs of wings).

¹¹ S omits.

¹² Cf. Is. vi. 2, Ezek. i. 11, 12.

¹³ The underlying idea of this strange representation seems to be that of emulation and rivalry (in service). This may be illustrated from the Midrash *Tanhuma* on Gen. ii. 4 (ed. Buber, p. 10), where in a comment on the verse *Dominion and fear are with him, he maketh peace in his high places* (Job xxv. 2) it is said: "*Dominion, i. e. Michael, and fear, i. e. Gabriel; who maketh peace in his high places, even the celestials (hā-'elyônîm) need peace. The constellations rise:*

when the angel who was with me saw that they were threatening each other, he left me and went running to them and turned the countenance of each living creature from the countenance immediately confronting him, in order that they might not see their countenances threatening each other.¹ And he taught them the song of peace which ²hath its origin [in the Eternal One].²

And as I stood alone and looked, I saw behind the living creatures a chariot with fiery wheels, each wheel full of eyes round about; ³ and over the wheels was a throne; ⁴ which I saw, and this was covered with fire, and fire encircled it round about,⁵ and lo! an indescribable fire environed a fiery host. And I heard its holy voice like the voice of a man.⁶

God discloses to Abraham the Powers of Heaven (Chapter XIX.).

XIX. And a voice came to me out of the midst of the fire, saying: "Abraham, Abraham!" I said:

Taurus says, "I am first, and I see what is before him"; the *Gemini* say, "I am first, and I see what is before him"; and so every single one says, "I am first" (corrected text). It is to be noted that in the mystical Hebrew literature concerned with the theme of the Divine Chariot and Throne (*Merkaba*) the angels who guard the Chariot are represented as fierce and warlike in aspect—flames dart forth from their eyes, and they are armed with fiery weapons (cf. Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrash* iii. 94 f.). See further Additional Note II (p. 87).

¹ The relative position of the celestial beings about the divine throne is thus described in the Liturgy: "The *hayyoth* ['living creatures'] sing: the Cherubim glorify: the Seraphim exult, and the *Arelim* bless. The face of every *hayya*, Ophan, and Cherub is set toward the Seraphim, and thus confronting each the other, they utter praise and say, *Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His place*" (*Service of the Synagogue, Festival Prayers* (New Year), p. 87 (ed. Davis)).

²⁻² Lit. *which is in itself* [of the *Eternal One*]: S omits the bracketed words.

³ Cf. Ezek. i. 15, 18, x. 9, 12.

⁴ Cf. Ezek. i. 26.

⁵ Cf. Ezek. i. 27.

⁶ Cf. Ezek. i. 28 (end) combined with i. 26.

"Here am I!"¹ And He said: "Consider the expanses which are under the firmament on which thou art (now) placed,² and see how on no single expanse is there any other but He whom thou hast sought, or who hath loved thee."³ And while He⁴ was yet speaking (and) lo! the expanses opened, and beneath me⁵ the heavens. And I saw upon the seventh firmament upon which I stood a fire widely extended, and light, and dew, and a multitude of angels, and a power of invisible glory over the living creatures which I saw; but no other being did I see there.⁶

And I looked from the mountain⁷ in which I stood⁷ [downwards]⁸ to the sixth firmament, and saw there a multitude of angels, of (pure) spirit, without bodies, who carried out the commands of the fiery angels who were upon the eighth⁹ firmament, as I was standing suspended over them. And

¹ Cf. Ex. iii. 4, 4 Ezra xiv. 1 (K, + *Lord*).

² Abraham is now presumably "placed" in the seventh heaven, and surveys from above what is disclosed to him as existing in the various firmaments below him, and in the earth (the angels, celestial bodies, and everything that is moving on the earth).

³ ? God is the sole controller of all these, and in this sense is the only reality.

⁴ A K *this (voice)*.

⁵ A, *them*.

⁶ In *Asc. Is.* vii. 7 f. it is said that Isaiah saw in the seventh heaven "a wonderful light and angels innumerable," and "all the righteous from the time of Adam" (including Abel and Enoch); in *T. B. Hag.* 12b the seventh heaven (*Araboth*) contains judgement and righteousness, the treasures of life, peace, and blessing, the souls of the departed righteous, the spirits and souls yet unborn, the dew with which God will awake the dead, the Seraphim, Ophanim, *Hayyoth*, and other angels of service, and God Himself sitting on the Throne of Glory. No doubt the "dew" in our passage is the resurrection-dew. Fire and light are much dwelt upon in this connexion. Possibly this mystical literature was influenced by the cult of Mithra, who was especially the God of Light.

^{7,7} Lit. *of my standing*.

⁸ S omits.

⁹ *eighth* can hardly be right: read ? *seventh*.

behold, upon this firmament ¹ there were no other powers ¹ of (any) other form, but only angels of (pure) spirit, like the power which I saw on the seventh firmament.² And He commanded ³ that the sixth firmament ⁴ should be taken away.³ And I saw there, on the fifth firmament,⁴ the powers of the stars which carry out the commands laid upon them, and the elements of the earth obeyed them.⁵

The Promise of a Seed (Chapter XX.).

XX. And the Eternal Mighty One said to me : " Abraham, Abraham ! " And I said : " Here am I." [And He said :] ⁶ " Consider from above *the stars* which are beneath thee, and *number*,⁷ them [for me],⁸ and make known [to me]⁸ their number." And I said : " When can I ? For I am but a man [of dust and ashes].⁹ And he said to me : " As the number of the stars and their power, (so will) I make thy seed a nation ¹⁰ and a people, set apart for me in my heritage with Azazel."¹¹

¹⁻¹ So A; S, *their powers were not*.

² In 2 Enoch xix. the seer describes what he saw in the sixth heaven : legions of angels more resplendent than the sun, the archangels set over the sun, stars, seasons, rivers, vegetation, the living things and the souls of men, with six phoenixes, seven cherubim, and seven *hayyoth* in the midst, all singing with a voice indescribably beautiful; cf. also *Asc. Is.* viii. 1 ff, 6 ff., where the sixth heaven is described as full of hosts of angels uttering praise. In our passage apparently the angels of service (ministering angels) are located in this heaven.

³⁻³ A K, *the sixth firmament and it went away* : S reads *third* for *sixth*.

⁴ Lit. *surface*.

⁶ In *T. B. Hag.* 12b the sun, moon, and stars are located in the second heaven; in 2 Enoch xi. 1-5 " the course of the sun " and the angels " which wait upon the sun " are located in the fourth heaven.

⁶ S omits; K, + *to me*. ⁷ Cf. Gen. xv. 5. ⁸ S omits.

⁹ Cf. Gen. xviii. 27, 4 Ezra iv. 5, 6. The bracketed clause is attested by A K, but omitted by S.

¹⁰ Cf. Gen. xv. 5 (the MSS. read *for thy seed* instead of *thy seed*). S adds (after *nation*) *of people* wrongly.

¹¹ The underlying idea seems to be that God's heritage, the created world, is, under the conditions of sin, " shared "

And I said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! Let thy servant speak before Thee, and let not Thine anger kindle against Thy chosen one!"¹ Lo, before Thou leddest me up Azazel inveighed against me. How, then, while he is not now before Thee, hast Thou constituted Thyself with him?"

A Vision of Sin and Paradise: the Mirror of the World (Chapter XXI.).

XXI. And He said to me: "Look, now, beneath thy feet at the firmaments² and understand³ the creation⁴ foreshadowed⁵ in this expanse, the creatures existing on it, and the age⁶ prepared according to it." And I saw beneath [the surfaces of the⁷ feet, and I saw beneath]⁸ the sixth heaven⁹ and what was therein,¹⁰ and then the earth and its fruits, and what moved upon it and its animate beings;¹¹ and the power of its men, and the ungodliness of their souls, and their righteous deeds [and the beginnings of their works],¹² and the lower regions¹³ and the perdition therein, the Abyss¹⁴ and its torments. I saw there the sea and its

with Azazel (see further Introduction, p. xxxii), *i. e.* it is largely under the dominion of evil powers. This is one of the fundamental conceptions of Apocalyptic. On the other hand, the Chosen People—who are ideally identified with the righteous—redeem the world, and in themselves make it once again fit to be God's heritage. From another point of view the same question is discussed in 4 Ezra—the problem, why, if the world was created for Israel, is Israel disinherited? (cf. 4 Ezra vi. 38–59).

¹ Cf. Gen. xviii. 32. ² Lit. *surface*. ³ + *now*.

⁴ Slavonic text, *creature*. ⁵ Or *represented*.

⁶ So S; A K, *ages* ("æon," "æons").

⁷ K, *my*.

⁸ S omits.

⁹ A K, *the likeness of heaven* (or for *the sixth heaven* render *the six heavens*).

¹⁰ A, *what was with it*. ¹¹ = ? "its spirits" (Bonwetsch).

¹² The bracketed clause is attested by A K; S omits.

¹³ Cf. *Ephesians* iv. 9 ("the lower parts of the earth").

¹⁴ *i. e.* Tartarus; cf. 2 Enoch xxviii. 3, xxix. 5. The "Abyss" is described in 1 Enoch xviii. 11–16 (xxi. 1–6, xc. 25, 26), where it is the abode of the impure angels; cf. Luke viii. 31; Rev. ix. 1, xi. 7.

islands, and its monsters and its fishes, and Leviathan and his dominion,¹ and his camping-ground, and his caves, and the world which lay upon him,² and his movements, and the destructions of the world on his account.³ I saw there streams and the rising of their waters, and their windings. And I saw there the Garden of Eden and its fruits, the source⁴ of the stream issuing from it, and its trees and their bloom, and those who behaved righteously. And I saw therein their foods and blessedness.⁵ And I saw there a great multitude — men and women and children [half of them on the right side of the picture]⁶ and half of them on the left side of the picture.⁷

¹ Or *possession*. Leviathan's dwelling is "in the lowest waters" (*Pirḳe de R. Eliezer* ix.). All the great sea-monsters in the sea are Leviathan's food, one being devoured every day (*ibid.*).

² "and between its [Leviathan's] fins rests the middle bar of the earth" (*op. cit.*, *ibid.*).

³ When Leviathan is hungry, one haggadic saying runs, "it sends forth from its mouth a heat so great as to make all the waters of the deep boil." [The two great monsters in the original form of the legend were Behemoth (the male) and Leviathan (the female): cf. Job xl.-xli.; 1 Enoch lx. 7 f.; *Ap. Bar.* xxix. 4. In the Rabbinical form of the Haggada (cf. *T. B. Baba bathra* 74b) each monster was multiplied into a pair, male and female; but they were rendered incapable of producing any progeny, lest by so doing they should "destroy the world." The female leviathan was killed and reserved for the righteous in the world to come; the male leviathan will not be slain till the last; see further 4 Ezra vi. 49-52, and the writer's discussion in *E.A.*, pp. 90 ff., with references.

⁴ A, *sources*.

⁵ The heavenly Paradise is referred to which is to be the abode of the righteous ("those who behaved righteously"), whose fruits are "incorruptible" (4 Ezra vii. 123), wherein is "the tree of life" (Rev. ii. 7) whose "leaves are for the healing of the nations" (Rev. xxii. 2). In 2 Enoch viii. 2 the seer describes how he saw in Paradise "all the trees of beautiful colours and their fruits ripe and fragrant, and all kinds of food which they produced, springing up with delightful fragrance." Note that Paradise is here located on the earth, though the transcendental Paradise is meant; see *E.A.*, p. 196.

⁶ The bracketed clause is omitted (accidentally) in S.

⁷ The whole world is divided into two parts; the people of God on the right half, and the nations on the left.

The Fall of Man and its Sequel (Chapters XXII.-XXV.).

XXII. And I said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! What is this picture of the creatures?" And He said to me: "This is my will with regard to those who exist in the (divine) world-counsel,¹ and it seemed well-pleasing before my sight, and then afterwards I gave commandment to them through my Word.² And it came to pass whatever I had determined to be, was already planned beforehand in this (picture), and it stood before me ere it was created, as thou hast seen."³

And I said: "O Lord, mighty and eternal! Who are the people in this picture on this side and on

The latter (= the heathen) are Azazel's portion (cf. chap. xxxi.).

¹ Emended text (Bonwetsch); MSS. read *in the light*.

² Note this hypostasising use of *Word* developed from such passages as Ps. xxxii. 6; cf. Heb. xi. 3, 2 Pet. iii. 5, 4 Ezra vi. 38.

³ The whole conception is strongly predestinarian; the whole course of creation—the rise of evil, and the coming of the righteous—is predetermined; cf. 1 Enoch xciii., cvii. 19, cvii. 1, and Charles's note on 1 Enoch xlvi. 3. A strong expression of this idea occurs in 4 Ezra iv. 36, 37. For the "picture" of our passage we may perhaps compare the "pattern" (ὑποδείγμα) of Heb. viii. 5 (Ex. xxv. 40, xxvi. 30, Acts vii. 44). In the Rabbinical literature Israel's election is spoken of as predestined before the creation of the world, and this idea is applied to certain other things, such as the name of the Messiah, the Torah, and repentance. In such connexions they often employ the figure of an architect and plans. One passage (*Gen. rabba* i.) runs: *When a man erects a building, at the time when the building is erected he enlarges it as it is erected, or otherwise he enlarges it below, and contracts it above: but the Holy One . . . does not act thus, but "the heavens" (which He created) were the heavens which had ascended in (His) thought, and "the earth" (which He created) was the earth which had ascended in His thought.* It was, however, the Essenes who insisted on an absolute predestination. The Rabbis, while allowing for a certain amount of predestination, emphasised man's moral freedom: "Everything is foreseen, but free will is given," as Akiba said.

that?" And He said to me: "These which are on the left side are the multitude of the peoples which have formerly been in existence and which are after thee destined,¹ some for judgement and restoration, and others for vengeance and destruction at the end of the world.² But these which are on the right side of the picture—they are the people set apart for me of the peoples with Azazel.³ These are they whom I have ordained to be born of thee and to be called My People.

XXIII. "Now look again in the picture, who it is who seduced Eve and what is the fruit of the tree, [and]⁴ thou wilt know what there shall be, and how it shall be to thy seed⁵ among the people at the end of the days of the age,⁶ and so far as thou canst not understand I will make known to thee, for thou art well-pleasing in my sight, and I will tell thee what is kept in my heart."

And I looked into the picture, and mine eyes ran to the side of the Garden of Eden. And I saw there a man very great in height and fearful in breadth. incomparable in aspect,⁷ embracing a woman, who

¹ Lit. *prepared*.

² Of the peoples on the left side, who represent the heathen world as opposed to the Jews, some are to be spared at the final judgement, while the rest will be annihilated; cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxii, 2, where it is said of the Messiah that *he will summon all the nations, and some of them He will spare, and some of them He will slay*. Sometimes (as in 4 *Ezra* xiii. 37 ff.) the whole heathen world is doomed to annihilation, and this view is very prominent in later Judaism. The idea of our text accords with the older view based upon such passages as *Ps.* lxxii. 11, 17; *Is.* lxvi. 12, 19–21 (cf. *Psalms of Solomon*, xvii. 34). Notice that our passage says nothing about the Messiah in this connexion.

³ Cf. chap. xx. note ¹¹.

⁴ S omits.

⁵ So A K, reading *sēmeni*; S has *to thy name* (reading *imeni*).

⁶⁻⁶ So S; but A K omit.

⁷ Adam's great stature is often referred to in Rabbinical literature: "it reached" (when he was first created) "from one end of the world to the other," but when he sinned it was diminished (*T. B. Hag.* 12a); his manly beauty is also referred to *T. B. Baba mešia* 84a).

likewise approximated to the aspect and shape of the man. And they were¹ standing under a tree of (the Garden of) Eden, and the fruit of this tree² was like the appearance of a bunch of grapes of the vine,³ and behind the tree was standing as it were a serpent in form, having hands and feet like a man's,⁴ and wings on its shoulders, six⁵ on the right side and six⁵ on the left,⁶ and they were holding the grapes of the tree⁷ in their hands,⁷ and both were eating it whom I had seen embracing.

And I said: "Who are these mutually embracing, or who is this who is between them, or what is the fruit which they are eating, O Mighty Eternal One?"

And He said: "This is⁸ the human world,⁸ this is Adam, and this is their desire upon the earth, this

¹ K, + *both*.

² Cf. Gen. iii. 6.

³ Cf. *T. B. Berakoth* 40a, where it is recorded that R. Meir declared that the tree of which Adam ate was a vine, because the one thing that brings woe upon mankind is wine; cf. Gen. ix. 21 ("And he drank of the wine and was drunken"). So also the Greek, *Ap. Bar.* iv. 8 (cf. *Sanh.* 70a, *Bereshith rabba* xix. 8). The usual opinion was that the tree was a fig-tree; according to another view (*Gen. rabba* xi. 8) the fruit was barley; another (Samuel ben Isaac) a date. With this last agrees the *varia lectio* of A K here ("palm-tree").

⁴ Cf. *Gen. rabba* xx. 8: "Upon thy belly shalt thou go: At the moment when the Holy One . . . said to the serpent upon thy belly shalt thou go the ministering angels descended and cut off its hands and its feet, and its cry went from one end of the world to the other." This legend was well known in antiquity. According to Syncellus (i. 14) the serpent had originally four feet; cf. also Josephus i. 1, 4, who declares that the serpent was deprived of both language and feet. For the punishment of the serpent see *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xiv. (ed. Friedlander, p. 99 and notes).

⁵ v.l. *three*.

⁶ This description really applies to Sammael (or Azazel), who had twelve wings (*Pirke de R. Eliezer* xiii.), and who descended and, finding the serpent skilful to do evil, mounted and rode upon it. Before its punishment by God the serpent had the appearance of a camel, according to the same authority (*ibid.*).

⁷⁻⁷ A K omit.

⁸⁻⁸ Lit. "council of the world," so K; A S, "light of the world." Adam (whose body is compounded of the four primal elements) is the microcosm.

is Eve; but he who is between them representeth ungodliness, their beginning (on the way) to perdition, even Azazel." ¹

And I said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! Why hast Thou given to such power to destroy the generation of men in their works upon the earth?"

And He said to me: "They who will (to do) evil—and how much I hated (it) in those who do it!—over them I gave him power, and to be beloved of them." ²

And I answered and said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! Wherefore hast Thou willed to effect that evil should be desired in the hearts of men, since Thou indeed art angered over that which was willed by Thee, at him who is doing what is unprofitable in thy counsel?" ³

XXIV. And He said to me: "Being angered at the nations ⁴ on thy account, and on account of the people of thy family who are (to be) separated after thee, as thou seest in the picture the burden (of destiny) that (is laid) upon them ⁵—and I will tell thee what shall be, and how much shall be, in the last days. Look now at everything in the picture."

And I looked and saw there what was before me in creation; I saw Adam, and Eve existing with him, and with them the cunning Adversary, ⁶ and Cain who

¹ Azazel plays the part elsewhere assigned to Sammael; he uses the serpent as his instrument (cf. *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xiii.).

² In chap. xiii. (end) the wicked (as distinguished from the righteous) are spoken of as those who "follow" Azazel, and "love" what he wills. They are Azazel's "portion." A striking feature of our book is the way in which the souls and bodies of men are represented as possessed by either good or evil powers.

³ A K, *world* (which may be right). The word in S rendered *counsel* is an unusual one in this meaning.

⁴ A, *men*.

⁵ This apparently is the answer to the question given at the end of the previous chapter. God allows men to desire evil (with its inevitable punishment later) because of the treatment meted out by the nations to the chosen seed (Abraham and his descendants).

⁶ Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 3 ("the serpent beguiled Eve in his craftiness").

acted lawlessly through the Adversary,¹ and the slaughtered Abel, (and) the destruction brought and caused upon him through the lawless one.² I saw there also Impurity,³ and those who lust after it, and its pollution, and their jealousy, and the fire of their corruption in the lowest parts of the earth. I saw there Theft, and those who hasten after it, and the arrangement [of their retribution, the judgement of the Great Assize].⁴ I saw there⁵ naked men, the foreheads against each other, and their disgrace, and their passion which (they had) against each other, and their retribution. I saw there Desire, and in her hand the head of every kind of lawlessness [and her scorn and her waste assigned to perdition].⁶

XXV. I saw there the likeness of the idol of jealousy,⁷ having the likeness of woodwork such as my father was wont to make, and its statue⁸ was of glittering bronze; and before it a man, and he worshipped it; and in front of him an altar, and upon it a boy slain in the presence of the idol.

But I said to Him: "What is this idol, or what is the altar, or⁹ who are they that are sacrificed,⁹ or who is the sacrificer? Or what is the Temple

¹ According to *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xxi. Cain was the offspring of Eve and Sammael.

² In *Ep. Barnabas* xv. 5 the Devil is called "the Lawless One" (ὁ ἀνόμος): *when His Son shall come, and shall abolish the time of the Lawless One* (cf. also 2 Thess. ii. 8).

³ Notice that here and below certain evil tendencies are personified (Impurity, Theft, Desire; the catalogue seems to have been influenced by the Decalogue, Commandments vii., viii., x.). In later Kabbalistic books such tendencies are personified as demons; cf. e. g. *The Testament of Solomon*, § 34 (*J.Q.R.*, xi. 24; 1899), where seven female demons appear before Solomon bearing such names as "Deception," "Strife," "Jealousy," "Power."

⁴ The bracketed clause is missing in S.

⁵ A, *also* (instead of *there*).

⁶ Omitted by S. Perhaps the clause is an interpolation; in any case the text appears to be corrupt. The word here rendered *scorn* (*moltshanie*, lit. "silence") is sometimes used in this sense, expressing "contempt," "scorn"; see D'yachenko's *Church Slavonic Dictionary*, s.v.

⁷ Cf. Ezek. viii. 3, 5.

⁸ Or *body*.

⁹⁻⁹ K, *who is the sacrificed one*.

which I see that is beautiful in art, and its beauty (being like) the glory that lieth beneath Thy¹ throne? "

And He said: "Hear, Abraham. This which thou seest, the Temple and altar and beauty, is my idea of the priesthood of my glorious Name, in which dwelleth every single prayer of man, and the rise of kings and prophets, and whatever sacrifice I ordain to be offered to me among my people who are to come out of thy generation.² But the statue which thou sawest is mine anger³ wherewith the people⁴ anger me who are to proceed for me from thee. But the man whom thou sawest slaughtering—that is he who inciteth murderous sacrifices,⁵ of (*sic*) which are a witness⁶ to me of the final judgement, even at the beginning of creation."

Why Sin is permitted (Chapter XXVI.).

XXVI. And I said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! Wherefore hast Thou established⁷ that it should be so, and then proclaim the knowledge thereof? "

And He said to me: "Hear, Abraham; understand what I say to thee, and answer me as⁸ I question thee. Why did thy father Terah not listen to thy voice, and (why) did he not cease from the devilish idolatry until he perished [and]⁹ his whole household with him? "

And I said: "O Eternal, [Mighty One]!⁹ (It

¹ S, *my* (a scribal mistake?).

² The whole sacrificial system and the Levitical cultus are of divine origin, and embody the divine ideal. The "rise of kings and prophets" is apparently involved in it as a subordinate development from it. The tone of the passage is reminiscent rather of *Jubilees*. In apocalyptic literature such allusions to the cultus are rare.

³ "The image of jealousy" is correctly explained here as meaning the image which provokes God's jealousy or anger. Idolatrous practices in Israel are referred to.

⁴ K omits *the people*.

⁵ *i. e.* sacrifices involving the slaughter of human beings such as the offering (through fire) of children to Moloch.

⁶ A, *witnesses*.

⁷ Or *ordained*.

⁸ Lit. *what*.

⁹ S omits.

was) entirely because he did not choose to listen to me; but I, too, did not follow his works."

And He said [to me]:¹ "Hear, Abraham. As the counsel² of thy father is in him, and as thy counsel is in thee, so also is the counsel of my will in me ready for the coming days, before thou hast knowledge of these,³ or (canst) see with thine eyes what is future in them. How those of thy seed will be, look in the picture."

A Vision of Judgement and Salvation (Chapter XXVII.).

XXVII. And I looked and saw: lo! the picture swayed and [from it]⁴ emerged, on its left side,⁵ a heathen people, and they pillaged those who were on the right side, men and women and children: [some they slaughtered,]⁴ others they retained with themselves.⁶ Lo! I saw them run towards them through four entrances,⁷ and they burnt the Temple with

¹ S omits.

² *i. e.* "will."

³ God's will is free, but so also is man's. The argument is interesting. From the fact, proved by the two contrary instances of Terah and Abraham, that man's will is free, the writer justifies God's freedom to permit sin, hinting, however, that the future will still further justify the divine counsel. The vision that follows (chap. xxvii.) serves to illustrate this.

⁴ Omitted by S.

⁵ The use of "right" and "left" throughout these chapters is notable. The conception of the right side being the source of light and purity, while the left is the source of darkness and impurity, is Gnostic, and passed from the Gnostics into the Kabbalah; see further Introduction p. xix. f.

⁶ Sc. in slavery.

⁷ So A K; S (*schody*), *descents* (= ? "generations"). The four "entrances" or "descents" by which the heathen make inroads upon the chosen people apparently correspond to the four hundred years of slavery for Israel predicted by God to Abraham in the vision of Gen. xv. (cf. vs. 13). This was interpreted by our apocalyptist, in accordance with current tradition, to refer to Israel's captivity and subjection by the four oppressive world-powers of the Book of Daniel, understood to be Babylon, Media, Greece, and Rome (cf. chap. ix. above, note ⁶). thus the Palestinian Targum to Gen. xv. 13 runs: *And behold, Abram saw four kingdoms*

fire, and the holy things that were therein they plundered.¹

And I said: "O Eternal One! Lo! the people (that spring) from me, whom Thou hast accepted, the hordes of the heathen do plunder, and some they kill, while others they hold fast as aliens,² and the Temple they have burnt with fire, and the beautiful things therein they do rob [and destroy].³ O Eternal, Mighty One! If this be so, wherefore hast Thou now⁴ lacerated⁵ my heart, and why should this be so?"

And He said to me: "Hear, Abraham. What⁶ thou hast seen⁷ shall happen on account of thy seed who anger me by reason of the statue which thou sawest, and on account of the human slaughter in the picture, through zeal in the Temple;⁸ and as thou sawest⁹ so shall it be."⁹

And I said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! May the works of evil (wrought) in ungodliness now pass by, but¹⁰ (show me)¹¹ rather those who fulfilled the commandments, even the works of his (?)¹² righteousness. For thou canst do this."

which should arise to bring his sons into subjection. It is important to remember that the fourth "entrance" here corresponds to the Roman Empire [cf. also *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xxviii.]. Possibly "descent" (S) is the right reading here, and means "generation," a generation being roughly reckoned as equivalent to a hundred years: Heb. ? תוצאות.

¹ The writer obviously has in mind the operations of the Romans under Titus, which ended in the destruction of the Temple by fire in A.D. 70. For the burning and pillaging of the Temple cf. Josephus, *War*, vi. 4, 5 f.; cf. also 4 Ezra x. 21 f.

² Of those who were not killed in the Roman war, some were reserved for the victor's triumph, some for the arena, and the rest were sold as slaves; cf. Josephus, *War*, vi. 9, 2 f. ³ Omitted by S. ⁴ A, *from now onward*.

⁵ K, *angered*.

⁶ Lit. *so much*.

^{7,7} A omits.

⁸ Israel's captivity and sufferings are due to lapse into idolatry.

^{9,9} So A K; but S omits.

¹⁰ A omits *but*.

¹¹ Something has fallen out of the text here.

¹² So A K; S, *this*. [The sentence *O Eternal Mighty One . . . his (?) righteousness* is rendered according to the text of A K; the text of S here is not in order.]

And He said to me : " The time of the righteous meeteth [them]¹ first through² the holiness (flowing) from kings³ and righteous-dealing rulers whom I at first created in order from such to rule among them.³ But from these issue men who care for their interests,⁴ as I have made known to thee and thou hast seen."

How long ? (Chapters XXVIII.—XXIX.).

XXVIII. And I answered and said : " O Mighty, [Eternal One],⁵ hallowed by Thy power ! Be favourable to my petition, [for for this hast Thou brought me up here—and shew me].⁶ As Thou hast brought me up to Thy height, so make [this]⁵ known to me, Thy beloved one, as much as I ask—whether what I saw shall happen to them for long ? " ⁷

And He showed me a multitude of His people, and said to me : " On their account through four issues,⁸ as thou sawest, I shall be provoked by them, and in these⁹ my retribution for their deeds shall be (accomplished). But in the fourth outgoing¹⁰ of a hundred years¹¹ and one hour of the age—the same is a hundred years¹²—it shall be in misfortune among

¹ So K; A, *him*; S omits.

² So S; A K, *the type (set) by*.

³ The " kings " and " righteous-dealing rulers " referred to are, presumably, such as David, Hezekiah, and Josiah, under whose rule the claims of righteousness were recognised and the sovereignty of God, to some extent, realised.

⁴ Lit. " for them " (= ? " for themselves ")—from the righteous rulers spring sons who are faithless to their heritage (such as Manasseh). The sentence is obscure, and the meaning uncertain.

⁵ S omits.

⁶ Omitted accidentally in S (by homoioteleuton, " brought up . . . brought up ").

⁷ Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 33 ff.

⁸ S K (*schody*) = *descents* (cf. chap. xxvii. note ⁷ above); cf. Gen. xv. 13–16 : " four descents " = " four generations."

⁹ Sc. four generations. ¹⁰ S, *descent* (as above).

¹¹ *i. e.* in the fourth generation (cf. Gen. xv. 16).

¹² In chap. xxx. the coming of the ten plagues on the heathen world is placed " at the passing over of the twelfth hour "; then follows (chap. xxxi.) the Messianic salvation. Apparently the present age is reckoned as enduring for

the heathen [but one hour in mercy and contumely, as among the heathen]."¹

XXIX. And I said: "O Eternal [Mighty One]!² And how long a time is an hour of the Age?"³

And He said: "Twelve years⁴ have I ordained of this ungodly Age⁵ to rule among the heathen and

twelve hours (each hour = 100 years), *i. e.* one day (cf. John xi. 9). The apocalyptic writer may possibly reckon this day as beginning with the founding of the Holy City by David (cf. 4 Ezra x. 46) and culminating in the destruction of the last Temple by Titus, which calamity was to be followed by the period of woes described in chap. xxx., these bringing the present age (or *æon*) to a close. Now according to Josephus (*War*, vi. 10) the period from David's reign in Jerusalem to the destruction of the Temple by Titus amounted to 1179 years. If we suppose the seer to be writing at the close of the first or in the early years of the second century A.D. the period would include about 1200 years. Like all the apocalyptists he obviously supposes himself to be standing on the brink of the new age. Perhaps in the text above "and one hour of the Age" is intended to synchronise with the "fourth out-going of a hundred years." [In *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xxviii. a dictum ascribed to R. Elazar ben Azariah runs: (from Gen. xv.) thou mayest learn that the rule of these four kingdoms will only last one day, according to the Day of the Lord (= 1000 years).]

¹ The bracketed clause is attested by A K, but not by S. It may be an addition to the text. *Contumely* can hardly be right. Perhaps there was an error in the Greek text from which the Slavonic Version was made; ? *τιμῇ* misread *ἀτιμῇ*: read, then, "in mercy and honour."

² S omits.

³ This question has already been answered at the end of the previous chapter (one hour = 100 years); moreover, the reply that follows here does not really answer the question. There is probably something wrong in the text; "hours" and "years" seem to be confused. Perhaps the question originally ran somewhat as follows: *How much time is there (in) the hours of the age?*

⁴ ? Read *hours* for *years*. We may compare 4 Ezra xiv. 11 ("For the world-age is divided into twelve parts"), and the cloud and water vision in *Ap. Bar.* liii. f., where a similar division appears. If "years" be kept, each year will probably stand for a generation (reckoned at 100 years?); cf. 4 Ezra x. 45 (3000 years = 30 generations).

⁵ The present age is the age of ungodliness, where the organised forces of evil are dominant; cf. 1 Enoch xlvi. 7 ("the world of unrighteousness"), 4 Ezra iv. 29 f.

in thy seed; and until the end of the times it shall be as thou sawest. ¹ *And do thou reckon and understand and look into the picture."*

And I [looked and] ² saw a man going out from the left side of the heathen; ³ and there went out men and women and children, from the side of the heathen, many hosts, and worshipped him. ⁴ And while I still looked there came out from the right side ⁵ (many), and some insulted that man, while some struck him ⁶; others, however, worshipped him. [And] ² I saw how these worshipped him, and Azazel ran and worshipped him, and having kissed his face he turned and stood behind him. ⁷

And I said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! Who is the man insulted and beaten, who is worshipped by the heathen with Azazel?"

¹ The passage printed in italic type that follows can only be regarded as a Christian interpolation (probably a Jewish-Christian one). ² S omits.

³ The man is clearly intended to be Jesus. His emerging "from the left side of the heathen" is curious. If the text is in order it must apparently refer to the emergence into prominence of the Early Christian Church in the Gentile world. It clearly cannot refer to racial origin, for it is stated further on in the chapter that "the man" sprang from Abraham's "generation" and God's people. But in view of the definite statement below—*this man from thy generation whom thou sawest (issue) from my people*—it is better to suppose that the text here is out of order: read ? *from the right side* and omit *of the heathen* as an incorrect gloss.

⁴ *i. e.* His followers are to include large numbers from the Gentile world.

⁵ *i. e.* from the Jewish world.

⁶ Cf. Is. liii. 3.

⁷ The worship of Christ by the Devil (Azazel) is a striking feature in this representation. It is difficult to determine its exact significance here. Does it reflect the Jewish-Christian feeling that the access of so large a part of the heathen world to Christianity endangered the purity of the new faith by inevitably bringing in its train a large admixture of heathenism? It can hardly mean that Azazel had been truly converted. Indeed, his homage is significantly depicted as lip-homage ("kissed his face"; cf. the treacherous kiss of Judas). Perhaps the real meaning is that the kingdom of evil, and the Satanic powers, have been vanquished by Christ (cf. Luke x. 18, Phil. ii. 9, 10, Col. ii. 15, Ephes. i. 21 f.). The homage of Azazel—the head of the unredeemed heathen world—marked the triumph of Christ.

And He answered and said: "Hear, Abraham! The man whom thou sawest insulted and beaten and again worshipped—that is the relief¹ (granted) by the heathen to the people who proceed from thee, in the last days,² in this twelfth hour³ of the Age of ungodliness. But in the twelfth year³ of my final Age⁴ I will set up this man from thy generation, whom thou sawest (issue) from my people; this one all will follow,⁵ and such as are called by me⁶ (will) join, (even) those who change in their counsels.⁷ And those whom thou sawest emerge from the left side of the picture—the meaning is:⁸ There shall be many from the heathen who set their hopes upon him;⁹ and as for those whom thou sawest from thy seed on the right side, some insulting and striking, others worshipping him—many of them shall be offended at him.¹⁰ He, however, is testing¹¹

¹ = *ἔλεος* (= Heb. *mēnuhā*).

² What is meant by the *relief* (granted) by the heathen to the people who proceed from thee, in the last days? The expression is difficult and obscure. Perhaps the "relief" spoken of means the mitigation of the process of "hardening" that has taken place in Israel (by its rejection of Jesus), which is brought about by the adhesion of some (a remnant) in Israel to the new faith, in conjunction with the great numbers who are streaming in from the Gentile world; cf. Rom. xi., especially xi. 25 ("a hardening in part hath befallen Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in and all Israel shall be saved," and vss. 29–30: "For as ye in time past were disobedient but now have obtained mercy by their disobedience, even so have these also now been disobedient that by the mercy shewn to you they also may obtain mercy").

³⁻³ Omitted by A (*homoioteleuton*). For the confusion of "hour" and "year" see note ³ at the beginning of this chapter.

⁴ Lit. *of the Age of mine end*.

⁵ Or "imitate," "become like."

⁶ Cf. 2 Tim. i. 9 ("God who hath called us with a holy calling"), Ephes. iv. 1, 4, and often.

⁷ *those who change in their counsels*, i. e. repent (*μετανοεῖν* = "change one's mind or will").

⁸ Lit. "that (is)."

⁹ Cf. Is. xi. 10 ("unto him shall the nations seek"), Matt. xii. 21, Rom. xv. 12.

¹⁰ Cf. Matt. xi. 6, John vi. 66, Rom. xi. 8, etc.

¹¹ Cf. Rev. iii. 10 ("the season of trial that is coming upon the whole habitable earth"). The time of "trial" or "testing" referred to is, no doubt, the period of the Messianic woes which precedes the advent of the new age.

those who have worshipped him of thy seed, in that twelfth hour of the End,¹ with a view to shortening the Age of ungodliness.²

"Before the Age of the righteous beginneth to grow,³ my judgement shall come upon the lawless heathen through the people of thy seed⁴ who have been separated for me. In those days I will bring upon all creatures of the earth ten plagues,⁵ through misfortune and disease and sighing of the grief of their soul. Thus much will I bring upon the generations of men that be upon it on account of the provocation and the corruption of its creatures,⁶ whereby they

¹ *i. e.* the time immediately preceding the End of the present Age.

² Cf. Matt. xxiv. 22, *Ep. Barnabas* iv. 3, *Ap. Bar.* xx. 2 ("Therefore have I now taken away Sion in order that I may the more speedily visit the world in its season"). In the latter passage the fall of Jerusalem is regarded as hastening the End. Impatient longing for the End is characteristic of the Apocalyptists; see *e. g.* 4 Ezra iv. 33 ff.

³ The coming Age is the "Age of the righteous" (for the expression cf. also chap. xvii. of our Book); it has been "prepared" for them (4 Ezra viii. 52), and they will inherit it (4 Ezra vii. 17). For the metaphor of growth in this connexion cf. 4 Ezra iv. 29, 35; the community of the righteous has already been "sown" (1 Enoch lxii. 8; cf. also 1 Enoch x. 16, "the plant of righteousness will appear"), but its full growth will only become visible after the judgement.

⁴ Judgement on the heathen will be executed by the agency of Israel itself; cf. 1 Enoch xc. 19. In the Midrash *rabba* on Ruth ii. 19 a saying ascribed to R. Eliezer b. Jacob runs: "Vengeance on the nations of the world is in the hands of the Israelites (Ezek. xxv. 14)."

⁵ A saying handed down in the name of R. Eleazar b. Pedath runs: "Just as the Holy One . . . brought (plagues) upon Egypt He will bring (plagues) upon this (wicked) nation [*i. e.* Rome], as it is said [Is. xxiii. 5]: 'As at the report from Egypt so shall they be pained at the report of Šor'" (read *Šār* "adversary," which is to be understood as meaning "Rome"): see Midrash *Tanḥuma*, ed. Buber, ii. 30; Bacher, *Pal. Amoræer* ii. 87. For a description of the plagues see the next chapter.

⁶ On account of the sins of men God's anger must be visited upon the earth in judgement; cf. *Jubilees* xxiii. 22, etc. The idea that a time of great calamity and suffering would immediately precede the Messianic Age is a standing feature in Apocalyptic; cf. *e. g.* Matt. xxiv. 8, Mark xiii. 8 ("the birth-pangs of the Messiah").

provoke me. And then shall righteous men of thy seed be left ¹ in the number which is kept secret by me, ² hastening ³ in ⁴ the glory of My Name to the place prepared beforehand for them, which thou sawest devastated in the picture; ⁵ and they shall live and be established through sacrifices and gifts of righteousness and truth ⁶ in the Age of the righteous, and shall rejoice in Me continually; ⁷ and

¹ *i. e.* shall survive the Messianic "woes." The term "survive," "be left" (*οἱ περιλειπόμενοι*, *Vulg. qui residui sumus*, 1 Thess. iv. 15), became a technical one in Apocalyptic in this connexion; cf. 4 Ezra vi. 25, ix. 7, xiii. 16-24, 26, 48.

² The number of the elect righteous is pre-determined. This idea recurs in more than one form in Apocalyptic. Here apparently what is meant is that the number of elect righteous who shall survive the Messianic woes has been fixed beforehand, and is a secret known only to God. These living righteous shall enjoy the blessedness of the new Age upon the renovated earth (in Jerusalem). Nothing is said about the resurrection of the righteous dead to share in this felicity. In chap. xxi. the latter enjoy a blessed existence in the heavenly Paradise. Our Book apparently knows nothing of a resurrection. On the other hand, in Rev. vi. 11 it is the number of the righteous *dead* (the martyrs) that is predetermined. Another application of the same idea is to the whole number of mankind who are to be born, which is predetermined; cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxiii. 4. For those who survive the period of calamity, and share in the bliss of the new Age, see 4 Ezra vi. 25, vii. 27, ix. 7 f., *Ap. Bar.* xxix. 2; but in none of these passages is their *number* said to have been fixed beforehand.

³ Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 98.

⁴ A K, *to*.

⁵ By *the place prepared beforehand* (cf. Rev. xii. 6) is here meant Jerusalem (*which thou sawest devastated in the picture*), presumably the renovated city on a renovated earth. The expression *place prepared beforehand* certainly suggests the heavenly Jerusalem (cf. *Ap. Bar.* iv. 2-6), which according to Rev. xxi. 2, 9 f. is to descend from heaven upon the renovated earth. But this is not certain. Our Book may contemplate nothing more than the earthly Jerusalem transformed and glorified.

⁶ The sacrificial cultus in a purified form will be revived in the new Jerusalem; cf. ? 1 Enoch xxv. 6 ("the fragrance thereof" = ? of the incense). Prayer for the restoration of the Temple and cultus is a central feature in the Jewish Liturgy.

⁷ With the restoration of the cultus the righteous will enjoy the privilege of seeing God's glory continually.

they shall destroy those who have destroyed them,
And shall insult those who have insulted them,¹

"And of those who defamed them they shall spit
in the face, scorned by Me, while they (the righteous)
shall behold Me full of joy, rejoicing with My
people, and receiving those who return to Me² [in
repentance].³

See, Abraham, what thou hast seen,
And [hear]³ what thou hast heard,
And [take full knowledge of]³ what thou hast come
to know.

Go to thy heritage,⁴
And lo! I am with you for ever."

The Punishment of the Heathen and the In- gathering of Israel (Chapters XXX.-XXXI.).

XXX. But while He was still speaking, I found
myself upon the earth. And I said: "O Eternal,
[Mighty One],⁵ I am no longer in the glory in which
I was (while) on high, and what my soul longed to
understand in mine heart I do not understand."

And He said to me: "What is desired in thine⁶
heart I will tell thee, because thou hast sought to see
the ten plagues which I have prepared for the heathen,
and have prepared beforehand⁷ at the passing over
of the twelfth hour⁸ of the earth. Hear what I
divulge to thee, so shall it come to pass:⁹ the

¹ Cf. *Jubilees* xxiii. 30 and see note * p. 80.

² ? Heathen who are converted. ³ S omits.

⁴ Cf. Gen. xv. 15 (*Thou shalt go to thy father in peace*);
A K, *my*.

⁵ S omits.

⁶ A K, *mine*.

⁷ These also have been pre-determined.

⁸ *i. e.* the last hour of the present Age.

⁹ It is God's property to announce beforehand what is to
occur and then to bring it to pass; cf. Justin Martyr, *Apology*
i. 14 (end): *For this is the work of God to declare a thing*
shall come to be long before it is in being, and then to bring
about that thing to pass according to the same declaration.
Cf. also 4 Ezra ix. 6 (Gunkel's rendering of the "times of the
Most High"): *their beginning is in word (i. e. the prophetic*
word) and portents, but their end in deeds and marvels.

first¹ (is) pain of great distress;² the second, conflagration of many cities;³ the third, destruction and pestilence of animals⁴; the fourth, hunger of the whole world and of its people⁵; the fifth by destruction among its rulers,⁶ destruction by earthquake⁷ and the sword; the sixth, multiplication of hail and snow;⁸ the seventh, the wild beasts will be their grave; the eighth, hunger and pestilence will alternate with their

¹ The ten "plagues" here enumerated mark the distressful period which precedes the advent of the new Age; they correspond to the "signs" which are a common feature in the traditional eschatology; cf. 4 Ezra iv. 52-v. 13, vi. 13-28, ix. 1-6, xiii. 16 ff., *Ap. Bar.* xxv.-xxvii., xlvi. 30-38, lxx., 1 Enoch xcix. 4 f., 7-10, c. 1-6 (*Dan.* xii). The first of the Ezra passages just cited affords a good example of the contents of these descriptions. It depicts a time of commotions, and the general break-up of moral and religious forces; the heathen world-power (*i. e.* Rome) will be destroyed; there will be portents in nature, general chaos in society; monstrous and untimely births, the failure of the means of subsistence, and internecine strife; and wisdom and understanding will have perished from the earth. With our passage depicting ten plagues may be compared *T. B. Sanh.* 97a, which divides the period into seven years; in the first there will be rain on one city and no rain on another (cf. Amos iv. 7); in the second arrows of famine; in the third a great famine in which men, women, and children and pious will perish, and the Torah will be forgotten; in the fourth abundance and dearth; in the fifth great abundance, the people will eat and drink, and the Torah will return; in the sixth voices announcing the coming of the Messiah; in the seventh war, and at its end Messiah ben David will come. In the New Testament, besides the Apocalyptic passage in Matt. xxiv. 8-31 and parallels, there is a marked parallelism with the Apocalypse of the seven trumpets (*Rev.* viii. 6-ix. 21, x. 7, xi. 14-19), six of which mark partial judgements, while the seventh ushers in the final judgement. Several of the "trumpets" announce judgements like the Egyptian plagues.

² *i. e.* distressful pain, sickness.

³ The fall of fire is one of the portents of the End in *Ap. Bar.* xxvii. 10; cf. the fiery hail of the seventh Egyptian plague (*Ex.* ix. 23 f.) and the "first trumpet" (*Rev.* viii. 6-7); cf. also *Rev.* xi. 19b ("great hail").

⁴ Cf. the fifth Egyptian plague (murrain among the cattle, *Ex.* ix. 1 ff.).

⁵ Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 22, *Ap. Bar.* xxvii. 5-6, Matt. xxiv. 7.

⁶ Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxvii. 3, 4 Ezra ix. 3.

⁷ Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxvii. 7.

⁸ Cf. *Ex.* ix. 23 f.

destruction; the ninth, punishment by the sword and flight¹ in distress; the tenth, ²thunder and voices² and destructive earthquake.³

XXXI. "And then I will sound the trumpet⁴ out of the air, and will send mine Elect One,⁵ having in him all my power, one measure⁶; and this one shall summon⁷ my despised people from the nations,⁸ and I will burn with fire⁹ those¹⁰ who have insulted them and who have ruled among¹¹ them in (this) Age.

"And I will give those who have covered me with

¹ Cf. Matt. xxiv. 16.

²⁻² K, "voices of thunder."

³ Cf. Rev. xi. 19b. [Perhaps the passage most closely parallel with our text is *Ap. Bar.* xxvii. 1-13.]

⁴ The trumpet is blown to announce the Divine intervention and the coming of salvation; it is not a direct summons to the exiles to return (cf. Volz, p. 310); cf. Benediction X in the *Shēmōnē 'Esrē* Prayer (Singer, p. 48): *Sound the great horn for our freedom, lift up the ensign to gather our exiles, and gather us from the four corners of the earth.*

⁵ This title of the Messiah is a favourite one in the "Similitudes" of 1 Enoch; cf. 1 Enoch xlviii. 9, lv. 4, etc. It recurs as a Messianic title in Luke ix. 35, xxiii. 35, and goes back to Is. xlii. 1.

⁶ *i. e.* a measure of all the divine attributes—he reflects in little the totality of the divine character. This is an exalted conception, but does not seem to imply more than that the Messiah is a divinely endowed man, full of the power of the Holy Spirit (Is. xi. 1), which makes him free from sin (*Ps. Sol.* xvii. 36 f.). He is not depicted as a supernatural angelic being like Metatron. He is sent by God at the appointed time; cf. *Ps. Sol.* xvii. 23, Gal. iv. 4, John xvii. 3.

⁷ Note that it is the Messiah here who summons the outcast Israelites from the nations (so also *Ps. Sol.* xvii. 28, Matt. xxiv. 31, 4 Ezra xiii. 39). More usually this is performed by God Himself (cf. the prayer cited in note ⁴ above).

⁸ Cf. Is. lx. 4.

⁹ Punishment of the godless by fire at God's hands is a common feature in the eschatology. It is the fire of the divine anger that is thought of, and is based upon Mal. iv. 1 (iii. 19); cf. the "fiery stream" and "flaming breath" which the Messiah emits from his mouth to destroy his enemies in 4 Ezra xiii. 10 (interpreted figuratively in verses 36 f.). A adds *through him* (after *I will*), *i. e.* through the Messiah; K, *through them*.

¹⁰ *i. e.* the heathen nations.

¹¹ *i. e.* "over." Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxii. 6 ("But all those who have ruled over you . . . shall be given to the sword").

mockery to the scorn of the coming Age;¹ and I have prepared them to be food² for the fire of Hades and for ceaseless flight to and fro through the air in the underworld beneath the earth³ [the body filled with worms.⁴ For on them shall they see the righteousness of the Creator—those, namely, who have chosen to do my will, and those who have openly kept my⁵ commandments,⁶ (and) they shall rejoice with joy over the downfall of the men who still remain, who have followed the idols and their murders.⁷ For they shall putrefy in the body of the evil worm Azazel,⁸ and be burnt with the fire of Azazel's tongue;⁹ for I hoped that they would come to me,¹⁰ and

¹ Those who have scorned shall be scorned; cf. *Wisdom* iv. 18, *Dan.* xii. 2, *Ps. Sol.* ii. 32 f. ("the coming Age" is the Age of the righteous). Possibly renegade Jews are referred to, and are the subject of the remaining part of this chapter.

² Cf. *Mal.* iv. 1 (iii. 19).

³ Here two conceptions seem to be mixed; there is (1) the idea of "the fire of Hades" (or Hell), which is located beneath the earth (for "Hades" = Hell in this sense; cf. *Ps. Sol.* xv. 11); this fire consumes their bodies; (2) combined with this is the idea of wandering (flying) restlessly about (properly in the air or outer darkness); cf. 4 *Ezra* vii. 80. In *T. B. Shabb.* 152b the souls of the wicked are said to be given no place of rest till the judgement. Here (at the word *earth*) S ends. The rest of the text (printed in small type) is found both in A and K.

⁴ In *Judith* xvi. 17 "fire and worms" await the heathen enemies of Israel; cf. *Ecclus.* vii. 17, 1 *Enoch* xlii. 6 ("darkness will be their dwelling and worms their bed"), *Is.* lxvi. 24. Here renegade Jews are probably meant.

⁵ A, *thy*.

⁶ Cf. *Is.* lxvi. 24, 4 *Ezra* vii. 93.

⁷ The renegade Jews here referred to are described as idolaters (cf. *Ezek.* xx. 16, *Jer.* vii. 9); and the righteous rejoice over their "downfall"; cf. 1 *Enoch* lvi. 8 ("Sheol will devour the sinners in the presence of the elect"), xciv. 10 ("Your creator will rejoice at your destruction"), xcvi. 2 ("the angels rejoice" over it), *Is.* lxvi. 24. Notice that idolatry and murder are here conjoined; cf. *Acts* xv. 29 (according to one view of the text).

⁸ Cf. the Greek *Apocalypse of Baruch* iv. (the dragon of Hades, which devours the bodies of the ungodly). In 2 *Enoch* xlii. 1 the guardians of the gates of Hell are said to be "like great serpents."

⁹ Here the Evil Spirit is identified with Hell; his tongue devours the ungodly; and he himself is "the burning coal of the furnace of the earth" (chap. xiv.). Hell (Gehenna) is essentially a place of fire; cf. *Is.* xxx. 33 and *Mekilta* to *Ex.* xiv. 21.

¹⁰ ? in repentance.

not have loved and praised the strange (god),¹ and not have adhered to him for whom they were not allotted,² but (instead) they have forsaken the mighty Lord."

Conclusion (Chapter XXXII.)

XXXII. "Therefore hear, O Abraham, and see; lo! thy seventh generation³ (shall) go with thee, and they shall go out into a strange land, and they shall enslave them, and evil-intreat them⁴ as it were an hour of the Age of ungodliness⁵ but the nation whom they shall serve I will judge." ⁶

ADDITIONAL NOTES

I

I am he who hath been commanded to loosen Hades to destroy him who stareth at the dead.

This obscure clause, which occurs in Jaobel's speech in chap. x., is absent from S. The Slavonic text runs as follows—

Az esm' povelěvy razreshiti ada, istliti divyaščas mertvym.

Dr. St. Clair Tisdall suggests the following rendering—

I am commanded to loosen Hades, to turn to corruption (by) gazing at the dead.

Dr. Tisdall explains the meaning thus: "The speaker has power given to him to 'deliver over to corruption' the

¹ *i. e.* probably Azazel.

² This clearly indicates that renegade Jews are referred to. For a similar reference cf. 4 Ezra viii. 25-31. It would appear that large numbers of Jews had lapsed, after the fall of Jerusalem, into indifference, or even open apostasy; cf. the Rabbinical references to "the people of the land" (*'am hā-'āreṣ*).

³ Including Abraham, the seven generations may be reckoned thus: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses.

⁴ Cf. Gen. xv. 13.

⁵ *i. e.* ? 100 years; cf. chap. xxviii, end.

⁶ Cf. Gen. xv. 14. K concludes with the following words: *And this, too, said the Lord: Hast thou heard, Abraham, what I have announced to thee, what shall befall thy people in the latter days? And Abraham heard the words of the Lord, and received them into his heart.*

bodies of the dead by gazing at them. The verb [rendered 'gazing'] strictly denotes *marvelling, admiring*."

Mr. Landsman writes as follows: "The verb *diviyati* is used in Slavonic, meaning 'to be ferocious,' 'to rage'; *divyaščas* means thus 'to stare at' somebody in such a way that he is frightened by the ferocity of the look. It can be translated as Dr. Tisdall translates it, but does this rendering and interpretation harmonise with the context?" Mr. Landsman goes on to suggest that the second line refers to Death personified; cf. Ps. xlix. 14 ("Death shall be their shepherd") and Rev. xx. 13, 14, where "Death and Hades" are "cast into the lake of fire." Then render—

*I am he who hath been commanded to loosen Hades,
to destroy him [i. e. Death] who terrifieth the dead.*

This yields an admirable sense, and is probably right. Jaöel thus claims to be commissioned to abolish the terrors of Hades and Death.

II

And when they [the Cherubim] had ended the singing, they looked at one another and threatened one another. And it came to pass when the angel who was with me saw that they were threatening each other, he left me and went running to them, and turned the countenance of each living creature from the countenance immediately confronting him in order that they might not see their countenances threatening each other. And he taught them the song of peace which hath its origin in the Eternal One (chap. xviii.).

In addition to the illustration given in note ¹³ (p. 62) on this passage, the following extract from *The Revelation of Moses* (*Gedulath Moshe*), translated by Dr. Gaster in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for July 1893, p. 576 ("Hebrew Visions of Hell and Paradise") may be quoted—

Moses went to the fifth heaven, and he saw there troops of angels, half of fire and half of snow, and the snow is above the fire without extinguishing it, for God maketh peace between them [as it is said: "He maketh peace in his high places," Job. xxv. 2], and all praise the Almighty. Cf. also the Midrash Debarim rabba (to Deut. xx. 10), where with reference to the same passage of Job (xxv. 2) it is said: Michael [who presides over the water] is altogether snow, Gabriel is altogether fire, and they stand next each other without being harmed on either side (so also Midrash rabba to Cant. iii. 11); cf. also 2 Enoch xxix. 2.

APPENDIX I

THE LEGEND OF ABRAM'S CONVERSION FROM IDOLATRY

(Cf. Chapters I.–VIII. of our Book.)

ABRAM'S emergence from the prevalent idolatry early became the theme of legend, which has assumed various forms and was widespread. These are collected, with full references, in Beer's *Leben Abrahams* (Leipzig, 1859), Chaps. I. and II., and are well summarised in *J.E.* I. 84–87 ("Abraham in apocryphal and Rabbinical Literature").

The earliest literary evidence appears to be some extracts from Jewish Alexandrine works cited by Josephus under the names of Hecataeus and Berosus, of the third and second centuries B.C., and summarised by him (*Ant.* I. 1, 7): [*Abraham*] *was a person of great sagacity both for understanding all things and persuading his hearers, and not mistaken in his opinions; for which reason he began to have higher notions of virtue than others had, and he determined to renew and to change the opinion all men happened then to have concerning God: for he was the first that ventured to publish this notion, that there was but one God, the Creator of the Universe, and that as to other [gods] if they contributed anything to the happiness of men, that each of them afforded it only according to his appointment, and not by their own power. This his opinion was derived from the irregular phenomena that were visible both on land and sea, as well as those that happen to the sun, and moon, and all the heavenly bodies, thus: "If [said he] these bodies had power of their own, they would certainly take care of their own regular motions; but since they do not preserve such regularity, they make it plain, that so far as they co-operate to our advantage, they do it not of their own*

abilities, but as they are subservient to him that commands them, to whom alone we ought justly to offer our honour and thanksgiving." For which doctrines, when the Chaldæans and other peoples of Mesopotamia raised a tumult against him, he thought fit to leave that country; and at the command, and by the assistance of God, he came and lived in the land of Canaan.

Another early attestation of the legend occurs in *The Book of Jubilees*, probably dating from the close of the second century B. C. Here it is related (chap. xi. 16-xii) that Abraham as a child "began to understand the errors of the earth," and at the age of fourteen, in order not to be entangled in the idolatry, practised in connexion with astrology by the whole house of Nahor, separated from his father and family, and prayed to God to save him "from the errors of the children of men." He became an inventor of an improved method of sowing seed, by which it was preserved against the depredations of the ravens. He then made efforts to wean his father from idolatry, but Terah, though acknowledging that his son was right, was afraid to make a public renunciation, and told Abraham to keep silent. Being no more successful with his brothers, Abraham rose by night and set fire to the house of idols. His brother Haran in an attempt to save them perished in the fire, and was buried in Ur of the Chaldees.

Here we meet with a feature which provided a *motif* for various forms of the legend—viz. the fire which burnt the idols and their house. This is really derived from the etymological meaning of *Ur* = "fire;" thus "Ur of the Chaldees" is taken to mean "fire of the Chaldees." In our Book the fire descends from heaven and burns the house and all in it (including Terah), Abraham alone escaping. In other forms of the legend Abraham is cast into the fire (by Nimrod), and is miraculously preserved. Philo's account of Abraham's conversion (*de Abrahamo*, § 15) is as follows: ¹

The Chaldæans were, above all nations, addicted to

¹ Yonge's translation, vol. ii. p. 417.

the study of astronomy, and attributed all events to the motions of the stars by which they fancied that all the things in the world were regulated, and accordingly they magnified the visible essence by the powers which numbers and the analogies of numbers contain, taking no account of the invisible essence appreciable only by the intellect. But while they were busied in investigating the arrangement existing in them with reference to the periodical revolutions of the sun and moon and the other planets and fixed-stars, and the changes of the seasons of the year, and the sympathy of the heavenly bodies with the things of earth, they were led to imagine that the world itself was God, in their impious philosophy comparing the creature to the Creator.

The man [Abraham] who had been bred up in this doctrine, and who for a long time had studied the philosophy of the Chaldæans, as if suddenly awaking from a deep slumber and opening the eye of the soul, and beginning to perceive a pure ray of light instead of profound darkness, followed the light, and saw what he had never seen before, a certain governor and director of the world standing above it (κατεῖδεν . τοῦ κόσμου τινὰ ἡνιόχον καὶ κυβερνήτην ἐφεστῶτα), and guiding his own work in a salutary manner, and exerting his care and power in behalf of those parts of it which are worthy of divine superintendence.

The legend is cited or referred to in many places in the Rabbinical Literature. The following extract from *Bereshith rabba* xxxviii. 19 (on Gen. xi. 28) is a good example :

And Haran died in the presence of his father Terah. R. Hiyya bar R. Idi of Joppa said : " Terah was a maker and seller of idols. On one occasion he went out somewhere, (and) set Abraham to sell in his place. A man came (and) wished to buy (an idol), and he (Abraham) said to him : ' How old art thou ? ' And he said : ' Fifty or sixty years.' [Abraham] said to him : ' Woe to the man who is sixty years old, and will worship (an image) a day old ! ' And (the buyer) was shamed and went his way. Another time there came a woman, carrying in her hand a dish of fine flour. ' Here thou art,' said she. ' Offer it (as an oblation) before them (i. e. before the gods).' [Abraham arose, took a club in his hand, and smashed all the images, and placed

the club in the hand of the largest of them. When his father came back, he said to him: 'Who has done this to them?' He [Abraham] said to him: 'Why should I hide (the matter) from thee? A woman came carrying a dish of fine flour. And she said to me: "Here thou art: offer it (as an oblation) before them." I offered (it) before them. Then one said: "I will eat first," and another said: "I will eat first." The one who was greatest among them rose up, took a club, and smashed them.' And [Terah] said to him: 'Why wilt thou fool me? How should they understand (anything)?' [Abraham] said to him: 'Let not thy ears hear what thy mouth says!' [Terah] took him and delivered him to Nimrod. The latter said to him: 'We will worship the fire?' Abraham said to him: 'But we should (rather) worship water.' Nimrod said to him: 'We will worship the water.' [Abraham] said to him: 'If so, we ought to worship the cloud that bears the water.' Nimrod said to him: ['We will worship] the cloud.' He replied to him: 'If so, we ought to worship the wind; it scatters the cloud.' [Nimrod] said to him: ['We should worship] the wind.' He replied: 'We should worship man, who endures, (defies) the wind.' He replied: 'You are bandying words with me; I worship the fire only, (and) lo, I will cast thee into the midst of it; then, let the God whom thou worshippest come and deliver thee from it.' Haran was standing there in doubt. He said: 'At all events if Abraham is victorious I will say I am of Abraham's opinion; but if Nimrod is victorious I will say I am of Nimrod's opinion.' When Abraham descended into the fiery furnace and was delivered, they said to him: 'On whose side art thou?' He said to them: 'Abraham's.' They seized him and threw him into the fire. And his bowels were scorched, and it fell out that he died in the presence of his father. That is the meaning of the verse, *and Haran died in the presence of Terah his father.*'

Another version of the same legend (cf. *Tanna debe Eliyaha* ii. 25, and see *J.E.* i. 86) runs as follows:

Terah was a manufacturer of idols and had them for sale. One day when Abraham was left in charge of the shop, an old man came to buy an idol. Abraham handed him one on the top, and he paid the price asked. "How old art thou?" Abraham asked. "Seventy years," he replied. "Thou fool," said Abraham; "how canst thou adore a god so much younger than thyself? Thou wert born seventy years ago, and this god was made yesterday." The buyer threw away the idol and received his money back. The other sons of Terah complained to their father that Abraham did not know how to sell the idols, and it was arranged that he should act as priest to the latter. One day a woman

brought a meal-offering for the idols, and as they would not eat he exclaimed: *A mouth have they but speak not, eyes have they but see not, ears but hear not, hands but handle not. May their makers be like them, and all who trust in them* (Ps. cxv. 5-8); and he broke them in pieces, and burned them. Abraham was thereupon brought before Nimrod, who said: "Knowest thou not that I am god, and ruler of the world? Why hast thou destroyed my images?" Abraham replied: "If thou art god and ruler of the world, why dost thou not cause the sun to rise in the west and set in the east? If thou art god and ruler of the world, tell me all that I have now at heart, and what I shall do in the future?" Nimrod was dumbfounded, and Abraham continued: "Thou art the son of Cush, a mortal man. Thou couldst not save thy father from death, nor wilt thou thyself escape it."

Another form of the legend, after narrating the wonderful nature of Abraham's birth, Nimrod's alarm at the report of the astrologers and magicians in connexion therewith, and his attempt to bribe Terah to give up the child, who, under the charge of a nurse, was hidden by his father in a cave, where he remained for some years, proceeds (cf. *Midrash hagadol* on Genesis. ed. Schechter p. 189 f.):

When Abraham came forth from the cave, his mind was inquiring into the creation of the world, and he was intent upon all the luminaries of the world, to bow down to them and serve them, in order that he might know which of them was God. He saw the moon, whose light shone in the night from one end of the world to the other, and whose retinue [of shining stars] was so numerous. Said he: "This is God!" (and) he worshipped her all the night. But when at day-break he saw the sun-rise, and at its rising the moon become dark and her strength wane, he said: "The light of the moon only proceeds from the light of the sun, and the world is only sustained by the light of the sun," and so he worshipped the sun all day. At evening the sun set, and its power waned, and the moon and the stars and the constellations emerged (once more). Said [Abraham]: "Verily there is a Lord and a God over these."

A peculiar form of the legend occurs in the *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo vi. 5-18.¹

According to this Midrashic account, Abram with eleven other men whose names are given, refused to bake bricks

¹ Edited for the first time in English by Dr. M. R. James, and published in this Series.

for the building of the Tower of Babel. In consequence, they were seized by the people of the land, and brought before the princes, and on their persistent refusal to take any part in the building of the Tower, were condemned to be burnt. A respite of seven days is given them at the intercession of Jectan, "the first prince of the captains," but at the end of this time, if they have not already changed their mind, they are to be handed over for execution. Jectan, a secret friend, contrives their escape to the mountains, and eleven of the men do escape, but Abram refuses to flee, and remains behind. At the end of the seven days, the "people of the land" demand that the imprisoned men shall be produced. Jectan explains that eleven of them "have broken prison and fled by night," but Abram is produced, is cast into the fire, but is miraculously delivered by God,¹ who causes an earthquake which breaks up the furnace and scatters the fire, which "consumed all them that stood round about in the sight of the furnace; and all they that were burned in that day were 83,500. But upon Abram was there not any the least hurt by the burning of the fire."

It is obvious from what has been adduced that the legend assumed different forms. The narrative just cited is quite independent of the rest, except for the episode of the fiery furnace. The form also given in our Book is largely independent. Nowhere else do we meet with the details about the idol-gods *Meru-math* and *Barisat*. The fiery furnace also is absent, and the burning of the idols is effected by fire from heaven. At the same time in chap. vii. of our Book in the speech of Abraham to Terah about the claims to divinity of fire, water, earth, sun, moon, and stars, there is a marked parallelism with the Rabbinical accounts. It is clear that the form of the legend in our Book is due to an independent and free handling of the legendary material, many new features having been introduced in the process.

The legend also occurs in various forms in the Patristic and Mohammedan literature. For the former cf. *Clem. Recognitions*, i. 32 f., Augustine, *De Civitate* xvi. 15; and for the latter cf. *J.E.*, i. 87 f. ("Abraham in Mohammedan Legend"). See further Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*

¹ According to R. Eliezer b. Jacob it was Michael who delivered Abraham from the fire; but the prevailing view was that it was God Himself; cf. *Beresith rabba* xliv. 16.

Vet. Test. (2nd ed., Hamburg, 1722), pp. 335-428), Bonwetsch, pp. 41-55. The later Jewish forms of the legend (as preserved in late Midrashim) have been collected and translated into German by Wünsche, *Aus Israels Lehrhallen* (1907), i. pp. 14-48 (the original Hebrew texts are printed mainly in Jellinek's *Beth ha-Midrash*); cf. also G. Friedlander, *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics* (1912), pp. 47 ff.

APPENDIX II ¹

All the Palæas begin the story of Abraham as follows :

"But Terah begat Abraham : " and Terah began to do the same work which he saw (being done) in the case of his father Nahor, and worshipped the gods, and offered sacrifices before them, calves, and heifers, and performed everything well-pleasing to the Devil. When Abraham, however, had seen this, and on account of it fell into much reflexion, he said within himself : *"These gods are wood, through which my father Terah is deceived, and these gods have no soul in themselves ; and possessing eyes they see not, and having ears they hear not, and possessing hands they handle not, and having feet they go not, and possessing noses they smell not, and there is no voice in their mouth. Therefore I am of opinion that in truth my father Terah is deceived. But Abraham having thought thus.*

Then some of the MSS. proceed :

Abraham (or I.), however, one day planed the gods, etc. (as in chap. i.) ; but the rest continue with chap. vii. : [Having thought thus, Abraham] came to his father, etc.

APPENDIX III ²

A portion of our Apocalypse is contained in an abbreviated form in the Kukulevic MS. which is described by V. Jagic in his *Contributions to the History of the Literature of the Croat and Serbian People* (*Prilozi k historji knjizevnosti naroda hrvatskoga i srbskoga*), Agram 1868.

¹ See Bonwetsch, p. 9.

² See Bonwetsch, pp. 9-11.

The MS. dates from the year 1520, and includes on pp. 37^v foll. parts of *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, in a much abbreviated, dislocated and altered form as compared with the tradition represented by the Russian MSS. This apparently represents an independent South Slavonic Recension of our Book. It runs as follows : ¹

A word of righteous Abraham, as God loved Abraham. He was born ; in sixty years [i. e. at the age of 60] He [God] had given him (Terah) a son, (even to Terah) who believed in the idols, and manufactured idols, and gave them names. Abraham went and sold the idols. When on a certain day Abraham had lain down in the field, and saw the stars of heaven and everything (made) by God, he surveyed it all in his heart, and said : " O great marvel ! These idols have not made it heaven and earth and everything hath God made, we, however, are senseless men not believing in the Creator of heaven and earth, but we believe in stones and wood, and in vain things, but I see and understand that God is great, who hath created heaven and earth and the whole world."

On a certain day his father carved idols, and told Abraham to prepare (their) food. And Abraham took a god and stood him at the fire behind the pot, and said to him : If thou art a god, pay heed to the pot and to thyself. And then the pot boiled over, and burnt the god's head. And Abraham approached, and saw it, and laughed about it much, and said to his father : " Father, these idols are no good, they cannot protect themselves, how should they protect us ? " And his father was angry, and said : " Ills have befallen us, my son, I am not offended." And then Abraham arose and took the idols, and loaded them on an ass, and brought them into the street to sell. And he saw a great marsh, and said to the idols . " If you are gods, take heed to the ass that it do not drown you." And the ass went into the marsh and sank in the mire. And Abraham said to them . " If you were good gods,

¹ As given in a German translation by Dr. L. Masing of Dorpat (in Bonwetsch, pp. 10 f.).

(then) you would protect . . . and also protect yourselves ; but since you are evil gods, you must suffer evil." And he took them and shattered them.

And he returned to his father, and said : " Father, I tell thee the truth ; these gods are no good, and you are wrong to believe in them." Thereupon his father flung a knife against him, and Abraham stood aside, and was perplexed in his mind. And he went into the land of Mesopotamia Chaldaea and did not know the way by which to go. Then the angel Uriel came to him, having made himself (in appearance) like a traveller. And Abraham said to the angel : " Tell me, Brother, whence art thou, and whither goest thou ? " The angel said to him : " I go to the land of Chaldaea." And Abraham said : " I also go with thee." And the angel said to him : " Come, Brother ! " And Abraham saw a large (and) very black eagle sitting and nodding its head at Abraham ; and Abraham passing by it was seized with great fear, and said nothing.

And the angel said to him : " Talk, Brother, of nothing but God." And the angel taught him all the time to talk of nothing but godly things. And the angel said to him : " Yonder eagle was indeed the Devil himself, and desired to make thee turn back."

And in that land Abraham abode fifteen years ; there he dwelt, (and) thither his father came to him, and his brother Lot, and there Abraham took his wife Sarah.

And the angel came to Abraham, and told him to depart from this land, and to go into the land of Chaldaea (sic), " for there the Lord hath commanded thee to live." Abraham did accordingly. The narrative then proceeds on the basis of the account given in Gen. xx.

It is obvious that this is largely an independent reshaping of the old material. But it contains clear reminiscences both of the legendary and apocalyptic parts of our Book.

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(PRE-RABBINIC)

THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH

THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH

BY

R. H. CHARLES, D.LITT., D.D.

CANON OF WESTMINSTER; FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE;
FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE
REV. G. H. BOX, M.A.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE

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EDITORS' PREFACE

THE object of this series of translations is primarily to furnish students with short, cheap, and handy text-books, which, it is hoped, will facilitate the study of the particular texts in class under competent teachers. But it is also hoped that the volumes will be acceptable to the general reader who may be interested in the subjects with which they deal. It has been thought advisable, as a general rule, to restrict the notes and comments to a small compass; more especially as, in most cases, excellent works of a more elaborate character are available. Indeed, it is much to be desired that these translations may have the effect of inducing readers to study the larger works.

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We desire to express our thanks to Canon Charles and Messrs. A. & C. Black for their permission to reprint here the translation of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, published in 1900.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.
G. H. BOX.

INTRODUCTION

SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK

THE apocryphal book known as *The Ascension of Isaiah* appears to be a work of composite structure made up of three originally distinct parts, one of which is of Jewish, the others of Christian origin. The title given to the whole work—*The Ascension of Isaiah*—is due to the principal extant version, the Ethiopic. Strictly, however, it applies only to the last part, contained in chapters vi.–xi. (“The Vision of Isaiah”). The other two parts, which probably circulated independently at first, may be identified with writings (otherwise lost) known as *The Martyrdom of Isaiah* (= i. 1–iii. 12 and v. 1 b–14), a Jewish work, perhaps pre-Christian; and *The Testament of Hezekiah* (iii. 13–v. 1 a), which like *The Vision of Isaiah* (= vi.–xi.) is of Christian origin. The whole work appears to have been combined in its present form by a Christian editor, some time in the second century A.D.¹ The entire book is extant in an Ethiopic version, and fragments of it exist in Greek, Latin, and Slavonic. The original language in which the work was composed was certainly Greek for the two Christian parts, and probably also for the Jewish

¹ “From the third century onward the *Ascension* [in its present form] had an extensive circulation amongst Christian heretics” (Charles).

part (the *Martyrdom*), though this last may depend ultimately upon a Hebrew or Aramaic prototype.

The process by which these parts were fused into the present whole is difficult to determine exactly. According to Dr. Charles the complicated phenomena presented by the versions and fragments may be explained as follows. The last part, containing "the Vision of Isaiah" (vi.-xi.), was edited in two Greek recensions (G¹ and G²). From G² a Latin (L²) and a Slavonic (S) version were made. G¹ was united with the Greek texts (G) of the *Martyrdom* and the *Testament*, and the whole composite work so produced was translated into Ethiopic (E); fragments also are extant in Latin (L¹). The Greek text of G¹ is not extant, but it can be restored to a considerable extent from a Greek work, based upon it, which has survived, and is known as "the Greek Legend (of Isaiah)."¹ Another fragment of the Greek text, written on a papyrus of the fifth or sixth century, has been published by Grenfell and Hunt. It contains the text of ii. 4-iv. 4 (*i.e.* parts of the *Martyrdom* and *Testament*) and is denominated by Dr. Charles G², though it is not to be regarded as a distinct recension like the G² of the Vision (= vi.-xi.). All these texts (the Slavonic in a Latin translation) have been printed in parallel columns, and edited with critical notes, by Dr. Charles in his edition of our book (pp. 83-148).

In accordance with the critical analysis outlined above the whole work may be divided into four parts, and is so divided in the translation that follows.

¹ Discovered by Dr. O. von Gebhardt in a Greek MS. of the twelfth century, preserved in the National Library in Paris.

PART I. (= i. 1-iii. 12) contains the first part of *The Martyrdom of Isaiah*. Isaiah is introduced predicting, in the presence of Hezekiah and Jôsbab (*i.e.* Shear-jashub, Isaiah's son) his own death at the hands of Manasseh. After the death of Hezekiah, Isaiah, on account of the "lawlessness" and infamous practices of Manasseh, withdrew with certain other prophets into the desert in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. Here he is pursued by Balchîrâ, a Samaritan, who denounces him to Manasseh, alleging that Isaiah had uttered prophecies against Jerusalem and the King, in whose heart Beliar dwells.

PART II. (=iii. 13-v. 1a) contains the so-called *Testament of Hezekiah* (iii. 13-iv. 18), a Christian writing. It has been introduced at this point by the Christian redactor to explain why Beliar is so much incensed with Isaiah. This was occasioned by Isaiah's prediction (here recorded) of the destruction of Sammael (Satan), the redemption of the world by Jesus, the founding of the Church, its persecution by Nero, which is the prelude to the final judgement. Incidentally a somewhat sombre picture is drawn of the state of affairs in the Church in these last days. Worldliness and lawlessness prevail among its ministers, there is much covetousness, respect of persons, slander and vainglory, and true "prophets" are hard to find. This picture reflects the state of affairs in the Church as it existed at the close of the first century, and harmonizes with similar accounts given in 2 Peter, 2 Timothy, and Clement of Rome (*ad Cor.* iii.).

PART III. (= v. 1 b-14) contains the conclusion of the *Martyrdom*, resuming iii. 12. It recounts the story of Isaiah's martyrdom. The prophet is tempted

by Balchîrâ to recant, but indignantly refusing to do so, is sawn asunder with a wooden saw.

PART IV. (= vi.-xi.) contains *The Vision of Isaiah*, a Christian writing. It describes a vision, which the prophet experienced while he was prophesying in the presence of King Hezekiah. While he was yet speaking he fell into a trance, with his eyes open. Afterwards he related the vision to the King and the prophets, but not to the people. The vision, as related, describes how the prophet was taken by an angel through the seven heavens, and what he saw there. In the seventh heaven he saw the departed righteous, including Abel and Enoch, and finally the Divine Being ("the Great Glory") Himself, together with a second glorious One like Him, and a third who is the Angel of the Holy Spirit. Then the Most High is heard commissioning the Son to descend through the heavens and the firmament to the world, and even to Sheol. The descent of "The Beloved" is then described, the birth of Jesus of a Virgin, His life, death, and resurrection, and the sending forth of the Twelve; and finally His Ascent though the seven heavens where He seats Himself on the right hand of "the Great Glory," the angel of the Holy Spirit being on the left. The prophet having related the vision to Hezekiah, warns him that these things will come to pass.

Dr. Charles thinks that the three independent writings, which form the constituent elements of our Book, were all, in their original form, in existence in the first century. This view is very probable. We have already seen that the picture of the state of affairs prevailing in the Church, given in the *Testament*, harmonizes with a first-century date.

This seems to be true also of the last part (vi.-xi). The Jewish colouring in both the Christian parts suggests a date not later than the end of the first century. On the other hand the *Martyrdom* may well be pre-Christian in substance.

TITLES OF THE BOOK

The book—or parts of it—is referred to in ancient patristic literature under various titles. Epiphanius terms the last part (vi.-xi.) “the Ascension of Isaiah” (τὸ Ἀναβατικὸν Ἠσαίου), as also does Jerome (“Ascensio Isaiae”); elsewhere it is referred to as “the Vision of Isaiah” (ὁρασις Ἠσαίου, “Visio Isaiae”), and this title is actually prefixed to chapter vi. in the texts of the Versions (“The Vision which Isaiah the son of Amoz saw”). Finally Georgius Cedrenus cites iv. 12, under the title of “the Testament of Hezekiah” (Διαθήκη Ἐζεκίου)—a title which, as Dr. Charles has shown, originally applied to an independent writing now incorporated in the entire work (= iii. 13-v. 1 a). As has already been mentioned, the Ethiopic version prefixes the title *The Ascension of Isaiah* to the whole composite work, and this is now the commonly accepted name of the entire book.

THE ANCIENT VERSIONS

The most important of the ancient versions is the Ethiopic (E), including as it does the entire text. It depends upon three MSS., two of which are in the British Museum, and one in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The Ethiopic version was made, of course, from the Greek original, and according to Dr. Charles is “on the whole a faithful reproduction” of the first Greek Recension (G¹). An edition of the Ethiopic

text was published by Archbishop Laurence in 1819, and an important critical one by Dillmann in 1877. Both these scholars also published translations of E. A Latin version of the last part of the *Ascension* (vi.-xi.) was printed at Venice in 1522 from a MS. now unknown. This is denominated by Dr. Charles L². Two fragments of what appears to be another Latin version, embracing ii. 14-iii. 13 and vii. 1-19, were discovered and edited by Mai in 1828. This version is styled by Dr. Charles L¹. Fortunately it is possible to compare L¹ and L² in a passage common to both, viz. vii. 1-19. When this is done it appears that L¹ and E agree, to a remarkable extent, against L² and the Slavonic (S). Hence Charles infers the existence behind them of two different recensions of the original Greek text (G), which he terms G¹ and G².¹ The combination EL¹ (and the "Greek Legend") = G¹, and that of SL² = G². The arguments are given in full in Dr. Charles's edition, and appear to be convincing.

The Slavonic text, a Latin translation of which (by Prof. Bonwetsch) is given in Dr. Charles's edition, is a version of the last part only, the "Vision of Isaiah" (vi.-xi.). Its title is *The Vision which the [holy] Prophet Isaiah, the Son of Amoz, saw*. It is derived ultimately from two MSS. from which an edition by the Russian scholar, A. Popov, was published. As has been pointed out above it depends upon the recension of the original Greek text denominated G².

The text of the *Greek Legend*, which appears to have been based upon one of the recensions (G¹) of the original work is printed in full by Dr. Charles

¹ These were two recensions of the Greek text of vi.-xi.

in his edition of our book. The important papyrus fragment discovered by Grenfell and Hunt contains the Greek text of ii. 4-iv. 4. This is styled by Dr. Charles G², but must not be confounded with the G² which embraces vi.-xi, and is to be regarded as a distinct recension. Where the papyrus fragment differs from the text of EL¹ this difference, according to Dr. Charles, is to be explained "as due to the errors and variations incidental to the process of transmission" and not (as in the case of G² in vi.-xi.) as due to its being part of a distinct recension. The archetypal Greek text may still have been in existence in the fourth century.

SPECIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE BOOK

In accordance with the critical analysis we may regard our Book as containing three distinct and originally independent works, all of which go back to the first century. The last part reflects the beliefs, prevalent, in certain circles, on such subjects as the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the seven heavens, while the *Testament* (iii. 12-v. 1 a) gives a vivid picture of the state of affairs prevailing in the Christian Church at the close of the first century. It should be noted that both the Christian parts are apocalyptic in character, while the Jewish part—the *Martyrdom*—is a legendary narrative. This may well be of a much earlier date than the two Christian parts. For the legend which it embodies—Isaiah's death by being sawn asunder with a wooden saw—has very early attestation, and is not improbably alluded to in Heb. xi. 37 (*they were sawn asunder*). In fact the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews may very well have derived his knowledge

of the legend from the *Martyrdom*. It is referred to clearly by Justin Martyr (*Trypho*, chap. cxx.), and constantly by later Christian writers. It is also attested in Jewish literature. Both Talmuds refer to Isaiah's death at the hands of Manasseh (cf. 2 Kings xxi. 16), and recount that Isaiah took refuge, fleeing from before Manasseh, in a cedar tree, and when this was discovered, Manasseh had the tree sawn asunder; and that as this was done the prophet's blood flowed out (cf. T.B. *Sanhedrin* 103^b, *Yebamoth* 49^b, T.J. *Sanhedrin* x). On the other hand the legend is not referred to explicitly by Josephus.

We may regard the *Martyrdom* as an early Jewish Midrash, based upon 2 Kings xxi. 16, and as perhaps composed or already in existence in the first half of the first century A.D. M. Halévy (*Etudes évangéliques* i. pp. 65 ff.), who accepts a pre-Christian date for the *Martyrdom*, has indeed tried to show that the narrative of Our Lord's Temptation has been influenced by it. But his parallels are not very convincing. The relevant passage in the *Martyrdom* (v. 4-8) may be allowed to speak for itself. It runs as follows: *And Balchîrâ said to Isaiah: "Say: I have lied in all that I have spoken, and likewise the ways of Manasseh are good and right: and the ways also of Balchîrâ and of his associates are good." And this he said to him when he began to be sawn in sunder. But Isaiah was (absorbed) in a vision of the Lord, and though his eyes were open, he saw them (not).*

And Balchîrâ spake thus to Isaiah: "Say what I say unto thee and I will turn their heart, and I will compel Manasseh and the princes of Judah and all the people and all Jerusalem to reverence thee."

And Isaiah answered and said: "So far as I have

utterance (I say) : Damned and accursed be thou and all thy powers and all thy house. For thou canst not take (from me) aught save the skin of my body."

This rather bald and jejune account is remote, both in substance and spirit, from the sublime narrative in the Gospels. To suggest anything like direct dependence of the latter on the former, or to regard the Jewish account as the "source" of the Gospel narrative is surely far-fetched. Nevertheless the *Martyrdom* sheds some interesting light on the Jewish demonology current in the first century. Thus Beliar (=Belial) appears as one of the names of the Prince of evil spirits (=Satan). He is "the Angel of lawlessness, who is the ruler of this world" (cf. John xii. 31; xvi. 11; 2 Cor. iv. 4; Ephes. vi. 12). He is in many respects like *Sammael*—also a satanic being—though possibly, as Charles suggests, *Sammael* is regarded as subordinate to Beliar, executing the latter's behests (i. 8). The origin and significance of the name Beliar (Belial) is a matter of controversy; but it seems clear that it had mythological associations, and may originally have been a designation of the underworld (Sheol, Hades) into which the living descend at death, and from which there is no return (= *Bal-ya'al*, "there is no ascent"). This seems to be the meaning of the term in Ps. xviii. 5:

The breakers of Death had come about me, and the streams of Belial affrighted me:

Here *Belial* is parallel to *Death* = place of death, i. e. Sheol.¹ Another illuminating passage, in this connection, is Ps. xli. 8:

A matter of Belial [Hades] (i. e. a mortal disease) is fixed upon him,

¹ *Death* and *Sheol* are often parallel; cf. e. g. Is. xxviii. 15, 18.

And now that he lieth he will rise up no more.

The personification easily follows. *Death* and *Sheol* were so personified (cf. Ps. xviii. 6), becoming names of the prince of the underworld, and in exactly the same way *Belial* (*Beliar*) becomes the name of the prince of evil powers. For a New Testament parallel cf. 2 Cor. vi. 15 (*What concord hath Christ with Belial?*). *Beliar* is also designated expressly by another mysterious name. *Matanbûchûs* (cf. ii. 4, "Beliar whose name is *Matanbûchûs*"). The commonly accepted explanation of this bizarre form is that it is composed of two Hebrew words, *mattan bûkâ*, meaning "worthless gift." But this is not very satisfactory. Halévy suggests that it is really a form of the Hebrew *mith-dabek*, "one who attaches himself," and so designates the evil spirit as the possessor of its victim. There is some support for this explanation in a passage of the Talmud (T.B. *Shabbâth* 32^a) where, according to one reading of the text, the woman who neglects certain duties is spoken of as threatened by three "mortal possessions" ("attachments of death"), i.e. mortal diseases, which Rashi *ad loc.* explains as so called "because they attach and bring close death before its time." The "one who takes possession" is an admirable designation of the evil spirit, and harmonizes well with the representation which depicts *Beliar* as "dwelling" "in the heart of Manasseh" (iii. 11).¹ It should be added that *Belial* (*Beliar*) appears in the *Book of Jubilees* in a Satanic rôle. He is represented as the accuser and father of all idolatrous nations (*Jub.* i. 20). In the *Testaments*

¹Kohler, in *J.E.* ii. 659, suggests that *Metembûchûs* may be a "corrupt form" of *Angro-mainyush* or *Ahriman*, the evil deity of the religion of Ancient Persia.

of the *Twelve Patriarchs* Belial is depicted as the arch-fiend, the head of the evil spirits, and the source of impurity and lying.

Another demonic figure that appears in the *Martyrdom* is Sammael (= "venom of God"), who occupies an important place in the late Jewish literature both Talmudic and post-Talmudic. In this literature he is represented as prince of the demons, and is identified with the angel of death, who slays men with a drop of poison. He is "the chief of the Satans" (*Deut. rabb.* xi. 9; cf. *Matt.* ix. 34, "the prince of the devils"), and plays the part of accuser, seducer, and destroyer. He thus seems to be identical with Beliar (Belial), but in the *Martyrdom* he is apparently subordinated to the latter (cf. i. 8). In i. 8 he is surnamed *Malchîrâ*, which may possibly be explained, as Halévy suggests, as = "king of evil" (*melek* or *malki ra'*), or "messenger of evil" (*mal'ak ra'*). Perhaps the name of the Samaritan false prophet, *Balchîrâ*, who takes so active a part in bringing about the prophet's martyrdom, may also be explained as = "chosen of evil" (*behîr-ra'*). According to Dr. Charles' analysis the name "Sammael" was originally peculiar to the *Martyrdom* (i. 8, 11; ii. i), though it also occurs in editorial additions (vii. 9; iii. 13; v. 15, 16; xi. 41). In the last of these passages Sammael is identified with Satan ("Sammael Satan"). It should be added that Beliar is entirely absent from the "vision" (vi.-xi.). He appears, however, in the *Testament*, but not, as in the *Martyrdom*, as a purely immaterial spirit, but as incarnate in Nero, thus fulfilling the rôle of Antichrist ("the Beliar Antichrist," iv. 2, 14, 16, 18). In exactly the same way in the Sibyllines

iv. 2¹ Belial (Beliar) descends from heaven as Antichrist, and appears as Nero, the slayer of his mother. This conception is important for the history of the Antichrist idea. Ultimately the idea may be derived from the early myth of a terrible conflict waged with the Dragon of Chaos—Tiamat—by the divine Hero, who eventually overcomes her. Here, very probably, we have the prototype of the later Antichrist legend, which has undergone so remarkable and rich a development in the course of the ages. On the principle which plays so important a rôle in eschatological development, that “Urzeit” = “Endzeit”—the last stage will reproduce the first—the transference of the idea of the mythical combat of the divine Hero with the primæval Dragon to the end of the ages is easy to understand. The conception thus arises of the battle of God with the devil at the end of the world. “It is very likely,” says Bousset,² “that Antichrist is originally nothing else than the incarnate devil, and that the idea of a battle of God with a human opponent, in whom all devilish wickedness would become incarnate, arose under the influence of definite historical conditions.” The first historical figure to be identified with Antichrist was the persecutor of the Jews, the Syrian King Antiochus Epiphanes, whose lineaments are depicted in the Book of Daniel, and who became the type of the God-opposing tyrant. Later, as in the middle section of our Book (the *Testament*) and in the Book of Revelation, it was Nero.³ Later still, it was discovered now

¹ Of Christian origin. ² Art. *Antichrist* (*E.R.E.* i. 578 f.).

³ In the Psalms of Solomon (first century B.C.), Pompey the Great, the violator of the Holy of Holies, is the Antichrist. He is referred to as “the dragon” (ii. 29) and the “sinner.” (ii. 1). For the Neronic Antichrist in *Revelation*, cf Rev. xvii.

in this, now in that historical character. But it must not be forgotten that the political application of the idea, though it assumed a dominating place in the later development, was not an essential or original feature of the conception. Occasionally, as in 2 Thess. ii. 3 f.—where “the man of lawlessness” = Beliar, and “he that opposeth and exalteth himself against all that is called God” = Antichrist, *i. e.* the combined phrase = Beliar-Antichrist—the Antichrist, freed from political associations, becomes a purely ideal figure which works in the spiritual sphere.

A striking feature of our Book is the designation of the Messiah as “The Beloved.” This Messianic title is found in all parts of the Book, though, according to Charles it was originally peculiar to the two Christian parts, viz. to the *Testament* (iii. 13, 17, 18; iv. 3, 6, 9, 18), and the *Vision* (vii. 17, 23; viii. 18, 25; ix. 12). The passages in the *Martyrdom* where it occurs (i. 4, 5, 7, 13) are, he thinks, due to the final editor. There are good grounds, as Dr. Armitage Robinson has shown,¹ for believing that this title is pre-Christian. It is used in the Old Testament as a title of Israel (ὁ ἡγαπημένος LXX); cf. *e. g.* Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26, where it is the Greek rendering of *Jeshurun* (cf. also Is. xlv. 2); the terms ὁ ἡγαπημένος and ὁ ἀγαπητός also occur in Is. v. 1, 7. The transference of the title from the people as a whole to the Messiah was, therefore, perfectly natural, as the parallel cases of “Servant” and “Elect” show. Further, at the time when the Gospels were written the terms “Beloved” and “Elect” were practically interchangeable, for St. Matthew (xii. 18) writes “my

¹ Hastings, *D.B.*, ii. 501.

Beloved" (ὁ ἀγαπητός μου), in citing Is. xlii. 1, where the Hebrew has "mine Elect," and conversely St. Luke (ix. 35), in the narrative of the Transfiguration, substitutes "Chosen" ("Elect") (ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος) for "Beloved" (Mark ix. 7). It should be added that in the phrase ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός (Mark i. 11; ix. 7), ὁ ἀγαπητός is probably to be regarded as a separate title, and the rendering should be "My Son, the Beloved." The title is used also as a synonym for "Christ" in Eph. i. 6 ("his grace which he freely bestowed on us in the Beloved"), and is freely employed as a designation of Christ in early Christian writings (Ep. Barn., Clem. Rom., Ignatius, Hermas), and certain passages in the LXX where ὁ ἀγαπητός occurs were interpreted Messianically by Christian writers (*e. g.* Ps. xlv. [xlv] title, Zech. xii. 10). Its frequent use in our Book as a stereotyped term for the Messiah is thus an interesting link in the evidence for the gradual establishment of its use in this sense.

Turning now to the *Vision* (vi.-xi.), we find some interesting and important features which call for comment. In ch. vii. foll. the visionary experience of the prophet is described, how he was conducted by the angel through the seven heavens, and what he saw there. We have here an elaborate description of the seven heavens, which in fulness can only be paralleled with the well-known one in the *Slavonic Enoch*.¹ The conception of a plurality of heavens was widespread in the ancient world, and was probably known to the ancient Babylonians, and certainly to the followers of Zoroaster, as well as to certain Greek philosophers in the West. It can be

¹ Cf. the elaborate discussion in Charles' ed. of the *Slavonic Enoch*, pp. xxx.-xlvii.

traced in the Old Testament, in the apocalyptic and New Testament writings, in the Talmud, and in early Christian literature (outside the New Testament). Ultimately it was given up by Christian theology, and was even banned as heretical. The particular conception of *seven* heavens seems to be due ultimately to astral theories. The sevenfold division of the planets gave birth to the sevenfold division of earth and hell in ancient Babylonian thought, and it is exceedingly probable that this division was applied to the heavens also in ancient Babylonian religion.

In the Old Testament the conception of a plurality of the heavens is probably implicit in the Hebrew term for "heaven" (*shāmayîm*) which is plural in form. It comes to explicit expression in such phrases as "the heaven of heavens" (Deut. x. 14; 1 Kings viii. 27; Ps. cxlviii. 4), and the idea that Satan has access there to the very presence of God (Job i., ii.; cf. 1 Kings xxii. 19-22) may possibly point in the same direction.

It is, however, in the apocalyptic literature of Judaism that the conception is most fully elaborated. One of the fullest descriptions is found in the *Test. XII Patriarchs* (Levi ii. 7 f.). Here, however, as Charles and other scholars have shown, there are traces of redaction, and it is probable that the earliest (and original) form of the passage was a description of *three* heavens, and that this was transformed later by redaction into a description of the seven. Thus the earliest Hebrew idea of a plurality of Heavens, seems to have been that there were *three*, and this idea may underlie the Old Testament passages enumerated above. But by the beginning of the Christian era and subsequently the doctrine of seven heavens was

firmly established in Judaism. A detailed description, as has been said, is given of them in the *Slavonic Enoch* (first century A.D.), and it may underlie the description of the seven "ways" or stages apportioned to souls after death in 4 Ezra vii. 90-98 (end of first century A.D.). From Jewish it passed over to Christian apocalypses such as our Book. In the Babylonian Talmud (*Hag.* 12^b) there is a discussion of this subject, and the doctrine that there are seven heavens is associated with the name of Resh Lakish (c. 260 A.D.). It is there reported—

Resh Lakish said: There are seven (heavens), and these be they: Vilon (= velum, "curtain"), Raḳîa', Shēḥakîm, Zebûl, Mā'ôn, Mākhôn, 'Arābôth.

It is worth noting that in the detailed description of the seven heavens given in the *Slavonic Enoch* a place in one of them (the third) is reserved for the damned. (*Slav. Enoch* x.), and in the second are the fallen angels (ch. vii.).

When we turn to the New Testament we find clear traces of the same conception. St. Paul (2 Cor. xii. 2 f.) explicitly mentions "the third heaven" as the place of location of Paradise, which agrees with the representation of the *Slavonic Enoch*. It has been disputed whether St. Paul's conception embraced only three or seven heavens. But in view of the evidence of the *Slavonic Enoch* it seems probable that the later and more developed view lies at the background of his thought. Similarly in the Epistle to the Ephesians (i. 3, 20; ii. 6; iii. 10; and vi. 12) the remarkable phrase is used "in the heavenly (places)" or "sphere" (ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις), which certainly points in the same direction. It is remarkable that the presence of evil (evil powers) "in the

heavenly sphere" is here explicitly recognized (cf. Ephes. vi. 12, "against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly sphere"). We may also compare, in this connection, Col. i. 20: "to reconcile all things unto Himself, whether things upon the earth or things in the heavenly sphere." By "the things in the heavenly sphere" are meant probably either the fallen angels imprisoned in the second heaven, or "the powers of Satan whose domain is in the air" (cf. also Ephes. iii. 10). Christ is represented as having "ascended far above all the heavens" (cf. also Heb. iv. 14; vii. 26); and in Rev. xii. "war" in heaven is spoken of, Michael and his angels warring against Satan and his host, who are overthrown and expelled. This last feature gives expression to the religious feeling that found the presence of evil in heaven intolerable.

It can, of course, be argued, and with a considerable amount of truth, that this language of St. Paul and the other New Testament writers must not be unduly pressed. It is a striking fact that nowhere in the New Testament do we find a detailed or materialistic description of the heavenly sphere such as we meet with in some of the earlier apocalyptic writings. There is a marked absence of painful literalism. The dominant ideas behind the language are essentially spiritual. It is, no doubt, largely symbolical. Nor must it be forgotten that the tendency to spiritualize the old crude conception is marked in the late Jewish Apocalypse of Ezra (4 Ezra), the composition of which may be dated about 100 A.D. Nevertheless, even if this be so, it is obvious that the detailed doctrine is implied, and that in its fully developed form it had secured a firm place in first-century

Judaism. This conclusion is confirmed by our Book. The part with which we are at present concerned, viz. the "Vision" (vi.-xi.) was, at the earliest, composed at the latter end of the first century A.D., and probably by a Jewish Christian. It seems not improbable that the detailed account of the seven heavens here given has been influenced by the *Slavonic Enoch*. The description in our Book is, perhaps, less crude and materialistic, but obviously the conception was very much alive in certain (? Jewish and Jewish Christian) circles at the end of the first century A.D. Another point of contact between the two writings may be seen in the idea of heavenly "garments" with which the righteous will be clothed, the "garments" being the spiritual bodies which are awaiting them in heaven (cf. vii. 22; viii. 14, 26; ix. 9, 17, 24-26; xi. 40; also iv. 16). According to the *Slavonic Enoch* (xxii. 8-10) these "garments" of the blessed are to be composed of God's glory. The New Testament parallels to this idea are referred to in the notes.

A word must be said in conclusion about the very important passage, xi. 2-22, which gives the circumstances of Christ's birth of the Virgin Mary, and emphasizes the Virgin-Birth. Several scholars, including Dillmann and Schürer, regard this section as an interpolation, and for this view there is some positive ground in the fact that the section is substantially absent from the old Latin Version and the Slavonic, which omit all references to Mary and Joseph and Christ's birth. Nevertheless, the section is probably a genuine part of the original work, as Charles rightly argues from the internal evidence. The elimination of all reference to the circumstances of the Birth may easily be explained as due to dog-

matic reasons in the interests of a Docetic view of Christ. The Book certainly had an extensive circulation among heretics, and the Latin Version was preserved in these circles. We may add that it would be very extraordinary if, in a Christian writing of the latter part of the first century, which purports to narrate the vision of Isaiah about Christ and His descent from heaven to earth, no mention was made of His birth of a Virgin. The famous passage, Is. vii. 14, had received a Christian application in Jewish Christian circles, as Matt. i. shows. It is incredible that this Jewish-Christian application of the sense was unknown to the writer of the "Vision" at the end of the first century, and it would have been impossible for him to have ignored it. In any case this important section is an early attestation of the doctrine. It should be noted also that the passage, even in its complete form, reveals traces of incipient Docetism. The birth is represented as having taken place without any natural pangs. Doubtless the elimination of all reference to the birth came later, in order to satisfy the demands of the full-blown Docetic theory. The conception of the Trinity is also interesting. The Son and the Holy Spirit are worshipped (ix. 27-36), but they also worship God (ix. 39-40); and the Holy Spirit is referred to as an angel ("the Angel of the Spirit" or "the Angel of the Holy Spirit"). This representation seems also to be characteristically Jewish Christian.

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¹ An edition of the *Martyrdom* (only), by Charles, is included in the Oxford *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii. 155-162. In the German *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, ed. by Kautzsch, an edition of the *Martyrdom* (only) is included (by Beer).

SHORT TITLES, SYMBOLS AND BRACKETS USED IN THIS EDITION

1 Enoch = the Ethiopic Book of Enoch.

2 Enoch = the Slavonic Book of Enoch.

Ap. Bar. = the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch.

G denotes the lost Greek archetype of G¹ G².

G¹ denotes the lost Greek text from which EL¹ were translated, and on which the Gk. Leg. was based.

G² denotes the Greek text from which SL² were translated, of which ii. 4-iv. 2 has now been recovered.

E denotes the Ethiopic Version.

S denotes the Slavonic Version.

L¹ denotes the Latin Version from G¹ (consisting of ii. 14-iii. 13; vii. 1-19).

L² denotes the Latin Version from G² (consisting of vi.-xi.).

⌈ ⌋. The use of these brackets in the English translation of E means that the words so enclosed are found in G¹ and not in G². In certain cases the words peculiar either to G¹ or G² are derived from G.

(). The words or letters so enclosed are supplied by the editor.

* *. The words so enclosed are emendations of the text.

† †. The words so enclosed are corrupt.

[]. The words so enclosed are interpolated.

D.B. = *Dictionary of the Bible*, and *E.R.E.* = *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. Both edited by Dr. Hastings.

J.E. = *Jewish Encyclopædia*.

Presumed additions by the final editor of the whole composite work are indicated in the text of the translation by italic type.

THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH

PART I

The Martyrdom of Isaiah¹ (I. 1-III. 12).

I. 1. And it came to pass in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah that he called Manasseh his son. Now he was his only one. 2. And he called him into the presence of Isaiah the son of Amoz the prophet, and into the presence of Jôsâb² the son of Isaiah, *in order to deliver unto him the words of righteousness which the king himself had seen*: 3. *And of the eternal judgements and the torments of Gehenna³ and of the *prince* of this world,⁴ and of his angels, and his authorities and his powers,* 4. *And the words of the faith of the Beloved⁵ which he himself had seen in the fifteenth year⁶ of his reign during his illness.* 5. *And he delivered unto him the written words which Samnas the scribe had written⁷ and also those which Isaiah, the*

¹ The extracts from the Jewish *Martyrdom of Isaiah* are contained (with certain editorial additions indicated by italic type) in i. 1-iii. 12+v. 1b-14. Between these sections the *Testament of Hezekiah* (iii. 13b-iv. 18) is inserted.

² Jôsâb = (Shear)-Jashub; cf. Is. vii. 3.

³ *Gehenna*: cf. iv. 14 (not again in this book).

⁴ *Prince of this world*, i. e. Beliar; cf. ii. 4; iv. 2; x. 29.

⁵ i. e. the Messiah, a title frequently occurring in this book (and probably pre-Christian in this sense).

⁶ Cf. 2 Kings xx. 1-6; Is. xxxviii. 1-20.

⁷ *Samnas* = Shebna (so vi. 17); verses 5b-6 are a summary description of the Vision of Isaiah contained in chaps. vi.-xi.

son of Amoz, had given to him, and also to the prophets, that they might write and store up with him what he himself had seen in the king's house regarding the judgement of the angels,¹ and the destruction of this world, and regarding the garments of the saints and †their† going forth, and regarding †their† transformation and the persecution and ascension of the Beloved.

6. In the twentieth year of the reign of Hezekiah, Isaiah had seen the words of this prophecy and had delivered them to Jôsâb his son. And whilst he (Hezekiah) gave commands, Jôsâb the son of Isaiah standing by,

7. Isaiah said to Hezekiah the king, but not in the presence of Manasseh only did he say unto him : " As the Lord liveth, whose name hath not been sent into this world, and as the Beloved of my Lord liveth, and the Spirit which speaketh in me ² liveth, all these commands and these words will be made of none effect by Manasseh thy son, and through the agency of his hands I shall depart mid the torture of my body. 8. And Sammael Malchîrâ ³ will serve Manasseh, and execute all his desire, and he will become a follower of Beliar ⁴ rather than of me : 9. And many in Jerusalem and in Judæa he will cause to abandon the true faith, and Beliar will dwell in Manasseh, and by his hands I shall be

¹ The Messiah will judge the angels; cf. iv. 18, x. 12; according to one view the saints will act as the Messiah's assessors at the judgement, cf. 1 Cor. vi. 3 (1 Thess. iii. 13).

² The Holy Spirit speaks through the prophets; cf. ix. 36.

³ Sammael, originally one of the chief archangels, tempted Eve, and became the chief of the Satans and the angel of death: see further *J.E.* x. 665 f. (art. *Sammael*. For Malchira cf. Introduction, p. xvii.).

⁴ *Beliar* later identified with Satan (in the Sibyllines with Antichrist). See Introduction, p. xv ff.

sawn asunder." 10. And when Hezekiah heard these words he wept very bitterly, and rent his garments, and placed earth upon his head, and fell on his face. 11. And Isaiah said unto him: "The counsel of Sammael against Manasseh is consummated: nought will avail thee." 12. And on that day Hezekiah resolved in his heart to slay Manasseh his son. 13. And Isaiah said to Hezekiah: "The Beloved hath made of none effect thy design, and the purpose of thy heart will not be accomplished, *for with this calling have I been called and I shall inherit the heritage of the Beloved.*"

II. 1. And it came to pass after that Hezekiah died and Manasseh became king, that he did not remember the commands¹ of Hezekiah his father but forgot² them, and Sammael abode in Manasseh and clung fast to him. 2. And Manasseh forsook the service of the God of his father, and he served Satan and his angels and his powers. 3. And he turned aside the house of his father which had been before the face of Hezekiah (from) the words of wisdom and from the service of God. 4. And Manasseh turned aside his heart to serve Beliar; for the angel of lawlessness, who is the ruler³ of this world, is Beliar, whose name is Matanbûchûs.⁴ And he delighted in Jerusalem because of Manasseh, and he made him strong in apostatizing (Israel) and in the lawlessness which was spread abroad

¹ Cf. i. 6. 7.

² *forgot*, a play on the name *Manasseh* (in Hebrew); cf. Gen. xli. 51.

³ *ruler of this world is Beliar*: cf. x. 29; John xii. 31, xvi. 11 (*prince of this world*); 2 Cor. iv. 4 (*god of this world*); Ephes. vi. 12.

⁴ *Matanbûchûs*, meaning uncertain—possibly = "worthless gift" (Lücke): but cf. Introduction, p. xvi.

in Jerusalem. 5. And witchcraft¹ and magic increased, and divination and auguration, and fornication, [and adultery], and the persecution² of the righteous by Manasseh and [Belachîrâ, and] Tobia the Canaanite,³ and John of Anathoth,³ and by (Zadok) the chief of the works.³ 6. And the rest of the acts, behold they are written in the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel. 7. And, when Isaiah, the son of Amoz, saw the lawlessness which was being perpetrated in Jerusalem and the worship of Satan and his wantonness, he withdrew from Jerusalem and settled in Bethlehem of Judah. 8. And there also there was much lawlessness, and withdrawing from Bethlehem he settled on a mountain in a desert place. 9. And Micaiah⁴ the prophet, and the aged Ananias, and Joel and Habakkuk, and his son Jôsâb, and many of the faithful *who believed in the ascension into heaven*, withdrew and settled on the mountain. 10. They were all clothed with garments of hair,⁵ and they were all prophets. And they had nothing with them, but were naked, and they all lamented with a great lamentation because of the going astray of Israel. 11. And these ate nothing save wild herbs⁶ which they gathered on the mountains, and having cooked them, they lived thereon together

¹ *witchcraft*, etc.: cf. 2 Kings xxi. 6.

² Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 16.

³ Unknown.

⁴ *And Micaiah*, etc., cf. vi. 7. "The aged Ananias" may possibly be Hanani, father of Jehu, a prophet: cf. 1 Kings xvi. 1-7.

⁵ Cf. Matt. iii. 4.

⁶ Cf. 4 Ezra ix. 26; Dan. x. 2, 3. Such asceticism was one of the most esteemed ways of preparing for the reception of a divine revelation.

with Isaiah the prophet. And they spent two years of days on the mountains and hills. 12. And after this, whilst they were in the desert, there was a certain man in Samaria named Belchîrâ, of the family of Zedekiah, the son of Chenaan,¹ a false prophet, whose dwelling was in Bethlehem. Now †Hezekiah †² the son of Chanânî, who was the brother of his father, and in the days of Ahab, king of Israel, had been the teacher of the 400 prophets of Baal,³ had himself smitten⁴ and reproved Micaiah the son of Amâdâ the prophet. 13. And he, Micaiah, had been reproved by Ahab and cast into prison. (And he was) with Zedekiah the prophet: they were with Ahaziah the son of *Ahab, king in Samaria.* 14. And Elijah the prophet of Têbôn⁵ of Gilead was reproving Ahaziah and Samaria, and prophesied⁶ regarding Ahaziah that he should die on his bed of sickness, and that Samaria should be delivered into the hand of Leba Nâsr⁷ because he had slain the prophets of God. 15. And when the false prophets, who were with Ahaziah the son of Ahab and their teacher Jâlerjâs of Mount †Joel†, had heard—16. Now he was a brother of Zedekiah—when they had heard, they persuaded Ahaziah the king of †Agua-rôn †⁸ and (slew) Micaiah.

¹ For this false prophet cf. 1 Kings xxii. 11.

² Apparently a mistake for Zedekiah (*i. e.* the same person as the one just before mentioned). This Zedekiah was an uncle of Belchîrâ.

³ Cf. 1 Kings xviii. 22 (confused here with 1 Kings xxii. 6).

⁴ Cf. 1 Kings xxii. 24 (Micaiah, son of Imlah, in 1 Kings).

⁵ *Têbôn* = Thisbe, a town of Naphtali; cf. 1 Kings xvii. 1, where "of the sojourners of" is taken by LXX as = "of Thisbe."

⁶ Cf. 2 Kings i. 1-6.

⁷ Corrupt for Salmanassar.

⁸ Read *Gomorrha* with the Latin.

III. 1. *And Belchîrâ* recognized and saw the place of Isaiah and the prophets who were with him; for he dwelt in the region of Bethlehem, and was an adherent of Manasseh. And he prophesied falsely in Jerusalem, and many belonging to Jerusalem were confederate with him, and he was a Samaritan. 2. And it came to pass when Alagar Zagâr,¹ king of Assyria, had come and captured Samaria and taken the nine (and a half) tribes² captive, and led them away to the *mountains* of the Medes and the rivers of Tâzôn;³ 3. This (Belchîrâ), whilst still a youth, had escaped and come to Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, but he walked not in the ways of his father of Samaria; for he feared Hezekiah. 4. And he was found in the days of Hezekiah speaking words of lawlessness in Jerusalem. 5. And the servants of Hezekiah accused him, and he made his escape to the region of Bethlehem. And *they*⁴ persuaded . . . 6. And Balchîrâ accused Isaiah and the prophets who were with him, saying: "Isaiah and those who are with him prophesy against Jerusalem and against the cities of Judah that they shall be laid waste, and (against the children of Judah and) Benjamin also that they shall go into captivity, and also against thee, O Lord the king, that thou shalt go (bound) with hooks and iron chains:" 7. But they prophesy falsely against Israel and Judah. 8. And Isaiah himself hath said: "I see more than Moses the prophet." 9. But Moses

¹ Read *Salmanassar* with the Latin.

² *i. e.* the (northern) Kingdom of Israel; cf. 4 Ezra xiii. 40, and *Ap. Bar.* lxii. 5, etc.

³ *i. e.* Gozan: cf. 2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11.

⁴ *i. e.*? the false prophets; the missing object may be *Balchirâ* (Grenfell and Hunt).

said : " No man can see God and live " ; ¹ and Isaiah hath said : " I have seen God and, behold, I live." ² 10. Know, therefore, O king, that *he is lying* And Jerusalem also he hath called Sodom, and the princes of Judah and Jerusalem he hath declared to be the people of Gomorrah.³ And he brought many accusations against Isaiah and the prophets before Manasseh. 11. But Beliar dwelt in the heart of Manasseh and in the heart of the princes of Judah and Benjamin and of the eunuchs and of the counsellors of the king. 12. And the words of Belchirâ pleased him [exceedingly]. and he sent and seized Isaiah.

PART II (iii. 13-v. 1a)

The Testament of Hezekiah (iii. 13*b*-iv. 18).

13. For Beliar was in great wrath against Isaiah by reason of the vision, and because of the exposure wherewith he had exposed Sammael, and because through him the going forth of the Beloved from the seventh heaven had been made known, and His transformation and His descent and the likeness into which He should be transformed, (that is) the likeness of man, and the persecution wherewith He should be persecuted, and the tortures wherewith the children of Israel should torture Him, and the coming of His twelve disciples, and the teaching, and that He should before the Sabbath be crucified upon the tree, and should be crucified together with wicked men, and that He should be buried in the sepulchre. 14. And the twelve who were with Him should be offended because of Him : ⁴ and *the watch of* those who watched the

¹ Ex. xxxiii. 20. ² Is. vi. 1. ³ Cf. Is. i. 10. ⁴ Matt. xxvi. 31.

sepulchre : ¹ 15. And the descent of the angel of the Christian Church,² which is in the heavens, whom He will summon in the last days. 16. And that (Gabriel) the angel of the Holy Spirit,³ and Michael, the chief of the holy angels, on the third day will open the sepulchre : 17. And the Beloved sitting on their shoulders will come forth and send out His twelve disciples : 18. And they will teach all the nations ⁴ and every tongue of the resurrection of the Beloved, and those who believe in His cross ⁵ will be saved, and in His ascension into the seventh heaven whence He came : 19. And that many who believe in Him will speak through the Holy Spirit : 20. And many signs and wonders will be wrought in those days. 21. And afterwards, on the eve of His approach, His disciples will forsake the teaching of the Twelve Apostles, and their faith, and their love and their purity.⁶ 22. And there will be much contention ⁷ on the eve of [His advent and] His approach. 23. And in those days many will love office, though devoid of wisdom. 24. And there will be many lawless elders, and shepherds dealing wrongly by their own sheep, and they will ravage (them) owing to their not *having* holy shepherds. 25. And many will change the honour of the garments of the saints for the garments of the covetous,⁸ and there will be much respect of persons in those days and lovers of the honour of this world. 26. And there will be much slander and vainglory at the approach of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit will withdraw

¹ Cf. Matt. xxviii. 4.

² Cf. Rev. ii. 1, 8, etc.

³ Cf. iv. 21; vii. 23; ix. 36, 39, 40; x. 4; xi. 4, 33. The phrase usually means the Holy Spirit.

⁴ Cf. Matt. xxviii. 19.

⁵ Cf. ix. 26.

⁶ Cf. 1 Tim. iv. 12.

⁷ Cf. 1 Tim. iv. 1; 2 Pet. ii. 1.

⁸ Cf. 2 Tim. iii. 1, 2.

from many. 27. And there will not be in those days many prophets, nor those who speak trustworthy words, save one here and there in divers places, 28. On account of the spirit of error¹ and fornication and of vainglory, and of covetousness, which shall be in those, who will be called servants of that One² and in those who will receive that One. 29. And there will be great hatred in the shepherds and elders towards each other. 30. For there will be great jealousy in the last days; for every one will say what is pleasing in his own eyes. 31. And they will make of none effect the prophecy of the prophets which were before me,³ and *these* my visions also will they make of none effect, in order to speak after the impulse of their own heart.

IV. 1. And now Hezekiah and Jôsâb my son, *these* are the days of the *completion of the world*. 2. After it is consummated, Beliar the great ruler, the king of this world, will descend, who hath ruled it since it came into being; yea, he will descend from his firmament⁴ in the likeness of a man, a lawless king, the slayer of his mother:⁵ who himself (even) this king 3. Will persecute the plant⁶ which the Twelve Apostles of the Beloved have planted. Of the Twelve one will be delivered into

¹ Cf. 1 John iv. 6.

² *i. e.* The Beloved.

³ The false teachers repudiate the Old Testament. This rather suggests Gnostic teachers.

⁴ As distinct from the first heaven above it.

⁵ The allusion seems to be to Nero, who is identified with Antichrist: cf. *Sib. Or.* iv. 121; v. 145, 363, etc. For Antichrist as "the man of lawlessness," cf. 2 Thess. ii. 3 (R.V. *marg.*).

⁶ *i. e.* the Church. For "plant of righteousness" = Israel: cf. 1 Enoch xciii. 5.

his hands.¹ 4. This ruler in the form of that king will come and there will come with him all the powers of this world,² and they will hearken unto him in all that he desireth. 5. And at his word the sun will rise at night and he will make the moon to appear at the sixth hour.³ 6. And all that he hath desired he will do in the world : he will do and speak like the Beloved and he will say : " I am God and before me there hath been none." ⁴ 7. And all the people in the world will believe in him. 8. And they will sacrifice to him and they will serve him saying : " This is God and beside him there is no other." ⁵ 9. And the greater number of those who shall have been associated together in order to receive the Beloved, he will turn aside after him.⁶ 10. And there will be the power of his miracles in every city and region. 11. And he will set up his image⁷ before him in every city. 12. And he shall bear sway three years and seven months and twenty-seven days.⁸ 13. And many believers and saints having seen ⁹ Him for whom they were hoping, who was crucified, Jesus the Lord Christ, [after that I, Isaiah, had seen Him who was crucified and ascended] and those also who were believers in Him—of these

¹ *i. e.* probably St. Peter, who, with St. Paul, suffered martyrdom in the Neronian persecution (64–65 A.D.).

² Cf. Rev. xx. 7–9; xvi. 14.

³ Cf. 4 Ezra v. 4 (2 Thess. ii. 9; Rev. xiii. 14; xix. 20).

⁴ Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 4 (Rev. xiii. 5 f.).

⁵ Cf. Rev. xiii. 4, 8, 12.

⁶ Cf. Matt. xxiv. 24; Mark xiii. 22.

⁷ Cf. Rev. xiii. 14. Images of the Roman Emperor were set up in various cities to be worshipped.

⁸ *i. e.* 1335 days = Dan. xii. 12. The last period of three and a half years marks the reign of Antichrist.

⁹ *i. e.* personally (cf. John xx. 29); this points to the first century.

few in those days will be left ¹ as His servants, while they flee ² from desert to desert, awaiting the coming ³ of the Beloved. 14. And after (one thousand) three hundred and thirty-two ⁴ days the Lord will come with His angels and with the armies of the holy ones ⁵ from the seventh heaven with the glory of the seventh heaven, and He will drag Beliar into Gehenna ⁶ and also his armies. 15. And He will give rest ⁷ to the godly whom He shall find in the body ⁸ in this world,⁹ [and the sun will be ashamed]: 16. And to all who because of (their) faith in Him have execrated Beliar and his kings.¹⁰ But the saints will come with the Lord ¹¹ with their garments ¹² which are (now) stored up on high in the seventh heaven: with the Lord they will come, whose spirits are clothed,¹³ they will descend and be present in the world,¹⁴ and He will strengthen those who have been found in the body, together with the saints,¹⁵ in the garments of the saints, and the Lord will minister to those who have kept watch in

¹ Cf. Luke xviii. 8.

² *i. e.* from before the Antichrist; cf. Mark xiii. 14 f.; Rev. xii. 6, 14.

³ Cf. 1 Cor. i. 7; Phil. iii. 20, etc.

⁴ ? read thirty-five (1335 days); see iv. 12.

⁵ *i. e.* the angels; cf. 2 Thess. i. 7; Jude 14; 1 Enoch i, 4, 9.

⁶ Cf. Rev. xix. 20.

⁷ *i. e.* refreshment; cf. Acts iii. 19.

⁸ Cf. 1 Thess. iv. 17.

⁹ According to some apocalyptic writers they must be gathered in Palestine in order to secure the Messianic salvation; cf. 4 Ezra ix. 8; xiii. 48.

¹⁰ Cf. Rev. xvii. 12-13.

¹¹ Cf. 1 Thess. iii. 13; iv. 14.

¹² Cf. Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18; iv. 4; vi. 11, etc.

¹³ *i. e.* with spiritual bodies; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 44.

¹⁴ This is the first resurrection (of certain saints): cf. Rev. xx. 1-6.

¹⁵ *i. e.*, the glorified saints who had descended.

this world. 17. And afterwards they¹ will turn themselves upward in their garments, and their body will be left in the world. 18. Then the voice of the Beloved will in wrath rebuke the things of heaven and the things of earth and the mountains and the hills and the cities and the desert and the forests and the angel of the sun² and that of the moon, and all things wherein Beliar manifested himself and acted openly in this world, and there will be [a resurrection and] a judgement in their midst in those days, and the Beloved will cause fire³ to go forth from Him, and it will consume all the godless,⁴ and they will be as though they had not been created. 19. *And the rest of the words of the vision are written in the vision of Babylon.*⁵ 20. *And the rest of the vision regarding the Lord, behold, it is written in the parables according to my words which are written in the book which I publicly prophesied.* 21. *And the descent of the Beloved into Sheol, behold, it is written in the section, where the Lord saith: "Behold, my Son will understand."*⁶ And all these things, behold they are written [in the Psalms] in the parables⁷ of David, the son of Jesse, and in the Proverbs of Solomon his son, and in the words of Korah, and Ethan the Israelite, and in the words of Asaph, and in the rest of the Psalms also which the angel of the Spirit inspired, 22. (Namely) in those which have not the

¹ *i. e.* the saints found alive on the earth.

² Cf. Rev. xix. 17, and (for the other angels mentioned) 1 Enoch lx. 12-21; Rev. vii. 1, 2; xiv. 18. *Jubilees* ii.

³ Cf. 2 Thess. i. 8; ii. 8 (Is. xi. 4).

⁴ Cf. 4 Ezra xii. 33; xiii. 38, 49.

⁵ Cf. Is. xiii. 1 (LXX).

⁶ *i. e.* Is. lii. 13 (LXX). Perhaps the Descent was supposed to be referred to in Is. liii. 8 (Charles).

⁷ "Parables," *i. e.* songs.

name written,¹ and in the words of my father Amoz, and of Hosea the prophet, and of Micah and Joel and Nahum and Jonah and Obadiah and Habakkuk and Haggai and Zephaniah and Zechariah and Malachi, and in the words of Joseph the Just² and in the words of Daniel.

PART III (v. 1-14)

The Martyrdom of Isaiah (v. 1b-14) resumed
from iii. 12).

V. 1. *On account of these visions, therefore, Beliar was wroth with Isaiah, and he dwelt in the heart of Manasseh and he sawed him in sunder with a wooden saw.* 2. And when Isaiah was being sawn in sunder Balchîrâ stood up, accusing him, and all the false prophets stood up, laughing and rejoicing because of Isaiah. 3. And Balchîrâ, with the aid of Mechêmbêchûs,³ stood up before Isaiah, [laughing] deriding; 4. And Balchîrâ said to Isaiah: ⁴ "Say: 'I have lied in all that I have spoken, and likewise the ways of Manasseh are good and right. 5. And the ways also of Balchîrâ and of his associates are good.'" 6. And this he said to him when he began to be sawn in sunder. 7. But Isaiah was (absorbed) in a vision of the Lord, and though his eyes were open, he saw them (not). 8. And Balchîrâ spake thus to Isaiah: "Say what I say unto thee and I will turn their heart, and I will compel Manasseh and the princes of Judah and the people and all Jerusalem to reverence

¹ viz. those psalms with no ascription of authorship (e.g. Pss. i. and ii.).

² Probably a pseudepigraphic work entitled *The Prayer of Joseph*, only known from a few citations: see Hastings, *D.B.* ii. 778.

³ Cf. ii. 4 (note) = ? *Matanbûchûs*, i. e. Beliar.

⁴ Verses 4-8 contain the Temptation of Isaiah by Balchîrâ.

thee. 9. And Isaiah answered and said: "So far as I have utterance (I say): Damned and accursed be thou and all thy powers¹ and all thy house. 10. For thou canst not take (from me) aught save the skin of my body." 11. And they seized and sawed in sunder Isaiah, the son of Amoz, with a wooden saw. 12. And Manasseh and Balchîrâ and the false prophets and the princes and the people [and] all stood looking on. 13. And to the prophets who were with him he said before he had been sawn in sunder: "Go ye to the region of Tyre and Sidon; for for me only hath God mingled the cup."² 14. And when Isaiah was being sawn in sunder, he neither cried aloud nor wept, but his lips spake with the Holy Spirit until he was sawn in twain. 15. *This Beliar did to Isaiah through Balchîrâ and Manasseh; for Sammael was very wrathful against Isaiah from the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah, on account of the things which he had seen regarding the Beloved,* 16. *And on account of the destruction of Sammael, which he had seen through the Lord, while Hezekiah his father was still king. And he did according to the will of Satan.*

PART IV

The Vision of Isaiah (vi. 1-xi. 43).

THE VISION WHICH ISAIAH THE SON OF AMOZ SAW.

VI. 1. In the twentieth year of the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah, came Isaiah the son of Amoz,

¹ Balchîrâ is here addressed by Isaiah as a personification of Beliar.

² For the figure of the cup in this connection cf. Mark x. 38; xiv. 36, and parallels.

and Jôsâb, the son of Isaiah, to Hezekiah to Jerusalem "from Galgalâ". 2. And (having entered) he sat down on the couch of the king, "and they brought him a seat, but he would not sit (thereon)". 3. "And when Isaiah began to speak the words of faith and truth with King Hezekiah", all the princes of Israel were seated and the eunuchs and the councillors of the king. And there were there "forty" prophets and sons of the prophets: they had come from the villages and from the mountains and the plains when they had heard that Isaiah was coming from Galgalâ to Hezekiah. 4. "And they had come" to salute him "and to hear his words. 5. And that he might place his hands upon them," and that they might prophesy and that he might hear their prophecy: "and they were all before Isaiah." 6. And when Isaiah was speaking "to Hezekiah" the words of truth and faith, they all heard †a door which one had opened and† ¹ the voice of the Holy Spirit. 7. And the king summoned all the prophets and all the people who were found there, and they came. And Micaiah and the aged Ananias and Joel "and Jôsâb" sat on his right hand (and on the left). 8. And it came to pass when they had all heard the voice of the Holy Spirit, they all worshipped on their knees, and glorified the God "of truth", the Most High "who is in the upper world and who sitteth on high the Holy One and" who resteth among His holy ones.² 9. "And they gave glory to Him" †who had thus bestowed a door in an alien world, had bestowed (it)

¹ *A door*, etc. The text of verse 6 seems to be corrupt. Perhaps we should read with the Latin (L²): *Then he spake words of truth; the Holy Spirit came upon him, and all saw and heard words of the Holy Spirit.*

² Cf. Is. lvii. 15 (LXX).

on a man†.¹ 10. And as he was speaking in the Holy Spirit in the hearing of all, he became silent "and his mind was taken up from him" and he saw not² the men that stood before him, 11. Though his eyes, indeed, were open. Moreover, his lips were silent "and the mind in his body was taken up from him." 12. But his breath was in him; "for he was seeing a vision."³ 13. And the angel who was sent to make him see was not of this firmament,⁴ nor was he of the angels of glory of this world, but he had come from the seventh heaven." 14. And the people who stood near did (not) think, but †the circle of the prophets (did)†,⁵ that the holy Isaiah had been taken up. 15. And the vision which the holy Isaiah saw was not from this world but from the world which is hidden from the flesh. 16. And after Isaiah had seen this vision, he narrated it to Hezekiah, and to Jôsâb his son "and to the other prophets who had come. 17. But the leaders and the eunuchs and the people did not hear, but only Samna⁶ the scribe, and †Ijôaqêm, and†⁷ Asaph the recorder; for these also were doers of righteousness, and the †sweet smell†⁸ of the Spirit was upon them. But the people had not heard; for Micaiah and Jôsâb his son had caused them to go forth, when the wisdom of this world had been taken from him and he became as one dead.

¹ *who had thus bestowed, etc.* Text corrupt: read with Charles *who had thus bestowed such excellence of words on a man in the world.*

² Cf. v. 7. ³ A description of the ecstatic state.

⁴ The abode of Beliar; cf. iv. 2.

⁵ Corrupt: read *The prophets recognized.*

⁶ = *Samnas* (i. 5), i. e. *Shebna*.

⁷ ? read *Joah the son of (Asaph)*; cf. Is. xxxvi. 3 (Charles).

⁸ or *good pleasure* (= *εὐδοκία*): so Charles.

VII. 1. And the vision which Isaiah saw, he told to Hezekiah and Jôsâb his son^π and Micaiah and the rest of the prophets, (and) said: 2. *At this moment*, when I prophesied according to the (words) heard which ye heard, I saw a glorious angel not like unto the glory of the angels which I used always to see, but possessing such glory and †position† that I cannot describe ^πthe glory^π ^πof that angel^π. 3. And having seized me by my hand *he raised me on high*, and I said unto him: "Who art thou, and what is thy name, and whither art thou raising me on high?" For strength was given me to speak with him. 4. And he said unto me: "When I have raised thee on high [through the (various) degrees] and made thee see the vision, on account of which I have been sent, then thou wilt understand who I am: but my name thou dost not know: 5. Because thou wilt return into this thy body, but whither I am raising thee on high, thou wilt see; ^πfor for this purpose have I been sent."^π 6. And I rejoiced because he spake courteously to me. 7. And he said unto me: "Hast thou rejoiced because I have spoken courteously to thee?" And he said: "And thou wilt see how a greater also than I am will speak courteously and peaceably with thee. 8. And †His Father also who is greater†¹ thou wilt see; for for this purpose have I been sent from the seventh heaven in order to explain all these things unto thee." 9. And we ascended to the firmament, I and he,² and there I saw Sammael and his hosts, and there was great fighting therein,

¹ Read *One more eminent man the Greater Himself* (Charles).

² Cf. the ascent of Abraham and the angel, and the meeting with Azazel, in *Ap. Abraham*, ch. xii. foll.

and the *angels* of Satan were envying one another. 10. And as above so on the earth also; for the likeness of that which is in the firmament is here on the earth. 11. And I said unto the angel (who was with me): “(What is this war and) what is this envying?” 12. And he said unto me: “So hath it been since this world was made until now, and this war (will continue) till He, whom thou shalt see will come and destroy him. 13. And afterwards he caused me to ascend (to that which is) above the firmament: which is the (first) heaven. 14. And there I saw a throne ¹ in the midst, and on his right and on his left were angels. 15. ¶And (the angels on the left were) not like unto the angels who stood on the right², but those who stood on the right had the greater glory, and they all praised with one voice, ¶and there was a throne ³ in the midst⁴, and those who were on the left gave praise after them; but their voice was not such as the voice of those on the right, nor their praise like the praise of those. 16. And I asked the angel who conducted me, and I said unto him: “To whom is this praise sent?” 17. And he said unto me: “(It is sent) to the praise of (Him who sitteth in) the seventh heaven: to Him †who resteth in the holy world†,⁴ and to His Beloved, whence I have been sent to thee. [Thither is it sent.]” 18. And again he made me to ascend to the second heaven. Now the height of that heaven is the same as from the heaven to the earth

¹ ? “an angel belonging to the order called ‘Thrones’” (Charles); cf. Col. i. 16; Test. Lev. iii. 8.

² For the superiority of right to left, cf. vii. 29, 30, 33, 34, and see further *J.E.* x. 419 f. (art. *right and left*).

³ *i. e.* ? an angel.

⁴ = ? to Him who inhabiteth eternity (Is. lvii. 15): cf. vi. 8.

[and to the firmament]. 19. And (I saw there, as) in the first heaven, angels on the right and on the left, ¶and a throne in the midst, and the praise of the angels in the second heaven; and he who sat on the throne in the second heaven was more glorious than all (the rest).¶ 20. And there was great glory in the second heaven, and the praise also was not like the praise of those who were in the first heaven. 21. And I fell on my face to worship him,¹ but the angel who conducted me did not permit me, but said unto me : “ Worship neither throne nor angel which belongeth to the six heavens—for for this cause I was sent to conduct thee—until I tell thee ¶in the seventh heaven¶. 22. For above all the heavens and their angels hath thy throne been placed, and thy garments ² and thy crown which thou shalt see.” 23. And I rejoiced with great joy, that those who love the Most High and His Beloved will afterwards ascend thither by the angel of the Holy Spirit. 24. And he raised me to the third heaven, and in like manner I saw those upon the right and upon the left, and there was a throne there in the midst; but the memorial of this world is there unheard of. 25. ¶And I said to the angel who was with me;¶ for the glory of my appearance was undergoing transformation as I ascended to each heaven in turn : “ Nothing ¶of the vanity¶ of that world is here named.” 26. And he answered me, and said unto me : “ Nothing is named on account of its weakness, and nothing is hidden there of what is done.” 27. ¶And I wished to learn how it is known, and he answered me saying : “ When I have raised thee to the seventh heaven whence I was sent, to that which is above these,

¹ Cf. Rev. xix. 10; xxii. 8, 9.² Cf. iv. 16.

then thou shalt know that there is nothing hidden from the thrones and from those who dwell in the heavens and from the angels."¶ And the praise wherewith they praised and the glory of him who sat on the throne was great, ¶and the glory of the angels on the right hand and on the left was beyond that of the heaven which was below them¶. 28. And again he raised me to the fourth heaven, and the height from the third to the fourth heaven was greater than from the earth to the firmament. 29. And there again I saw those who were on the right hand and those who were on the left, ¶and him who sat on the throne (who) was in the midst¶, and there also they were praising. 30. And the praise and glory of the angels on the right was greater than that of those on the left. 31. And again the glory of him who sat on the throne was greater than that of the angels on the right, and their glory was beyond that of those who were below. 32. And he raised me to the fifth heaven. 33. And again I saw ¶those upon the right hand and on the left, and him who sat on the throne possessing greater glory than those of the fourth heaven¶. 34. And the glory of those on the right hand was greater than that of those ¶on the left [from the third to the fourth]. 35. And the glory of him who was on the throne was greater than that of the angels on the right hand¶. 36. And their praise was more glorious than that of the fourth heaven. 37. ¶And I praised Him, who is not named and the Only-begotten¶ ¹ who dwelleth in the heavens, whose name is not known to any flesh, who hath bestowed such glory on the several heavens, ¶and who maketh great the glory of the angels, and

¹ Cf. John i. 16, 18; iii. 16, 18.

more excellent the glory of Him who sitteth on the throne¹.

VIII. 1. And again he raised me into the air of the sixth heaven, and I saw such glory as I had not seen in the five heavens. 2. *For I saw* angels possessing great glory. 3. And the praise there was holy and wonderful. 4. And I said to the angel who conducted me: "What is this which I see, my Lord?" 5. And he said: "I am not thy lord, but thy fellow-servant."¹ 6. And again I asked him, and I said unto him: "Why are there not angelic fellow-servants (on the left)?"² 7. And he said: "From the sixth heaven there are no longer *angels* on the left, nor a throne set in the midst, but (they are directed) by the power of the seventh heaven, where dwelleth He that is not named² 8. "and the Elect One, whose name hath not been made known, and none of the heavens can learn His name".³ 8. For it is He alone to whose voice all the heavens and thrones give answer. I have "therefore been empowered and" sent to raise thee here that thou mayest see this glory. 9. And that thou mayest see the Lord of all those heavens and these thrones, 10. "Undergoing (successive) transformation until He resembleth your form and likeness." 11. I indeed say unto thee, Isaiah; No man about to return into a body of that world hath "ascended or" seen what thou seest or perceived what thou hast perceived and what thou wilt see. 12. For it hath been permitted to thee in the lot of the Lord to come hither⁴ [and from thence cometh the power of the sixth heaven and of the air]." 13. And I

¹ Cf. Rev. xix. 10; xxii. 8, 9.

² *i. e.* The Ineffable.

³ Cf. Rev. ii. 17; xix. 12.

⁴ *i. e.* the seventh heaven.

magnified my Lord with praise, in that through His lot I should come hither. 14 And he said : " "Hear, furthermore, therefore, this also from thy fellow-servant"; when from the body by the *will of God* thou hast ascended hither, then thou wilt receive the garment ¹ "which thou seest, and likewise other numbered garments laid up (there) thou wilt see", 15. And then thou wilt become equal to the angels of the seventh heaven." 16. And he raised me up into the sixth heaven, and there were no (angels) on the left, nor a throne in the midst, but all had one appearance ² and their (power of) praise was equal. 17. And (power) was given to me also, and I also praised along with them and that angel also,³ and our praise was like theirs. 18. And there they †all named the primal Father† and His Beloved, "the Christ" and the Holy Spirit, all with one voice. 19. And (their voice) was not like the voice of the angels in the five heavens, 20. [Nor like their discourse] but the voice was different there, and there was much light there. 21. And then, when I was in the sixth heaven I thought the light which I had seen in the five heavens to be but darkness.⁴ 22. And I rejoiced and praised Him who hath bestowed such lights on those who wait for His promise. 23. And I besought the angel who conducted me that I should not henceforth

¹ Cf. viii. 26; ix. 9, 24, 25; xi. 3, 5.

² Cf. 2 Enoch xix. 1.

³ Cf. *Ap. Abraham* xvii., where Abraham and the conducting angel join in a song of praise in heaven.

⁴ The light referred to is no doubt the uncreated light of the Divine Glory, which is a well-known feature in the Midrashic literature; cf. also *Ap. Abraham*, ch. xvii.; Rev. xxi. 23; xxii. 5. [But this light has its centre in the seventh heaven; cf. verse 25 a few lines lower down.]

return to the carnal world. 24. I say indeed unto you, "Hezekiah and Jôsâb my son and Micaiah" that there is much darkness here. 25. And the angel who conducted me discovered what I thought, and said: "If in this light thou dost rejoice, how much more wilt thou rejoice, when in the seventh heaven thou seest the light, where is the Lord and His Beloved [whence I have been sent, who is to be called 'Son' in this world. 26. Not (yet) hath been manifested He who shall be in the corruptible world]¹ and the garments, and the thrones, and the crowns which are laid up for the righteous, "for those who trust in that Lord who will descend in your form. For the light which is there is great and wonderful". 27. And as concerning thy not returning into the body thy days are not yet fulfilled for coming here." 28. And when I heard (that) I was troubled, and he said: "Do not be troubled."

IX. 1. And he took me into the air of the seventh heaven, and moreover I heard a voice saying: "How far will he ascend that dwelleth *in the flesh*?" and I feared and trembled. 2. And "when I trembled, behold" *I heard* from hence² another voice "being sent forth, and" saying: "It is permitted to the holy Isaiah to ascend hither, for here is his garment." 3. And I asked the angel who was with me "and said": "Who is he who forbade me and who is he who *permitted* me to ascend?" 4. And he said unto me: "He who forbade thee, this is he *who is over* the praise-giving of the sixth heaven. 5. And He who *permitted* thee, this is "thy Lord God, the Lord Christ, who will

¹ Omit bracketed words (Charles).

² rather, *from above*, i. e. from the seventh heaven.

be called ' Jesus ' in the world¹, but His name ¹ thou canst not hear till thou hast ascended out of thy body." 6. And he raised me up into the seventh heaven, and I saw there a wonderful light and angels innumerable. 7. And there I saw all the righteous "from the time of Adam. 8. And there I saw the holy Abel and all the righteous. 9. And there I saw Enoch and all who were with him², stript of the garments of the flesh, and I saw them in their garments of the upper world, and they were "like angels³,² standing there in great glory. 10. But they sat not on their thrones,³ nor were their crowns ⁴ of glory on them. 11. And I asked the angel who was with me : " How is it that they have received the garments, but have not the thrones and the crowns ? " 12. And he said unto me : 13. " Crowns and thrones of glory they do not receive, till the Beloved will descend in the form in which you will see Him descend "[will descend, I say] into the world in the last days the Lord, who will be called Christ⁴. Nevertheless, they "see and" know whose will be thrones, and whose the crowns when He hath descended, and been made in your form, "and they will think that He is flesh and is a man⁴. 14. And the god of that world will stretch forth *his hand against the Son,* and they will crucify Him on a tree, and will *slay* Him not knowing who He is. 15. And thus His descent, "as you will see, will be hidden even from the heavens, so that it will not

¹ *i. e.* His heavenly name; cf. Rev. xix. 12, and see viii. 7 of this book.

² Cf. Matt. xxii. 30; *Ap. Bar.* li. 5, 12.

³ Cf. Rev. iii. 21; Luke xxii. 29, 30; Matt. xix. 28.

⁴ *i. e.* as victors; cf. Rev. ii. 10; iii. 11; iv. 4; Jas. i. 12; 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

be known who He is¹. 16. And when He hath plundered the angel of death,¹ He will ascend on the third day, [and he will remain in that world five hundred and forty-five days].² 17. And then many of the righteous will ascend³ with Him, whose spirits do not receive their garments⁴ till the "Lord Christ" ascend⁵ and they ascend with Him. 18. Then, indeed, they will receive their [garments and] thrones and crowns, when He hath ascended into the "seventh" heaven. 19. And I said unto him that which I had asked him in the third heaven: 20. " *Show me how* everything which is done in that world is here made known." 21. And whilst I was still speaking with him, behold one of the angels who stood nigh, more glorious than the glory of that angel who had raised me up from the world, 22. Showed me a book, [but not as a book of this world] and he opened it, and the book was written, but not as a book of this world.⁶ And he gave (it) to me and I read it, and lo ! the deeds of the children of Israel were written therein, and the deeds of those whom *I* know (not), my son Jôsâb. 23. And I said: " In truth, there is nothing hidden in the seventh heaven, which is done in this world." 24. And I saw there many garments laid up, and many thrones and many crowns. 25. And I said to the angel:

¹ The " harrowing of Hell " was effected, according to the Latin *Gospel of Nicodemus* (Part ii.) by the descent of Christ into Hades; cf. Rev. xx. 13 (Matt. xxvii. 52 f.).

² A Gnostic interpolation (Charles).

³ viz. from Hades.

⁴ i. e. their spiritual bodies.

⁵ viz. to heaven.

⁶ i. e. one of the heavenly books; these were to be opened at the judgement; cf. Dan. vii. 10; cf. also in the N.T., Rev. iii. 5; xiii. 8; xvii. 8, and often (" the book of life ").

“ Whose are these garments and thrones and crowns ? ”

26. And he said unto me : “ These garments many from that world will receive, believing in the words of That One, “who shall be named” as I told thee, “and they will observe those things, and believe in them, and believe in His cross : for them are *these* laid up.” 27. And I saw a certain One ¹ “standing, whose glory surpassed that of all,” and His glory was great “and wonderful. 28. And after I had seen Him,” all the righteous whom I had seen “and also the angels whom I had seen” came to Him. “And Adam and Abel and Seth, and all the righteous first drew near” and worshipped Him, and they all praised Him with one voice, “and I myself also gave praise with them,” and my giving of praise was as theirs. 29. And then all the angels drew nigh and worshipped and gave praise. 30. And *I* was (again) transformed ² and became like an angel. 31. And thereupon the angel who conducted me, said to me : “ Worship this One,” and I worshipped and praised. 32. And the angel said unto me : “ This is the Lord of all the praisegivings which thou hast seen.” 33. And whilst *he* was still speaking, I saw another Glorious One ³ who was like Him, and the righteous drew nigh and worshipped and praised, and I praised together with them. But *my* glory was not transformed into accordance with their form. 34. And thereupon the angels drew near and worshipped Him. 35. And I saw the Lord and the second angel, and they were standing. 36. And the second whom

¹ Christ is meant. Note the emphasis laid on the worship of Him in heaven.

² Cf. vii. 25. Isaiah underwent successive transformations.

³ The Third Person of the Godhead (Charles).

I saw was on the left of my Lord. And I asked : " Who is this ? " and he said unto me : " Worship Him, for He is the angel of the Holy Spirit, who *speaketh* in thee and the rest of the righteous." 37. And I saw the great glory, the eyes of my spirit being open, and I could not thereupon see,¹ nor yet could the angel who was with me, nor all the angels whom I had seen worshipping my Lord. 38. But I saw the righteous ² beholding with great power the glory of that One. 39. And my Lord drew nigh to me and the angel of the Spirit "and He said : " See how it is given to thee to see God, and on thy account power is given to the angel who is with thee." 40. And I saw how my Lord and the angel of the Spirit" worshipped, and they both together praised "God". 41. And thereupon all the righteous "drew near and" worshipped. 42. And the angels "drew near and" worshipped and all the angels praised.

X. 1. And thereupon I heard the voices and the giving of praise, which I had heard in each of the six heavens, ascending *and being heard* there : 2. And all "were being sent up to that Glorious One" whose glory I could not behold. 3. "And I myself was hearing and beholding the praise (which was given) to Him. 4. And the Lord and the angel of the Spirit were beholding all and hearing all". 5. And all the praises which are sent up from the six heavens ³ are not only heard but seen. 6. And "I heard" the angel "who conducted me and" he said : " This is the Most High of the high ones, dwelling

¹ *saw . . . could not see* : i. e. saw for a moment, but could not steadfastly behold. By "the Great Glory," is meant the First Person : cf. 1 Enoch xiv. 20.

² *i. e.* the glorified righteous ; cf. Rev. xxii. 4. -

³ Cf. vii. 16-17.

in the holy world,¹ and resting in His holy ones, who will be called by the Holy Spirit through the lips of the righteous "the Father of the Lord". 7. And I heard the voice of the Most High "the Father of my Lord" saying to my Lord "Christ who will be called Jesus": 8. "Go forth and descend through all the heavens, and Thou wilt descend to "the firmament and" that world: to the angel in Sheol² Thou wilt descend, "but to Haguel³ Thou wilt not go". 9. And Thou wilt become like unto the likeness of all who are in the five heavens. 10. "And Thou wilt be careful to become like the form of the angels of the firmament [and the angels also who are in Sheol]". 11. And none of the angels of that world shall know⁴. "that Thou art Lord with Me of the seven heavens and of their angels. 12. And they shall not know that Thou art with Me, *till* with a *loud* voice⁵ I have called (to) the heavens, and their angels and their lights, (even) unto the sixth heaven, in order that Thou mayst" judge "and destroy" the †princes† and angels "and gods" of that world,⁶ and the world that is dominated by them: 13. For they have denied Me and said: 'We alone are, and there is none beside us.'⁷ 14. And afterwards from the *angels* of death Thou wilt ascend to Thy place, and Thou wilt not be transformed in each heaven, but in glory wilt Thou ascend and sit on My right hand. 15. And thereupon the princes and powers

¹ Based on Is. lvii. 15 (LXX); cf. vi. 8.

² *Sheol* = Hades: and "the Angel in Sheol" = the Angel of Death.

³ *Haguel* = Abaddon or Gehenna (the abode of the lost).

⁴ Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 8.

⁵ *viz.* at the day of Judgement,

⁶ Cf. John xvi. 11,

⁷ Cf. Is. xlvii. 8.

†of that world† will worship Thee.”¹ 16. These commands I heard the Great Glory giving to my Lord. 17. And †so† I saw my Lord go forth from the seventh heaven into the sixth heaven. 18. And the angel who conducted me [from this world was with me and] said unto me : “ Understand, Isaiah, and see how the transformation and descent of the Lord *will appear*.” 19. And I saw, and when the angels saw Him, “thereupon those in the sixth heaven” praised and lauded Him; for He had not been transformed after the shape of the angels there, “and they praised Him” and I also praised with them. 20. And I saw when He descended into the fifth heaven, that in the fifth heaven He made Himself like unto the form of the angels there, and they did not praise Him (nor worship Him); for His form was like unto theirs. 21. And then He descended into the fourth heaven, and made Himself like unto the form of the angels there. 22. And “when they saw Him”, they did not praise “or laud Him”; for His form was like unto their form. 23. And again I saw when He descended into the third heaven, “and He made Himself like unto the form of the angels in the third heaven. 24. And those who kept the gate of the (third) heaven demanded the password,² and the Lord gave (it) to them in order that He should not be recognized. And when they saw Him, they did not praise or laud Him; for His form was like unto their form. 25. And again I saw when He descended into the second heaven, “and again He gave the password² there; those who kept the gate proceeded to demand and the Lord to give. 26. And I saw when He made Himself like unto the

¹ Cf. Heb. i. 6.² or *sign*.

form of the angels in the second heaven, and they saw Him and they did not praise Him; for His form was like unto their form. 27. And, again, I saw when He descended[¶] into the first heaven, [¶]and there also He gave the password¹ to those who kept the gate, and He made Himself like unto the form of the angels who were on the left of that throne[¶], and they neither praised nor lauded Him; for His form was like unto their form. [¶]28. But as for me no one asked me on account of the angel who conducted me[¶]. 29. And again He descended into the firmament [¶]where dwelleth the ruler of this world[¶], and He gave the password¹ [¶]to those on the left[¶], and His form was like theirs, and they did not praise Him there; [¶]but they were envying one another and fighting; for here there is a power of evil and envying about trifles[¶]. 30. And I saw when He descended [¶]and made Himself like[¶] unto the angels of the air, and He was like one of them. 31. And He gave no password; ¹ [¶]for one was plundering and doing violence to another.[¶]

XI. 1. After this [¶]I saw, and [¶]the angel [¶]who spoke with me, who conducted me[¶], said unto me: "Understand, Isaiah, son of Amoz; for for this purpose have I been sent from God." 2. ² [¶]And I, indeed, saw a woman of the family of David³ the prophet, named Mary, a Virgin, and she was espoused to a man named Joseph, a carpenter, and he also was of the seed and family of the righteous David of Bethlehem

¹ or *sign*.

² xi. 2-22 are wanting in the Latin version (L²) and in the Slavonic. But the whole section appears to be original.

³ The Davidic descent of the Virgin Mary is here explicitly asserted. This belief has very early attestation; cf. Justin Martyr, *Trypho* c. xliii., xlv., c. etc.

Judah. 3. And he came into his lot. And when she was espoused, she was found with child, and Joseph the carpenter was desirous to put her away.¹ 4. But the angel of the Spirit appeared in this world, and after that Joseph did not put her away, but kept Mary and did not reveal this matter to any one. 5. And he did not approach Mary, but kept her as a holy virgin, though with child. 6. And he did not live with her for two months. 7. And after two months of days while Joseph was in his house, and Mary his wife, but both alone—8. It came to pass that when they were alone Mary straightway looked with her eyes and saw a small babe, and she was astonished.² 9. And after she had been astonished, her womb was found as formerly before she had conceived. 10. And when her husband Joseph said unto her : “ What has astonished thee ? ” his eyes were opened and he saw the infant and praised God, because into his portion God had come. 11. And a voice came to them : “ Tell this vision to no one.”³ 12. And the story regarding the infant was noised abroad in Bethlehem. 13. Some said : “ The Virgin Mary hath borne a child before she was married two months.” 14. And many said : “ She hath not borne a child, nor hath a midwife gone up (to her), nor have we heard the cries of (labour) pains.” And they were all blinded respecting Him and they all knew regarding Him, though they knew not whence He was.⁴ 15. And they took Him, and went to Nazareth in Galilee. 16. And I saw, O Hezekiah and Jôsâb my son, and I declare to the other prophets also who are standing by, that (this)

¹ Cf. Matt. i. 20 f.

³ Cf. *op. cit.* xx. (end),

² Cf. *Protev. Jacobi* xix.

⁴ Cf. John vii. 27.

hath escaped all the heavens and all the princes and all the gods of this world.¹ 17. And I saw: In Nazareth He sucked the breast as a babe and as is customary in order that He might not be recognized. 18. And when He had grown up He worked great signs and wonders in the land of Israel and of Jerusalem. 19. And after this the adversary envied Him and roused the children of Israel against Him², not knowing who He was, "and they delivered Him to the king, and crucified Him, and He descended to the angel (of Sheol). 20. In Jerusalem, indeed, I saw Him being crucified on a tree: 21. And likewise after the third day rise again and remain days. 22. And the angel who conducted me said: "Understand, Isaiah:" and I saw when He sent out the Twelve Apostles² and ascended³. 23. And I saw Him, and He was in the firmament, but He had not changed Himself into their form, and all the angels of the firmament "and the Satans" saw Him³ and they worshipped. 24. And "there was much sorrow there, while" they said: "How did our Lord descend *in our midst*, and we perceived not the glory [which hath been upon Him], which we see hath been upon Him from the sixth heaven?" 25. And He ascended into the second heaven, and He did not transform Himself, but all the angels who were on the right and on the left and the throne in the midst 26. Both worshipped Him and praised Him and said: "How did our Lord escape us whilst descending, and we perceived not?" 27. And in like manner He

¹ Cf. Ignatius *ad Ephes.* xix.: *And hidden from the prince of this world were the virginity of Mary, and her child-bearing, and likewise also the death of the Lord*: cf. also 1 Cor. ii. 7, 8.

² Cf. iii. 17; Matt. xxviii. 18 f.; Acts i. 8 f.

³ *all the angels . . . saw Him*: cf. 1 Tim. iii. 16,

ascended into the third heaven, "and they praised and said in like manner." 28. And in the fourth heaven and in the fifth "also they said precisely after the same manner. 29. But there was one glory, and from it He did not change Himself. 30. And I saw when He ascended" into the sixth heaven, "and they worshipped and glorified Him". 31. But in all the heavens the praise increased (in volume). 32. And I saw how He ascended into the seventh heaven, and all the righteous and all the angels praised Him. And then I saw Him sit down on the right hand of that Great Glory¹ whose glory I told you that I could not behold. 33. And also the angel of the Holy Spirit I saw sitting on the left hand.² 34. And this angel said unto me: "Isaiah, son of Amoz, *it is enough for thee*; "for these are great things"; for thou hast seen what no child of flesh hath seen. 35. And thou wilt return into thy garment (of the flesh) until thy days are completed.³ Then thou wilt come hither." 36. These things Isaiah saw and told unto all that stood before him, and they praised. And he spake to Hezekiah the King, "and said": "I have spoken these things." 37. Both the end of this world; 38. And all this vision will be consummated in the last generations. 39. And Isaiah made him swear that he would not tell (it) to the people of Israel, nor give these words to any man to transcribe. 40. . . . *Such things* ye will read. And watch ye in the Holy Spirit in order that ye may receive your garments and thrones and crowns of glory which are laid up in the "seventh" heaven. 41. *On account of these visions and prophecies Sammael Satan sawed in sunder Isaiah the*

¹ Cf. ix. 37; x. 16.² Cf. ix. 36.³ Cf. viii. 27.

son of Amoz, the prophet, by the hand of Manasseh. 42. And all these things Hezekiah delivered to Manasseh in the twenty-sixth year. 43. But Manasseh did not remember them nor place these things in his heart, but becoming the servant of Satan he was destroyed:

Here endeth the vision of Isaiah the prophet with his ascension.

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ARCHANGEL MICHAEL AS 'ICON' IN THE BYZANTINE AND POST-BYZANTINE PERIODS

by

RAITA STEYN

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Ms Annali Cabano-Dempsey

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To my parents



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INTRODUCTION

In the year 330 A.D., the East Roman Empire became the Byzantine Empire and in the process, three different basic cultural components, Hellenism, Roman Civilization and Christianity (including Judaism), merged into a new civilization.¹ Byzantine culture and art are essentially religious in character and the primary aim of Byzantine art was to capture that which was holy and mysterious in a concrete form such as icons, murals, and architecture.²

This dissertation will focus on the perception of Archangel Michael as an ‘icon’ in the pure Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Orthodox context of a ‘theological art picture; a religious, sacred image’, subject to the theological and artistic Byzantine prescriptions.³

Indeed, Archangel Michael was arguably the most popular and venerated figure among the Judeo-Christian angels, saints, and arch-fathers (of the Byzantine Church) and in Greek society. He was hugely popular across the entire spectrum of Greek society, but especially amongst the Byzantine youth. So much so, for example, that young students venerated him in order to pass their exams, young advocates venerated him so that they may have rich clients, and soldiers venerated him so that they may win their battles. Even the Imperial family elevated him, as leader of the heavenly army, to a status equivalent to that of Emperor. He was eventually venerated by all mortals as the guardian of Paradise and collector of souls.⁴ Because of his broad overall popularity in Greek society in general, we have to specifically examine the functions and status of Michael as ‘icon’ in a Greek Orthodox context.

One cannot however ignore the fact that contemporary society has ‘created’ a similar phenomenon called the modern day icon: “*someone greatly admired, often seen as a*

¹ Savvides & Hendrickx, *Introducing Byzantine History*, Paris, 2001, pp. 29-31.

² Yanagi, M., Takahashi, E., Tsusuka, S., & Nagatsuka, Y., *Byzantium*, London, 1978, pp. 7-13.

³ Theunissen W. P., *Ikonen*, Den Haag (no date) – Hendrix, P., Skrobucha H & Janssens, A. M., *Ikonen*, Amsterdam/Brussels, 1960 – Zografidis, G., *Βυζαντινή φιλοσοφία της εικόνας* (2nd ed.), Athens, 1997.

⁴ Hendrickx, B., “Agathias se epigramme oor ‘ikone’,” in *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 5, 1994, pp. 66-75. – Danforth L. M., *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1982.

perfect example or an idealised role model".⁵ It would therefore be interesting to see how these modern day icons compare to Michael.

1. Research Aims and Justification

This study aims to provide a clean and scholarly sound explanation of why and how Archangel Michael became the main 'icon' in Greek society for more than ten centuries.⁶ No such study has ever been undertaken and I am convinced that a study like this will contribute greatly to the understanding of the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine value system, mentality and worldview.

2. Problem Statements

a. Iconography

In a Byzantine and Post-Byzantine context, serious consideration must be given to the question 'What exactly contributed to the 'iconic status' of Michael?' To fully address this question, we need to look at the following:

- Did traditional Byzantine iconography play a part in the role model status and/or functions of Michael?
- Was this iconography influenced by Michael's status and if so, how and to what extent?

b. Syncretism

- Did syncretism play a role in Michael's 'icon' status?
- Did (and how) ancient pagan elements blend in with the Biblical and Christian traditions?
- Did the Christian 'promise of paradise' alter the negative image of Charon⁷ into a figure capable of bridging earthly life with the eternal one?

⁵ Collins, *Today's English Dictionary*, London, 1995, p. 388 – (Compare also Eco, U., *On Beauty*, London, 2004, pp. 418 – 430.)

⁶ Zografidis, *Βυζαντινή* – Tsakiridis, L., *Παμμέγιστοι Ταξίαρχαι Μιχαήλ και Γαβριήλ (Οι Αρχάγγελοι)*, Κατερίνη (2nd ed.), 2001.

⁷ For a definition, see Hyperidis, "Αυτοκράτορες", *Εγκυκλοπαιδικόν λεξικόν Ελευθερουδάκη*, vol. VIII, Athens, 1930, pp. 376-377: Charon, also known as Charos, Charondas or Haros.

c. The different roles attributed to Michael

- How did the different ‘roles’ attributed to Michael fit in with his status and did this status enhance his popularity?

d. Contemporary Icons

- In this modern day, what elevates an ordinary person to the status of ‘icon’?
- Can the ‘icon’ of today be compared to the Byzantine icon of Michael?

3. Methodology

A combination of socio-historical, anthropological and literary approaches will be applied within a contextual (such as texts and icons) analysis, to highlight the socio-historical and artistic religious relationships between the different interpretations of the term ‘icon’ (also against a literary background). The relationship between the perceptions/concepts, both in a Byzantine and Post–Byzantine context, will be examined.

For the period under consideration, a broad spectrum of Byzantine and Post–Byzantine sources will be used: icono-hagiography (icons, murals, mosaics), literary sources (poems, inscriptions, graffiti) and laography (study of folklore; *in casu* recorded visions and dreams) as well as an eclectic and exemplary selection of important and representative pictorial, literary and laographic ‘images’ of Archangel Michael. For the Byzantine iconographic stereotypes and their theological meaning,⁸ the 18th Century text of the *Ερμηνεία της ζωγραφικής τέχνης*, by Dionysius of Fournà, is most important.⁹

4. Structure

This dissertation will consist of seven chapters in the following order:

Chapter 1

The first chapter will present the terminology and meaning of icons and angels in general with special attention on the Byzantine and Post–Byzantine society.

⁸ Romaïos, K., *Κοντά στις ρίζες*, Athens, 1980 – See also Danforth, *The death rituals*.

⁹ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, A. (ed.), *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά: Ερμηνεία της ζωγραφικής τέχνης*, Thessaloniki, 2004.

Chapter 2

In this chapter a historical overview of the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Orthodox society and the degree of importance of iconography and hagiography therein will be discussed. Essential historical events will be examined in terms of religious, social, cultural and political influences with special attention to influences and transformation of pagan themes on early Christian art with regard to the Byzantine iconography and hagiography.

Chapter 3

It will mainly examine the artistic and symbolic iconographic representation of Archangel Michael in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine periods while referring to the writings of Dionysius of Fournas.

Chapter 4

This chapter invites us to analyse the conceptualisation, characteristics and functions of Archangel Michael in the Post-Byzantine Period.

Chapter 5

Chapter five will present a critical overview and discussion of funeral laments and death rites in the Orthodox Greek Society as well as the role which Archangel Michael played in that context. We will also see how mythological figures such as Charon, Hades and Thanatos, blend in with the Biblical and Apocalyptic image of Archangel Michael.

Chapter 6

The Byzantine society consisted of a diverse group of people who shared more or less a similar culture; therefore, this study will include various elements found on Archangel Michael in Ancient Greek, Roman, Judaic, Christian and Islamic civilisations. This is of utmost importance as these elements may have been absorbed in the Post-Byzantine Orthodox society as a result of syncretism, synthesis and parallelism.

Chapter 7

In the final chapter we will examine and compare the parallelisms found in the Post-Byzantine ‘icon’ with those in the modern – day society. Lastly, this will be followed by a conclusion.

* * * * *



Chapter 1

Icons and Angels

In this chapter the terms *icon* and *angel* will be defined and analysed in their historical and socio-cultural context. This is especially important in order to comprehend Michael's position in the hierarchical order of angels, who have always played a very significant role in the Orthodox iconography. Moreover, modern interpretations of these terms will be discussed.

1. The term 'icon': etymology and early references

The term 'icon' indirectly derived from the Greek verb 'εἰκέναι' which means 'to be like', and directly from the noun 'εἰκών', which means 'image, a likeness, portrait' or 'similitude, semblance, simile' also 'form, appearance; statue'.¹ It therefore indicates an image or likeness, usually of a religious subject.



In the Septuagint,² the word 'icon' was used to refer not only to man who was created in the image of God, but also to pagan idols.³ In the New Testament the term is used for man who was created in the image of God: "*Ἄνθρωπος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι*

¹ Hendrickx B, "The Byzantine Icon: Some aspects of its Historical and Theological Significance" *Apollonia*, 1982, pp. 77-96 – Liddell & Scott, *Greek English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1978 p. 485 – Babiniotis, G., *Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας*, Athens, 2002, p. 556.

² The Septuagint is the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures used by the early Christians.

³ Hendrickx, "The Byzantine Icon" pp. 77-96.

τὴν κεφαλὴν, εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων.”⁴ It also refers to Christ being the exact representation of the invisible God⁵ and to the Roman emperor being portrayed on coins:

“Δεῖξάτε μοι δηνάριον· τὸ νοστέχει ἐκὼν καὶ περιγραφόν.”⁶ Finally, in the Apocalypse of John, it refers to the horrible likeness to the beast.⁷ The first instance of an image or icon is found in the Bible (Septuagint⁸), when God made man in his own image.

1.1 The Byzantine Orthodox Icon

In the Byzantine context, an icon is the most important implement in the Orthodox Church. In a pure Byzantine Orthodox sense, an icon is a religious and devotional portrait of the sacred ‘image’ of Christ, Christian angels or the saints, painted on small wooden panels subject to theological as well as artistic Byzantine prescriptions. Icons which were believed to have come into existence miraculously and not painted by a human hand are known as *acheiropoieta* (ἄχειροποίητα, literally ‘not made by hand’). These images were seen as authoritative as to the true appearance of the subject and acted as important references for other icons.

The origin of icons can be traced back as far as the portraits of Egyptian mummies dating from the Roman period.⁹ “*Aan de andere kant zijn de ‘dodenportretten’*” - writes Theunissen – “*en juist deze hebben een treffende overeenkomst met de oudste ikonen.*”¹⁰ These Egyptian portraits not only gave a resemblance to the dead person, but also a sort of idealised image of the ‘immortal’ nature of man. This idealised image found in these encaustic portraits may be regarded as the first influences on icon art.¹¹ As Hendrix explains, those were portraits of individuals dating back to pre-Christian Egypt; painted on wood, attached to the body of the deceased. Their influence on the Byzantine painting

⁴ 1 Cor 11:7.

⁵ Heb 1:3.

⁶ Lk 20:24: “*Show me a denarius. Whose portrait and inscription are on it?*” Compare also Mt 22:20, Mk 12:16 and Rm 8:29 – Hendrickx, “The Byzantine Icon” pp. 77-96.

⁷ Hendrickx, “The Byzantine Icon” pp. 77-96 – Rv 13:4.

⁸ Gn 1:26-27. The Septuagint’s numbering and names do not correspond to the English Bible and are not uniformly identical.

⁹ Yanagi et al, *Byzantium* p. 180.

¹⁰ Theunissen, *Ikonen*, p. 17.

¹¹ Theunissen, *Ikonen*, p. 17.

is remarkable as seen in the shape of their big expressive eyes, the long thin nose, small mouth and bright colours.¹²

Around the 4th Century A.D. the term 'icon' referred to mosaics, paintings and bas-relief displaying religious themes but was later applied to small wooden panels for devotion in church or at home. From the 15th century onwards, the term 'icon' seemed to be used only for small painted panels.¹³

In the Byzantine Church the iconostasis remained relatively low until the 16th century. In 14th century Russia,¹⁴ however, the iconostasis had already appeared in its final form being that of a solid high barrier completely blocking the congregation's view of the sanctuary and its sacred mysteries. The Russian iconostasis symbolised the basic dogma of the manifestation of Christ as foretold in the Old Testament, fulfilled in the New Testament, and re-enacted in the daily sacramental liturgy to award final salvation to the faithful.¹⁵

Today, on entering a Greek Orthodox Church, one is confronted with the *iconostasis* (image stand), called the 'Hieron', the Holy Temple. This iconostasis is not only the 'icon screen' that separates the sanctuary from the area around the altar; it also blocks the immediate view of the area around the altar.¹⁶ Only the clergy is supposed to enter the 'Hieron' and an essential characteristic of Eastern Liturgy is the symbolic passing of clergy through its doors.

Small icons also hang in Christian households where they became objects of everyday veneration (δουλεῖα) and sometimes of 'anti-canonical' adoration.¹⁷ These small private wooden icons, in some way, approached the *adoration* (λατρεῖα) of the images of the ancient gods by substituting God himself. Painted portraits of saints and of Christ were

¹² Hendrix, et al., *Ikonen*, pp. 68 – 69.

¹³ Hendrickx, "The Byzantine Icon" pp. 77-96.

¹⁴ Hendrickx, "The Byzantine Icon", p. 83. Hendrickx says that the iconostasis in its full form does not come from Byzantium, but from Russia, where it originated in the 11th century, probably under influence of the altar-fences of Asia Minor.

¹⁵ Huges, L., "Art and Liturgy in Russia: Rublev and his successors", in Angold, M., (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Eastern Christianity*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 283-287.

¹⁶ Hendrickx, "The Byzantine Icon" pp. 77-96.

¹⁷ Yanagi, et al., *Byzantium* p. 180 – Hendrickx, "The Byzantine Icon", p. 80.

developed from symbols or simple illustrations of non - Christian ideas. This meant they created the essence of an *eidolon*, an idol.¹⁸

In some cases the icon itself would become an object of veneration (δουλεῖα) as it would be taken along by its owner on travels and by the armies during their campaigns (e.g. the famous *Hodigitria*).¹⁹ It was believed that some icons would protect them and others were *thaumaturgical*.²⁰ In the ritual and religious life of 20th century rural Greece, for example, this phenomenon still takes place at funeral ceremonies where the body of the deceased is accompanied to the burial service by an icon. Danforth notes that the placed over the chest; a large white candle is placed between the hands, and an icon is placed on the legs.²¹

In chapter six it is explained how religious syncretism occurs – i.e. when Christian beliefs are reshaped through cultural accommodation. Van Heerden states that when new forms of Christianity are accepted, they are given traditional meanings. It is therefore believed that people do not hold onto the cross as a symbol of the sacrifice of Christ, but rather as a sign of power. As a result, crosses are worn or placed on their houses as a symbol of power to protect them from evil. Apart from it being a symbol of faith, it is also regarded, like an amulet, as a power object.²² In view of this, one may find that some people regard an icon ‘as a sign of power’ as well.

1.2 The Order of the Byzantine Orthodox Icon

Whether hung in a church or a home, the icon encompassed many different themes.²³ To differentiate between these, the following order²⁴ of importance will be applied:

- i. **Icons of Christ** (*Christ Emmanuel*, the *Acheiropoitos* and the *Pantokrator*).

¹⁸ Hendrickx, “The Byzantine Icon”, pp. 77-96.

¹⁹ Hendrix, et al., *Ikonen*, pp. 134 – 135.

²⁰ Hendrickx, “The Byzantine Icon” pp. 77 – 96.

²¹ Danforth, *The Death Rituals*, pp. 38 – 39. The above mentioned ‘picture’ of the deceased was based on fieldwork conducted in the village of Potamia, July 1979, which draws on insights into rural Greek culture.

²² Van Rheeën, G., “World view and Syncretism”, Mongolia 1993, <http://missiology.org/mongolianlectures/worldviewandsyncretism.htm>, 2007/11/15.

²³ Grabar, *Byzantine Painting*, p. 187.

²⁴ Hendrickx, “The Byzantine Icon” pp. 77 – 96; – Theunissen, *Ikonen*, p. 17; – Hendrix, et al., *Ikonen*, p. 143.

- ii. **Icons of Mary** (types being the *Pantassa*, the *Hodigitria*, the *Eleousa*, the *Glykophilousa*, the *Galaktotrophousa*, the *Orante-figure*, and the *Tricheirousa*).
- iii. **Icons of angels and prophets** (prophets painted when foreseeing symbolically events of the New Testament, whilst angels are represented in their different categories being the *Seraphim*, the *Cherubim* and the *Ordinary Angel*).
- iv. **Icons of apostles and evangelists** (usually painted as a group or individually).
- v. **Icons of Saints** (usually painted as a group or individually).
- vi. **Icons referring to Biblical themes.**

1.3 'Icons' in its contemporary meaning

The word icon needs to be understood both in the modern context as well as the Byzantine context. Today the word icon is used to describe a person of fame or importance or 'someone greatly admired', and might even allude to an idealised role model.²⁵ When someone (usually a celebrity) is greatly admired for his or her skills, society can elevate him/her to a messianic role or religious icon.²⁶ In chapter seven we will deal with the question: 'In this modern day, what elevates an ordinary person to the status of 'icon' and can this status be compared to Michael's iconic status?'

1.4 'Icons' as a sign/symbol

There is also another meaning of the word icon. An icon is also used as an indicator of a task, direction, path or command as seen in modern computer technology. These tasks, commands or locations are indicated as little images of the task or command or location of what goes on in our PC. A little image of a printer, for example, indicates both the location of the printer command as well as the command itself. It is literally a reflection of something that otherwise requires lengthy explanation. It indicates a concept which is instantly grasped by the 'user'. Perhaps that is what an icon really is – an image, symbol and concept or idea which is understood by the 'user'. The user has to have 'knowledge' of the concept, symbol or sign in order to understand it.

²⁵ Collins, *Today's English*, p.388 – see also Eco, *On Beauty*, pp. 418 – 430.

²⁶ *Sunday Times* "Christ-like meaning found in Beckham", September 18, 2005, p. 5.

Therefore a Byzantine religious icon can only be understood in the context of Eastern – Christianity, e.g. Mary and Baby have an infinitely greater meaning than just what the image or icon portrays. Jung also states that a word or an image is symbolic when it implies something more than its obvious and immediate meaning.²⁷

Thus, an image or depiction that represents something else of greater significance is usually associated with religious, cultural, political and economical standing.²⁸

2 Angels

2.1 Defining the term ‘angel’

The word ‘angel’ derived from the Greek word ‘ἄγγελος’ (angelos) which literally means ‘messenger’, one that announces or tells’, and later, a semi – divine being’.²⁹ In Hebrew the word ‘*mal’akh*’ also means ‘messenger’ and can be used either for spirits or men. According to The Bible, *angelos* is applied directly to John the Baptist, “*Behold I send my messenger (angelos) before your face,*”³⁰ while *mal’akh* is used in the prophecy of Malachi: “*See, I will send my messenger, who will prepare the way before me.*”³¹ The most common use of the biblical word ‘ἄγγελος’ is that of a godly spirit messenger and only the context can determine whether it is a human or angelic messenger.³²

In the Biblical context, angels are spirit-beings created by God before the creation of the universe: “*You made the heavens, even the highest heavens, and all their starry host, the earth and all that is in them*”³³ and again “*For by him all things were created: things in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible.*”³⁴ They were created to serve God, Christ and

²⁷ Jung, C. (ed.) *Man and his Symbols*, Aldus Books Limited, London, 1979. p. 20 - Compare also an ‘anthropological’ definition of a sign, Seymour-Smith, C., *Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology*, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1986, p. 258: “*A sign in linguistic and SEMIOTIC theory is defined as a relation between a signifier, a signified and a given context or ground. The different kinds of relationship between signifier and signified give the different types of sign: INDEX, ICON and SYMBOL. The relationship between the signifier and signified in the case of an index is existential, in that of an icon representational and in that of a symbol conventional.*”

²⁸ Images on coins for political and economical standings will be examined in a later stage.

²⁹ Liddell & Scott, *Greek English Lexicon*, p. 7.

³⁰ Mk 1:2.

³¹ Mt 3:1 – Ankerberg, J., & Weldon, J., *The Facts On Angels*, Harvest House Publishers, Oregon, 1995, p. 9.

³² Louw, J.P., & Nida, E. A. (ed.), *Greek – English Lexicon of the New Testament*, vol. I, New York, 1989, 33.195, p. 410 – Erickson, M. J., *Christian Theology*, Barker Books, Michigan, 2001, p.462.

³³ Neh 9:6.

³⁴ Col 1:16.

the church to perform the will of God on earth.³⁵ It has been stated that Christ is the ground of creation which signifies that all created things, whether visible or invisible, owe their being to Him, which illustrates the true place of the hierarchy of angelic powers that the heretics were trying to set up in conflict to Christ.³⁶

The impression most people have of angels is that they are winged creatures. Art through the ages has portrayed angels as being cute, chubby, baby-like creatures with swirling wings. It is believed that Pseudo-Dionysius the Aeropagite's³⁷ writings had a large influence on the depiction of angels in art.³⁸ According to Marie Chapien, the idea possibly originated with the description of the cherubim and seraphim.³⁹

Contrary to 'cute and chubby creatures', angels are described in the Bible as being higher, stronger and more intelligent than human beings.

- Man is just under the angels: *"You made him a little lower than the angels;"*⁴⁰
- *"yet even angels, although they are stronger and more powerful,..."*⁴¹
- *"Now I have come to explain to you what will happen to your people in the future, for the vision concerns a time yet to come."*⁴²

Angels are innumerable⁴³ and have different ranks as well as a variety of duties according to their ranks.⁴⁴ In the New Testament, Christ used a military term to refer to them as *"legions"*⁴⁵ of angels.⁴⁶

³⁵ Ankerberg, & Weldon, *The Facts On Angels*, p. 9.

³⁶ Davidson, F., Stibbs, A.M., & Kevan, E.F., *The New Bible Commentary*, London, 1963, p.1046.

³⁷ Pseudo-Dionysius the Aeropagite is believed to be a fifth century Syrian monk who was the main source for post-New Testament Christian ideas about angels. It states that: *"his writings were taken to be those of a convert of the Apostle Paul, mentioned in Acts 17:34."* Dionysius writings had a large influence on the depiction of angels in arts: retrieved from Kiefer, J. "Michael and All Angels" <http://satucket.com/lectionary/Michael.htm> 2007/11/16.

³⁸ Kiefer, "Michael and All Angels".

³⁹ Chapien, M., *Angels in our lives*, U.S.A., 2006, p.131.

⁴⁰ Heb. 2:7, Erickson, M. J., *Christian Theology*, p.459.

⁴¹ 2 Pt 2:11.

⁴² Dn. 10:14.

⁴³ Ps. 10:21 & Rv 5:11.

⁴⁴ Col 1:16 & Eph 1:21; 3:10.

⁴⁵ Vine, W.E., *An Expository Dictionary of New Testament Words*, Riverside Book and Bible House, USA, p. 659: The word 'legion' was a Roman military classification for 4,200 to 6 000 soldiers. In the time of Christ it formed a complete army of cavalry, up to 5000 men. (Compare also Chapien, *Angels*, p. 131).

⁴⁶ Chapien, *Angels*, p. 131.

2.3 Angels and their functions

The Bible has it that angels are ministering spirits who are sent to help or serve human beings: “*Are not all angels ministering spirits sent to serve those who will inherit salvation?*”⁴⁷ Angels act as executors of God’s wrath but also deliver Lot from danger.⁴⁸ An angel is appointed leader of the host of Israel and goes before Moses: “*my angel shall go before thee.*”⁴⁹

In the Old Testament, God’s angels carried out His requests; angels were given special commissions regarding men and ordinary affairs. In the New Testament the angels are the intermediaries between God and man. Children have guardian angels and these angels do not lose the vision of God as they have a mission to fulfil on earth.⁵⁰ Christ sets a seal upon the Old Testament by saying: “*See that you do not look down on one of these little ones. For I tell you that their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father in heaven.*”⁵¹

In order to perform their functions, angels may appear as normal men⁵² or in visions⁵³, as in Isaiah’s vision, or in dreams⁵⁴, as to Joseph⁵⁵ or as beings in shining garments.⁵⁶ When angels appear directly to men, the effect is normally ‘fear and shock’, and therefore the opening phrase, “*Fear not*”.⁵⁷

⁴⁷ Heb 1:14 – Erickson, M. J., *Christian Theology*, p. 463.

⁴⁸ Gn 28-29.

⁴⁹ Gn 28-29.

⁵⁰ Erickson, M. J., *Christian Theology*, p.469. – www.greatdreams.com/Archangels.htm 2007/09/18.

⁵¹ Mt 18:10.

⁵² Gn 18: 1-8.

⁵³ Taylor, M. D., *The Complete Book of Bible Knowledge*, Tyndale House Publishers, Inc., Illinois, 1992, p.189 – Is 6:1. Nel, M., “Opstanding, en Daniël 12:1-4”, *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, Vol.88, University of Johannesburg, 2006, p.16: Nel states that Dn 9 as well as Dn 10-12 can be classified as epiphany-visions, whilst Dn 7 & 8 are symbolic visions.

⁵⁴ Numbers 12:6: “*When a prophet of the Lord is among you, I reveal myself to him in visions, I speak to him in dreams*”. See also Dn 7-12. Laography (*in casu* recorded visions and dreams) is another example of visions and dreams. Danforth, *The Death*, p.135. Here Danforth mentions that to many Greeks in Potamia, dreams represent the experiences of the immaterial portion of man. He furthermore states that when a person sees a dream in which he interacts with another person or saint/s of the Orthodox Church, it is considered that the souls of the two beings have come into contact.

⁵⁵ Mt 1:20, “*While he was thinking about this, an angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream and said, “Joseph, descendant of David, do not be afraid to take Mary to be your wife.”*”

⁵⁶ Lk 24:4: “*They stood there puzzled about this, when suddenly two men in bright shining clothes stood by them.*”

⁵⁷ Ankerberg, *The Facts*, p.10: “*When they appear directly to men, the result is usually one of emotional shock or fear; hence, the common biblical refrain of the angels, Fear not.*” – Lk 1:12-13: “*When Zechariah saw him, he was alarmed and felt afraid. But the angel said to him, “‘Don’t be afraid, Zechariah!...’ ”*”

2.3 Types of Angels

According to the Bible, there are basically two categories:⁵⁸

1. The holy angels:

- Seraphim
- Cherubim
- Thrones
- Archangel
- Ordinary Angels (The Heavenly Host)⁵⁹ and

2. The fallen angels:

- Lucifer
- Dominions, Principalities, Authorities, Powers, evil spirits or demons as described in the Bible.⁶⁰

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite,⁶¹ places the angels into nine orders which are subdivided in three categories (three triads of three each): The first category consists of the highest order, the Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones. The second: Dominions, Authorities and Forces and the third category, which is the lowest order, consists of Leaders, Archangels and Angels.⁶² Dionysius the Areopagite states that angels refer to all nine choirs and each order helps to reveal and declare God's glory to the order below.⁶³ On the Christian mystical writings of Dionysius, Kenneth Latourette states that *"God, Who is..., exercises His power through nine orders of celestial beings and does so on earth through the hierarchy of the Church, which corresponds to the celestial hierarchy and which begins with bishops as the highest rank, has priests in the second rank, and deacons in the third and lowest rank."*⁶⁴

⁵⁸ 1 Tm 5:21. Further on this dissertation, the Byzantine example will be followed which will refer to Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.

⁵⁹ Col 1:16.

⁶⁰ Ankerberg & Weldon, *The Facts*, p. 9 – Also compare Chapian, *Angels*, pp. 131 – 136.

⁶¹ On Dionysius the Areopagite, see Latourette, K.S., *A History of Christianity*: volume 1: *Beginnings to 1500*, New York, 1975, p. 314: the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, who is mentioned in *The Acts of the Apostles* as a convert of Paul at Athens, carried great weight in Christian mysticism. *"It is significant that for centuries the most widely used writings on mysticism in Christian circles were those ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite and that they were written in the East and were profoundly shaped by Neoplatonism."* Compare also Erickson, M. J., *Christian Theology*, p. 459.

⁶² Kiefer, "Michael and All Angels".

⁶³ Kiefer, "Michael and All Angels".

⁶⁴ Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, p. 210.

Pope Gregory I, referring to his *Homilies on the Gospel*, records the same nine orders but in different hierarchy. Then, it is said that:

*“Dante in the Convivio gives still a third ranking, but affirms the ranking of Dionysius in the Comedy, canto 28. Aquinas discusses the matter in the Summa T., part I, Q 108.”*⁶⁵

Today many scholars, such as Dee Finney, place the angels in nine orders believed to be based on Scripture: Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, Powers, Virtues, Archangels, and Angels.⁶⁶ Modern theologians, such as Graham, also refer to ‘medieval theologians who divided angels into nine grades’. However, he organises the angels in the following order: Archangels, Angels, Seraphim, Cherubim, Principalities, Authorities, Powers, Thrones, Might and Dominion.⁶⁷

The following table illustrates the different interpretations of the nine hierarchical orders of the angels.⁶⁸

<u>Dionysius the Areopagite</u>	<u>Pope Gregory I</u>	<u>Convivio</u>
<i>Category 1</i>	<i>Category 1</i>	<i>Category 1</i>
1. Seraphim	1. Seraphim	1. Seraphim
2. Cherubim	2. Cherubim	2. Cherubim
3. Thrones	3. Thrones	3. Powers
<i>Category 2</i>	<i>Category 2</i>	<i>Category 2</i>
1. Dominions	1. Dominions	1. Principalities
2. Virtues	2. Principalities	2. Virtues
3. Powers	3. Powers	3. Dominions
<i>Category 3</i>	<i>Category 3</i>	<i>Category 3</i>
1. Principalities	1. Virtues	1. Thrones
2. Archangels	2. Archangels	2. Archangels
3. Angels	3. Angels	3. Angels

⁶⁵ Kiefer, “Michael and All Angels”.

⁶⁶ Finney, D., “Archangels”.

⁶⁷ Graham, B., *Angels: God’s Secret Agents*, London, 1976, p. 54.

⁶⁸ Kiefer, “Michael and All Angels”.

2.4 Seraph/ Seraphim

Dionysius the Areopagite places the Seraph in the highest class of angels. ‘Seraph’, mentioned only in Isaiah 6, derives from the root word ‘burn’, thus ‘burning’. The word is used in Numbers 21:6, 8; Deuteronomy 8:15, Isaiah 14:29 & 30:6; where it is translated as ‘fiery serpent’.⁶⁹ The Seraphim (plural of Seraph) have six wings; two for flying, two to cover their face and two to cover their feet.⁷⁰ They are the guardians who stand before God’s throne praising and adoring God night and day. They are consumed with personal devotion to God.⁷¹ When Isaiah saw the Lord in a vision, he saw Seraphim worshipping Him and described them as human in form with six wings.⁷² This also confirms Dionysius of Fournas’s⁷³ description of the Seraph having six wings, who furthermore states that the two last wings not only support their flight but also hold sprayers with the following words:

“ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος,” (Holy, Holy, and Holy).⁷⁴

He says that the Seraphim devote themselves to contemplating God, living and praising Him.⁷⁵ He then describes the six winged creatures as having one head with four faces (that of an angel, an eagle, a lion and a calf) with a crown on the head and a Gospel in their hands placed against their chest. Their feet also hold Gospels whilst they look upwards.⁷⁶

2.5 Cherub/ Cherubim

It’s uncertain what the Hebrew word ‘Cherub’ means. The letters of the Hebrew root word mean ‘holding something in safekeeping’ and the plural, Cherubim, means ‘to be near’.⁷⁷ In the book of Ezekiel⁷⁸ the Cherub is linked to the glory and worship of God. Ezekiel records two visions in which the Lord appears to him, enthroned above four

⁶⁹ Kiefer, “Michael and All Angels”.

⁷⁰ Is 6:2.

⁷¹ Chapan, *Angels*, p. 131 – Is 6:3.

⁷² Is 6. (Compare also Taylor, *The Complete Book*, p. 136).

⁷³ Regarding Dionysius of Fournas’s contribution to the development of the Byzantine Hagiography, see chapter three.

⁷⁴ Papadopoulou-Kérameus (ed.), *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 45.

⁷⁵ Kiefer, “Michael and All Angels”.

⁷⁶ Papadopoulou-Kérameus (ed.), *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 45.

⁷⁷ Chapan, *Angels*, p. 138.

⁷⁸ Ezk 1 & 10 - Jung, *Man and his Symbols*, pp.20-21, – Chapan, *Angels*, pp. 138-139.

living creatures. He describes these living creatures as Cherubim with four faces (that of a human, a lion, a calf and an eagle) having four wings whilst Dionysius of Fourna describes the Cherub as having one head and two wings.⁷⁹ Furthermore, it is most probable that the ‘living creatures’ referred to in the book of Revelations were Cherubim.⁸⁰ Here, John describes the four separate winged creatures:

- firstly as a lion
- secondly as an ox
- thirdly a human and
- lastly an eagle.⁸¹

There were two carved, gold-plated cherubim placed on the cover of the Ark of the Covenant and in Solomon’s Temple and two larger gold-plated cherubim spread their wings above the Ark.⁸² Also, ancient middle Eastern art often depicts, at the sides of the throne of a king, a figure with the body of a lion or a bull, the face of a man, and the wings of an eagle. Not only flanking a throne, but also placed at the gates or doorways of a city or a temple. Then, in Greek folklore, a griffin is portrayed as having a head, chest, claws and the wings of an eagle, joined to the posterior of a lion.⁸³

The Cherubim must have been angels who were close in the presence of God. Although the Bible does not specify if all angels have wings, the Cherub is presented as a winged being. The Cherubim are never referred to as angels because they are not specifically messengers.⁸⁴ In the Old Testament God enthrones and even rides a Cherub.⁸⁵ It is the Cherubim (also first mentioned in the Bible) that guard the Garden of Eden with flaming swords,⁸⁶ and are stationed around God’s throne to guard the throne and His glory.⁸⁷

⁷⁹ Papadopoulou-Kérameus (ed.), *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 45.

⁸⁰ Rv 4:6, 9, 5:8 & 14.

⁸¹ Kiefer, “Michael and All Angels”. In both cases the creatures are symbolically associated with the attributes of God, being power, love, justice and wisdom, as well as the four Gospels. Matthew begins with the genealogy of Jesus and thus correspond this Gospel with Man. Then, Mark begins with John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness, and is associated with the wild animal, the Lion. Luke starts with Zacharias in the Temple and is paired with the Ox, a sacrificial animal. Lastly, John starts with the Logos (Eternal Word), which is connected with the Eagle, rising towards the heaven.

⁸² Taylor, *The Complete Book*, p. 136.

⁸³ Kiefer, “Michael and All Angels”.

⁸⁴ Ankerberg & Weldon, *The Facts*, p. 11.

⁸⁵ 2 Ki 19:15; 2 Sam 22:11; Ps 18:11.

⁸⁶ Taylor, *The Complete Book*, p. 136. In Gn 3:24 it is noted that the word ‘sword’ is used and not ‘swords’ as referred to by Taylor. Compare also observations on the Angel of the Lord.

From these texts it is derived that Lucifer was part of the class of Cherubim before his fall.⁸⁸

2.6 Thrones/ Thronoli

Thronoli or thrones refer to those who sit upon them. These may be either good or evil angels.⁸⁹ These are also described as the ruling angels in Ephesians,⁹⁰ Colossians⁹¹ and Peter⁹² and form part of Dominions, Principalities and Powers. Dionysius the Areopagite, however, gives the hierarchy as Dominions, Virtues and Powers. Then, Dionysius of Fournia describes the thrones as wheels in flames, surrounded by wings. In the midst of these wheels there are eyes which are entwined to form a royal throne.⁹³

2.7 Principalities, Authorities, Rulers and Powers

In the Biblical context, it appears that one third of the angels were fallen angels.⁹⁴ Principalities, powers and dominions are considered to be the names of different kinds of angelic beings while demons are considered to be fallen or rebellious angels.⁹⁵ According to a definition by Collier,⁹⁶ it is stated that the word ‘demon’ derived from the Greek word *δαίμων* and is believed to be a human soul. Alexiou comments that the angel who was appointed at baptism to guard the soul “*is exactly parallel to Plato’s daimon*”⁹⁷ to whom each man is assigned during his lifetime. Then, Davidson, Stibbs and Kevan comment that the terms *thrones, dominions, etc.*, were being used in current angelology and that Paul used these terms to show that “*all possible existences are included*”,⁹⁸ and are subordinate to Christ.⁹⁹

⁸⁷ Ezk 28:14 & 16.

⁸⁸ Chapien, *Angels*, p. 135. Compare also observations on Lucifer.

⁸⁹ Chapien, *Angels*, p. 131 – Col 1:16.

⁹⁰ Eph 1:21 & 3:10.

⁹¹ Col 1:16 & 2:10.

⁹² 1 Pt 3:22.

⁹³ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνιά*, p.45.

⁹⁴ Rv 12:4, Eph 1:21, 3:10, 6:12, Col 1:16, 2:10, 2:15, Rom 8:38. Compare also Ankerberg & Weldon, *The Facts*, p. 11 as well as King, M., “Chief Rainbow Warrior: Archangel Michael”, 2007 <http://www.americanchronicle.com/articles/viewArticle.asp?articleID=5580> 2007/11/16

⁹⁵ Kiefer, “Michael and All Angels”.

⁹⁶ Halsey, W.D. (ed), *Collier’s Encyclopedia*, Macmillan Educational Company, New York, Vol. 8, 1989, p. 96.

⁹⁷ Alexiou, Margaret., *The Ritual Lament In Greek Tradition*, Great Britain, Cambridge University Press 1974, p. 26.

⁹⁸ Davidson, et al., *The New Bible*, p. 1046.

⁹⁹ Davidson, et al., *The New Bible*, p. 1046.

Paul lists four kinds of angels among those who rebelled with Satan:¹⁰⁰

- i. **Principalities:** *The Chief rulers, the highest rank in the demonic kingdom.*
- ii. **Authorities:** *The Fallen angels who are under Satan's command.*
- iii. **Rulers of darkness:** *The Spirit-world rulers who assist the operations of Satan, and*
- iv. **Spiritual wicked spirits:** *Those who operate from the heavenlies.*

2.8 Archangels

The prefix 'Arch' means chief-, head-, leader- or upper- (angel) – a chief among angels.¹⁰¹ An Archangel thus is a heavenly being of higher rank than angels. Today, many scholars¹⁰² believe that this implies that there is only one such angel. Therefore, they regard Michael as the principal angel based on the fact that the Bible only refers to 'The Archangel' and not the Archangels.¹⁰³ Then again in, Jewish and Christian literature, four Archangels are given as Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel.¹⁰⁴ An alternative tradition¹⁰⁵ gives seven Archangels. Also, in the book of Tobit¹⁰⁶ and Enoch¹⁰⁷ it is believed that there are seven Archangels. The seven lamps of Revelations are symbolically viewed by many scholars as the seven Archangels.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰ Col 1:16-18, 2:10, Eph 1:21, 6:12 – Chapien, *Angels*, p. 132.

¹⁰¹ Graham, *Angels*, pp. 55-56 – Chapien, *Angels*, p. 132 – Taylor, *The Complete Book*, p. 196.

¹⁰² Graham, *Angels*, pp. 55-56 – Chapien, *Angels*, p. 132 – Erickson, M. J., *Christian Theology*, p. 462.

¹⁰³ Dn 10:13, 21, 12:1 - Th 4:16 - Jude 9 - Rv 12:7. Compare also Erickson, M. J., *Christian Theology*, p. 462 : "The term archangel appears in two passages, 1 Thessalonians 4:16 and Jude 9. In the latter, Michael is named as an archangel."

¹⁰⁴ Tobit 12:15 & 1 Enoch 20. In Rv. 7:1-2 reference is made to four angels standing at the four corners of the earth, but there is no mention of them being Archangels. In Finney, D., "Archangels" states that in angelology, Raphael is known as the watcher of the North, Gabriel the watcher of the South, Uriel the watcher of the West, and Michael, the watcher of the East. (Compare also Virtue, D., *Archangels and Ascended Masters*, USA, 2006, pp. 38 & 45. According to Doreen Virtue, Raphael's name means "God heals" or "God has healed" and Uriel's name means "God is light," "God's light" or "fire of God".)

¹⁰⁵ Tobit 12:15, 1 Enoch 20 – Kiefer, "Michael and All Angels". Compare also Finney, "Archangels". Finney comments that the names of the seven Archangels are Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, Raguel, Sariel, and the fallen Lucifer. She also states that there has been some debate on who the seven Archangels were and that most agreed to the four angels being Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel. The remaining three Archangels are chosen from Metatron, Remiel, Sariel, Anael, Raguel and Raziel. Also compare the following from www.newadvent.org/cathen/12640b.htm: "Of these seven 'Archangels' which appear in the angelology of post-Exilic Judaism, only three, Gabriel, Michael and Raphael, are mentioned in the canonical Scriptures. The others, according to the Book of Enoch (cf. xxi) are Uriel, Raguel, Sariel, and Jerahmeel, while from other apocryphal sources we get the variant names Izidkiel, Hanael, and Kepharel instead of the last three in the other list."

¹⁰⁶ Tobit 12:15.

¹⁰⁷ 1 Enoch 20.

¹⁰⁸ Rv 4:5 & Kiefer, "Michael and All Angels".

In the Bible, only three angels are ever named: Lucifer, Gabriel and Michael.¹⁰⁹ Hendrix confirms in his book that there are indeed three angels mentioned in the Bible, but he refers to Gabriel, Michael and Raphael.¹¹⁰ In Hebrew, Gabriel is a compound of the words ‘strong / great / mighty’ and ‘God’ and could be interpreted to mean “*Man of God*”, “*God is strong / great / mighty*”.¹¹¹ Although the Bible does not refer to him as an Archangel, many define him as one.¹¹² Gabriel is known to be the messenger of God.¹¹³ He announces both the birth of John the Baptist and Jesus.¹¹⁴ Raphael, which means ‘God heals’, is mentioned in the Apocryphal books.¹¹⁵ Raphael is disguised as a man who accompanies Tobias on a quest and gives him a remedy to heal his blind father. Raphael is mentioned in the ‘Book of Tobit’¹¹⁶ whilst Uriel, which means ‘God is my light’,¹¹⁷ is mentioned in the Book of Enoch.¹¹⁸

In Islam, four famous angels are found in the Qur’an and Michael is believed to be one of four Archangels; the other three being Izrail, Israfil and Jibrail. Still, other Muslims believe that there are ten Archangels known to be Mikhail, Izrail, Israfil, Jibrail, Munkar, Nakir, Raqib, ‘Atid, Malik and Ridhwan. It is generally accepted that there are countless angels, therefore the named angels are seen as heads of different departments; e.g. Michael is the chief angel of blessing.¹¹⁹ Hendrix, Skrobucha and Janssens say that the Russian old believers, the *Raskolniki*, knew eight angels by name.¹²⁰

¹⁰⁹ Ankerberg & Weldon, *The Facts*, p.10. Also compare Taylor, *The Complete Book*, pp. 204 & 216.

¹¹⁰ Hendrix, P., Skrobucha, H., & Janssens, A.M, *Ikonen*, Amsterdam/Brussels, 1960, p. 143: “*In de bijbel worden slechts drie engelen met name genoemd: Gabriël d.i. “God is kracht”, Michaël, “Wie is als God” en Rafaël, “God schenkt genezing”*”.

¹¹¹ Graham, *Angels*, p. 56 – Chapien, *Angels*, p. 132.

¹¹² Taylor, *The Complete Book*, pp.196 & 216. Taylor refers to Michael and Gabriel as Archangels and the only angels mentioned by name in the Bible. – Chapien M., *Angels*, p. 132. Marie Chapien states that “*Gabriel actually isn’t called an Archangel in the Bible, contrary to John Milton and popular opinion. There is only one Archangel and he’s Michael.*” – Graham, *Angels*, p.56 (Compare also Graham’s comment: “*However, contrary to popular opinion and to the poet John Milton, it never calls him an Archangel. Yet it refers to his work more often than to Michael’s.*”)

¹¹³ Dn 8:16, 9:21, Lk 1:19, 1:26–38. See also Kiefer, “Michael and All Angels”.

¹¹⁴ Lk 1:19 & Lk 1:26– 38.

¹¹⁵ Taylor, *The Complete Book*, pp. 69, 70 & 87. The word ‘*Apocrypha*’ comes from the Greek word meaning ‘hidden’ which means something not true. The Apocryphal books are seven books in the Old Testament that are included in the Catholic Bibles. These books were considered to be of lesser importance than the books which were accepted into the canon. The book of Tobit is one of these seven books.

¹¹⁶ Book of Tobit: Tobias 5, 4’.

¹¹⁷ Kiefer, “Michael and All Angels”.

¹¹⁸ Enoch 1. (Compare Finney, “Archangels” on ‘Uriel’).

¹¹⁹ Anonymous, “Michael”, www.answers.com/topic/michael 2007/09/19. Compare also Najaar, A., *I am a Muslim* (no date & place of publication) p. 158.

¹²⁰ Hendrix, et al., *Ikonen*, 1960, p. 143.

2.9 Archangel Michael

The name Michael means ‘who is like God?’¹²¹ As previously mentioned, many believe that the angel Michael is the only Archangel.¹²² His name is recorded four times in the Scriptures:

1) Daniel 10:13; 2) Daniel 12:1; 3) Jude 9 and 4) Revelations 12:7. In Talmudic tradition, the name Michael means “*Who is like God (El) and literally stands for El’s likeness.*”¹²³

Orthodox Christians refer to him as the *Taxiarch* or *Archistrategos* (Supreme Commander) Archangel Michael whilst Catholics refer to Michael as Saint Michael.¹²⁴ It is also believed that Michael was said to have been the war-cry of the angels in the battle fought in heaven against Satan and his followers.¹²⁵

In the Hebrew Apocrypha Archangel Michael is described as the prince of light, leading forces of good against evil, led by Belial – in the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness : “*He is described as the ‘viceroy of heaven’, a title that is said to have formally belonged to Satan.*”¹²⁶

In The New Testament¹²⁷ Michael is portrayed as the commanding officer of legions of angels who cast Satan and his followers out of heaven, also known as the champion of the Christians, whilst in The Old Testament,¹²⁸ he is called “*the prince of Israel*”¹²⁹ and is regarded as the champion of the Jewish people.¹³⁰ In the book of Jude¹³¹ Michael wins

¹²¹ Graham, *Angels* – Chapien, *Angels* – Holweck, F.G., “St. Michael the Archangel” <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10275b.htm> 2007/11/16.

¹²² Dn 10:13, 21 & 12:1 – 1 Th 4:16 – Jude 9 – Rv 12:7 – Graham, *Angels*, p. 55 – Chapien, *Angels*, p. 132.

¹²³ Anonymous, “Michael (archangel)”, [http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_\(Archangel\)](http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_(Archangel)) 2007/11/16.

¹²⁴ Anonymous, “Michael (archangel)”, compare also “Michael”, www.answers.com/topic/michael 2007/09/19 – Holweck, “St. Michael”, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10275b.htm> 2007/11/16.

¹²⁵ Anonymous, “Michael (archangel)”.

¹²⁶ Anonymous, “Michael (archangel)”.

¹²⁷ Rv. 12: 7 – 9.

¹²⁸ Dn 10: 21 & 12:1.

¹²⁹ Chapien, *Angels*, p. 132 – (Compare Graham, *Angels*, p. 55. Thus, God speaks of Michael as prince of His chosen people, “*the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people.*” (Dn 12:1).

¹³⁰ Finney, D., “Archangels”, <http://www.greatdreams.com/Archangels.htm> 2007/09/18.

¹³¹ Jude 9.

the battle with Satan over the body of Moses.¹³² In Revelations¹³³ Michael is portrayed as the leader of the heavenly army of the angels of the Lord fighting against Satan.¹³⁴

Michael's rank is in a military sense that of a general. There is a difference regarding Michael's hierarchical rank. Dionysius the Areopagite and other Greek fathers place Michael over all the angels (he is the prince of the other angels) whilst others believe that he is the prince of the Seraphim. St. Thomas place Michael as the prince of the last and lowest choir, the angels.¹³⁵ The following passage in the Coptic Gnostic Gospel of Judas (recently published), seems to indicate that Michael is of a lesser rank than Gabriel. Michael stands in service of a lesser God whilst Gabriel stands in service of God Himself. Judas asks Jesus whether the human spirit dies and Jesus answers as follows:

*“This is why God ordered Michael to give the spirits of people to them as a loan, so that they might offer service, but the Great One ordered Gabriel to grant spirits to the great generation with no ruler of it - that is, the spirit and the soul.”*¹³⁶

The commentary on this passage by the editors is that *“God, apparently the God of this world, gives the spirit of life (the breath of life?) to people, through Michael as a loan, but the Great Spirit gives spirit and soul to people, through Gabriel, as a gift”*.¹³⁷

Furthermore, in the Islamic faith, Michael appears as second to Gabriel. During the creation of Adam, God first sent Gabriel and then Michael to fetch clay to form man. When Adam and Eve were banned from paradise, it is said that Gabriel was sent to Adam whilst Michael to Eve to pass on comfort.¹³⁸ It is also said that Muhammad, on his deathbed, stated that Gabriel would be first and Michael second to pray for him.¹³⁹

¹³² Chapien, *Angels*, p. 132.

¹³³ Rv 12:7.

¹³⁴ Rv 12:7.

¹³⁵ Holweck, “St. Michael the Archangel”, – compare also Anonymous, “Michael (archangel)”, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_\(Archangel\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_(Archangel)) 2007/09/18.

¹³⁶ Kasser, R.O. (ed.), Meyer, M., & Wurst, G., *The Gospel of Judas* with additional commentary by Ehrman, B. D., Washington, 2006, p. 40.

¹³⁷ Kasser, et al., p. 40, note 124.

¹³⁸ Anonymous, “Michael”, www.answers.com/topic/michael 2007/09/19.

¹³⁹ Anonymous, “Michael (archangel)”, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_\(archangel\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_(archangel)) 2007/09/18.

2.10 The Angel of the Lord (Angelos Kyriou) and the identification with Christ and/or Michael

On many occasions an unnamed heavenly messenger displays the character of Archangel Michael. According to Danforth, ‘The Angel of the Lord’ (Angelos Kyriou)¹⁴⁰ is identified with Archangel Michael.¹⁴¹ It is stated that some Fathers often question the identity of Archangel Michael where his name is not mentioned in Scripture. An example of this is found in Genesis where we read about the Cherubim who were placed at the Garden of Eden and also of a flaming sword that guards the gate of paradise. Reference is made to Michael, who is believed to be the cherub who stood at the gate of paradise.¹⁴²

No reference, however, is made to a cherub but to the cherubim in Genesis, yet reference is made to a flaming sword which places the text in the framework of the Byzantine iconography – the flaming sword refers to the Archangel Michael. The controversy about the above passage is the result of wrong translation. In the Septuagint, Genesis 3:24 is presented as follows:

“Καὶ ἔβαλε τὸν ὄμῃ καὶ κατέκισεν αὐτὸν πᾶντι τῷ παραδείσῳ
τῶς τρυφῶς· καὶ ἔταξε τὸ χειροβῆμα καὶ τὸν φλογὸν τὴν ὁμῶσαν τὴν
στρεφομένην, φυλάσσειν τὸν ὄμῃ τὸν ἔλθον τῶς ζωῶς”.¹⁴³

The correct translation of this passage should read as follows:¹⁴⁴

*“And he cast out Adam and caused him to dwell over against the garden of Delight, and stationed the cherubs and the fiery sword that turns about to keep the way of the tree of life.”*¹⁴⁵

Then there is another version which causes confusion as it may indicate that God Himself is holding the fiery sword:

¹⁴⁰ Van der Watt, J. (ed.) Bosman, H., du Rand, J., Janse van Rensburg, F., Nel, M., Smit, D & Venter, P. *Die Bybel A-Z*, 2003, China, p.1074 “Kyrios wat letterlik “heer, meester, eienaar” beteken en word in die Nuwe-Testamentiese teologie gebruik as ‘n titel vir Jesus, veral vanweë sy opstanding en verheerliking”.

¹⁴¹ Danforth, *The Death Rituals*, pp. 45–46.

¹⁴² Gn 3:24. Holweck, “St. Michael the Archangel”.

¹⁴³ Gn. 3:25

¹⁴⁴ Translation as given by Brenton, L. L., *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament and Apocrypha with an English Translation*, London, 1976.

¹⁴⁵ Gn 3:24 (25).

“So het Hy dan die mens weggedrywe en gérubs aan die oostekant van die tuin van Eden laat woon, met die swaard wat vlam en flikker, om die toegang tot die boom van die lewe te bewaak.”¹⁴⁶

The unnamed angel through whom God published the Ten Commandments, the unnamed angel who stood in the way of Balaam¹⁴⁷ and the unnamed angel who destroyed the army of Sennacherib¹⁴⁸ are all associated with Archangel Michael or Christ.¹⁴⁹ In the Book of Joshua, reference is made to ‘the captain of the host of the Lord’ which has the character of Michael the Archangel. This unnamed heavenly herald is said to be supernatural and holy and sent by God:¹⁵⁰

“Now when Joshua was near Jericho, he looked up and saw a man standing in front of him with a drawn sword. Joshua went up to him and asked, ‘Are you for us or for our enemies?’ ‘Neither,’ he replied, ‘but as commander of the army of the LORD I have now come.’ Then Joshua fell face down to the ground in reverence, and asked him, ‘What message does my LORD have for his servant?’”¹⁵¹

There is again some controversy about the above passage. Modern scholars believe that it was not Michael but Christ who appeared before Joshua.¹⁵² Another interpretation, based on Revelations, is that of the pre-Incarnate Christ,¹⁵³ where it is said that angels do not accept the worship of humans.¹⁵⁴ The willingness of this ‘man’ to accept Joshua’s ‘worship’ suggests that he was a divine being.¹⁵⁵ However, it is worthwhile commenting that Joshua fell, face down to the ground, maybe out of fear or respect and did not necessarily have any intention to worship the man, but to merely manifest his worship to

¹⁴⁶ Gn. 3:25.

¹⁴⁷ Nm 22:22.

¹⁴⁸ 2 Ki 19:35.

¹⁴⁹ Erickson, M. J., *Christian Theology*, pp. 467-468.

¹⁵⁰ Anonymous, “Michael (archangel)”, [http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_\(Archangel\)](http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_(Archangel)).

¹⁵¹ Jos 5:13 – 15.

¹⁵² Davidson, et al., *The New Bible*, p. 228. Compare also Erickson, M. J., *Christian Theology*, pp. 467-468.

¹⁵³ Anonymous, “Michael”, <http://www.answers.com/topic/michael>.

¹⁵⁴ Rv 22:9.

¹⁵⁵ Erickson, M. J., *Christian Theology*, pp. 463-464 – Anonymous, “Angels today: all about angels”, <http://angelstoday.net/index.php?lang=en&way=2Archangels/1michael> 2007/11/13 – compare also “Michael”, <http://www.answers.com/topic/michael>.

God. Moreover, Michael is usually depicted as winged and with a sword in his hand.¹⁵⁶ The man who stood in front of Joshua was holding a drawn sword. According to a definition, 'The Angel of the Lord' is someone who communicates a message of the Lord, and whose appearance might resemble the Lord Himself. The appearance of the Lord can only be mentioned 'as no man will see God and live'.¹⁵⁷ The following verse explains it: "...I have seen the angel of the Lord face to face! But the Lord said to him, Peace! Do not be afraid. You are not going to die."¹⁵⁸

According to Erickson, the problem with the interpretation of 'The Angel of the Lord,' is a problem of identity:

"The problem comes in fact that while there are numerous passages where the angel of the Lord is identified with God, there are many other passages where the two are distinguished. Examples of passages in which the two are equated are Genesis 31:11 and 13, where the angel of the Lord says, 'I am the God of Bethel,' and Exodus 3:2 and 6, where the angel of the Lord tells Moses, 'I am the God of your father.' Examples of passages in which the two are distinguished are Genesis 16:11, where the angel of the Lord says to Hagar, 'The Lord has heard of your misery,' and Exodus 23:20, where the Lord tells the people of Israel, 'See, I am sending an angel ahead of you.'"

Erickson states that there are three main interpretations of "the angel of the Lord":

- i. He is an angel with a special commission
- ii. He is God Himself, temporarily in a humanlike form
- iii. He is the Logos, a temporary pre-incarnate visit by the second person of the Trinity.

These interpretations are not fully satisfactory, he concludes, as "...in light of the clear statements of identity either the second or the third seems more adequate than the first."¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Grabar, *Byzantine Painting*, p. 186. On the representation of Michael compare also Hendrix, et al., *Ikonen*, pp. 91, 143 - 145.

¹⁵⁷ Van der Watt, (ed.) et al., *Die Bybel A-Z*, p. 204.

¹⁵⁸ Jdg 6:22.

¹⁵⁹ Erickson, M. J., *Christian Theology*, p. 468.

Furthermore, it is written that: “*The LORD Almighty answers, ‘I will send my messenger to prepare the way for me. Then the LORD you are looking for will suddenly come to his Temple. The messenger you long to see will come and proclaim my covenant’.*”¹⁶⁰

To support this statement, Ankerberg & Weldon assert that: ‘The Angel of the Lord’ (Malach – YHWH) does not refer to a created angel, but to Jesus Christ. Christ’s appearance goes beyond the New Testament. In the Old Testament the angel is identified as Christ through the attributes of deity He holds. In fact, the Jews themselves held this angel to be the divine Messiah.¹⁶¹ In the Urantia Book, Michael is identified with Christ.¹⁶²

In other Christian doctrines¹⁶³ it is also held that Archangel Michael is believed to be Christ.¹⁶⁴ This belief is based on biblical references to Archangel Michael as ‘the Archangel,’ which, as explained earlier, means ‘chief angel.’¹⁶⁵ The suggestion that there is only one ‘chief angel’ is likened to Christ being the chief angel. This statement is also based on the following verse:

*“For the Lord himself will come down from heaven, with a loud command, with the voice of the Archangel and with the trumpet call of God, and the dead in Christ will rise first.”*¹⁶⁶

Archangel Michael is stands for the leader of an army of Angels in Heaven who will defeat Satan in a great battle.¹⁶⁷ Christ is also said to lead such an army.¹⁶⁸ The Bible¹⁶⁹ doesn’t refer to two armies in Heaven who are led by two separate leaders.

¹⁶⁰ Mt 3:1.

¹⁶¹ Ankerberg & Weldon, *The Facts On Angels* 1995, p. 11.

¹⁶² Anonymous, “Michael”, <http://www.answers.com/topic/michael>, 2007/09/19.

¹⁶³ Jehovah’s Witnesses believe that Michael is believed to be Christ: Anonymous, “Michael”.

¹⁶⁴ Anonymous, “Michael”.

¹⁶⁵ Graham, *Angels*, pp. 55-56 – Chapian, M, *Angels*, p132 – Dn 10:13, 21, 12:1 – 1 Th 4:16 – Jude 9 – Rv 12:7.

¹⁶⁶ 1 Th 4:16.

¹⁶⁷ Rv 12:7.

¹⁶⁸ 1 Th 4:16; Rv 12:7 – Compare also Rv 17:14 : “*They will make war against the Lamb, but the Lamb will overcome them because he is Lord of lords and King of kings-and with him will be his called, chosen and faithful followers.*” Then, in Rv 19:11-21: “*I saw heaven standing open and there before me was a white horse, whose rider is called Faithful and Truth. With justice he judges and makes war. His eyes are like blazing fire, and on his head are many crowns. He has a name written on him that no one knows but he himself. He is dressed in a robe dipped in blood, and his name is the Word of God. The armies of heaven were following him, riding on white horses and dressed in fine linen, white and clean. Out of his mouth comes a sharp sword with which to strike down the nations. He will rule them*

2.11 Ordinary Angels / the Heavenly Host

There is a multitude of angels who were the messengers of God; who helped individuals and God's chosen people of Israel on certain occasions. The Heavenly Host are known to be powerful legions of Angels who occupy the heavens. An example of a powerful angel is found in the Bible where a single angel put to death a hundred and eighty-five thousand Assyrian enemy soldiers. Some scholars believe that the angel who destroyed the army of Sennacherib is believed to be the Angel of the Lord who is either associated with Archangel Michael or Christ Himself.¹⁷⁰

2.12 Fallen Angels: Lucifer

The name Lucifer means 'light bearer' and may refer to Satan's attributes before his fall. According to Taylor the name Lucifer is used only once in the King James Version¹⁷¹, and is not used in the New International Version at all. Lucifer is also known as Satan,¹⁷² Belial, Beelzebub, the devil,¹⁷³ the evil one,¹⁷⁴ the old serpent,¹⁷⁵ the great dragon, the destroyer, the accuser,¹⁷⁶ the deceiver¹⁷⁷ and the tempter.¹⁷⁸ Lucifer was a high ranking angel, a cherub with access to the holy mountain of God.¹⁷⁹ According to some modern theologians, Lucifer was an Archangel, perhaps superior to Michael,¹⁸⁰ who rebelled against God and was cast out of the heavens.¹⁸¹

By means of a diachronic approach, our analysis has followed the evolutionary changes of the concepts regarding icons, angels their position and role in the religious formation of the Orthodox Christian faith. In doing so, the position and function of the angel

with an iron sceptre. He treads the winepress of the wrath of God Almighty. On his robe and on his thigh he has this name written: KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS."

¹⁶⁹ 1 Th 4:16; Rv 12:7; Rv 17:14.

¹⁷⁰ 2 Ki 19:35. Also compare Erickson, M. J., *Christian Theology*, p. 466-468 as well as Chapien, *Angels*, p. 133. See also observations on the 'Angel of the Lord'.

¹⁷¹ Taylor, *The Complete Book*, p. 329 – Is 14:12 – Compare Graham, *Angels*, p. 63: "This Satan, or the devil, was once called Lucifer, the son of the morning."

¹⁷² Job 1:1-6.

¹⁷³ Mt 4:1; Rv 12:9.

¹⁷⁴ Mt 6:13; 1 Jn 2:13-14; Jn 17:15.

¹⁷⁵ Rv 20:2.

¹⁷⁶ Zch 3:1; Rv 12:10.

¹⁷⁷ Book of Revelation.

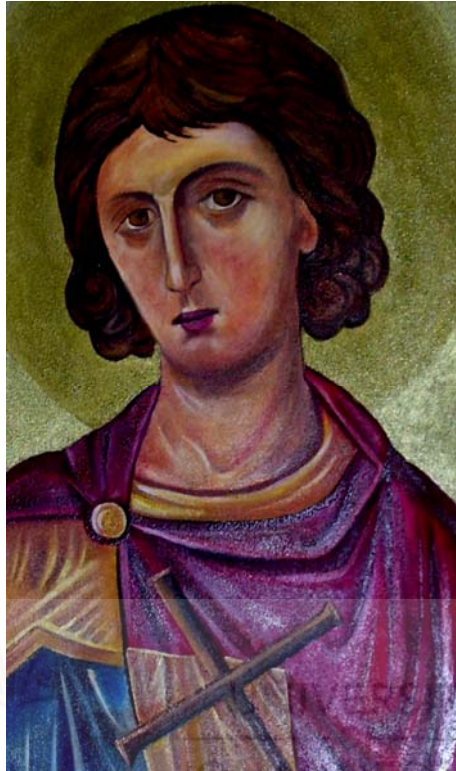
¹⁷⁸ Mt 4:1, 3; 1 Th 3:5.

¹⁷⁹ Ezk. 28: 12 – 19 – Ankerberg & Weldon, *The Facts On Angels*, p. 11 – Chapien, *Angels*, p. 135.

¹⁸⁰ Graham, *Angels*, p. 55.

¹⁸¹ Graham, *Angels*, p. 63: "Along with Michael he may have been one of the two Archangels, but he was cast from heaven with his rebel forces, and continues to fight." Compare Taylor, *The Complete Book*, p. 196.

Michael as a leader of the order of angels, i.e. Archangel, has been clearly identified and precisely defined.



Chapter 2

The Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Orthodox Society and the importance of hagiography and iconography in its context

Since the iconic status of Archangel Michael in the Byzantine Orthodox Society is unique, it is necessary to look at the characteristic aspects of this society and to put its hagiography and iconography in context. A chronological overview of essential historical events will be examined by means of religious, social, cultural and political influences. The importance of hagiography and iconography in its context as well as the influences and transformation of pagan themes on early Christian art, will also be discussed. A more intense study of the Byzantine traditional iconography will be examined in chapter three, with reference to the works of Dionysius of Fourni.

1. Byzantium and the Byzantine Empire

The name Byzantium derived from *Byzantion*, which was the name of the former Athenian trading colony founded in 657 by a Greek named Byzas.¹ In 330 A.D, the Emperor Constantine moved the capital of the Roman Empire to Byzantion whereupon he changed the name to Constantinople. Byzantium, Constantinople and later Istanbul, were the names given to the great city on the Bosphorus.² People who lived in the city referred to themselves as Romans as they considered themselves citizens of the (East) Roman Empire, in which the official language was still Latin until after Justinian's reign (6th Century). Only under emperor Herakleios (7th Century) did Greek become the sole official language. The Byzantine civilization was largely determined by three factors – Hellenism, *Romanitas* and Christianity.³ The term *Byzantine* as referring to this civilization and culture was only introduced by 16th century historians and used since that time.⁴

¹ Yanagi, et al., *Byzantium*, pp. 7-13.

² Grabar, A., *Byzantine Painting*, Macmillan London, 1979, p. 11.

³ Savvides & Hendrickx, *Introducing Byzantine History*, Paris, 2001, p.29: "by the foundation of 'New Rome' or Constantinople, Byzantium was born out of the merging of imperial Rome with Christian Hellenism – the foundation of medieval Hellenism had been laid."

⁴ Yanagi, et al., *Byzantium*, pp. 7-13.

Although by the end of the 6th century, Latin had disappeared and the population became mainly Greek-speaking, Byzantium did not consist of ‘ethnic Greeks’ but rather of an agglomeration of diverse groups and peoples who shared a common language and a similar culture.⁵ But the Byzantine Empire is also characterised by its multi-dimensional facets, mainly its multi-ethnicity, multi-linguality and multi-dogmatism. Thus, Byzantium can rightly be called “*a mosaic of nationalities*.”⁶

Historically, Byzantine history is divided in three main periods. The *early Byzantine period* itself (ca 284 or 330 – ca 717) is characterised by a formative period (up to ca 518), the age of ‘ecumenicity’, comprising Justinian I and his successors (518-610) and the century of survival from external threats, and Hellenisation (610-717).⁷

The *middle Byzantine period* (ca 717-1025) is, on the one hand, marked by the *iconomachia* (mainly 717-843), and on the other hand, the zenith of Byzantine power, especially under the Macedonian dynasty (610-717).

For the subject of this dissertation, it is important to notice the great iconoclastic movement, which triggered the *iconomachia*, the over-a-century dogmatic and socio – economic confrontation between the supporters of the use and veneration of icons (*iconodouloi*) and the icon persecutors, the *iconoclastai* (literary the *breakers* of icons). The confrontation was finally terminated in 843, with the ‘victory of Orthodoxy’, when it was dogmatically accepted that the icons, which could be ‘venerated’ but not ‘adored’, played indeed an important role in the Orthodox belief and piety.⁸

The *late Byzantine period* (ca 1025-1453) is marked by the crusades, the ‘feudalisation’ of Byzantium (firstly by its own provincial military landowning aristocracy, then by the crusaders), the capture of Constantinople in 1204 by the crusaders and the establishment of ‘Latin’ or ‘Frankish’ states on Byzantine territory), decline of Byzantine power, the coming of the Turks and finally, the final fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in

⁵ Yanagi, et al., *Byzantium*, pp. 7-13.

⁶ Savvides & Hendrickx, *Introducing*, pp. 30-33. See also Karayannopoulou, I., *To Byzantinó krátoç*, Thessaloniki, 1996, pp. 54 -59.

⁷ Savvides & Hendrickx, *Introducing*, pp. 19-22 & 35.

⁸ Savvides & Hendrickx, *Introducing*, pp. 35-42.

1453.⁹ The Byzantine world after 1000 was coined the ‘Byzantine Commonwealth’ by D. Obolensky to indicate the common civilization of East Europe and Asia Minor, where Orthodoxy and an ‘ecumenical’ worldview had become binding factors.¹⁰

2. Political culture and art in Byzantine Orthodoxy

The Byzantine emperor was politically the successor of the Roman emperor, and his authority, which was considered to be founded on the Divine Grace and Providence, was never questioned. The main concepts in political theory were thus based on the theological concepts of *taxis* and *oikonomia*, which were already present in the writings of the Fathers of the Church.¹¹ Helene Ahrweiler defines ‘oikonomia’ as the spiritual principle and power, which organizes what happens (and is thus Providence), thereby noting that the term is inseparable from the concept of ‘taxis’, which expresses the ‘category’ which rules in practice nature, community and human relations.¹² Like God is the *pantokrator*, so the emperor is the *kosmokrator*. This conception is at the basis of the imperial cult in which iconography and the elaborated court ceremony and ritual are important. Everyone has his own place in the world (*taxis*), and the human society on earth mirrors – up to a point – the supernatural one. It is here, as we see in our other chapters, that Archangel Michael plays a role.

Byzantine art developed over a long period while undergoing numerous phases of regeneration.¹³ This art expresses the Orthodox as well as the imperial concepts, discussed above.¹⁴ Content and style goes through a transformation too. Early Christian art shows simple transformation of pagan themes into Christian themes¹⁵, making it almost impossible to recognise any one style that could definitely be called ‘Early

⁹ Savvides & Hendrickx, *Introducing*, pp. 35-36, 46-55, 85-100.

¹⁰ Shepard J, “The Byzantine Commonwealth 1000-1550”, in Angold, *Cambridge History of Christianity*, pp. 3-52.

¹¹ Hendrickx, “The politico-ideological concepts of ‘Oikonomia’ & ‘Taxis’ as illustrated in the Epistle to Diognetos”, *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 73 (New Series 2), 1991, pp. 44-49.

¹² Ahrweiler H, *Η πολιτική Ιδεολογία της Βυζαντινής Αυτοκρατορίας*, Athens, 1973, pp. 148-168.

¹³ Yanagi, et al., *Byzantium*, p. 8.

¹⁴ All aspects of the intensively Orthodox Byzantine world are thoroughly discussed in Angold, M., (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 5: *Eastern Christianity*, Cambridge: University Press, 2006 – Cf. Hendrickx, review of this work in *Neotestamentica* 41.2 (2007), pp. 437- 444.

¹⁵ *Gardner’s Art through the Ages*, revised by De la Croix, H., & Tansey, R.G., USA, 1980, p.213. Margaret Alexiou notes that little has changed with the gradual transformation of paganism to Christianity in Greece, in terms of customs, language and laws. Various sources from the seventh to the twelfth century showed that pagan rituals were still evident. Margaret Alexiou, *The ritual lament in Greek tradition*, Cambridge, 1974, p. 27.

Christian Art'. Christian art brings about the transformation of the naturalistic, classical tradition into an entirely new worldview. This transformation is divided into the following periods:¹⁶

- The period of **Persecution** (in the first century A.D.)
- The period of **Recognition** establishment (A.D. 325, when Constantine established Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire)
- Then the period of **Termination** (around A.D. 500, some historians extend the period to A.D. 800, when it was ended by the Iconoclastic storm.)

In early Christian works, for example, Christ is shown as teacher and philosopher whilst in later Byzantine works, He is portrayed as the ruler of heaven and earth, symbolising at the same time the imperial ruler of the Byzantine Empire.¹⁷ Hendrickx comments that the use of portraits seemed to be connected with paintings of the Emperor, and the imperial cult of respecting the portrait of his majesty was based on the theory that the picture of the *basileus* was in fact the *basileus* himself, and that the imperial coinage belonged to the Emperor, because it held his picture.¹⁸ Only when Christianity was recognised as the official state religion, was Christ given imperial attributes such as the purple robe, the halo, the throne and other symbolic traits.¹⁹

According to Grabar, Byzantine painting refers to work that chronologically belonged to a period during which a city ceased to bear the name 'Byzantium' and was named 'Constantinople'.²⁰ There are two important factors that need to be considered in terms of the Byzantine Art:²¹

- a) Art forms were widely used to exalt the Emperor (e.g. In Byzantine churches, the *Pantocrator* occupied the cupola, the place of honour. On the vaulting before the apse, was an empty throne, 'the prepared throne' of Revelation.)

¹⁶ Gardner's *Art through the Ages*, p. 213.

¹⁷ Hussey, *The Byzantine World*, pp. 156 -165.

¹⁸ Hendrickx, "The Byzantine Icon", p. 79 – The Gospel according to St. Matthew (20 – 21 & 22). The relationship between the image of the Emperor and Archangel Michael will be analysed further on.

¹⁹ Hussey, *The Byzantine World*, pp. 156 -165.

²⁰ Grabar, *Byzantine Painting*, p. 11.

²¹ Hussey, *The Byzantine World*, pp. 156 -165.

- b) Art became a medium whereby permanent values of a transcendental world might be symbolised. (E.g. The modifications of the pagan basilica focus on the shrine as the main focal point – being the mystery of the Christian faith. The ‘spiritualising design’ is expressed in its bearing walls and columns, leading to a new orientation toward a spiritual rather than a physical world.)²²

Thus the interior of a Byzantine church reflected the universe or the cosmos, the cupola as heaven, the place of honour holding the *Pantocrator*, the middle zone symbolising paradise and the lowest zone earth. The mosaic artists represented the figures of the heavenly hierarchy in such a way that the worshippers in the church below felt as if these figures were actually present. Hussey refers to Demus, stating that: “*In Byzantium, the beholder was not kept at a distance from the image; he entered within its aura of sanctity, and the image, in turn, partook of the space in which he moved.*”²³

When Christianity became the official state religion under Constantine, there was an urgent need to set up buildings and to decorate them according to the requirements of the Christian Cult.²⁴ The acceptance of Christianity in the Empire was followed by the reconstruction of monasteries and churches and other artefacts which were used for ecclesiastical purposes.²⁵ Mosaic images became the instrument of decoration for churches.²⁶ Being probably the most popular among the angels, saints and arc fathers of the Byzantine Church and society, Michael’s cult²⁷ was expressed in mosaics, murals, icons, dedications in churches and poems. Averil Cameron comments that Agathias

²² Gardner’s *Art through the Ages*, p. 215. Compare also Hussey, *The Byzantine World*, pp. 156 -165.

²³ Hussey, *The Byzantine World*, p. 163.

²⁴ Gardner’s *Art through the Ages*, pp. 215-216. It is stated that the Western churches adopted the rectangular basilica church whilst in the classical building type a polygonal domed structure was favoured in the east.

²⁵ Hussey, *The Byzantine World*, p. 163.

²⁶ Gardner’s *Art through the Ages*, p. 217: “*It is as if the building imitated the ideal Christian, with grave and plain exterior and a soul glowing and beautiful within.*”

²⁷ Rhodes, R., *Find It Quick Handbook on Cults and New Religions*, Harvest House Publishers, Oregon, 2005, p. 7. According to Rhodes, the word ‘cult’ derives from the Latin word *cultus*, which means worship. Cults are thus groups that have distinguishable forms of worship. He furthermore states that the word ‘cult’ is often used in both a sociological and theological sense: “*sociologically, a cult is a religious or semi-religious sect or group whose members are often controlled or dominated almost entirely by a single individual or organization.*”

Scholastikos's epigrams of Archangel Michael are an important testimony for the beginning of veneration of the icons and for the cult of the Archangel itself.²⁸

In the post – Justinian period the idea was there that an icon was “*an actual bode of the person portrayed*.”²⁹

Archangel Michael was venerated by soldiers and even the imperial family looked at Michael as leader of the heavenly army and therefore the equivalent of the emperor. In his article, Hendrickx³⁰ comments on Agathias's (6th century) three epigrams (i.34, i.35, i.36 on icons of Archangel Michael)³¹ that Michael, heavenly commander of the angels, symbolises the earthly Emperor as earthly commander of the army. Epigrams i.36 illustrates the office bearer, Theodoros, *illustrius* and twice *proconsul* receives the *insignia* of his dignity (office) from Archangel Michael:

Anthologia Palatina i.34.³²

- 1 *Met baie waagmoed het was 'n onsigbare leier van engele,
liggaamloos deur die soort van sy vorm, geskep.
Tog is dit nie nutteloos nie, want 'n sterling wat 'n beeltenis waarneem,
rig sy gees na 'n hoër voorstelling:*
- 5 *nie langer het hy 'n verwarde ontsag nie'
maar in homself skilder hy die oorspronklike beeld,
en hy vrees dit daarom asof dit aanwesig is:
oë wek mos 'n diep begrip op: kuns weet mos*

²⁸ Cameron, *Agathias*, p. 105.

²⁹ Kitzinger, E., “The cult of images in the age before iconoclasm”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* VIII (1954), p. 147.

³⁰ Hendrickx, “Agathias”, p.66-75. For background and importance of Agathias (ca 536-82/3), Byzantine historian and epigrammatist, see Savvides, A., “Agathias”, in Savvides, A., Hendrickx, B., Simpson Alicia and Sansaridou-Hendrickx Thekla, *Encyclopaedic Prosopographical Lexicon of Byzantine History and Civilization*. Vol.1. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007, pp. 81-82.

³¹ Waltz, P. (ed.), *Anthologie Greque* I, Paris, 1928.

³² Hendrickx, “Agathias se epigramme”, p. 68:

“□σκοπον □γγελ□αρχον □σ□ματον ε□δεϊ μορφ□ς,
□μ□γα τολμ□εις, κηρ□ς □πεπλ□σατο.
□μης ο□κ □χάριστον, □πε□βροτ□ς ε□κ□να λε□σσων
θυμ□ν □πιθ□νει κρ□σσονι φαντασ□□·
ο□κ□τι δ' □λλοπρ□σαλλον □χει σ□βας, □λλ' □ν □αυτ□
τ□τ□πον □γγρ□ψας □ς παρε□ντα τρ□μει·
□μματα δ' □τρ□νουσι βαθ□ν ν□ον· ο□δε δ□τ□χνη
χρ□μασι πορθμε□σαι τ□ν φρεν□ς □κεσ□ην.”

hoe om die smeking van die gees weer te gee.

*Anthologia Palatina i.35:*³³

- 1 *Aemilianus van Karië en saam met hom Johannes,
Rufinus van Pharos (en) Agathias van Asië,
wat – o aartsengel – hul vierde jaar regstudies voltooi het,
het aan u, geluksalige, hul eie portret opgedra,*
- 5 *(en) vra voorspoed vir later. Mag u tog hul verwagtings vir die
toekomstige lewe ondersteun.*

*Anthologia Palatina i.36*³⁴

- 1 *Laat toe om 'n vorm te kry, o aartsengel: want u gelaat
is onsigbaar, maar so is geskenke van sterflinge.
Want van u het Theodoros die gordel van magistratos ontvang
en (deur u toedoen) wen hy twee maal die ereplek van proconsul,*
- 5 *en die skildery is getuie van sy dankbaarheid: want
dit gee met kleure die beeltenis van u welwillendheid weer.*

It has been argued that the disguising of worldly power in religious terms – labelled *celestilisation* – “depicts a universe which is closed, eternal, and supernaturally ordained. In defining earthy realities in cosmic terms, it disguises political power in terms of sacredness”³⁵. In agreement with this viewpoint, the depiction of the angelic

³³ Hendrickx, B., “Agathias se epigramme”, p.68:

“Καρικὸς Ἀμυλιανὸς ὠννῆς τέσιν ἀτῶ,
οὐφῶνος Φαρῶης, γαθῶης σῶης,
τῶτρατον, γγελῶρχε, νῶμων λυκῶβαντα λαχῶντες,
νθεσαν εῶς σῶ, μῶκαρ, τῶν σφετῶρην γραφῶδα,
αῶτοῶντες τῶν πειτα καλῶν χρῶνον. ἄλλῶ φανεῶης
λπῶδας ἰθῶνων ὀσομῶνου βιῶτου.”

³⁴ Hendrickx, B., “Agathias se epigramme”, p. 68:

“ἄλαθι μορφωθεῶς, ῶρχῶγγελε· σῶ γῶρ ὀπωπῶ
σκοπος, ἄλλῶ βροτῶν δῶρα πῶλουσι τῶδε.
κῶ σῶ ο γῶρ Θεόδωρος ῶχει ζῶστῶρα μαγῶστρου
καῶ δῶς ῶεθλεῶει πῶς θῶνον νῶθυπατῶν,
τῶς δῶ εῶγνωμοσῶνης μῶρτυς γραφῶς· μῶτερον γῶρ
χῶμασι μιμηλῶν νῶτετῶπωσε χῶριν.”

³⁵ For an analysis of the phenomenon, see Keesing, R. M., *Cultural Anthropology*, Canberra, 1981, p. 296.

groups in the Byzantine iconography could be interpreted as a reflection of the hierarchical way political power was organised in Byzantium.³⁶

Archangel Michael was not only venerated by soldiers but also by young students who looked at Michael for support during their exams. Line three and four, of *Anthologia Palatina* i.35, for example, refers to an *ex voto* portrait which was dedicated to the Archangel ‘in the hope of heavenly support’ for the students’ examination.³⁷ In 551 onwards Agathias was a student in Constantinople. Agathias and his friends dedicated an *ex voto* to Archangel Michael and is referred to ‘a practising Christian while a student’.³⁸

3. Paganism and Christianity and the attitude of the Church fathers

In early Byzantium, the process of transition from paganism to Christianity was a slow one. Christian beliefs and practices that resulted from cultural accommodation were the outcome of diverse dominant cultures in Byzantium which included many Jewish, Hellenistic and pagan cultural elements. It is therefore important to see how certain pagan elements have been absorbed into the religious traditions and beliefs of the Orthodox Byzantine society.³⁹

Alexiou points out that the change in the position of the Orthodox Church was perhaps one factor in the process of assimilation. Many pagan elements were absorbed into the Christian culture, for example, ancient cult sites were transformed into Christian shrines of similar association. Byzantium’s official policy towards paganism was cautious and tolerant resulting in many pagan elements and ancient superstitions being absorbed into the Christian faith.⁴⁰

John Chrysostom’s homilies are proof of the persistence of ritual lamentation⁴¹ in early Byzantine period. In his homilies, Chrysostom condemned violent practices of

³⁶ For an analysis of the political ideology in Byzantium from a historic anthropological point of view, see Ahrweiler, H., *Ιστορία της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας, 1280-1924, Το Βυζαντινό κράτος, Η πολιτική Ιδεολογία της Βυζαντινής Αυτοκρατορίας*. Translated by T. Drakopoulou, Athens, 1977.

³⁷ Cameron, A., *Agathias*, Oxford, 1970, p.1 – Hendrickx, “Agathias,” p. 68.

³⁸ Hendrickx, “Agathias,” p. 68.

³⁹ Hyperidis, “Αυτοκράτορες”, *Εγκυκλοπαιδικόν λεξικόν Ελευθερουδάκη*, vol. 8, Athens, 1930, p. 376-7. The phenomena of syncretism, synthesis and parallelism will be explored fully in another chapter.

⁴⁰ Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, p. 24.

⁴¹ On lamentation and Greek funeral rites see especially chapter five.

lamentation and described them as ‘blasphemies’. He is horrified at the pagan character of the scene since he believed it would be fatal to the Church as it was in its initial stages of establishment. Also, in the homily of Gregory of Nyssa, he attempts to persuade the lamenters to moderate their grief. Alexiou questions the Christian ideal, as the popular lament was condemned as pagan. In answering this, she refers to Gregory’s account on Makrina’s funeral:

*“But Gregory ensured that order was maintained by separating the men from the women, whom he wisely placed next to the holy sisters: ‘I took care that the chants should be sung with due rhythm and harmony, by arranging the two groups of singers on opposite sides, as in the liturgy, so that the chanting was properly blended with the sound of all the people joining in.’”*⁴²

The Church objected to the pagan associations and not the custom itself. Gregory of Nazianzen (329-89) described in his homilies a conflict between the official psalm singing of the Church and the spontaneous lamentation of the crowd at the funeral of Basil of Caesarea.⁴³

*“There were crowds of people everywhere, in the marketplaces, arcades and buildings two and three storeys high, all attending his funeral and walking behind, in front and alongside, trampling on one another. Thousands of people of every race and age, not known before, psalms giving way to lamentations, and philosophy overcome by passion. It was a struggle between followers and the outsiders – Greeks, Jews and immigrants...and the body itself only just escaped their clutches.”*⁴⁴

4. The Post–Byzantine Period

Post–Byzantine (or in Greek : *meta* – Byzantine) refers for the Greek Orthodox to the period after 1453, ending – in a certain sense – with the Greek revolution of 1821 and the birth of the new Greek state. In this sense, the Post–Byzantine period coincides with the so-called *Tourkokratia*, the epoch of Turkish Ottoman rule in Greece (and the previously

⁴² Alexiou, 1974, pp. 28 & 29.

⁴³ Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 30.

⁴⁴ Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 30.

Byzantine territory). In a wider sense, dictated by geo-political, military and cultural reality, the chronological range of the term can be extended into the 20th century.⁴⁵

The Greeks of *Tourkokratia*, were organised in the *millet* of the *Rum* (ethnic-religious group of the ‘Romans’), under their Patriarch and with their own institutions. In this *millet* Byzantine culture survived, but was influenced by cultural Turkish (Moslem) elements. Moreover, especially in the Western parts and the islands, of which some remained in Italian hands, Italian cultural (and artistic) influence was strong.⁴⁶

The Post-Byzantine Period is thus a continuation of the Byzantine Period for the Orthodox Christians who continued their traditions unabatedly within the framework of their Orthodox *millet*.

It can thus be said, in conclusion, that the Byzantine as well as the Post-Byzantine Periods were strongly conducive to the use of iconography and hagiography, and to the use of ‘supernatural’ figures, such as Michael, for the expression of their ideology as well as their world view and piety.

⁴⁵ Clogg, R., *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 7-46. For the period after 1821, see *Ibidem*, pp. 47-99. For the Orthodoxy during the *Tourkokratia*, see especially Zachariadou, E., “The Great Church in captivity, 1453 – 1586”, in Angold, M., (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Christianity. Eastern Christianity*. Cambridge, 2006, pp. 169-186, and Kitromilides, P.M., “Orthodoxy and the west: Reformation to Enlightenment”, *Ibidem*, pp. 187-209.

⁴⁶ Kitsikis, D., *Ιστορία της Οθωμανικής αυτοκρατορίας*, 1988, pp. 42-44.

Chapter 3

Archangel Michael represented as an ‘icon’ in the pure Byzantine and Post–Byzantine Orthodox context of a ‘theological art picture’

This chapter will mainly focus on the iconographic representation of Archangel Michael in the Byzantine and Post–Byzantine periods and therefore we will examine Dionysius of Fourná’s works, referring to the artistic and symbolic representation of Michael in the Byzantine traditional iconography. Dionysius of Fourná (εκ Φουρνά) is considered to be the great theoretician of the Orthodox-ecclesiastic iconography.¹ He was a monk and iconographic painter at Mount Athos during the Post–Byzantine period (the so-called Tourkokratia). His famous work, a manual entitled *Ερμηνεία της βυζαντινής ζωγραφικής τέχνης* (Interpretation of the Byzantine Art of Painting) was regarded as having played a considerable role in safeguarding the Byzantine Orthodox tradition, which was – at the time – under pressure, because of the Ottoman occupation of Greece and the impoverishment of the church in both a material as well as a spiritual sense.²

1. Dionysius of Fourná

The man and his work

The first part of Dionysius’ manual is based on older (now lost) handbooks on Byzantine art, while the second part presents his original thoughts on Orthodox iconography.³ In this field, Dionysius was mainly influenced by the Macedonian (13th and 14th centuries) and Cretan traditional schools (15th-16th centuries) but he added to his work prescriptions about Old Testament scenes, which seem to be entirely personal.⁴ Chatziphoti⁵ has thereby warned the reader that Dionysius was not a Byzantine, but a Post–Byzantine (in its historical meaning, thus a Greek-Orthodox, living in the Ottoman Empire, but following Byzantine traditions). Consequently, Dionysius has incorporated in his work not only the Byzantine technique and iconographic theology, but also that of other Post–

¹ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, A. (ed.), *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά: Ερμηνεία της ζωγραφικής τέχνης*, Thessaloniki, 2004, See also Chatziphoti, I.M., *Από το Βυζάντιο στον Νέο Ελληνισμό*, Vol. 2. Thessaloniki, 2001, pp. 93-111.

² Chatziphoti, *Από το Βυζάντιο*, pp. 93-95.

³ Papadopoulou- Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, pp. Kz ff.

⁴ Xyggopoulos, A., *Σχεδιάσμα ιστορίας της θρησκευτικής ζωγραφικής μετά την Άλωσιν*, Athens, 1957, p. 303.

⁵ Chatziphoti, *Από το Βυζάντιο*, p. 96.

Byzantines such as Damaskinos of Ioannina (fl.1728-33), and three other painters from Ioannina (in Epiros), Ioannikios, Kosmas and Seraphim (fl. Middle 18th century). Western influence is minimal in Dionysius' work, except perhaps in his vocabulary. In this respect too, Dionysius greatly influenced later Greek treatises on iconography; his work has been styled as “μάθημα μέγιστον ἠθνικῆς ἀποσυνειδησίας” (a very great lesson in ethnic self-consciousness).⁶

2. Representation of the Angels in the Early Christian Art

Early Christian art depicted an angel as a messenger clad in a simple tunic. Almost everything within the image has a symbolic aspect. The Christian angels of the first six centuries were illustrated without wings. The messengers of God of which the Bible tells us, were depicted as ordinary people. In old representations of the three young men in the furnace, the angel for example, cannot be distinguished from the other three.⁷ In later works, angels (and often John the Baptist - God's messenger) are represented with wings. Figures on icons have consistent facial appearances and hold attributes personal to them.⁸ Christ, the saints, and the angels all had halos:

*“De eenvoudige staf die de engel als bode op vroegere voorstellingen droeg werd veranderd in een kruisstaf. Vaak droegen zij ook een nimbus.”*⁹

The following example clearly illustrates to what extent Christian art was indebted to the classical art. In the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai is a mosaic scene from the Early Christian period depicting the ‘Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor’. On the triumphal arch above Christ, two angels offer sceptre and orb to Him. Identical gear to the Emperor's is found on a Roman triumphal arch. It is furthermore stated that: *“underneath the flying angels are the medallion busts of John the Baptist whose face has the configurations of a tragic mask, a style befitting this tragic prophet, and the virgin. The two represent the Old and the New Dispensation, being the intercessors who together*

⁶ Chatziphoti, p. 104.

⁷ Hendrix P., 143.

⁸ Hendrix, et al., - Theunissen, *Ikonen*, – compare also Anonymous, *Angels: all about angels, Archangels, Archangel Michael*

<http://angelstoday.net/index.php?lang=en&way=2Archangels/1michael> 2007/11/13.

⁹ Hendrix, et al., p. 143.

with Christ form what is called the Deesis, i.e. the Supplication. It is the earliest representation of this subject, which became very central in later Byzantine art."¹⁰

3. Symbolic Representation of Icons

Colours are used with symbolic meanings in icons. Gold, for example, symbolises the glory of Heaven, green is the colour of creation, red the divine life and blue is the colour of human life itself. In the icon of Jesus and Mary, where Jesus wears a red undergarment and a blue outer garment, red stands for God being divine first and then human, which is symbolised by the blue outer garment; then, Mary clad in a blue undergarment with a red outer garment which symbolises the opposite: a human being first and then becoming like God.¹¹ The colour white represents the uncreated essence of God i.e. the resurrection and transfiguration of Christ.¹²

Most icons include some letters (epigrammata) which depict an event or name of a person and are often calligraphically written.¹³

If we accept that in iconographic art the aim is to create a close communication between religious figures and believers, both pragmatic and symbolic, then Dionysius' interpretation of biblical scenes and religious concepts should lead us to a better understanding of the collective world view of the Byzantines in general. Mutatis mutandis, each of the following descriptions of the way Archangel Michael was conceptualised and portrayed in the Byzantine art should bring us closer to those reasons, conjunction of circumstances and dynamics which established his creation as an eternal supernatural model.

¹⁰ Galey, J., *Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine*, Massada Publishing Ltd, Israel, 1980, p. 85.

¹¹ Holweck, F.G., *St. Michael the Archangel* <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10275b.htm> 2007/11/16. It has been argued that this symbolic representation conveys the doctrine of deification by means of icons.

¹² Holweck, *St. Michael the Archangel*. On symbolism and colours, see Hendrix, et al, pp.16, 17, 27 & 112. - Lianouridis, V., "Bemerkinge oor Ikonografie" *Apollonia*, 1988, pp. 53-61.

¹³ "Symbolism in icons" from "<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Icon>".

4. Representation of Archangel Michael in the Arts in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine periods

Archangel Michael is generally illustrated with sword in one hand¹⁴ and a shield, spear, date tree branch, or white banner in the other. He is almost always dressed in red and portrayed as Israel's protector, trampling on the dragon (Satan).¹⁵ Occasionally he is represented with a pair of scales with which he weighs the souls of the departed.¹⁶ The representations of Michael are very similar to those of St. George but with one difference: Michael has wings.¹⁷

4.1 The illustrations of Archangel Michael in Byzantine churches according to Dionysius of Fournia

In instructing students the technique of drawing in churches¹⁸ and the position of the angels, Dionysius of Fournia explains their hierarchical order as follows: Inside the *bema* in the midst of the eastern arch, under the referred prophets, picture the Virgin sitting on a throne and holding Christ as Baby and over her write the following epigraph: “Μ□τηρ Θεο□ □ □ψηλοτ□ρα τ□ν Ο□ραν□ν”. At her sides (□ψηλοτ□ρα), picture two Archangels, Michael and Gabriel, as leaders and thereafter starting from her left, picture the twelve principal Holy days and the Passion of Christ as well as the events which follow the Resurrection; picture these all around in the temple, under the images of the prophets till the right side of the Virgin (□ψηλοτ□ρα), forming thus the first rank of the hierarchical order¹⁹.

At another instant²⁰ he instructs his students to picture Michael on the first σταυροθ□λιον, out of the *bema* above the *diaconica*, in the midst of clouds supported by four angels and holding a paper with the following words: “□γ□ □κ το□ Θεο□ □ξ□λθον κα□ □κω· ο□δ□ γ□ρ □π□ □μαντο□ □λ□λυθα, □λλ□ □κε□ν□ς με □π□στειλε”. Write also another epigraph as follows: “□ησο□ς Χριστ□ς □ Μεγ□λης

¹⁴ Grabar, *Byzantine Painting*, p.186, compare also Hendrix, et al., pp.16, 17, 27 & 112.

¹⁵ *Angels: all about angels, Archangels, Archangel Michael*

<http://angelstoday.net/index.php?lang=en&way=2Archangels/1michael> 2007/11/13.

¹⁶ Finney, D. *Archangels and Guardian Angels*, <http://www.greatdreams.com/archangels.htm> 2007/09/18.

¹⁷ Kiefer, J. *Michael and All Angels*, <http://satucket.com/lectionary/Michael.htm>, 2007/11/16.

¹⁸ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, pp. 215 ff.

¹⁹ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 216.

²⁰ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 217.

Βουλῆς ἰγγελος”. At the third σταυροθῆλιον picture the Archangel Michael holding in his right hand a sword and in his left hand a paper with the following words:

“Τοῖς μὲν καθαροῖς προστρῶχουσι καρδῶν
ἐν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεῶν δὲ
συμπαθῶς μου τὸν σπῆθιν κτείνω”.

According to further instructions by Dionysius of Fourná, regarding the inner space of the temple, Michael should be represented at the right side of the main entrance door.²¹ In his hands, he should keep a sword and a paper with the following text:

“Θεοῦ στρατηγῶς ἐμὶ τὸν σπῆθιν φέρων
καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐσιν ἡμῶν φέρων
φρουρῶν, προμαχῶν, περμαχῶν καὶ
τοῖς δὲ καρδῶν ὑπαρῶν ἐσιν ἡμῶν
πικρῶς κτείνω ἐν τῷ ρομφαῶν τῷ δεξιῷ

Referring to epigrams, Dionysius explains in detail the way each of them ought to be formulated regarding structure and content. With regard to Archangels,²² he instructs that in icons known as *Theotokion* (the so-called *Rodon*) where the two Archangels are represented at the sides of Mother of God holding Christ as a baby, Michael should hold a paper with the following words:

“Ἰσθρὸς φαίνει, χαρεῖ μὲν τῷ”.

As for Archangel Gabriel, his text should read as follows:

“Στῆθιν βαστῶσα τὸν θεόν”,

On a paper held by both of them, according to Dionysius, the following greeting should appear:

“Ἰδὼν τὸ μῦσαντον, χαρεῖ μὲν βλαστῶσα”

In the case where Michael is painted on the portal of the temple,²³ the epigram accompanying him should read as follows:

“Βροτῶν βλάπτοντες τὸ ζῆλον τεταμῶνον,
σοὶ ββηλοὶ καὶ θυμοὶ τὸν τρῶπον,
συσταλέτε πρὸς μετνοίαν τῆς χειρὸς,
ἐδὲ μὲν προσψάητε τὸ θεῶν πᾶν.
γὰρ γὰρ πρὸν τῶν παλαιῶν προστῆς
τῆς χθινῆς τῆς νῆας δὲ μὲν φλάξ.

²¹ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 219: On the left side should appear Gabriel holding also a paper with this message:

“Ἰξυρῶν κλάμον τῆς χειρὸς φέρων
τὸν ἐσιν ἡμῶν συνταγῶν πορῶν
φρουρῶν, στργοντας· ἐδὲ μὲν, φθερῶν τῆς χειρὸς.

²² Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 229 § 22.

²³ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 231.

If Michael is represented on horseback the following lines should appear on the epigram:

φ□ ππον ρ□ τ□ με ο□ προσι□ ντες
δ□ στομον κατ□ χοντα χειρ□ □ ομδα□ αν·
στ□ φη βαρβ□ ρων □ κδι□ κω κα□ πλ□ ττω·
□ μο□ δ□ ναο□ □ π□ ρχει Θε□ ς μ□ γας·
τ□ δειν□ ν α□ τ□ □ στις βουληθ□ πρ□ ζαι,
πατ□ ζω τ□ □ ομφα□ □ ν τ□ χει.

Finally, in icons which represent the Judgement Day,²⁴ Michael should appear on horse riding through the Universe and above the Sea holding the message: “□ γε□ ρεσθε ο□ καθε□ δοντες”, “□ ποδιδο□ σα □ γ□ κα□ □ θ□ λασσα το□ ς □ αυτ□ ν νεκρο□ ς.”

4.2 Byzantine illustrations of miracles narrated in the Old Testament

In the following section we shall present a detailed description of the way miracles referring to Archangel Michael have been visually illustrated in the Byzantine iconography following their interpretation of Old Testament (Septuagint)²⁵ testimonials as related by Dionysus of Fournā.

4.3 The nine orders²⁶

Based on the interpretation of Dionysius the Areopagite's hierarchic structure of the angelic orders, Dionysius of Fournā explains that the nine orders of angels are classified in three classes and placed accordingly in the Byzantine iconography:

- a) *As seen through the eyes of the prophet Isaiah (Septuagint 6: 1-3), in this class belongs Thrones, Cherubim and Seraphim. The Thrones are illustrated as flaming wheels, which are circled by wings bearing eyes and interwoven as to form a royal throne. The Cherubim appear with one head and two wings whilst the Seraphim have six wings two of which cover their faces, two other their feet and the other two open to support their flight while they hold in their hands the following inscription:*

“□ γιος □ γιος □ γιος”.

As for the ‘tetramorphes’ these are painted as described by the prophet Ezekiel (Septuagint 1: 5-13): angel-faced figures, with six wings and a crown on their

²⁴ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 288.

²⁵ The Septuagint's numbering and names do not correspond to the English Bible and are not uniformly identical.

²⁶ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, pp. 45-46, § 1.

head holding the Gospel against their chest with their two hands, while an eagle is placed over their head between their two open wings; furthermore, two painted animals, namely a lion on the right wing and a calf on the left wing are facing upwards holding Gospels in their feet.

- b) In the second class, called 'decorative' (διακόσμησις), belong 'Κυριότητες', 'Δυνάμεις', 'Εξουσίες'. They are represented dressed in long fine clothes (στιχάρια) with golden-green belts (ωράρια), holding golden sticks in their right hand and in their left a stamp shaped x.
- c) The third class consists of 'Leaders', 'Archangels' and 'Angels': dressed in army clothes with golden belts they hold sticks topped with axes and spears.

4.4 The fall of Lucifer (Εωσφόρος)²⁷

As we read in the description of this icon by Dionysius, *amidst sky Christ is sitting as a king on a throne, holding the Gospel and saying* (as narrated in Luke 10: 18):

'I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven'; and around him the orders of angels standing with fear; and Michael standing in the middle and pointing at Christ for the other orders to see, he says on a paper:

“Στ□μεν καλ□ς, στ□μεν μετ□ φόβου. Δε□τε προσκυνήσωμεν □ βασιλε□ □μ□ν Θε□”, and beneath them mountains and amidst them a great opening (χάσμα) and over it is written “Ο Τάρταρος” whilst the order of Lucifer (Εωσφόρος) appears falling from the sky. The higher standing angels are splendid and the lower are darker and those beneath still darker and the others lower are black and the others placed a degree lower are very black, and those who stand very low are half angels, and other creatures again black and dark are demons and beneath all these, in the Tartarus, Lucifer as the darkest and holiest of all, lying on his stomach and staring upwards (Isaiah 14:12).

4.5 Balaam departing and prevented by the angels to bring a curse upon the Hebrews²⁸

In this icon there are two vineyards and in the midst of these Balaam is mounting a mule and beating it with a small stick, while the mule, on its knees, with its head turned is

²⁷ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, pp. 46, § 2.

²⁸ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 58, § 59.

facing Balaam; and Archangel Michael stands in front of him with his bare sword, and further the Archangels of the king mounted on horses between two mountains (Numbers 22: 23-35).

4.6 Jesus of Naui looking at the Lord's general in chief²⁹

In this icon, Archangel Michael dressed in military outfit is holding a bare sword and Jesus of Naui with greyish hair is kneeling in front of him looking at him while he is untying the angel's shoes (Jesus of Naui 5:13-15).

4.7 Gideon is harvesting and the Angel of the Lord who looks at him empowers him against Madiam³⁰

In a field people are harvesting wheat, an altar is on fire and Archangel Michael holding in his hand a staff touches with it the altar; kneeling in front of him, Gideon expends his hands towards him with a sickle placed near him (Judges 6: 20-22).

4.8 The three children thrown in the furnace for not having venerated the icon are being cooled by the Angel³¹

The icon illustrates a furnace and the three children inside it with their clothes on, having their hands and eyes turned towards the sky and Archangel Michael amidst them; outside the furnace there are corpses of soldiers burned to death by the fire with the golden icon of the king nearby (Daniel 3: 10-23).

4.9 Daniel in the pit of lions accepts food from Abbakoum³²

In a dark pit Daniel, surrounded by seven lions, is lifting his face and hands upwards, while above him Archangel Michael is holding by his hair the prophet Abbakoum who carries a basket of bread and meal and giving them to Daniel (Daniel 12: 31-39). The movement holding the prophet by his hair indicates power and authority attributed to Archangel Michael both by his believers and artists.

²⁹ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 59, § 63.

³⁰ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 59, § 64.

³¹ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 69, § 113.

³² Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, pp. 70-71, §119.

4.10 How the miracles of the Archangel Michael are recorded in the Byzantine iconography³³

i) *Michael is showing the water to Agar*

This icon illustrates:

Abraham at the door of a house and in front of him Agar holding by his hand Ishmael, as a little child, and carrying a water container made of skin and a basket with bread on her shoulders; a little further on the mountain, Ishmael is lying under a tree; and a little further again Agar and the archangel pointing with his finger at water on the earth for her to see.

The archangel's *pointing finger* stresses the authority administered to Michael by his believers

ii) *Michael prevents Abraham from slaughtering Isaac*³⁴

Here the believers are looking at:

Abraham on a mountain having placed Isaac - as a little child - on wood, is holding a knife ready to slaughter him; above him there is an angel who is showing him a ram whose horns are tied to a plant and saying in writing on a paper:

“Αβραάμ, Αβραάμ, μὴ πῖθῃς τὸν χεῖρα σου πρὸ τοῦ παιδίου”.

At the feet of the mountain there stand two youngsters holding a saddled donkey (Genesis 22: 9-13).

iii) *Michael prevents Balaam on the road*³⁵: Icon description as above: 8.5.3.

iv) *Michael warns Satan not to enter the body of sleeping Moses*³⁶

In this icon Moses is lying fast asleep on a mountain, with Satan bent on his feet and the archangel Michael standing near (Moses's) head; with his hands extended towards Satan the Archangel is warning him with his sword (Deuteronomy 34:5).

v) *Michael appears in front of Nani and orders him to untie his shoe*³⁷:

Description as above in 8.5.4.

³³ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 174, § 42.

³⁴ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 52, § 33.

³⁵ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 58, § 59.

³⁶ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 59, § 61.

³⁷ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 59, § 63.

- vi) *Michael appearing to Gideon empowers him against Madiam*³⁸:

Description as above in 8.5.5

- vii) *Michael announces the birth of Samson*³⁹

Here Manoe, as an old bald man, with his wife next to him are pictured on their knees with their hands turned upwards and their eyes looking up; in front of them there is an altar with a lamb in flames and above it the Archangel raising together with the flames to heaven (Judges 13:2-25).

- viii) *Michael appears in front of David, and the killing of the people stops by means of sacrifice*⁴⁰

In this icon the Archangel is represented in the middle of a threshing floor with his arm extended and holding his sword; he is surrounded by fields where on human corpses are scattered. In one corner of the threshing floor there is an altar where plough parts, wheat and two oxen are in flames; in front of the altar on his knees is David with his face turned towards the angel; at the other side of the altar there are two soldiers; standing between David and the angel is the prophet Gad who, with his face turned towards David, is inviting David to look at the angel that he is pointing at; close by is the castle of Jerusalem (II Kings 24: 15-24).

- ix) *Semichirim fighting in Jerusalem while the descended from heaven Lord's angel beats 185 000 soldiers*⁴¹

A castle stands on a mountain and beneath it one sees a group of soldiers, some of them are killed, others are falling from their horses and others, looking back with fear in their eyes, are fleeing. From above, amidst the clouds, Archangel Michael is holding in his right hand a fiery sword drawn in great splendour (*Septuaginta*, Kings IV, 19:35).

- x) *Michael saves the three children thrown in the furnace for not having venerated the icon*⁴² : Description as above in 8.5.6.

³⁸ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 59, § 64.

³⁹ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 60, § 66.

⁴⁰ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 63, § 82.

⁴¹ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 67, § 104.

xi) *Michael brings food to Daniel by Abbakoum*⁴³: Description as above in 8.5.7.

xii) *Michael freeing Constantinople from the Persian occupation*⁴⁴:

Here stands a great and beautiful castle and beneath it there are tents and a group of soldiers on foot and on horses slaughtering each other; others are holding ladders against the walls of the castle whilst over their heads, with immense splendour, Michael stands amidst clouds holding a fiery sword.

xiii) *Michael rescuing his temple in Chonae from flooding*⁴⁵:

In the middle of Chonae-temple there stands Saint Archippos, as an old man, with pointed beard, praying while in front of him Michael is standing beating at the foundation of the temple with a spear, tearing a stone. From the mountains above, two rivers are descending, unite in front of the church and enter the opening of the stone; on the mountains people are cleaning the route of the rivers with spades and spuds.

xiv) *Archangels Michael and Gabriel rescue the child from drowning in the sea*⁴⁶:

In the middle of the sea is a sailing boat and in it three monks. One of them is holding the wheel while the others two, having tied a big stone around the neck of a child, are throwing it head first into the sea; on both sides of the child two archangels in flying position are receiving it; out of the sea there is a monastery with a church inside and in the midst of it the same child is asleep, having the stone at his neck and the father superior of the monastery standing beside it touching it with a stick; behind the father superior a gathering of monks are standing in wonder and admiration.

⁴² Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 69, § 113.

⁴³ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, pp. 70-71, §119.

⁴⁴ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 174.

⁴⁵ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 175.

⁴⁶ Papadopoulou-Kérameus, *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά*, p. 175.

5. Archangel Michael represented on Byzantine coinage and stamps and used as propaganda in Byzantine politics

Today – as well as in the Greek past – one can define propaganda as an ideology that tries to promote a belief system or dogma which can be religious, political or economical. It is also believed that propaganda uses mass communication to establish an ideology: “*Postage stamps, coins, paper currency, music, art, and drama have all been used for propaganda.*”⁴⁷ Also, Koetzle comments in his book ‘Photo Icons’ that “*photographs, pictures from films, television, video and digital media all fight to catch our attention*” and “*they try to seduce us, to manipulate, eroticise and even at times to inform us.*”⁴⁸ Finally, Larson concludes that propaganda also aims at uniformity in the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours of its receivers.⁴⁹

Hendrickx writes that in antiquity, during the first century, propaganda was used in politics and the ‘prosperity-idea’ found on coins is an example of this. He adds: “*In ‘n tydperk, waar media soos ons ken, totaal ontbreek het, het die munte se boodskap ‘n primêre rol gespeel. Hulle, en nie skrifte en boeke nie, is algemeen versprei en gebruik, en was dus ‘n allereerste kommunikasiemiddel van boodskappe en idees.*”⁵⁰

In this modern day and age, coins are still used for propaganda as stated: “*...the secondary side (the reverse)*⁵¹ *is seldom wasted; various pieces of information directly relating to its role as medium of exchange can occur there (if not provided for on the obverse), and additional space is likely to be used propagandistically, evoking some treasured aspect of the state’s territory, its philosophy of governing, or its people’s culture...*”⁵²

⁴⁷ Larson, C. U., *Persuasion, Reception and Responsibility*, Wadsworth Publishing Company, California, 1989, p. 360.

⁴⁸ Koetzle, H., *Photo icons, The story behind the picture 1827-1991*, Singapore, 2005, p. 6.

⁴⁹ For further reading on the definition of propaganda see Larson, *Persuasion*, p. 360.

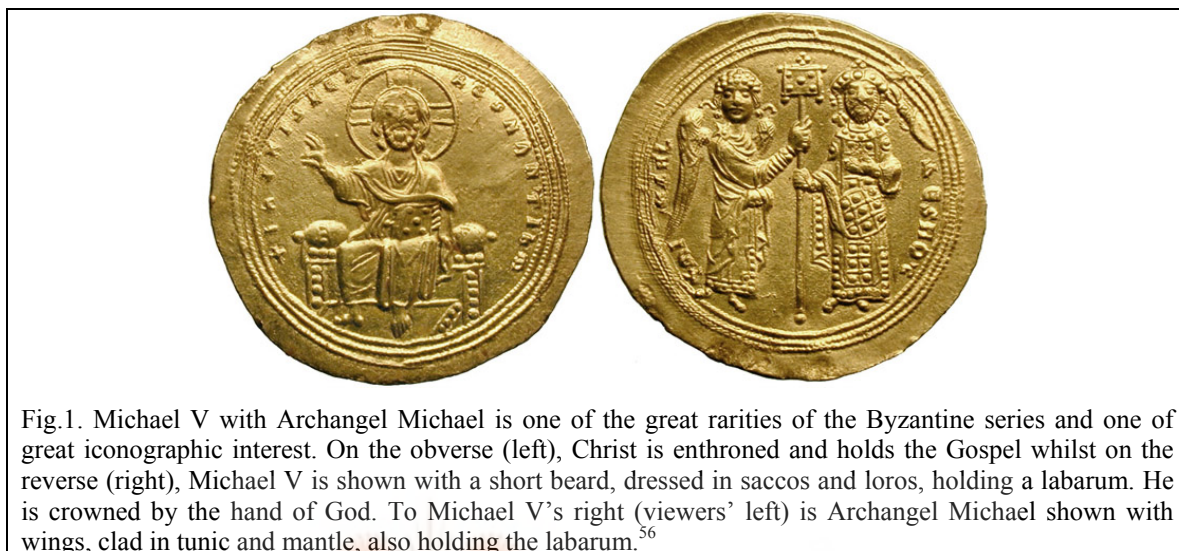
⁵⁰ Hendrickx, *Geskiedenis van die Romeins-Hellenistiese Beskawing (ca 330-30 v.C.)*, Johannesburg, 1993, pp. 407-409.

⁵¹ “The term **obverse**, and its opposite, **reverse**, describe the two sides of units of currency and many other kinds of two-sided objects, most often in reference to coins...”

["http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Obverse_and_reverse"](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Obverse_and_reverse).

⁵² ["http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_V"](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_V).

With regard to the above, it is very likely that Byzantine Emperor, Michael V,⁵³ in his sudden seize of sole power, would have issued coins in his own name both to advertise his new position and to gain support.⁵⁴ In fig. 1 Michael V is represented with Archangel Michael next to him on a gold coin (*histamenon nomisma*), but the emperor's identity is disputed.⁵⁵



Grierson associates it with Michael V the Caulker or Kalphates,⁵⁷ whilst Fagerlie and Hendy argue that it is Michael IV because in Ancient Greece, for example, the head of a god or goddess, often called the obverse, was the larger image whilst the smaller image of a king was on the reverse. In the Hellenistic period, the head of the ruler was on the one side, which is almost always regarded as the obverse. The change happened in the coinage of Alexander the Great, which continued to be minted long after his death. After his occupation of Egypt he portrayed his face on the obverse as a god-king. This was

⁵³ "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Obverse_and_reverse". Michael V (1015-1042) was Byzantine Emperor for four months in 1041-1042, successor and nephew of Michael IV. Shortly before his death, Michael IV granted his nephew and adopted son of his wife Zoe, Michael V, the title of Kaiser. Michael V succeeded to the throne on 10 Dec 1041 with the help of his other uncle, John the Eunuch. After a disagreement he banished his uncle John the Eunuch to a monastery; later banished his adopted mother Zoe and became sole Emperor. A mob surrounded the palace and demanded Zoe's restoration as co-ruler with her sister Theodora, who in turn declared the emperor deposed. Michael V fled to a monastery, where he was arrested, blinded and castrated. He died as a monk on 24 August 1042.

⁵⁴ "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Histamenon_nomisma-Micael_V-sb1776.jpg": This argument is disputed as it is believed that timeframe is a problem - Zoe was exiled on 18 April and Michael's downfall was on 21 April 1041.

⁵⁵ "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Histamenon_nomisma-Micael_V-sb1776.jpg".

⁵⁶ CNG coins <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/sb/sb1826.html>.

⁵⁷ "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Histamenon_nomisma-Micael_V-sb1776.jpg": Michael V's father was a caulker, hence his nickname Michael V Kalaphates.

done to secure the allegiance of the Egyptians, who had regarded the Pharaohs as divine.⁵⁸

The opposite situation occurred in Byzantine coinage, where the head of Christ became the obverse and the head of the Emperor the reverse. This religious image or symbol on the obverse, usually an image of Christ for larger denominations, with the head of the Emperor on the reverse, reinforced the bond of the state and the divine order. Justinian II used this style in the gold coins from 695 which initiated the Islamic Caliph Abd al-Malik who had previously copied Byzantine designs, to replace Christian symbols with Islamic equivalents. At the end of the Iconoclasm, the Justinian II type was revived - with variations which remained the norm until the end of the Empire.⁵⁹

Fagerlie and Hendy argue that it is Michael IV and not Michael V who stands next to Archangel Michael, (as Grierson initially stated)⁶⁰ since it was minted in Thessaloniki, the headquarters of Michael IV, during his Bulgarian campaign of AD 1040-1041.⁶¹ They furthermore affirm that it is a reverse type as the emperor is placed on the reverse instead of the obverse, a type which inspired the iconography of later coins of Thessaloniki under Alexius I.⁶²

As Archangel Michael was the protector of the Angeloi House, he as such, also appeared on the coins of the Emperors Isaac II and Alexios III and on coins of the despots of Epirus. The old coins which were cut for the Komnenoi and Angelos Emperors were taken as model by the Emperors of Thessaloniki.⁶³

On a bronze coin Emperor Manuel of Thessaloniki (1230-1237) is represented together with Saint Constantine. Between them is a cross and behind them the half figure of Archangel Michael with open wings holding a sword. Then, on another rather unusual

⁵⁸ Cormack, R., *Writing in Gold, Byzantine Society and its Icons*, 1985, George Philip, London, ISBN 054001085-5. "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Obverse_and_reverse".

⁵⁹ "<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Icon>" and "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Obverse_and_reverse".

⁶⁰ "Grierson was persuaded by Hendy's argument, but others have been reluctant to declare the matter settled": retrieved from "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Histamenon_nomisma-Micael_V-sb1776.jpg" 2007/09/20.

⁶¹ "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Histamenon_nomisma-Micael_V-sb1776.jpg" 2007/09/20.

⁶² "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Histamenon_nomisma-Micael_V-sb1776.jpg" 2007/09/20.

⁶³ Nicol, D., *To Δεσποτάτον της Ηπείρου*, transl. P. Leutia, Ioannina, 1974, pp. 173 - 176.

type of coin, Emperor Manuel is represented together with Saint Demetrius sitting on thrones holding between them a building with three towers on which an epigram reads as follows:

ΠΟΛΙΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ ΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ(Σ) Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ. On the other side of the coin, Archangel Michael stands with open wings. It has been argued that Emperors of the Angelos house were not really flattered to be associated with Angels.⁶⁴

Then there are two stamps⁶⁵ made of lead and silver plated representing Archangel Michael on the one side and the figure of the Emperor on the other. On the one side of this stamp (found in Corfu) Michael is holding in both hands the Earth and the sceptre. On the other stamp Archangel Michael is holding the sword and the sceptre.⁶⁶



⁶⁴ Nicol, *To Δεσποτάτον*, p. 176.

⁶⁵ Nicol, *To Δεσποτάτον*, p. 174: Michael I (1204-15) and Michael II (1231-71), both Emperors of Epiros.

⁶⁶ Nicol, *To Δεσποτάτον*, p. 176.

Chapter 4

The characteristics and functions of Michael in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Periods

The vast popularity of Michael, especially among the youth in the Byzantine period, but also in general throughout the whole spectrum of society, invites us to examine the characteristics and functions of Michael in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Periods. Michael's functions continued into the Post-Byzantine period and beyond into the modern era in Greece, but more specifically in the role of angel of death i.e. the angel who brings the souls of the dying into the supernatural world. As a result, characteristics of the Biblical, Apocalyptical and Apocryphal Archangel were intermingled with ancient mythological figures (e.g. Charon and Hades)¹, Roman military traditions and contemporary Byzantine fashion.² (These elements of syncretism, synthesis and parallelism will be discussed in chapter six.)

1. Characteristics of the Archangel Michael:

The origin and nature of an angel is that of a pure spirit, created by God: "Are not all angels ministering spirits sent to serve those who will inherit salvation?"³ This means that the angelic nature is entirely spiritual⁴ and thus to abridge Archangel Michael's characteristics would purely be associated with human characteristics.

Archangel Michael is widely known and characterised as the 'Warrior Archangel'; as one of the chief princes of all the other Angels. He furthermore stands for justice and truth and lives from his integrity.⁵ He is portrayed as the leader of the celestial armies of the Lord who fight against Satan's wicked forces:

¹ Hendrickx, "Die dood van Digenis – mistifikasie van 'n Bisantynse held," *Literator* 14, 1 (1993), pp. 99-106 – Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*.

² Gale, *Sinai and the Monastery*, p. 85 – Hendrickx, "Die dood van Digenis" pp. 99-106.

³ Heb 1:14.

⁴ "<http://www.catholic-forum.com/saints/ncd00538.htm>" 2007/11/16.

⁵ Dn.10:13,21 – King, M. *Chief Rainbow Warrior: Archangel Michael* 2006 King, M., "Chief Rainbow Warrior: Archangel Michael", <http://www.americanchronicle.com/articles/viewArticle.asp?articleID=5580> 2007/11/16.

*“And there was war in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon and his angels fought back.”*⁶

According to Jewish writings, Michael was considered to be the ‘Viceroy of Heaven’. This was a title applied to the great rival Lucifer before his fall.⁷

2. Functions of the Archangel Michael

Archangel Michael was given four major offices/ titles according to Christian tradition.⁸

- i. To fight Satan (Michael is the supreme enemy of Satan and the fallen angels).
- ii. To rescue the souls of the faithful from the power of the enemy, especially at the hour of death. It is believed that Michael gives each soul the chance to redeem itself at the hour of death – disconcerting the devil and his demons.
- iii. To protect and be the advocate or champion of God’s people. (Michael is the patron of the chosen people in the Old Testament and guardian of the church as revered by the military orders of knights during the middle ages).
- iv. To call away from earth and bring souls to judgement⁹ (Michael is the Christian angel of the dead as he carries the souls of the dead to heaven).

According to Rabbinic Jewish tradition and the Midrash,¹⁰

- i. Michael also acted as the advocate of Israel at the time of the Exodus, when Satan accused the Israelites of idolatry. He also declared that the Israelites were deserving of death by drowning in the Red Sea. It is said that the angel of Egypt, Uzza, called upon Michael to plead before God but Michael remained silent, and it was God Himself who defended Israel.¹¹
- ii. Michael had to fight the princes of other nations as well as the angel Samael, whose enmity dated from the time Samael was thrown out of heaven. It is said

⁶ Rv. 12:7.

⁷ Anonymous, “Michael”, <http://www.answers.com/topic/michael> 2007/09/19.

⁸ St. Michael the Archangel <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10275b.htm> 2007/11/16;
[http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_\(archangel\)](http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_(archangel))

⁹ Compare also Graham, *Angels: God’s Secret Agents*, London, 1976, p.55.

¹⁰ Midrash: the term “midrash” is a Hebrew word which refers to a method of exegesis of a Biblical text. This term can also refer to a collection of Midrashic teachings, in the form of legal, exegetical or homiletical commentaries on the Tanakh - Anonymous, “Michael”, www.answers.com/topic/michael.

¹¹ Anonymous, “Michael (archangel)”, [http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_\(archangel\)](http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_(archangel)) 2007/11/16.

that Samael grabbed the wings of Michael, to bring him down with him as he fell; but Michael was saved by God.¹²

As seen, Archangel Michael is characterised as a warrior Archangel due to his most primary function, which also distinguishes him from the other entire heavenly host. This primary function is to battle Satan and his demons.¹³ Not only is he portrayed as a warrior Angel, but also as Israel's protector, according to Jewish tradition and the Bible. This is the reason for the belief that Michael gave victory in war to his clients. He was thus also regarded as patron of the Church and orders of knights during the Middle Ages.¹⁴ Within an African Christian Orthodox context, the Armenian Chronographer Abu Salih (end 12th century AD) wrote that "*all the kings of Abyssinia are crowded with the royal crown in the Church of the Angel Michael or the Church of the Angel Michael or the Church of Saint George, beneath their pictures,*" thus underlining their equal prestige and value in Orthodoxy.¹⁵

It must be noted, however, that although St. Michael is regarded as a patron in war, *early* Christians regarded St. George, St. Theodore, St. Demetrius, and St. Serguis as their military patrons, whilst they gave St. Michael the care of the sick.¹⁶

Apart from these functions, Archangel Michael answers Daniel's prayer by helping angel Gabriel in his contest with the angel of Persia, Dobiël.¹⁷ In Jewish tradition and in The Bible, the prophet Daniel experiences a vision after having undergone a period of fasting. In his article 'Opstanding, en Daniël 12:1-4', Nel¹⁸ states that the *genre* of this part is that of an apocalypse which can be categorised into two subgenres, those with otherworldly experiences and those which offer an historical overview. He furthermore states that the periscope of this part – of the Book of Daniel – offers for an apocalypse: "*a genre of*

¹² Anonymous, "Michael (archangel)", [http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_\(archangel\)](http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_(archangel)) 2007/11/16.

¹³ King, M., "Chief Rainbow Warrior: Archangel Michael", <http://www.americanchronicle.com/articles/viewArticle.asp?articleID=5580> 2007/11/16.

¹⁴ Finney, D., "Archangels" <http://www.greatdreams.com/Archangels.htm> 2007/09/18.

¹⁵ Vantini, G. (ed.), *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*, Heidelberg and Warsaw, 1975, pp. 339-340.

¹⁶ Retrieved from <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10275b.htm> 2007/11/16 & Finney, D., "Archangels" <http://www.greatdreams.com/Archangels.htm> 2007/09/18. Greek tradition has it that Michael's apparition took place in the first century. Today, a feast in commemoration of it on 6 September is celebrated.

¹⁷ Anonymous, "Michael (archangel)", [http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_\(archangel\)](http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_(archangel)), 2007/11/16.

¹⁸ Nel, M., "Opstanding, en Daniël 12:1-4", *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 88 (2006) (N.S. 17), pp. 15-29.

revealed literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, insofar as it involves another, supernatural world."¹⁹

In Daniel's vision, an angel names Michael as the protector of Israel.²⁰ Michael arrives to answer Daniels' prayers after being withstood by the Prince of Persia for 21 days:

*"But the prince of the Persian kingdom resisted me twenty-one days. Then Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me, because I was detained there with the king of Persia. '... but first I will tell you what is written in the Book of Truth. (No one supports me against them except Michael, your prince. And in the first year of Darius the Mede, I took my stand to support and protect him.)"*²¹

Daniel is informed that Michael also appears as Israel's representative and guardian angel to gain the victory on behalf of Israel. Archangel Michael will stand for Israel during the Tribulation to come: *"At that time Michael, the great prince who protects your people, will arise."*²² It is believed²³ that Michael's role as leader may be seen as both military and judicial as it is described in Zephaniah 3:1. Here, he represents Israel in the celestial court and executes God's judgement when the decision is made in favour of Israel. According to Nel, this description serves as parallel to the scene of judgement in Daniel 7:9-10: he proposes that Michael's role should be seen as both military and judicial – since he represents Israel in the heavenly court and carries out God's judgement in favour of Israel.²⁴ Nel describes Melchisedek as the one who executes the divine judgement whilst the angels execute it according to Henoch 2:11-13. Therefore, Daniel's visions 9-12 can be classified as epiphany visions, whilst Daniel 7 and 8 are symbolic visions. Nel

¹⁹ Nel, "Opstanding, en Daniël", pp. 15-29.

²⁰ Dn 10:13, 21.

²¹ Anonymous, "Michael", www.answers.com/topic/michael– Compare also Dn 10:13 & 21.

²² Dn 12:1, see also Nel, "Opstanding, en Daniël", p. 18.

²³ Nel, "Opstanding, en Daniël", pp. 15-29.

²⁴ Nel, "Opstanding, en Daniël", pp. 17, 24-25, Nel says that the author of Daniel 12 projects the final battle wherein Antiochus IV will be brought to a fall from heaven to show that God is involved in everything. He furthermore states that Michael appears as Israel's representative and guardian angel to gain the victory on behalf of Israel. Then, Michael shall stand up on behalf of Israel – he is the one who stands against Antiochus IV, i.e. the one that guards the Jews. This image takes the reader behind the scenes, to see what happens in heaven, which is the determining factor in the outcome of the battle which is happening on earth, leading thus to a state of suffering which is worst than what the Jews have ever experienced.

says that the structure of Daniel 9 -12 shows various resemblances. According to Daniel 10:1-19, a heavenly being appears on the scene in order to prepare the listener for the visions. Thereafter, the revelation is described in Daniel 10:20-12:3. This is regarded as the climax of the book of Daniel – Daniel twice receives revelations which are difficult to understand.²⁵

According to Rabbinic Jewish²⁶ tradition, other functions of Michael include the prevention of the sacrifice of Abraham's son Isaac and the rescue of Abraham from the furnace into which he had been thrown by Nimrod. Then there is the episode where Michael saved Jacob, while still in his mother's womb, from being killed by Samael. He is said to be the patron of Adam as he was there when Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden of Eden and taught Adam how to farm. Also, it is said that when Adam died, Michael helped convince God to clean Adam's soul from sin and allow it to be brought to heaven.²⁷

Also, Michael is said to have been the teacher of Moses; the reason why the Israelites are indebted to their advocate for the supreme good of the Torah. It is furthermore said that Michael declined to bring Moses' soul to God because he had been Moses' teacher.²⁸ Michael confronts Satan over Moses' right of proper burial by disputing over the dead body of Moses.²⁹ It is believed that the angel who intermediated between God and Moses on Mount Sinai was Michael.

3. Functions of the Archangel Michael in Islam

In Islamic tradition (Arabic literature and the Qur'an³⁰), Michael is called Mikha'il, Meeka'eel or Mikhal. He is portrayed as the angel who carries out Allah's Commands concerning the rains etc., and the provisions for mankind. Meeka'eel is in charge of the

²⁵ Nel, "Opstanding, en Daniël", pp. 15-29.

²⁶ "Michael (archangel)", [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_\(archangel\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_(archangel)) 2007/11/12; compare also Anonymous, "Michael (archangel)", [http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_\(archangel\)](http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_(archangel)) 2007/11/16.

²⁷ "Michael (archangel)", [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_\(archangel\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_(archangel)) 2007/11/12; compare also Anonymous, "Michael (archangel)", [http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_\(archangel\)](http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_(archangel)) 2007/11/16.

²⁸ Anonymous, "Michael (archangel)", [http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_\(archangel\)](http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_(archangel)) 2007/11/16.

²⁹ Jude 9.

³⁰ In the Qur'an Michael is mentioned only once, in Sura 2: 98.

food and the rain whilst other angels who are in charge of the clouds, seas, rivers and the winds work under him. Michael gets the order from Allah and then orders the others under his command.³¹ Furthermore, in the Islamic faith, Michael appears as second to Gabriel. During the creation of Adam, God first send Gabriel and then Michael to fetch clay to form man. When Adam and Eve were banned from paradise, it is said that Gabriel was sent to Adam whilst Michael to Eve to pass on comfort.³²



³¹ Najaar, A, *I am a Muslim*, no ISBN or date of publication, p. 158 - Also compare Anonymous, "Michael", www.answers.com/topic/michael.

³² Anonymous, "Michael", www.answers.com/topic/michael.

Chapter 5

Funeral laments and death rites in the Orthodox Greek society and the role of Archangel Michael

In this chapter we shall examine survivals of death rites and laments in Christian Orthodox Greece with special attention to the *rites of passage* (i.e. passage from the state of life to the state of death, where the Archangel Michael is involved). In doing so, we shall focus on the transition through the process of acculturation from paganism in late antiquity to early Christianity and answer the following questions:

- a) To which degree were the ancient *rites of passage* integrated with the Christian ones?
- b) Is there an analogy between Charon and Archangel Michael?

1. Greek cultural survival

In order to explain the phenomenon of Greek cultural survival and its uninterrupted evolution through centuries in terms of language, traditions and collective historical memory, Greek historians applied the theory of *cultural exchange* and integration (*acculturation*) in a diachronic way. This methodological approach has led to the conclusion that the Byzantine civilisation forms one of three main stages of its evolution – namely *Ancient Greece-Rome-Byzantium*, and that these three stages created a ‘Post-Byzantine’ culture on which Modern Greek culture has been built.¹

Regarding religious survivals of beliefs and concepts during the so called Roman-Byzantine period, due to the cautious and tolerant official policy towards paganism, many pagan elements and ancient superstitions were absorbed into the Christian faith.²

¹ For an historical analysis of the cultural evolution and its various stages in Greece, see Sansaridou-Hendrickx, T., “The awakening of Greek national consciousness during the 13th C”, *Anno Domini* II (2005), 137-181, pp. 153-164.

² For more on the transition from paganism to Christian beliefs, see Boak, A.E.R., & Sinnigen, W. G., *A History of Rome to A.D. 565*, London 1957, pp. 431-436, 501-502: Constantine the Great (280-337 A.D.) was the founder of the new Eastern Roman capital, Constantinople. Constantine favoured Christianity although he was by tradition pagan. As a result, the infrastructure of Constantinople consisted both of Christian churches as well as pagan temples, institutions, a Senate and a palace. It was during his reign that Sunday was celebrated both as the ‘Day of the Lord’ and as the ‘day of the Sun-god’. This seems to have united Christians and pagans.

To these integrated cultural practices belong the Greek funeral laments, which are death songs with features traceable from antiquity to the present day. Performed and passed on by word of mouth from ancient and medieval times to this day, these funeral laments remain part of a living folk tradition that incorporates the vernacular language, the shared symbols³ and a collective cultural code for the verbal expression of personal grief. To explain the challenge between life and death, these funeral laments, together with death rituals, have been mostly⁴ performed by women mourners (*μοιρολογήτρες*) during public performances.⁵ Laments and literary material from ancient tragedies offer valuable insight into the practice of lamentation in antiquity while formal laments in the Byzantine period are mostly found in learned poetry and prose and reflect influences of old and new forms.⁶

2. Death rituals

Traditional Greek rituals and beliefs related to lamentation are much fuller at the present time than at any other time in Greek history. Indeed, they give vital insight into the cultural and social characteristics which form part of this evolution and continuity. In light of this, the relationship between ritual customs and lamentation in Ancient, Byzantine and Modern Greek traditions needs to be seen from a historical perspective which could also reflect the social and political life respectively.⁷

As for Modern Greece, Danforth's analysis of death rituals and lamentations, as practiced in the village of Potamia in the late 70's, contributes greatly to the understanding of ritual, cultural and religious life in rural Greece. Despite certain differences, these rites were quite similar to those performed in other parts of rural Greece.

³ Jung, *Man and his Symbols*, p. 21: Jung writes that "a word or an image is symbolic when it implies something more than its obvious and immediate meaning." Also: "Because there are innumerable things beyond the range of human understanding, we constantly use symbolic terms to represent concepts that we cannot define or fully comprehend. This is one reason why all religions employ symbolic language or images."- Jung, 1979, pp.20-21. He furthermore states that man not only consciously produces symbols but does so - on an unconscious level, resulting in the form of dreams.

⁴ On laments performed by men, see Sansaridou-Hendrickx, T., "The Lament of Carlo Tocco for his brother's death (1418 A.D.)", *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 18 (2007), pp. 128-144.

⁵ Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, pp. xi, 3 - Danforth, *The death rituals*, pp. 71-72.

⁶ Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, p. xii.

⁷ Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, p. xii.

3. Rites of passage

Danforth defines *rites of passage* as the crossing from life to death by means of a slow social process and not by an immediate physical event. Furthermore, as he explains, all rites of passage (including birth, marriage and death) share a general tripartite structure as follows:

1. Rites of separation (when a person changes from a previously occupied state to another).
2. Rites of transition (when a person is neither in one occupied state nor in the other (e.g. between world of the living and world of the dead).
3. Rites of incorporation (when a person changes into a new state).⁸

The goal of the funeral rites of passage is for:

- a. *the dead to be properly disposed of*;
- b. *the soul to reach its final destination*;
- c. *the mourners to resume their normal social life*.⁹

Danforth¹⁰ uses Van Gennep's¹¹ structure of different periods in order to explain the universal structural logic of rites of passage within a specific cultural group, especially when symbolic communication, through religion¹², myth and ritual¹³ is used. Although funerals as rites of passage would generally be expected to fall under the initial state, (rite of separation) Danforth points out that Van Gennep believed that rite of transition dominated the other rites. Even though the period of transition does not fit into any category in the social structure, the funeral ceremony is the most important element of the journey as it is the part when the person is neither in one nor in the other state. Consequently, things which are associated with this state are often regarded as impure and dangerous. Danforth symbolically associated the Greek mourners, corpses and souls

⁸ Danforth, *The death rituals*, pp. 35-36, 75.

⁹ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 38.

¹⁰ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 37.

¹¹ Van Gennep, A., *The Rites of Passage*: Chicago, 1960, p. 146.

¹² According to Geertz, C., *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, 1973, p. 90: "religion is a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions with such an aura of factuality that moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic".

¹³ On myth and ritual, see Keesing, R. M., *Cultural Anthropology, A Contemporary Perspective*, Canberra, 1981, pp. 329-345.

respectively with three periods of the *rite of passage*: i) *Separation*; ii) *Transition*, and iii) *Incorporation*.

1. *Separation period*:

In this initial stage the soul is separated from the body.

A smooth and painless departure of the soul is symbolically interpreted as a life well lived, whilst a delayed death is linked to a troubled soul due to sins not confessed during that person's lifetime.¹⁴ This may be compared to Margaret Alexiou's comment that: "In Plato's view it was the sinful soul which was reluctant to depart from life."¹⁵ Then, weeping and lamenting is forbidden in the presence of the dying person as it is believed that it may hinder the soul from reaching its final destination.¹⁶

Also, in antiquity, it was regarded a bad omen to weep for someone who was still alive, as dying involved the struggle of the soul to break free. This was known as *ψυχορραγία*.¹⁷ The soul could not depart easily if any family obligations were not met.¹⁷ There is an important parallel to be drawn between the dying and the living, as well as the body and soul.¹⁸

As for the Modern Greek concept of *separation*, many traditional and popular beliefs held by Greek villagers relating to the afterlife are in fact a phenomenon of syncretism of Orthodox Christian teachings and ancient Greek concepts.¹⁹ For instance, when a person lies at home seriously ill and signs of death appear, the priest is urgently summoned to the house to carry out prayers known as the *Anointing of the Sick*. These prayers heal the body and purify the soul through the forgiveness of sins.

¹⁴ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 39 – Taylor, *The Complete Book*, p. 341: "The Bible does not clearly specify what happens to the soul when the body dies, but a predominant Protestant belief is that the soul of the believer passes immediately to heaven (2 Corinthians 5:8). The Roman Catholic understanding is that most souls destined for heaven go first to Purgatory."

¹⁵ Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁶ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 39 – Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, p. 5.

¹⁷ Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, p. 5.

¹⁸ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 39.

¹⁹ Danforth *The death rituals*, p. 45: On Tradition and change in antiquity to modern survivals see Alexiou *The ritual lament*, p. 4 – 51.

It is believed that at the moment of death, when the last breath leaves the body, the soul is departing from the body.²⁰

*“That is why you can hear the common people tell of fearful sights and dreadful visions at this moment...because the soul is forcing herself down, reluctant to be torn away from the body and unable to bear the sight of the approaching angels.”*²¹

After death, the corpse is washed, dressed in new clothes and laid down on a bed in the reception room. The feet, jaw and the hands are tied; the hands crossed over the chest holding a large white candle. The eyes are closed; the body covered up to the waist and an icon placed at the legs. These preparations for the funeral are always carried out by females. People, who come to pay their last respects, light a candle, place some coins on the deceased's chest, kiss the forehead and kiss the icon.²² In ancient Greece, on the other hand, just after death occurred, the body was prepared for the *próthesis*, or wake. The body was washed and dressed, usually in white, by the women of the house.²³ The eyes and mouth were closed by the next of kin. “First came the closing of the eyes and mouth, still known by the ancient term *καλύπτειν*. Sometimes, a coin was placed on the mouth.”²⁴ One cannot but compare this formal ancient ritual to the one performed in the village of Potamia. Alexiou points out that this detail is similar to many scenes found on ancient vases and not found in the Byzantine sources.²⁵

The priest arrives, performs the *Trisayion* whereupon the body is taken out of the house and placed in a wooden coffin. The funeral procession to the church is led by a group of women and some boys who carry a cross and staffs crowned with metal images of Cherubim. At the church, the coffin is placed in the centre of the church with the feet toward the altar. The Orthodox funeral service is then performed which

²⁰ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 38 - Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, p. 37.

²¹ Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, p. 25.

²² Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 39.

²³ The *próthesis*, is where the formal lamentation of the dead began: Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, pp. 5-6.

²⁴ Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, p. 27, see also p. 39: “The coin which is still placed on the forehead or on the mouth is believed to serve as a charm against evil spirits, although one folk song has it that it is the fee for Charos to ferry the soul across the river of death.”

²⁵ Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, p. 39.

allows for the departure of the soul from the body as well as the dead from the living. During this transitional period, it is believed, the soul leaves the body at the moment of death when it is ‘set out on the road to God’. It is also believed that the soul is taken away by Charon who is associated with the Angel of the Lord (Ἄγγελος Κυρίου), the Archangel Michael, or a helper of the Archangel and a messenger of God.²⁶ Hendrickx points out that the description of Charon in this instance refers to the Archangel Michael as represented in icons:

“Τῶρα εἶδα ἵναν ζυπλοτο καὶ λαμπροφορεμένο,
πῶχει τοῦ σου²⁷ τῶ πλουμι, τῶς στραπῶς τῶ μάτια.”²⁸

“Ο θάνατος του Διγενή” (Il. 19-20).

Finally and equally important is to understand the symbolic relationship between the mourner, corpse and soul, the corpse must be purified from its decaying flesh, the soul from its sins and finally the mourners from their impure contact with the dead. In ancient Greece, for example, a series of purification rites were performed after a burial. This involved the thorough cleansing of the household with sea-water hyssop as well as the washing of the women who were involved with the dead.²⁹

2. Transition period

In Greece, during the slow period of transition, the corpse falls into a process of decomposition which is linked to the journey of the soul en route to its final destination into the other world.

According to popular belief, the soul remains in the house for three days, then wanders on earth until the fortieth day after death as in the life of Christ.³⁰ Others

²⁶ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p.45-46 – Jn 5:22, Ac 10:42 and 2 Ti 4:1.

²⁷ The term *risos* is important. There are two possible translations: *eagle* or *lynx*. *Eagle* refers to the wings of Charon/ Michael. According to Politis, the image of the mighty lynx fits in with Michael as on some icons, Michael is represented wearing a cape, decorated with the head of a wild cat/lion/lynx. Politis, N.G., *Εκλογαί από τα τραγούδια του Ελληνικού λαού*, Athens, 1932, pp.104-105: text and commentary of poem).

²⁸ Hendrickx, “Die dood van Digenis”, pp. 99-105. (Vertaling Hendrickx, p.101: “Nou het ek iemand gesien, kaalvoet en met glasend gewaad, wat die vere van die arend het, die oë van die weerlig.).

²⁹ Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, p. 10 – Danforth, pp. 38, 42 & 43.

³⁰ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 45: “According to Greek tradition, during the forty days after his resurrection Christ appeared to his disciples many times until on the fortieth day he ascended into heaven.” See also Holy Bible, NIV, Lk 24: 9-49, Jn 20: 1-29 and Ac 1:9-11. In Kabbani’s book, *Angels Unveiled*, it is interesting to note, during a conversation between Abraham and the Archangel Azrail, (the

believe that for the first forty days, the soul wanders close to earth visiting people it regularly saw during its life, and on the fortieth day Charon represents the soul to the Angel of the Lord, who finally takes it to heaven for judgement. It is also said that it is the Angel of the Lord or Christ who gives judgement.³¹ Archangel Michael is God's messenger of law and judgement as he appears in this capacity in The New Testament. In the following prayer, from the text of the funeral service, one sees how the Greek funeral service acknowledges the theme of separation:

*“Alas! What an agony the soul endures when from the body it is parting....
Brethren, come, and let us a farewell kiss give to him whom death has taken,
and offer thanks to God. For he has departed from the bosom of his kin...”*³²

At this point in the church service, all pass the open coffin and place some coins on the body, kiss again the forehead of the deceased and the icon. Thereafter, the coffin is taken to the graveyard, where the hands, jaw and feet are untied³³ (it is believed that the corpse will not decompose if tied up).³⁴ The priest recites the last section of the service whereupon the family returns home. Before entering, everyone purifies themselves from the impurities associated with death.³⁵ These funeral rites mark the beginning of the long transition period which normally concludes five years later. These rites indicate the agony of the absorption of the soul into paradise, its final destination, the body into the earth and the re-entry of the mourners into the world of the living.³⁶

Traditional beliefs held by Greek villagers concerning the soul and afterlife are also similar to those of ancient Greece. It is believed that the soul continues to exist in human form, i.e. the soul of the dead either ends up in heaven (which may be paradise or hell as both places are vaguely located somewhere there) or in the lower world, the

angel of death in Islam) that a forty day period, is linked to a person's life: *“This event happens forty days before the actual death of that person. We are informed forty days in advance of his impending death. That ... and from the fortieth day before his death he begins to consume his leaf from the Tree of Life without knowing it. Only forty days then remain of his life in this world, and after that there is no provision for him in it.”* Kabbani, S. H., *Angels Unveiled, A Sufi Perspective*, Cape Town, 2000, p. 163.

³¹ Danforth, *The death rituals*, pp. 45-46 – Jn 5:22, Ac 10:42 and 2 Ti 4:1.

³² Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 41.

³³ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 42.

³⁴ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 52 refers to Synkollitis 1934: 401-402: “Τα λύνουν γιατί αν είναι δεμένος ο νεκρός, δεν μπορεί να λιώσει”.

³⁵ Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, p. 10 – Danforth, *The death rituals*, pp. 42-45.

³⁶ Danforth, *The death rituals*, pp. 45-46.

world of Hades.³⁷ The latter is where the souls lead a pitiful life and is deprived of daily necessities for survival and depends on the living for that.³⁸ The following is a widow's remarks during an exhumation':

*"At death the soul emerges in its entirety, like a man. It has the shape of a man, only it's invisible. It has a mouth and hands and eats real food just like we do. When you see someone in your dreams, it's the soul you see. People in your dreams eat, don't they? The souls of the dead eat too."*³⁹

There is a common awareness that the souls of the dead are able to see and hear the living. For this very reason memorial services are held during the transition period as it benefits the souls which are unable to care for themselves in the other world. The souls of the deceased are believed to have the same needs as human beings. Amongst these needs are water, food, light and clothing, but they are unable to satisfy these without help. Alexiou points out that the association of the thirsty ones (*οι διψασμένοι*) is synonymous with the dead (*οι πεθαμένοι*) as they depend on the living to provide for them. Constantly candles and lamps are lit in churches and graveyards throughout Greece in the belief that it helps the dead as they are lit for the souls to have light. In addition to these needs, some believe that memorial services⁴⁰ are performed to also assist the souls in obtaining forgiveness and to reach paradise. Others believe that there is no repentance for the soul after death.⁴¹

³⁷ According to Taylor, in the New Testament, the Greek word Hades refers to the place of the dead. He furthermore states that in the King James Version, three different words of hell in biblical reference is given: the Hebrew word *Sheol* and the Greek word *Hades* both refer to a place where the dead have a shadowy existence. Also, these words are often translated as 'death' or 'destruction' in modern translations whilst the Greek word *Gehenna* is associated with 'hell' as it refers to the fires of hell. Taylor, *The Complete Book*, pp. 323 & 324.

³⁸ Compare Taylor's definition of the term *Purgatory*: Taylor, *The Complete Book*, p. 337 - Danforth, *The Death Rituals*, pp. 45-46.

³⁹ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 46.

⁴⁰ During memorial services, food distribution takes place 'so that the dead may eat'. As it is passed and eaten by the living, so it is believed that it will reach the dead. This is parallel to the relationship between human beings and the earth. In death, the body is destroyed or eaten by the earth in order for it to pass into the other world and for the soul to enter paradise. The body of Christ is also symbolised by the bread of communion, which is eaten by Christians in His memory: Danforth, *The death rituals*, pp. 105- 106. Compare: Mt 26:2-29 and Taylor, *The Complete Book*, p. 337 on 'purgatory'.

⁴¹ Danforth, *The death rituals* s, p. 47.

*“Therefore I beg you all, and implore you to offer prayer unceasingly for me to Christ our God, that I be not assigned for my sins to the place of torment, but that He assign (sic!) me to the place where there is light of life”.*⁴²

Traditions that were followed in antiquity are similar to those practised in rural Greece. On a vase-painting is a detailed picture of a female mourner at a tomb with her oil-flasks (λίκυθοι) containing oil, wine, perfumes and baskets and clothes bundles with food. Not only were the offerings part of a feast for the dead but also part of offerings to repay the earth for the gift of life, so fertility could be promoted.⁴³

Regarding the colour black at times of mourning, Alexiou explains that throughout the transition period the dress code of the close relatives is restricted to black because it symbolises the underground colour of the earth where the corpse lies buried. The period of mourning is determined by the relationship the woman had to the deceased. As opposed to men there is quite an amount of pressure exerted by society on women who are related to the deceased.⁴⁴ According to Danforth's interpretation about women in mourning, they are literally separated from the world of the living. This separation takes place because of their contact with the world of the dead and also as a reflection of the solitude of the body lying buried in the ground. Thus they remain socially dead until the rite of exhumation takes place which also marks the end of the transition period.⁴⁵ This passage is a move from a negative position to a positive one as it unites the survivors with society again. The last rite is the final resting place which varies in different regions and is marked as the final point of separation between the dead and the living. The exhumation is seen as the return of the deceased from the earth where they have been completely incorporated into the other world. As we can see in the following lament the deceased (Eleni) is questioned about her

⁴² Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 48.

⁴³ Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, p. 8.

⁴⁴ Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, p. 16. In chapter 1: “Traditions and change in antiquity”, she points out, that: “From the third century B.C. there is a law from Gambreion in Asia Minor which is sufficiently different to be considered independent of the earlier legislation: it contains none of the restrictions on expense and numbers, and the time limit for mourning is more generous, three months for men and four for women. It specifies that the dress worn by woman at funerals should be dark, not the usual white, and that it should not be torn.”

⁴⁵ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 54.

experience in the underworld and also her desire to return home. In the second lament the deceased needs the help of her relative to return, in her struggle with Charon.⁴⁶

α) *“My partridge, my little partridge
with whom were you arguing yesterday?”
I was arguing with my mother.
I was struggling with Haros.
Let me go, Haros! Let me go!
So that I can go to my mother,
so that I can see her again.”*

β) *A partridge stands and sings.
Eleni stands and sings.
She cries out to her brothers:
“Where are you, brothers? Come here!
Fire your rifles, all of you!
Fire your rifles, all of you!
Rescue me from Haros!”
“Don’t be afraid, Eleni!
We are near you.
We are all weeping for you.”⁴⁷*

As seen above, during the transition period, the soul gradually leaves the world of the living to enter the world of the dead. This process takes place in a parallel way to the changes the body of the deceased undergoes; as the soul starts its journey to paradise, so the body starts its decomposition to return to dust. Decomposition of the deceased must take its natural course and for this reason the Orthodox Church has disapproved of cremation.⁴⁸ As Danforth states:

⁴⁶ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 60.

⁴⁷ Funeral lament songs: Danforth, *The death rituals*, pp. 62 – 63:

*Πέρδικα, περδικούλα μου,
με ποιόν εμάλωνες εψές;
-Με τη μανούλα μάλωνα,
και με το Χάρο δέρνομαν,
Ν’ άφ’σες με, Χάρε μ’, ν’ άφ’σες με,
να πάω στη μανούλα μου,
να τη δω.*

*-Πέρδικα στέκει και λαλεί,
Ελένη μ’ στέκει και λαλεί,
και τ’ αδελφούλια της φωνάζει:
-Πού ‘στε αδερφούλια; ‘Λάτε ‘δω.
Ν-όλοι τουφέκια ρίξετε.*

Απ’ το Χάρο να μ’ αρπάζετε.

-Μη φοβάσαι, Ελένη.

Ν’όλοι τριγύρω είμαστε.

Ν-όλοι για σένα κλαίγομε.

⁴⁸ Danforth, *The death rituals*, pp. 48-49.

*“Let the body indeed be dissolved into the elements [out of which it has been compounded], and let the soul be appointed a place in the Choir of the Just.”*⁴⁹

3. *Incorporation period*

The transitional period is terminated by rites of a “secondary burial”, where the bones of the deceased are recovered and permanently re-located. Throughout this process, i.e. the removal and inspection of the condition of the corpse, the ceremony is linked to the condition of the soul. Not only the association with it, but also linkage to the process of the mourners who are separated from the rest of society at the moment of death and re-enter society after they have passed through the transitional period.

The exhumation can be seen as a ritual process to symbolically overcome death but never to bring the dead back to life. The possibility of overcoming death is an official teaching of the Orthodox Church. It is believed that the bodily resurrection of Christ and of the faithful Christians will take place at the Second Coming of Christ. The souls of the dead will be reunited with their bodies whereupon the dead as well as the living will be judged at the Last Judgement. This resurrected body and soul is not a physical body but a spiritual one that will enjoy eternal life in the Kingdom of God.⁵⁰

On substantiation, the following verses from the Bible refer:

*“it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body.”*⁵¹ And also *“who, by the power that enables him to bring everything under his control, will transform our lowly bodies so that they will be like his glorious body.”*⁵²

The condition of the bones provides visible evidence, in a public milieu, of the final destiny of the soul. During the rite of exhumation, the pure white bones offer visible evidence that the soul of the deceased has entered paradise, its final destination. The whiteness of the bones metaphorically refers to the purity of the soul. Throughout this rite, the priest pours wine in the shape of the cross over the bones reciting *“you shall*

⁴⁹ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 49.

⁵⁰ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 68.

⁵¹ 1 Co 15:43-53. See also 1 Jn 3:2, Col 3:4.

⁵² Ph 3:21.

wash me and I shall be whiter than snow”⁵³ which finally coalesces the two elements (body and soul) into one structure of the belief. It is also at this final stage that the dead cease to exist as individuals as their dry, white bones are transferred to the communal village ossuary.⁵⁴

There are other occasions where the body doesn't decompose fully and is symbolised with “*the soul that did not find its way to paradise.*”⁵⁵ In such a case additional services are performed where the body is reburied and the transition period is extended in the hope that the body will decompose completely so that the soul may find its way to paradise. In the past, a partly decomposed body was a sign that the soul had not yet completely separated from the body and the world of the living. In a case like this it was also believed that the body might be kept alive either by the soul or by the devil.⁵⁶

Summers explains that the Greek Orthodox believed that a person, who was excommunicated or whose sins were unpardoned (i.e. who had not received absolution for his sins by a priest), would retain – when buried – an incorrupt, not decomposed body, and live on as a *vrykolakas*, a kind of vampire.⁵⁷ This also explains the tradition of exhumation, a custom which existed in Ancient Greece and was connected with washing the bones in wine. On the other hand, the belief in *vrykolakes* was also strongly influenced by Slavic traditions.⁵⁸ To put an end to the state of *vrykolakas*, a priest had to perform a special rite, after which the body could decompose and the soul could find rest. One may thus infer that where a person became a *vrykolakas*, Archangel Michael or Charon had not ‘helped’ the soul to reach its destiny. Although almost all testimonies come from Post-Byzantine Greece, one can be certain that the belief in *vrykolakes* and the performance of a rite to undo this curse existed in Byzantium itself. The best proof for this argument is the fact that the Byzantine monk Scholarios/Gennadios, who immediately after the fall of

⁵³ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 49.

⁵⁴ Danforth, *The death rituals*, pp. 48- 49.

⁵⁵ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 53.

⁵⁶ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 53.

⁵⁷ Summers, M., *The Vampire in Europe*, London, 1996, pp. 218 ff & 228 – 229.

⁵⁸ Summers, *The Vampire*, p. 217.

Constantinople in 1453 to the Turks became Patriarch, himself, performed such a *rite of passage*.⁵⁹

In the New Testament, the Archangel Michael, fights and wins the battle with Lucifer over the body of Moses:

*“But even the Archangel Michael, when he was disputing with the devil about the body of Moses, did not dare to bring a slanderous accusation against him, but said, ‘The Lord rebuke you!’”*⁶⁰

One is tempted to compare the disputing which took place between the devil, Michael and Moses to the following fight Heracles had with Thanatos⁶¹: “... *Herakles challenged Thanatos to a fight and rescued Alkestis’ soul just as it was being snatched away.*”⁶²

In view of all the previous parallelisms, the question can be asked whether the ‘Heracles–Thanatos’ theme has had any impact on the Greek image of Michael.⁶³ We will come back to it at a later stage. Alexiou points out⁶⁴ that in Greek funeral laments, the time of the ‘struggle of the soul’ is a time of danger⁶⁵ as the appointed *daimon*⁶⁶ who looks after each person in his lifetime attempts to lead away his soul.

⁵⁹ Summers, *The Vampire*, pp. 227-228 – Original Greek source: Emanuel Malaxos, *Historia Patriarcharum Constantinopolitanorum*, whose lost testimony was preserved in later works (e.g. Crusius, *Turco-Grecia* (Basle, 1584) and C. Angelus, *De statu hodiernorum Graecorum*, (Lipsiae, 1676) – see Summers, p.277, note 35).

⁶⁰ New Testament, Jude 9.

⁶¹ Thanatos: “*the Greek word for death (Thanatos) conveys the idea of separation*”: Rhodes, R., *Find It Quick*, p. 23.

⁶² Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, p. 5:

⁶³ Also, Alexiou *The ritual lament*, p. 26, points out that many popular dialogues between Charon and Man were written and that similar ideas have survived regardless of the changes of deity, Hades, Charon and God.

⁶⁴ Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, p. 5.

⁶⁵ 1 Cor 15:26: “The last enemy to be destroyed is death.” Also, Graham, 1976, p. 138: “*Death is a battle, a profound crisis event and he refers to Paul who calls it ‘the last enemy...*” In Rev 6:8 one reads the following: “*I looked, and there before me was a pale horse! Its rider was named Death, and Hades was following close behind him.*”

⁶⁶ Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, p. 26. Apart from the reason that angels and demons argue about the possession of the soul, there is also another reason for fearing death, being the belief that the dying man’s soul was weighed on the scale of justice. Hendrickx also comments that: “*Die beeld van die marmer dorsvloer in die slot (r.21,23) bevestig die simboliek: op die dorsvloer word die kaf van die koring geskei (en dis Michael wat die siele weeg).*”: Hendrickx, “Die dood van Digenis” p. 104. Compare also Hebrews 2:14-15: “...so that by his death he might destroy him who holds the power of death – that is, the devil – and free those who all their lives were held in slavery by their fear of death.”

comments that the angel appointed to guard a person at his baptism “ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος δοθεὶς αὐτῷ ἐς παραφυλακὴν”, is exactly parallel to Plato’s daimon to whom each man is allotted during his lifetime: “ὁ κῆστος δαίμων ὁ σπερζντα ἐλχεῖ”. This divine guarding created by the ritual of baptism, reassures the reconciliation of every man’s duality through repentance at his deathbed, leading thus his soul to its liberation from the hold of the evils. In the same way, the ritual of clay vessel breaking, which follows the wake, had as its aim the chasing away of evil spirits floating around to seize the souls.⁶⁷

The Second Coming will thus bring to a close the transition period as it reunites the body with the soul into the spiritual world. It is believed that Archangel Michael will accompany Christ at His Second Coming and will speak the word of life to all who are dead in Christ.⁶⁸ This view is based on the following verse in the New Testament:

*“For the Lord himself will come down from heaven, with a loud command, with the voice of the Archangel and with the trumpet call of God, and the dead in Christ will rise first.”*⁶⁹

Further, in the book of Daniel, God speaks of Michael as the great prince that protects and defends His people:

*“At that time Michael, the great prince who protects your people, will arise. There will be a time of distress such as has not happened from the beginning of nations until then. But at that time your people – everyone whose name is found written in the book – will be delivered. Multitudes who sleep in the dust of the earth will awake: some to everlasting life, others to shame and everlasting contempt. Those who are wise will shine like the brightness of the heavens, and those who lead many to righteousness, like the stars for ever and ever. But you, Daniel, close up and seal the words of the scroll until the time of the end. Many will go here and there to increase knowledge.”*⁷⁰

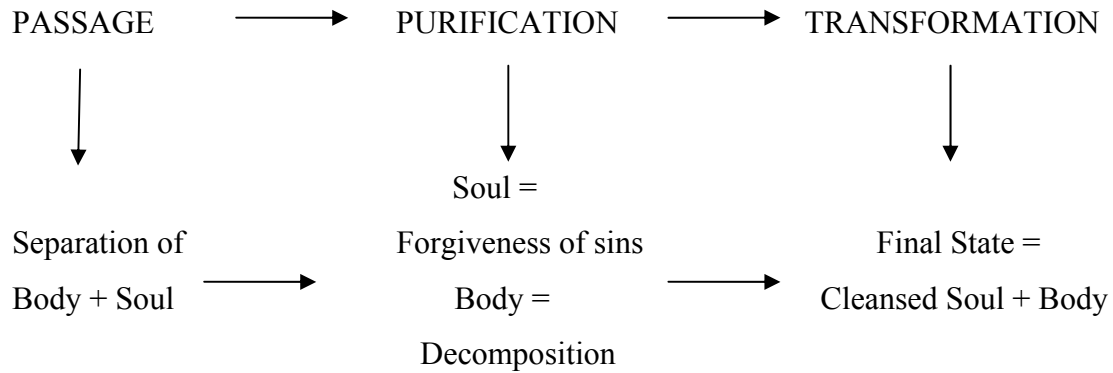
⁶⁷ Alexiou, *The ritual lament*, pp. 26-27.

⁶⁸ Graham, *Angels: God’s*, p. 56.

⁶⁹ 1 Th 4:16.

⁷⁰ Dn 12: 1-4.

The following diagram schematically represents the mystical belief of passage, purification and transformation:



* * * * *

In conclusion, the dogma of the Orthodox Church denies the ultimate power of death as it promises a complete transformation of the body from the material world into the spiritual world. Also, what takes place at the rite of exhumation is an imperfect resurrection – in other words, a partial victory over material death. Total victory over death will only be achieved at the resurrection of the dead at the Second Coming.⁷¹

⁷¹ Danforth, *The death rituals*, p. 69.

Chapter 6

The Aspects of Syncretism, Synthesis and Parallelism in Archangel Michael's icon status in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Society

In chapter two of this study we saw that the Byzantine society did not consist of a single people but of several ethnic groups who shared a more or less similar culture.¹ Chapter four and five briefly touched on the elements of mythological figures (i.e. Charon, Hades and Thanatos), that blended in with the Biblical and apocalyptic depiction of Archangel Michael. It is therefore important to include all material from the different cultures and religions (i.e. Ancient Greek, Roman Civilization, Judaism, Christianity, Islam) related to the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Periods as certain aspects of these have been absorbed into the religious traditions and beliefs of the Orthodox Byzantine society by means of syncretism and synthesis and thus contributed to the popularity of Michael.

The main focus will be on two different aspects of syncretism. Firstly, on the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Orthodox context and, secondly, on the role it played in the blending of pagan elements with the Biblical and Christian traditions and its influence on Michael's 'icon' status. To be able to understand syncretism, synthesis and parallelism with reference to the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Society we must first look at the definitions of these words.

1. Syncretism, synthesis and parallelism

Syncretism derived from the Greek *Συνκρητισμός* meaning “*the developmental process of historical growth within a religion by accretion and coalescence of different and often orig. conflicting forms of belief and practise through the interaction with or supersession of other religions*”.²

Syncretism attempts to merge different or sometimes contradictory beliefs or practices. Syncretism often occurs in music, literature, art, politics, religion and other cultural

¹ Yanagi, et al., *Byzantium*, p. 7.

² *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, Vol III. S-Z. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Chicago a.o., 1981, p. 2319.

expressions and attempts to reconcile paradoxical beliefs but is also sometimes seen as a distortion of original beliefs, principles, practices or religions.³ Syncretism is thus the blending of different beliefs or practises in religion or the combination of different philosophical ideas/ stories/ symbols etc. with others. This also agrees with the anthropological definition of syncretism by Seymour-Smith: “*a term usually applied to religious phenomena or movements, though it may be applied to cultural change in general.*”⁴

On synthesis and parallelism, Hendrickx explains that ‘synthesis’ refers to the “*vorming van ‘n saamvattende geheel uit dele of onderdele, op verbinding dus en saamvoeging*”,⁵ while he points to an evolution of equal value, development or succession of elements or happenings in two different situations.⁶

To fully appreciate syncretism in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine context, a close look at religious syncretism as much as cultural syncretism is required. Also, many scholars prefer to restrict ‘syncretism’ to religious interactions.⁷ It is stated that religious syncretism occurs (consciously or not) when a less powerful group of people encounters the religion of a more powerful group. The result is “*adaption and self-preservation among the weaker group*”.⁸ Religious syncretism joins two or more religious belief systems into a new system, or it is the absorption of beliefs from diverse traditions into a religious tradition.⁹ Seymour-Smith explains that the term is mainly used to refer to situations of cultural contact. This contact produces religious systems which consist of a mixture of Christian and native beliefs¹⁰ and fits the definition which Keesing offers to describes religious syncretism: “*The synthesis of old and borrowed elements – syncretism – has been most striking in the realm of religion, where Christianity has been spread to*

³ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syncretism> - www.yourdictionary.com/syncretism 2007/11/15 - Van Rheen, G., “Worldview and Syncretism”, <http://missiology.org/mongolianlectures/worldviewandsyncretism.htm>.

⁴ Seymour-Smith, *Macmillan Dictionary*, p. 274.

⁵ Hendrickx, *Geskiedenis van die Romeins*, p. 269.

⁶ Hendrickx, *Geskiedenis van die Romeins*, p. 269.

⁷ Lindenfield, D. *Syncretism* www.historycooperative.org/journals/whc/4.1/lindenfeld.html 2007/11/15.

⁸ Lindenfield, *Syncretism*, www.historycooperative.org/journals/whc/4.1/lindenfeld.html.

⁹ Anonymous, “Syncretism”, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syncretism> 2007/11/15.

¹⁰ Seymour-Smith, *Macmillan Dictionary*, p. 274.

every continent.” On synthesis Keesing adds that *“in religion, new belief and traditional ones are blended or coexist...”*¹¹

Supporters of belief systems that demonstrate an exclusivist approach in religious systems, sometimes see syncretism as a betrayal of their pure truth as it corrupts the original religion. Also, critics of a specific syncretistic trend may use the term ‘syncretism’ as a ‘disapproving label’ – implying that those who wish to integrate a new view, belief, or practice into a religious system actually bend the original faith. On the other hand, non-exclusivist supporters may incorporate other traditions into their own or sometimes create new religions to reduce inter-religious tension and antagonism. The resultant effect is often the offending of the original religions in question. These religions, on the other hand, preserve some appeal to a less exclusivist spectator.¹²

Finally, Van Rheenen describes that *“religious syncretism occurs when churches are not equipped to become the nurturing communities”*.¹³

She argues that a transplanted church will almost at all times be a replica of the church in the sending culture in contrast to a contextualised church. A transplanted church will transfer the original culture/religion to the new culture/religion where it will reproduce exactly as it did. In contrast, a contextualised church *“is like planting ‘God’s seed’ in new soil and allowing the seed to grow naturally adapting to the language, thought processes, and rituals of the new culture without losing its eternal meanings.”*¹⁴

Hence, the conclusion is that in Byzantium, the church in Constantinople became a contextualised church and not a transplanted church (Rome was first the nurturing capital to the capital of Byzantium but was later replaced by Constantinople). In this connexion it is worthwhile mentioning that *“by being largely freed from the incubus of the Roman state and of the closely associated cultural heritage of Greece and Rome, the kind of*

¹¹ Keesing, Cultural Anthropology, pp. 394 & 395.

¹² Lindenfield, D. “Syncretism” www.historycooperative.org/journals/whc/4.1/lindenfield.html.

¹³ Van Rheenen, G. “Worldview and Syncretism”

<http://missiology.org/mongolianlectures/worldviewandsyncretism.htm>, 2007/11/15.

¹⁴ Van Rheenen, “Worldview and Syncretism”.

power which was of the essence of the Gospel was given freer course than it had been accorded under the professedly Christian Emperors."¹⁵

2. Syncretism, Synthesis and Parallelism in the Hellenistic, Roman and Judaic World

To be able to appreciate the above terms in their Orthodox and Byzantine and Post-Byzantine context, we should consider them first in their Hellenistic – Roman- and Judaic contexts. Syncretism and synthesis functioned as an essential feature of Ancient Greek religion, especially during Alexander the Great's reign. Elements within the Hellenistic rule blended in with Persian, Anatolian, Egyptian and Etruscan-Roman elements.¹⁶

Hendrickx says that syncretism in the Hellenistic context refers often to the religious coalescence and to the identification of gods and religious content by association to the ancient world. On synthesis, he adds "*in die Hellenistiese konteks gebruik ons die term met hierdie selfde betekenis: 'n saamvoeging of saamvattende verbinding van verskillende dele op kulturele, wetenskaplike, godsdienstige, en artistieke gebied.*"¹⁷

On the influences that Judaism and Hellenism had on Christianity, Latourette¹⁸ explains that "*the course of events made it clear that Christianity was not to lose its distinctive message by absorption into the parent Judaism when the faith was confronted with an even greater menace.*" He cautions that the danger here was that as the Gospel moved out into the non-Jewish world it was at risk of losing its pure original faith. He furthermore writes that "*The threat was especially acute from Hellenism and the atmosphere of the Hellenistic world, for, as we have seen, it was in the portions of the population of the Empire where Hellenistic influences were especially strong that Christianity had its first major spread.*" Latourette also explains that the confidence in Greek philosophy was a threat and describes it as "*the incorporation of some of the attitudes of the Hellenistic mind*". He then adds that Platonism and Neo-Platonism moulded the thinking and approach of Christian converts from a Hellenistic milieu which often came with and continued in their thought, performance and worship.

¹⁵ Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, p. 257.

¹⁶ Anonymous, "Syncretism", <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syncretism>.

¹⁷ Hendrickx, *Geskiedenis van die Romeins*, p. 269.

¹⁸ Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, p. 122.

Hendrickx describes parallelism in the Hellenistic period as follows:

*“Inderdaad het hierdie Hellenistiese periode op verskillende plekke gelykwaardige problem voortgebring, en die mense, bewoë deur ‘n uniforme of algemeen ooreenkomstige tydsgees, het dikwels “ewewydige” oplossings uitgewerk vir “gelykwaardige” probleme, of “ewewydige” simptome geopenbaar in “gelykwaardige” situasies: militêr, politiek, ekonomies, religieus, ens.”*¹⁹

Without copying the cult practises, the Romans incorporated the Olympian deities with similar images in the Etruscan-Roman tradition. Greek gods which were introduced to the Roman Civilization were Zeus (Jupiter), Artemis (Diane) and Dionysus (Bacchus), just to name a few. Examples of syncretic gods of the Hellenistic epoch and of the East Mediterranean are Serapis, Isis, Mithras and Cybele.²⁰

The Roman civilization had an open-minded attitude towards all religions. The historian Gibbon says that the *“various modi of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered by the people equally useful.”*²¹ Indeed, Emperor Alexander Severus added a statue of Jesus to his private collection of numerous pagan gods.²²

To understand the beginnings of Christianity and the nature and characteristics of its faith, one needs to also examine the features of Judaism. Judaism, which is one of the sources of Christian Orthodoxy, fought on the one hand against syncretistic inclinations²³ (e.g. the Ten Commandments, the golden calf, the railing of prophets against temple prostitution, witchcraft and local fertility cults); whilst on the other hand, other scholars believed that Judaism developed its concept of monotheism and took on characteristics such as eschatology, angelology and demonology through contacts with Zoroastrianism.²⁴

¹⁹ Hendrickx, *Geskiedenis van die Romeins*, p. 269.

²⁰ Anonymous, “Syncretism”, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syncretism>.

²¹ Cassels, L. 1965 “What’s the Difference? A Comparison of the Faiths Men Live By”

<http://www.religion-online.org/showchapter.asp?title=1623&C=1572>.

²² Cassels, L. 1965 1965 “What’s the Difference? A Comparison of the Faiths Men Live By”

<http://www.religion-online.org/showchapter.asp?title=1623&C=1572>.

²³ Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, p. 11.

²⁴ Zoroastrianism is a religion based on the philosophy credited to the prophet Zoroaster, which was long official in Persia. See Latourette, 1975, pp. 4, 7 and Boyce, M., “Zoroastrianism: A Shadowy but Powerful Presence in the Judeo – Christian World”, London, 1987, “<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zoroastrianism>”.

They regarded their god, Yahweh, as the God of the universe, the maker and ruler of the universe. In spite of the Jewish veto on polytheism and idolatry, quite a few blends of Judaism with other religions have taken place.²⁵

It is said that much of the late Midrash detail about Archangel Michael was conveyed to Christian mythology through the book of Enoch and was hence further elaborated. In spite of the rabbinical prohibition against appealing to angels to act as intermediaries between God and His people, Michael occupied a certain place in Jewish liturgy.²⁶ In Rabbinic Jewish tradition for example, Michael is the advocate of Israel, fighting with the princes of other nations and with the angel Samael, Israel's accuser. There were two prayers written pleading with Michael to intervene in favour of Israel as he was the prince of mercy.²⁷

Also, many modern commentators believe that all the specific names for the angels were brought back by the Jews from Babylon and that Michael is one of the principal angels in Abrahamic tradition.²⁸ Reference is made to Rabbi Simeon Ben Lakish (AD 230-270) who states that all the names for the angels were brought back from Babylon.²⁹ Then there is a legend, which seems to be of Jewish origin and adopted by the Copts, which has it that Michael was first sent by God to bring Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem, and later freed his nation from Babylonian captivity. It is also believed that the legend of Michael's fight with angel Samael, gave rise to the legend of Michael fighting the dragon³⁰ (Satan) as described in the book of Revelations.³¹ This legend is not found in Jewish sources but reference is made in the Kabbalah of Samael being called "*the primitive serpent*".³²

²⁵ Anonymous, "Syncretism", <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syncretism>.

²⁶ Anonymous, "Michael (archangel)", [http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_\(archangel\)](http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_(archangel)).

²⁷ Anonymous, "Michael", www.answers.com/topic/michael.

²⁸ <http://angelstoday.net/index.php?lang=en&way=2archagels/1michael> 2007/11/13.

²⁹ Anonymous, "Michael (archangel)", [http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_\(archangel\)](http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_(archangel)).

³⁰ Anonymous, "Michael (archangel)", [http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_\(archangel\)](http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_(archangel))

³¹ Rv. 12:7.

³² Anonymous, "Michael (archangel)", [http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_\(archangel\)](http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_(archangel)).

3. Syncretism, Synthesis and Parallelism in Orthodox Byzantium

As understood, religious syncretism usually occurs in areas where various religious traditions exist in closeness and function actively in the culture. Therefore, syncretism of Christian beliefs and practices through cultural accommodation was the outcome of diverse dominant cultures in Byzantium. As a result, emerging Christianity appeared to have incorporated many Jewish, Hellenistic and pagan cultural elements.³³

Alexiou points out that the change in the position of the Orthodox Church was perhaps one factor in the process of assimilation. She also states that the transition from paganism in late antiquity to Christianity in early Byzantium was a slow process. Byzantium's official policy towards paganism was cautious and tolerant resulting in many pagan elements and ancient superstitions being absorbed into the Christian faith.³⁴

On pagan mystery cults Campbell writes: *“and not only the mythic motifs but even the festival dates of the contemporary pagan mystery cults were openly adopted by the Christian Fathers.”*³⁵

He furthermore states that *“we learn from the fourth-century saint and churchman Epiphanius (ca.315-402), for example, of an annual festival observed in Alexandria on January 6, the date assigned to the Epiphany and (originally) the Nativity of Christ, and to this Baptism as well. The pagan occasion was in celebration of the birth of the year-god Aion to the virgin goddess Kore, a Hellenized transformation of Isis.”*³⁶

4. Syncretism, Synthesis and Parallelism in Islam (Post-Byzantium)

As a result of the Arab Invasion, in the seventh century, a part of the Byzantine world came under Islamic rule. I therefore, found it necessary to also include information on Archangel Michael that relate to Islam and the Byzantine Society.³⁷

³³ Anonymous, “Syncretism”, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syncretism>.

³⁴ Margaret Alexiou, *The ritual lament in Greek tradition*, Cambridge, 1974, p. 24.

³⁵ Campbell, J., *The Mythic Image*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1974, p. 34.

³⁶ Campbell, *The Mythic Image*, p. 34.

³⁷ Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, p. 284.

The Empire had hoped, in vain, to set up a common Christian front against the invasion. An attempt was thus made to bring Orthodox and Monophysites together, but this brought another wave of controversy.³⁸ Hussey comments that *“Islam borrowed freely from the way of life found in conquered Byzantine provinces, or from the resources of Greek scholarship which lay at its doors. And the Byzantines did likewise. One particularly noticeable instance of this cross-fertilization is found in Byzantine monasticism and in its Vitae sanctorum. Non-Hellenic elements were frequently introduced into Byzantine hagiology and hagiography, and there was constant interchange of ideas owing to factors such as polyglot monastic centres, oriental colonies within the Christian world...”*³⁹

Islam, on the other hand, claimed to be the rejuvenation of original teaching of monotheism.⁴⁰ On syncretism, Muslims do not regard the incorporation of many beliefs from other religions such as Judaism and Christianity as syncretic, but rather as disclosure of divine revelations through the Prophet Muhammad that Allah began with other prophets and all those from the descendants of Abraham. However, it is said that these revelations in time became corrupted due to the lack of written manuscripts or ongoing translations from one language to another.⁴¹

5. Syncretism, Synthesis and Parallelism in Orthodox Greek Rituals

Concerning the death-related practices in ancient Greece, Danforth states that *“the traditional beliefs held by Greek villagers concerning the soul and the afterlife are an interesting syncretism of Orthodox Christian teachings and various popular beliefs that are remarkable similar to those known to have existed in ancient Greece”*.⁴² Hendrickx also confirms that many other traditional and popular beliefs of the Orthodox Christian teachings, relating to the afterlife, had parallelisms with Greece.⁴³

According to Alexiou, many customs and beliefs changed little since antiquity. Also in the countryside of Greece, reference is made to pagan ritual which is found in various

³⁸ Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, p. 284.

³⁹ Hussey, *The Byzantine World*, p. 166.

⁴⁰ Quran 3:3-3:4 see also Anonymous, “Syncretism”, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syncretism>.

⁴¹ Anonymous, “Syncretism”, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syncretism>.

⁴² Danforth, *The Death Rituals*, p. 45.

⁴³ Hendrickx, *“Die dood van Digenis”*, pp. 99-106.

sources from the seventh to the twelfth centuries. From the homilies of the Christian fathers, works of Emperor Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos and handbook of Symeon, Archbishop of Thessaloniki, it is understood that the correct observation of funeral ritual was a matter of concern throughout the Byzantine period. Alexiou cautions us that as the evidence for survival of the ritual lament mainly comes from homilies, chronicles and commentaries and are mentioned only with disapproval, it cannot be taken as a true reflection of popular tradition.⁴⁴ She also states that there is a discrepancy between the official attitudes of the early fathers of the Church and of those practised by the village priests today who display certain pagan elements in these practises.⁴⁵

Alexiou argues that paganism is no longer a threat nor regarded as a powerful force to the Church as the two practises are coalesced and the Church consents to what it once condemned. Pagan customs function in unison with Orthodox Christianity.⁴⁶ Moreover, she points out that there is continuity in the general pattern of the ritual in detail, practices and terminology of Greek tradition. Relating to the ancient and Byzantine material, also, Alexiou explains that some practises in Modern Greek tradition can be regarded as parallel to the ancient ritual, though not recorded in Byzantine tradition.⁴⁷

Hendrickx, on the other hand, writes that the archives of the Ancient as well as the Hellenistic and Byzantine East were lost or misplaced. Ancient epigraphic documents may be found anywhere in Europe but not at the place of their origin. The preserved documents constitute a small minority only, and are restricted in their use by virtue of their analytical, direct, fragmentary and often propagandistic character.⁴⁸ This finding makes it difficult to trace back the factual origin of certain cultural survivals regarding death rituals.

⁴⁴ Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 25.

⁴⁵ Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 49.

⁴⁶ Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 49.

⁴⁷ Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 49.

⁴⁸ Hendrickx, *Geskiedenis van Romeinse*, p. 48. Hendrickx furthermore says that the Ancient and Byzantine archives and/or documents are haphazardly published in any possible (or impossible) magazine or publication and often remain inaccessible or unknown. In the past the classicist – and Byzantinist – were more literate, philological than socio-historically orientated and therefore over attention was given to the authors and thus epigraphical and papirological documents received less attention. The study of the mentioned became a speciality on its own and is not necessarily part of the scientific equipment of the classicist – historian.

6. The role of Syncretism, Synthesis and Parallelism in the blending of pagan elements

There was a common interest in the relationship humans had with the supernatural in ancient Greek religion, Judaism, Islam and Christianity. This common interest is still prevalent today. This relationship is thought to engage divine messengers (angels) sent to man to inform, instruct or command him. In Greek mythology for example, Hermes, the son of Zeus, was the herald of the Olympian gods. He conducted the souls of the dead to the underworld.⁴⁹ It was believed that the souls of the deceased were led to the gates of Hades⁵⁰ by Hermes. Hermes had a winged hat and sandals, bore a caduceus, entwined with snakes, overpowered by wings. He was known as the ‘psycho-pomp’ (soul –guide) and his staff acquired wings (above the serpents), becoming the caduceus or winged staff of Mercury, and the god himself became the ‘flying man’ with his winged hat and sandals.⁵¹ Once at the gates of Hades, Charon, the ferryman of the dead, took the souls with his boat across the River Acheron from the living world to the Underworld. In Greek, Charon means ‘causer of joy’.⁵²

In Greek folklore, it is believed that Michael assumed Hermes’ role as the psycho-pomp who leads the souls to Hades.⁵³ It is also believed that Michael performs the role of weighing of the souls on Judgement day. However, Alexiou points out that during the twelfth century, Eustathios of Thessaloniki referred to the phrase εἰς τὴν Αἰδου κέσθαι ζυγῶν (to lie on Hades’ scales) and again, three centuries later, in one of the popular dialogues between man and Charon: *In my hand I hold the scales of Mercy,*

*To weigh out what you’ve done...*⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Servi, K., *Greek Mythology*, Athens, 2001, pp. 44 & 45.

⁵⁰ On the gates of Hades see Lindsay, G., *Life after Death or Where are the dead?* Texas, 1956: Hades is the Greek word for the Hebrew word ‘Sheol’, both mean ‘the abode of the dead.’

⁵¹ Examples of combined symbols are the winged horse and the winged dragon which unite the transcendent symbol of the snake and the bird. The horned serpent appears in 16th century Latin alchemy as the quadricornutus serpents (four-horned serpent), a symbol of Hermes: see Henderson, J., “Ancient myths and modern man’ pp. 154 & 155 – Harris & Platzner, *Classical Mythology*, pp. 119 & 122.

⁵² Servi, Katerina, *Greek Mythology*, 2001, Ekthotike Athenon, pp. 44 & 45.

⁵³ Anonymous, “Michael”, www.answers.com/topic/michael.

⁵⁴ Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 26:

“Ζῆτι κρατῶ στο χῶρι μου ελεημοσῶνης
γιῶ να ζῶάσω τα ’καμες

Alexiou adds that the idea of the weighing of the dying man's soul has survived in spite of the changes of deity, Hades, Charon and God. It is incorporated into the funeral service of the Orthodox Church: *"Have mercy on me, all-holy angels... for I have no good deed to balance the burden of my evil ones."*⁵⁵

Orthodox mortals honoured Michael as the guardian of Paradise and collector of souls as he took the role of the angel of death, i.e. the angel who brought the souls of dying people into the supernatural world.⁵⁶ In the Epistle of Jude,⁵⁷ Michael argues with Satan over the dead body of Moses: *"But even the Archangel Michael, when he was disputing with the devil about the body of Moses..."*⁵⁸ As such Michael was represented as a hero warrior who fought for the possession of the soul, or as a rather good personage who supported and comforted the dying.⁵⁹

Alexiou points out that great importance is attached to the way the soul leaves the body. An agonised death, for example, is seen as struggle with Charon (also known as *χαροπάλεμα*) or a premature lament which was risky as it was believed that it scared away the angels and spirits which had to escort the soul, leaving it to the mercies of Charon. This is called *ἄγγελόκομμα* (angel-cutting) *"a belief not unlike those described by the Church fathers, except that it is Charon and not the devil that seizes the soul."*⁶⁰

She furthermore says that the fight with death is described as being literal: a dying man may call out that he can see Charon approaching him, armed with a sword, dressed in black, sometimes winged, like the image of ancient Hades.⁶¹ In the following ballad a young man faces Thanatos; the fight between them is described as a heroic act as it reflects the expressions for the last struggle of survival of the soul:

*"– Young man, God has sent me to take your soul.
– Without force or sickness, I will not give up my soul.
Come, and let us wrestle on the marble threshing floor.*

⁵⁵ Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 26.

⁵⁶ Hendrickx, "Agathias se epigramme oor 'ikone'," – Danforth, *The Death Rituals*, p. 45.

⁵⁷ Jude 9.

⁵⁸ Jude 9.

⁵⁹ Danforth, *The Death Rituals*, pp. 45 & 46.

⁶⁰ Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 38.

⁶¹ Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, pp. 37 & 38.

*And if you win, Charondas, you can take my soul,
and if it is I who win, you must go and leave me.”*⁶²

And also “*my soul is fighting, struggling, I tremble and go out, I wrestle with Charon, I tremble at, fight with, the angel.*”⁶³ Hendrickx states that Digenis was not slain by an earthly enemy but confronted by the supernatural Charon. This offered two advantages:

- i) it gives the narrator/poet the opportunity to allow Digenis to die in a tragic dual with an unconquerable hero, and
- ii) Digenis completes his quest on a metaphysical level.⁶⁴

But not all believe that Michael assumed Charon’s role as the psycho-pomp who leads the souls to Hades. There is some controversy about the role Michael took concerning the souls. Danforth states that various traditional beliefs concerning death held by Greek villagers are a form of syncretism of Orthodox Christian teachings and beliefs which are similar to those in ancient Greece. They believe that it is Charon who takes the soul of the dying person:

*“when the soul leaves the body at death it is said to have ‘set out on the road to God’ (kinise ya to dhromo tou theou). It has been taken away by Haros, a personification of death, who is either identified with the Angel of the Lord (Angelos Kiriou), the Archangel Michael, or is believed to be a subordinate of the Archangel and a messenger of God.”*⁶⁵

According to Alexiou, the ancient figure of Hades has disappeared and his successor is not God or Archangel Michael but Charon. Charon is responsible for escorting the dead to the Underworld. This place is known as Hades and is more similar to its ancient concept than its Christian idea of hell.⁶⁶

⁶² Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 38. Also, in another funeral lament from Tsakonia, a dying girl sees Charon approach and begs her mother to hide her in a cage, in a chest, among the basil and balsam plants; but her mother replies sternly that she will give her over to Charon: p. 122.

⁶³ Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 38.

⁶⁴ Hendrickx, “*Die dood van Digenis*”, pp. 99 – 106.

⁶⁵ Danforth, *The Death Rituals*, p. 45.

⁶⁶ Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 49.

However, many Christians accept that it is Michael who takes up the role of Charon. It is believed that this idea is common among Christians and is not found in Jewish sources although his role of being in charge of the souls appears in many Jewish writings. This is evident in the type of offerings which Michael brings to the altar. These offerings are sometimes believed to be the souls of the just and have become widespread in Jewish mystical writings which also explain the important position which Michael occupies in Jewish eschatology.⁶⁷

In the book of Revelation,⁶⁸ parallelisms of the end of Hades and Death (Thanatos) are found: *“The sea gave up the dead that were in it, and death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them, and each person was judged according to what he had done. Then death and Hades were thrown into the lake of fire. The lake of fire is the second death. If anyone’s name was not found written in the book of life, he was thrown into the lake of fire.”*⁶⁹

In the following verse, reference is made to Christ who conquers Hades and Death (Thanatos): *“... Do not be afraid. I am the First and the Last. I am the Living One; I was dead, and behold I am alive for ever and ever! And I hold the keys of death and Hades.”*⁷⁰

We accept Alexiou’s findings that Charon occasionally finds his way to Paradise, assuming the role of Saint Peter as keeper of the gate. It is also clear that some aspects of pagan ritual received official recognition; Charon has survived because he is the servant of God. Mourners address their prayers to him to release the dead from their graves on the Christian festivals as recorded in the following folk song:⁷¹

*“I will go down to Hades and to Paradise,
To find Charos and say a few words to him.”*⁷²

In the earlier ballad of the young man’s fight with death, Charon states that he was sent by God: *“Young man, God has sent me to take your soul...”*⁷³

⁶⁷ Anonymous, “Michael”, www.answers.com/topic/michael.

⁶⁸ Rv 20: 13-15.

⁶⁹ Rv 20: 13-15.

⁷⁰ Rv 1: 17-18. Also compare Lindsay, G., *Life After Death*, Texas, 1956, pp. 48-51.

⁷¹ Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, pp. 49 & 50.

⁷² Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 50.

Also, Hendrickx states that the ‘Death of Digenis’ is a *psychomachia*, as it is a fight for Digenis’s soul and the possible identification of Charon to Archangel Michael is therefore important. Charon portrays a tragic, negative and horrible figure who brings the souls to the underworld and who shares death and sorrow. Michael is the commander of God’s army and although he calls upon the souls – these conquered souls are brought to an immortal, celestial army of God. “*Die oorwinning van Charon-Michael op Digenis bring dus weliswaar die fisiese dood van Digenis mee, maar hy word opgeneem onder die onsterflike hemelse wagters.*”⁷⁴

* * * * *

Thus, we may conclude that the Christian ‘promise of paradise’ altered the negative images of mythological figures such as Thanatos, Hades and Charon into (a) positive figure(s) which is either Charon, Archangel Michael or Christ Himself, capable of bridging earthly life with the eternal one.



⁷³ Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 38.

⁷⁴ Hendrickx, “Die dood van Digenis”, pp. 99 – 106.

Chapter 7

Michael's Byzantine and Post-Byzantine iconographic identity as understood and/or revealed in the interpretation of 'icon' in its contemporary meaning

Firstly, one needs to examine to what extent the correlation between the meanings of 'icon' in the Byzantine, Post-Byzantine and today's context may be compared. In order to do this comparative approach, a few famous contemporary 'icons' will be selected and the characteristics found in these 'iconic' figures will be analysed; then similar patterns found in each case will be highlighted and compared to those found in Michael's Byzantine and Post-Byzantine icon. Lastly, the way Michael is represented in a modern-day society will be looked at.

1. What elevates an ordinary person to the status of an 'icon'?

At first, the term icon was only used for an image of a spiritual being or a sacred person. As indicated in chapter one, an icon has a modern-day meaning of "*someone greatly admired*", often seen as a perfect example, an "*idealised role model*".¹

Another description of a modern-day 'icon' is "...a larger-than-life image, inherent glamour and eventual flamboyance, strength through adversity..."² Then there are also 'Patron Saints' who "*are chosen as special protectors or guardians over areas of life*" and "*are often chosen today because an interest, talent, or event in their lives overlaps with the special area.*"³

Indeed, when a person is greatly admired in society(s), that person is adored and even elevated to a messianic role or religious icon to which many look up to with high regard and respect. In the following three cases, it is clear that only a particular section of the society in which they functioned, elevated these ordinary people to the status of 'icon' in modern society.

¹ Collins, *Today's English Dictionary*, p. 388; see also Eco, U., *On Beauty*, pp. 418 – 430.

² "Modern examples: in sports", "[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gay icon](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gay_icon)", 2007/12/13.

³ Anonymous, "Patron Saints", "<http://www.catholic.org/saints/patron.php>" 2007/11/16.

2. The example of David Beckham as a ‘modern icon’

David Beckham is seen as an icon in the field of international soccer. Brick is of the opinion that David Beckham was a “*post-modern ersatz religious icon*” who has been elevated to a messianic role by the public. He further states that the public seeks meaning “*in an apparently meaningless world disillusioned with traditional social markers once provided by politics, royalty and religion*”; Beckham was thus a “*modern Christ*” figure. “*What happens is that society seeks to elevate particular figures, like Beckham, whom we can then read values into and say, look, this is how we should behave. It’s an ersatz spirituality. We want to believe that what we invest in David Beckham will see us through things in our lives.*”⁴

Jardine gave his personal view of Beckham as the “*21st century equivalent of King Arthur*” and adds: “*For many people around the world Beckham today represents the contemporary equivalent of what Arthur and his knights have traditionally stood for as the dominant male heroic ideal, the virile male body pushed to extremes, bringing fame and adulation, held up as the prime example of the best a man can do.*”⁵

Another source describes David Beckham as a ‘gay icon’: “*in Beckham’s case, it is his combination of athletic prowess, good looks and flamboyant private life*”.⁶

3. The example of Coretta Scott King as a ‘modern icon’

Others achieved iconic status for devoting their lives to the eradication of social injustice and the restoration of human dignity. Coretta Scott King, widow of Dr Martin Luther King Jr. was such a person. At an early age she was exposed to the injustices of life in a racially segregated society. These occurrences led her to strive for equality and pursue the cause of justice for all. She attained iconic status for the role she played in the fight for the civil liberties of black Americans, equality for all, freedom from racism, exploitation, oppression and discrimination not only in the United States but throughout the world. She was referred to as “*an icon for justice*” and “*an icon to whom many looked up with deep*

⁴ *Sunday Times* “Christ-like meaning found in Beckham”, p. 5, September 18, 2005.

⁵ *Sunday Times* “Christ-like meaning”, p. 5.

⁶ “Modern examples: in sports”, ["http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gay icon"](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gay_icon).

reverence and respect.”⁷ Also, a “warrior figure pushing aside male-dominated leadership to perpetuate Dr King’s legacy...” as well as “Coretta behaved with the dignity of royalty, a quality also misunderstood.” She was seen as “a woman of substance, a partner in ‘the dream,’ a freedom fighter in her own right who helped institutionalise the memory of Dr King for all people for generations to come.”⁸

4. The example of Ernesto ‘Che’ Guevara as a ‘modern icon’

Argentine born, Ernesto ‘Che’ Guevara, known as the “poster boy of Marxist revolution,”⁹ is regarded today as a global icon. Che became a symbol of revolutionary zeal. After travelling throughout Latin America, he concluded that armed revolution was the only solution to the continent’s cruel social inequities.¹⁰ He was a celebrated guerrilla fighter who helped Fidel Castro seize power in Cuba.¹¹ Che Guevara is described as “a symbol of a time when people died heroically for what they believed in” and whose “iconic status was assured because he failed”.¹²

Campbell says that the cult of Che is thriving today, as he was recently voted as ‘Argentina’s greatest historical figure’.¹³ Che was later described by Campbell and other authors as “the most complete man of his epoch”. He has become ever more fashionable and his bearded visage is an icon which is seen on many facets of media such as T-shirts, clocks, wall art, tattoos and even bikinis. He is furthermore described as a ‘Romantic hero’¹⁴ to legions of fans throughout the world¹⁵ – “to endure as a romantic icon, one must not just die young, but die hopelessly.”¹⁶

⁷ *The Star*, 31 January, 2006.

⁸ *The Star*, 8 February, 2006.

⁹ “Icons”, *Sunday Times: Lifestyle*, 23 September, 2007, p. 9.

¹⁰ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Che>.

¹¹ “Icons”, *Sunday Times, Lifestyle*, 23 September, 2007, p. 9.

¹² O’ Hagan, S. *Just a Pretty Face?* *The Observer*, 11 July, 2004 – <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/review/story> 2007/11/19.

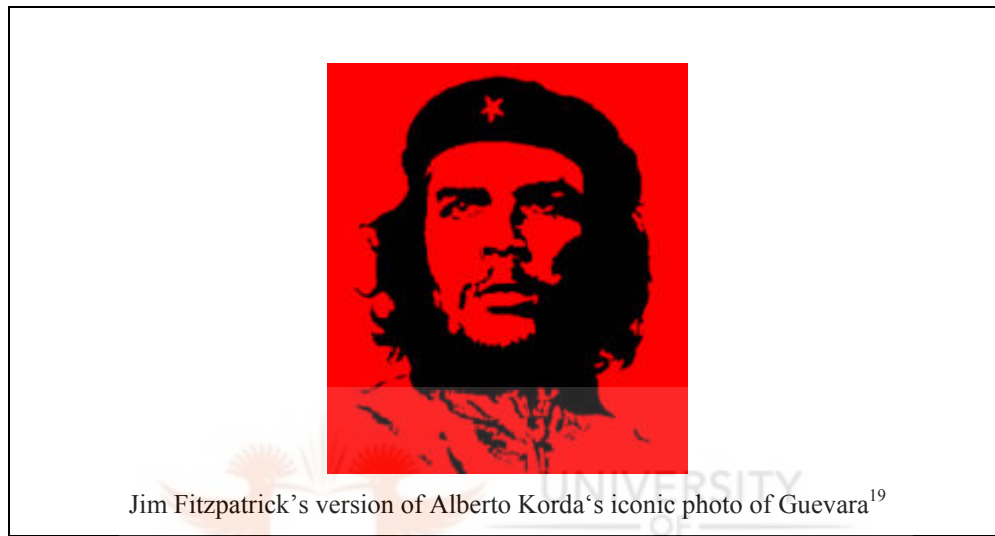
¹³ “Icons”, *Sunday Times, Lifestyle*, 23 September, 2007, p. 9.

¹⁴ “Icons”, *Sunday Times, Lifestyle*, 23 September, 2007, p. 9. <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/review/story> – see also Henderson, “Ancient myths”, p. 73: “The hero figure is an archetype, which has existed since time immemorial” & p. 123: “The myth of the typical hero – his capacity to save or protect beautiful women from terrible danger. (The damsel in distress was a favorite myth of medieval Europe.)”.

¹⁵ “Icons”, *Sunday Times, Lifestyle*, 23 September, 2007, p. 9. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Che> 13/12/2007.

¹⁶ <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/review/story>.

According to Machover,¹⁷ the attribution around Che which made him a global icon, was a French creation which became international with time. He says that French intellectuals fell under the charm of the only ‘comandante’ who could speak their language.¹⁸ There is another possibility of how he became an international icon. Usborne believes that Che’s attribution possibly gave him iconic status because of the picture taken by Alberto Korda.



This picture is said to be the most reproduced image of all time; it was taken up as a symbol of leftist rebellion - a symbol of protesting students in 1968 and later adopted by subsequent generations.²⁰ Che was later executed, his face was washed, hair and beard tidied, and then his corpse was photographed. To his enemies' dismay, the image that was circulated throughout the world recalled countless Renaissance paintings of the dead Christ taken down from the cross- and so Che attained iconic status for the second time. The ‘Christ-like’ image prevailed. In death, he was frozen forever; had he lived, the myth of Che would have long since died.²¹

¹⁷ Machover was a Cuban exiled in France since 1963 as well as the author of *The Hidden Face of Che*: Sunday Times Lifestyle, 23 Sept, 2007, “Icons”, p. 9.

¹⁸ “Intellectuals such as Debray who became an acolyte of Guevara and professor of philosophy at Havana’s university in the 60’s”: “Icons”, Sunday Times, Lifestyle, 23 September, 2007, p. 9.

¹⁹ "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Che_Guevara_in_popular_culture".

²⁰ Usborne, D. “Who was Che Guevara, and does he deserve his iconic status?” *The Independent*, 6 June, 2006 http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qn4158/is_20060606/ai_n16453878.

²¹ O’ Hagan, S. “Just a Pretty Face?” ["http://observer.guardian.co.uk/review/story"](http://observer.guardian.co.uk/review/story), 2007/11/19.

5. Characteristics and/or functions of today's icons

In all three mentioned cases it is understood that only a part of society, and not all, elevated these figures to 'iconic' status and for that reason society has an icon for nearly everything – an icon for acting such as Charlize Theron,²² an icon for soccer such as David Beckham,²³ an icon for reggae such as Lucky Dube.²⁴

6. Comparison of characteristics and functions of the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Orthodox Michael to modern-day icons

In our examples, David Beckham, though a global brand, is seen as an icon by the soccer fraternity; Coretta Scott King, though admired globally, was elevated to iconic status by Black Americans; and Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, though regarded as a most enduring global icon, achieved cult status as an 'icon of revolution' and emerged as a 'sacred' figure. He was a political figure but was extensively used in pop art and that kept his legacy even after his death.

In considering the question, 'what elevates an ordinary person to an iconic status in modern society?' one has to start by conceding that a definite transformation took place. These icons differ 'enormously' in detail, but the more closely one examines them the more one sees similar patterns, even though they were developed by groups without any direct cultural contact. In mythology, romantic heroes often fight dragons or monsters, to rescue 'maidens in danger'. Examples are found in Greek mythology – when Perseus fought the dragon to rescue Andromeda and Theseus who slew the Minotaur and rescued Ariadne. Then there is also the case of St. George who is portrayed in a similar role of the typical romantic hero; St. George is represented in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine icons fighting the dragon and rescuing the beautiful maiden from terrible danger.²⁵

In late medieval Christianity, Saint Michael, as well as Saint George, became the patron of chivalry, and the patron of the first chivalric order of France which is known as the

²² *The Star*, "News", September 22, 2005, p. 10.

²³ *Sunday Times* "Christ-like", p. 5.

²⁴ Ntuli, D., "Rastas never die...", "News and Opinion", *Sunday Times*, 21 October, 2007 - "News and Opinion", *Sunday Times*, 10 October, 2007.

²⁵ Servi, *Greek Mythology*, – Harris & Platzner, *Classical Mythology* – Campbell, *The Mythic Image* – Henderson, "Ancient myths", pp. 104 - 157.

Order of Saint Michael of 1469. Many Christians associate Michael with the patron saint of the warrior, police officers, soldiers and paratroopers.²⁶ Saint Michael's association with Saint George as patrons proves to be significant as these two 'romantic' heroes had something in common: They both had to slay the dragon (Satan) to liberate a maiden. The heroic rescue remains the same; St. George killed the dragon to free a maiden in a physical sense and St. Michael killed the dragon to free a maiden in a symbolic sense. This symbolic form of the maiden refers to God's chosen people known also as "*the bride of Christ*"²⁷ as well as "*the wife of the Lamb*"²⁸ or "*a pure virgin*"²⁹ or "*a chosen people*".³⁰ Latourette confirms that Paul spoke of the body of Christ as being the Church of Christ, "*The Epistle to the Ephesians states that Christ is the head of the Church and dreams of the Church as ultimately being without spot, wrinkle, or blemish. The Christian fellowship, so the New Testament held, was to be a new Israel, a chosen people, but it was to be drawn from all mankind. In Christ both Jews and Gentiles were to be members of 'the household of God,' growing into 'an holy temple.' Not only was the Church to embrace both Jews and Gentiles, but in it there was also to be no distinction on the basis of race, nation, cultural status, servitude, freedom, or sex.*"³¹

Guevara was, as seen in the case study, a romantic role model, insofar as he behaved and acted within the framework of the 'revolutionary spirit' that he represented. Guevara also fought a dragon (symbolically, the dragon of capitalism) to liberate the 'maiden' (symbolically the oppressed) and died for his beliefs. (During his travel, Guevara, came across the poverty and suffering of the lower classes of society while the rich lived ignorantly in their high life-styles away from problems.)³²

Regarding the 'hero-image' Henderson believes that the pattern of the hero has a psychological meaning not only for the individual, who endeavours to discover and assert his personality, but also for the whole society which has an equal need to establish its

²⁶ Anonymous, "Michael", www.answers.com/topic/michael.

²⁷ Eph 5:25-32.

²⁸ Rv 21:9-10.

²⁹ 2 Co 11:2.

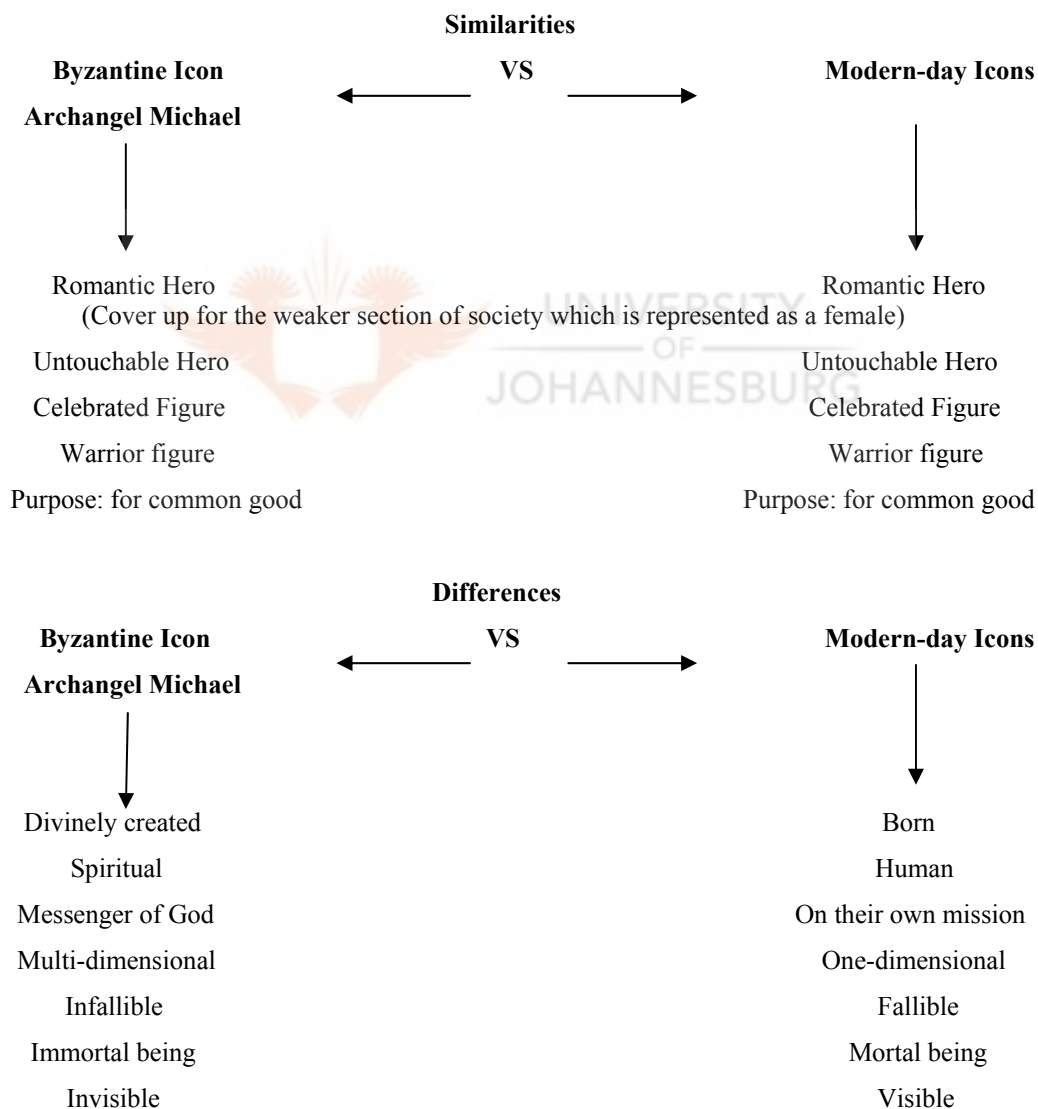
³⁰ 1 Pt 2:9.

³¹ Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, p.114 – Mt 18:17 and 2 Co 1:1.

³² D:\The Motorcycle Diaries (film) - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.htm.

collective identity.³³ He adds that “the battle between the hero and the dragon is the more active form of this myth, and it shows more clearly the archetypal theme of the ego’s triumph over regressive trends. For most people the dark or negative side of the personality remains unconscious. The hero, on the contrary, must realize that the shadow exists and that he can draw strength from it. He must come to terms with its destructive powers if he is to become sufficiently terrible to overcome the dragon – i.e. before the ego can triumph, it must master and assimilate the shadow.”³⁴

The following diagram shows Archangel Michael’s weighed against the modern-day icons as represented by society in which they have functioned:



³³ Henderson, “Ancient myths”, p. 110.

³⁴ Henderson, “Ancient myths”, pp. 120-121.

Regarding the elements found in the Orthodox Byzantine icon, which are also found in present-day icons, there is, however, a fundamental difference concerning Byzantine and Post-Byzantine icon Archangel Michael. We may state that there is a three dimensional representation of modern-day figures namely *Mind, Body* and *Soul* becoming:

a) Intellectual = mind

b) Physical = body

c) Spiritual = soul

On Greek philosophy and Christianity, Latourette states that: “...it has been suggested that Christian thinkers solved the problems of order and change, reason and emotion, the physical and the intellectual with which classical philosophy had wrestled, and did so without denying the validity of the changing, the emotional, or the physical. They thereby provided a basis for individual salvation in a world of dislocated individuals and a principle on which a stable but not a rigid society might be based.”³⁵

a) The ‘Intellectual Icon’

The ‘icons’ that fall into this category are those that fit certain criteria which symbolise the human rationale or intellect. This quality is found in those ‘who devoted their lives to the eradication of social injustices and the restoration of human dignity’. This element is found in Coretta Scott King and is thus elevated to an iconic status too. She was also referred to “an icon for justice” and an “icon to whom many looked up with deep reverence and respect.”³⁶ Other modern-day icons who fit into this category are Chris Barnard, Nelson Mandela and many others.³⁷

b) The ‘Physical Icon’

The ‘icons’ that fall into this category are those who have ‘skills, abilities and talents’. This category epitomises the human physical excellence found for example in David Beckham’s “post-modern ersatz religious” iconic status. He has been elevated to a messianic role known as a “modern Christ figure” by the public³⁸ perhaps because of his combination of athletic prowess, good looks and

³⁵ Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, p. 261.

³⁶ The Star, 31 January, 2006.

³⁷ Cape Times, *News, Business Report*, 24 October, 2007, p. 28.

³⁸ *Sunday Times* “Christ-like”, p. 5.

flamboyant private life.³⁹ Similar ‘icons’ that fit into this category are of Shahar Peer, “*an iconic figure in Israel*”⁴⁰, who was awarded “*outstanding athlete status*”,⁴¹ Sebastien Chabal, known as “*the caveman*”, who is described as “*the most naturally powerful athlete in world rugby*” and “*an iconic figure of the World Cup*”⁴² and also Charlize Theron who has been honoured as the “*film icon of Benoni*”.⁴³ Then, lastly:

b) The ‘Spiritual Icon’

The ‘icons’ that fall into this category are those who ‘paid with their lives for their beliefs’. The ‘Spiritual Icon’ epitomises the human spiritual sacrifice. An example of a ‘Spiritual Icon’ is ‘Che’ Guevara. According to Castañeda,

*“the Christ-like image prevailed” and “it’s as if the dead Guevara looks on his killers and forgives them, and upon the world, proclaiming that he who dies for an idea is beyond suffering.”*⁴⁴

Other ‘icon’ that fit this profile is Mahatma Gandhi who Salgado feels conjure up “*perceptions of saintliness*”.⁴⁵ He adds that “*Ghandhi and Guevara were assassinated long before the commercialisation of their brands began in earnest.*”⁴⁶

What makes these icons unique is the fact that they all died in a certain way and that phenomenon enhanced their iconic status. This also coincides with the example of the Byzantine hero, Digenis Akritas and his fatal dual with death.⁴⁷ Hendrickx explains that Digenis’s heroic isolation in contrast to the crowd was not enough to make him a ‘folk hero’. The true Digenis – epic is illustrated as a hero who dies as an old man in his bed! Such an ordinary death does not suit the hero as it is not idealised. Hendrickx furthermore elucidates that: “*Digenis, wat nie deur ‘n aardse vyand neergevel word nie, word met die bonatuurlike Charon self gekonfronteer. Dit bied twee voordele: (i) dit skenk aan die*

³⁹ “Modern examples: in sports”, “[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gay icon](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gay_icon)”.

⁴⁰ *The Star*, 21 September, 2007.

⁴¹ *The Star*, 21 September, 2007.

⁴² *The Times, Rugby*, 12 October, 2007, p. 31.

⁴³ *The Star, News*, 22 September, 2005, p. 10.

⁴⁴ O’ Hagan, S. “*Just a Pretty Face?*”

⁴⁵ *Cape Times, News, Business Report*, October 24, 2007, p. 28.

⁴⁶ *Cape Times, News, Business Report*, October 24, 2007, p. 28.

⁴⁷ Hendrickx, “*Die dood van Digenis*”, p. 103.

volksdigter die geleentheid om Digenis tóg te laat sterf in 'n tragiese tweegeveg met 'n oorwinlike held, en (ii) op metafisiese vlak kan Digenies sy taak voltooi."⁴⁸

As such, 'Che' Guevara was executed, Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated and Lucky Dube was senselessly gunned down in a botched hijacking.⁴⁹ Lucky Dube fits the profile of the 'Spiritual Icon' because ironically, he paid with his life through the same violence he sang about. In the lyrics of '*Crime and Corruption*' he laments the scourge of crime:⁵⁰

*"Do you ever worry about your house being broken into
Do you ever worry about your car being taken away from you
in broad daylight down Highway 54
Do you ever worry about your wife becoming the women in black
Do you ever worry about leaving home
and coming back in a coffin with a bullet through your head
So join us and fight this crime and corruption"*

Dube wanted a "*new world that was a 'kingdom of the children'*", writes Ntuli, and "*where there was genuine spiritual liberation, not a substitution of commercial exploitation for political oppression*"⁵¹.

All three dimensions found in these 'iconic' figures fit into the profile of a single Orthodox Byzantine icon. The 'physical' excellence found in Archangel Michael for example, was represented in his beautiful, physical appearance. Grabar comments that "*the central authority at Byzantium... also controlled the aesthetic of the figural arts; above all, after it was enacted that religious images were to be venerated as sacred objects...*" and further adds that "*it also indicated the manner in which the artist was to handle religious themes – and these were in the vast majority.*"⁵² Also, in the Renaissance period, Michael is illustrated as young, strong, and handsome.⁵³

⁴⁸ Hendrickx, "Die dood van Digenis", p. 103.

⁴⁹ The Times, News, October 22, 2007, p. 4 - Sunday Times, News and Opinion, October 10, 2007, pp. 20, 28.

⁵⁰ The Times, News, p. 4 - Sunday Times, News and Opinion.

⁵¹ The Times, News, p. 4 - Sunday Times, News and Opinion.

⁵² Grabar, *Byzantine Painting*, p. 31.

⁵³ Anonymous, "Michael", www.answers.com/topic/michael.

In the ‘intellectual’ dimension found in Coretta Scott King’s as ‘icon for justice’, doesn’t Michael also stand for ‘justice and truth’?⁵⁴ It is believed that Michael acted as ‘advocate of Israel’⁵⁵ and his function is ‘to open gates also of justice to the just’.⁵⁶ Last, but not least, the ‘spiritual’ dimension i.e. ‘paid with their lives for their beliefs’ is also parallel to Michael’s iconic status. Archangel Michael, field commander of the Army of God fights with his life against Satan for his belief in God’s purpose for humanity.

7. Archangel Michael represented in the arts in modern-day society

Archangel Michael is represented as an angelic warrior clad with shield, helmet and sword. He often stands over the dragon, which he sometimes pierces with a lance. Another attribute of Michael is a pair of scales in which he weighs the souls of the departed or holds the Book of Life to show his role in the judgment.⁵⁷

In Greek folklore it is said that some folk icons depicted Michael without a face; reason being that Michael’s face can only be seen by the dead and those about to die. It is also believed that he has assumed the role of the mythological figure Hermes as the psychopomp in his role of weigher of souls on Judgment Day.⁵⁸

Milton’s epic poem ‘Paradise Lost’ describes Michael as the commander of God’s army of angels against the rebel forces of Satan. He is armoured with a sword and in a personal battle, strikes Satan, wounding his side.⁵⁹

Father Raymond Bishop’s diary was used by William Blatty to write his book, *The Exorcist*, and later used by Thomas B. Allen, for his book, *Possessed: the True Story of an Exorcism* where a 13-year old boy saw a vision of Satan and ten of his helpers fighting against Archangel Michael.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ “Michael (archangel)”, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_\(Archangel\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_(Archangel)) 2007/09/18.

⁵⁵ “Michael (archangel)”, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_\(Archangel\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_(Archangel)).

⁵⁶ King, M. “Chief Rainbow Warrior: Archangel Michael”, 7 February, 2006.

<http://www.americanchronicle.com/articles/viewArticle.asp?articleID=5580> 2007/11/16.

⁵⁷ Anonymous, “Michael”, www.answers.com/topic/michael.

⁵⁸ Anonymous, “Michael”, www.answers.com/topic/michael.

⁵⁹ Anonymous, “Michael”, www.answers.com/topic/michael.

⁶⁰ “Michael (archangel)”, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_\(Archangel\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_(Archangel)).

John Travolta performed as the Archangel Michael who lived as an ‘unconventional angel’ on Earth in the 1996 film called *Michael*. Then, in the 2007 movie, *Ghost Rider*, Johnny’s study of heaven and hell leads him to St. Michael and the fallen angels of Air, Water and Earth. Ghost Rider is Fire, the element attributed to Michael. He combats with the other three elements to save the world from an oncoming apocalypse, led by Blackheart, the Prince of Hell.⁶¹

8. Michael in angelology and the occult in modern-day society

Today, modern occultists associate Michael with the Fire element (in contrast to the Kabbalistic work, the Bahir, which states that his element is Water), the direction South and the colour Red. Michael rules over the Tree of Life Sepirah (Tephirah), the ‘Alchemical Metal Gold, Harmony and Beauty’. It is believed that Michael has been given divine qualities such as Protection, Faith, Will of God, Power, Omnipotence of God and Perfection. In angelology today, Archangel Michael protects our consciousness, being and world and is said to be associated with motivation, activation, ambition, achievement, patience and life tasks.⁶² In other forms of occultism, Archangel Michael is believed to be the spirit of the planet Mercury or the Sun, being also the ruler of Sunday and Thursday.⁶³ Also, according to another source, each of the seven Archangels are associated with Saturn and Uriel, the Ptolemaic system being the sun, the moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn.⁶⁴

In Voodoo,⁶⁵ for example, prayers (called ‘oraisons’) are written on sheets of paper and sewn into clothes, bedding, or pillows in order to increase fortune and help fulfil desires. The prayers are sold in Haiti (at Port-au-Prince) at the market. One of the prayers,

⁶¹ Anonymous, “Michael”, www.answers.com/topic/michael.

⁶² Anonymous, “Michael”, www.answers.com/topic/michael also compare “Michael (archangel)”, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_\(Archangel\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_(Archangel)).

⁶³ Virtue, *Archangels and Ascended Masters*, pp. 38 & 45– Also compare notes on Michael in angelology Anonymous, “Michael”, www.answers.com/topic/michael – Finney, D., *Archangels and Guardian Angels* www.greatdreams.com/Archangels.htm 2007/09/18.

⁶⁴ Kiefer, J., “Michael and All Angels”, satucket.com/lectionary/Michael.htm 2007/11/16.

⁶⁵ For example, syncretism in the Caribbean consists of the interaction of shared histories of the European Imperialism and African slaves: Anonymous, “Michael”, www.answers.com/topic/michael. The result was the production of the establishment of a society that exists today in the Caribbean. One of the syncretised religions of the Caribbean is voodoo which consists of elements of Western African, native Caribbean and Christian (Roman Catholic) beliefs. Other syncretised religions that include the New World religions are Candomblé, Vodoun and Santería: Anonymous, “Syncretism”, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syncretism> 2007/11/15.

considered to have particular potency, is devoted to Michael, patron saint of sea sickness sufferers.⁶⁶ In the Voodoo religion, (Latin American Santeria) as practised in Cuba, the Voodoo God Aganyú–Solá has been identified with Archangel Michael as a result of syncretism,⁶⁷ while in other countries, with St. Christopher. Aganyú, represented as a huge man, wild and untamed, is a symbol of all earth forces, particularly the centre of earth and volcano.

9. The survival of Michael in modern religions

In Latter-day Saint theology, Archangel Michael is believed to have lived his mortal life as Adam; thus, the belief that Michael and Adam are the same being. Adam is his mortal name and Michael his pre-mortal/post mortal name, thus all Adam's descendents are the earthly descendents of Michael. Adam's angelic name, Michael ('who is like God?'), describes man's appearance; how he was created in the image of God.⁶⁸

Jehovah's Witnesses believe that Jesus and Archangel Michael is the same individual. It is furthermore believed that Jehovah first created Jesus as the Archangel Michael, through whom he made the universe, the angels and mankind: "In this pre-human existence he was known as the word of God. He later took the human form as Jesus and led a life without sin. *"Michael gave up his existence as a spirit creature (angel) when his*

⁶⁶ Gordon, L., *The Book of Voodoo*, London, 2000, p.105.

⁶⁷ Wippler, M.G., *Powers of the Orishas, Santeria and the Worship of Saints*, New York, 1992, pp. 61-64: "Initiation into Aganyú's mysteries is connected with places such as a cemetery, an old house, a hill, a dead tree, a river, a stone wall." Read also: Charlotte Seymour-Smith, *Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology*, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1986 – and Lindenfield, "Syncretism", www.histrycooperative.org/journals/whc/4.1/lindenfeld.html: One of the perils of syncretism (see chapter six) is 'confusion' – what might seem to be a syncretic combination to an observer, might have a complete different meaning to the person actually practicing it. An example of this is when the West African Aladura churches arose; many different traumatic events took place between the period of the First and Second World Wars. During those years, numeral Christian charismatic leaders came forward promising healing through prayer resulting in crowds of people breaking away from the mainstream Christian churches. Healing through prayer involved a rejection of Western medicine, which might appear as a return to traditional ways. The Aladuras rejected the healing rituals of the *orishas* and insisted that their followers destroy any signs of idolatry. Also, when certain aspects of worship such as dream interpretation and visions appeared to be more African than Christian, they would endorse such practices by referring to several verses in the Old Testament. This shows a general feature of cross-cultural relationships, i.e. how one society will adopt or absorb elements from other traditions in varying degrees, and thus leave a misleading label known as 'syncretism'.

⁶⁸ Anonymous, "Michael", www.answers.com/topic/michael.

life force was transferred into Mary's womb by Jehovah."⁶⁹ After his death on a torture stake, Jesus was resurrected in his previous spiritual form (Michael).⁷⁰

The Seventh-day Adventist considers the term 'Archangel' to indicate Michael's and Jesus' position as chief of the angels and not the angel himself. The Seventh-day Adventist views Michael as a 'type' of Christ. Both are uncreated and viewed as a person of the Godhead – maintaining a Trinitarian Christology.⁷¹

It is said that in Germany, the Christian tradition replaced the pre-Christian god Wotan, to whom many mountains were sacred, therefore the many mountain shrines and chapels of St. Michael over Germany.⁷² Some scholars claimed that the building of Saint Michael's sanctuaries on hilltops was to replace the pagan cult shrines of the god Wotan but actually this practise came from the Eastern Oriental Church.⁷³ He is also known as the patron saint of Germany. Today, many Christians believe that St. Michael is the patron saint of the warrior, police officers, soldiers and paratroopers.⁷⁴

10. The modern-day veneration of Michael

Michael's feasts are still celebrated all over the world. These feasts originated as follows:

- Michael is honoured for his appearance on Monte Gargano, Italy, on 8 May. A special feast in honour of the Archangel, known as 'Apparitio S. Michaelis' does not actually commemorate the Archangel's apparition but rather the victory of the Lombards of Sipontum over the Greek Neapolitans. Here, Michael's original status as 'patron in war' was restored to him.⁷⁵
- June 9, is celebrated in commemoration of the appearance of Michael, sword in hand, to the Emperor Constantine at the church in Sosthenion. It is said that he intervened in battles in apparent answer to the prayers of Pope St. Gregory I the

⁶⁹ Rhodes, *Find It Quick*, p. 101.

⁷⁰ Anonymous, "Michael", www.answers.com/topic/michael.

⁷¹ Anonymous, "Michael", www.answers.com/topic/michael.

⁷² Anonymous, "Michael", www.answers.com/topic/michael.

⁷³ <http://web2.airmail.net/Carlsch/MaterDei/Saints/michael.htm>.

⁷⁴ Anonymous, "Michael", www.answers.com/topic/michael.

⁷⁵ Holweck, "St. Michael the Archangel" – Anonymous, "Michael", www.answers.com/topic/michael.

Great. He was regarded as the great heavenly physician. The sick slept in the church at night, waiting upon the manifestation of Michael.⁷⁶

- 12 June - Christians of Egypt adopted the Greek feast kept on 12 November. Here, they placed the Nile under the protection of Michael. On the 12th day of each month, they celebrated a special commemoration of Archangel Michael. On June 12, when the water starts to rise, a special holiday is kept for Michael, known as the 'rising of the Nile'.⁷⁷
- 18 June – Feast of Michael at the Church of St. Julian at the Forum, Constantinople
- 6 September - today, a feast in commemoration of Michael is celebrated. In the earliest ages already, it was believed that Michael caused a medical spring to spout at Chairotopa, where all the sick who bathed there, were cured. Also, the spring at Colossae (Chonae) is believed to have holy waters. It is said that pagans directed a stream against the sanctuary of Michael to destroy it, but the Archangel split the rock by lightning which resulted in a new stream.⁷⁸
- On 29 September, the feast of Michaelmas is celebrated in honour of Michael together with the other Archangels. It is the anniversary of the dedication of a Roman basilica to him.⁷⁹ *“Waldorf schools celebrate the Michaelmas Festival (the festival of strong will) during the Autumnal Equinox.”*⁸⁰

Latourette shares that *“there were also feasts in honour of the apostles and others who were revered as saints, one for the Maccabees, and, at least as early as the sixth century, one for the Angel Michael”*.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Holweck, “St. Michael the Archangel” compare also Anonymous, “Michael”, www.answers.com/topic/michael.

⁷⁷ Holweck, “St. Michael the Archangel” compare also Anonymous, “Michael”, www.answers.com/topic/michael.

⁷⁸ Holweck, “St. Michael the Archangel” – Greek tradition has it that Michael’s apparition took place in the first century. Today, a feast in commemoration of it on 6 September is celebrated.

⁷⁹ Anonymous, “Michael”, www.answers.com/topic/michael.

⁸⁰ [www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_\(archangel\)](http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_(archangel)) 2007/11/16.

⁸¹ Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, p. 206.

- 18 October – a universal feast known as ‘*S. Michaelis in perculo maris*’; Michael is regarded as the patron of mariners at Mont-Saint-Michel, in the Diocese of Coutances, Normandy. On 16 October 710, the first church was dedicated to him.⁸²
- 27 October – feast of Michael in the ‘Promotu’ church, Constantinople.⁸³
- 8 November, a feast which, spread over the Greek, Syrian, Armenian and Coptic churches, became the principal feast of Michael in the Eastern Orthodoxy. Greek churches keep the feast on 8 November and celebrate a second festival on 8 September⁸⁴. At the famous baths of the Emperor Arcadius, the synaxis of the Archangel was celebrated.⁸⁵
- 12 November, see feast on June 12.
- 10 December, Feast of Michael at Athaea.⁸⁶
- In 1818, a chivalric order according to the British honour system was founded and named after Saint George and Saint Michael.⁸⁷

The above analysis brings us to the conclusion that a modern-day icon can be a historical figure, a celebrity or a public figure who is embraced by many in society. In particular, they are figures who perceive to be strong or brave and have struggled with political, social and/ or economical issues. These figures all have something in common i.e. they physically or psychologically fight a demon and suffer publicly or sometimes meet an early tragic end.

Finally, modern-day icons are created by society – in the hope of bringing substance where there is none. In doing so, the public seeks meaning ‘in an apparently meaningless world’, and thus they can then read values into these iconic figures. In light of this, one

⁸² Holweck, “St. Michael the Archangel” – Anonymous, “Michael”, www.answers.com/topic/michael.

⁸³ Holweck, “St. Michael the Archangel”.

⁸⁴ <http://web2.airmail.net/Carlsch/MaterDei/Saints/michael.htm>.

⁸⁵ Holweck, “St. Michael the Archangel”.

⁸⁶ Holweck, “St. Michael the Archangel”.

⁸⁷ [www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_\(archangel\)](http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Michael_(archangel)) 2007/11/16.

needs to look at the circumstances that necessitate the transformation. Modern-day society, ravaged by diminished spirituality, moral decay and the absence of role models and leaders of eminence in all spheres of life, desperately needed this transformation. These ‘iconic’ figures are in fact symbolic representations of the whole psyche. Their ‘iconic’ status suggests the essential function of the individual’s ego-consciousness – his awareness of his own strengths and weaknesses.⁸⁸ They are one dimensional, and because of that, as the needs of society change, so their relevance will diminish accordingly. It is inevitable that they will be replaced (death is inevitable) by others who will be expected to play the same role.



⁸⁸ Compare also Henderson, “Ancient myths”, p. 112.

Conclusion

The combination of socio-historical, anthropological and literary approaches applied in this study on the figure of Archangel Michael as an 'icon' in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine periods, has led to the following conclusions:

In early Byzantium, Christianity incorporated many Jewish, Hellenistic and pagan cultural elements. This resulted in syncretism through the transition from paganism to Christianity. Consequently, mythological figures such as Hades and Charon, were replaced, absorbed or incorporated into the Orthodox Byzantine traditions by means of gradual transformation. The tragic and negative figure of Charon, who in ancient times brought the souls to the underworld, was now replaced by the positive figure of Archangel Michael, even Christ Himself. At the same time, many different 'roles' attributed to Michael were, in fact, those defining the ancient Charon. As a result of this positive image, Michael (although he still calls upon the souls) brings them now to a celestial, eternal world. This fits in with the dogma of the Orthodox Church that denies the ultimate power of death as it promises a complete transformation of the body from the material world into the spiritual world. Through this expected metaphysical transformation, Christian believers have a concept of a partial victory over material death and prepare for a total victory over death at the resurrection of the dead in the Second Coming.

Depending on his activities, the nature of the functions of Archangel Michael has been defined as defensive, protective, judicial and submissive, while the impact of his actions and decisions as an army leader should be understood in military terms.

Moreover, sentiments of subordination, faith and fear of the authority of the Byzantine Emperor were manipulated by rulers and leaders by means of propaganda. Based on racial, religious, and linguistic factors, this propaganda of authority made use of the figure of Archangel Michael. Indeed, some Byzantine emperors, in order to promote their powerful 'iconic status' as '*Archistrategoi*' on earth, placed their images next to that of Archangel Michael on *nomismata*.

Based on this fact, this study drew a parallel between the means of communication of the Byzantine period and today's circumstances. For instance, means of communication in Byzantium, in terms of space, would be considered the church, the market and the hippodrome. As it is understood, *mutatis mutandis*, instead of advertisements which are used by the mass media in present times mainly for commercial or political propaganda, icons, murals and coins were used for propaganda of political power and authority at that time.

By means of parallelism, which helped in the distant past to create 'icons' or to elevate real or mythical figures to the level of Saints, today mass-media helps society create and elevate certain people to iconic status. Yet, these modern 'icons', despite their differences in terms of detail to the Orthodox Byzantine icons, contain essential similarities in terms of cultural function and aims. Though they were developed by groups without any direct cultural contact, the media undoubtedly played an important role in elevating these historical/social/public figures to their iconic status. In the same way, Byzantine iconographers and clergy promoted iconic figures at the time. Concerning the way Archangel Michael was represented in Byzantium and Post-Byzantium, we saw in chapter seven how similar patterns found in the creation of Michael's 'eternal supernatural model' are found in a modern-day 'icon'.

Thus, we may conclude that in cultural terms today, as in Byzantium, the aim is to create a close communication, both pragmatic and symbolic – between 'religious / iconic figures and believers / followers.

ABSTRACT

Byzantine culture and art were essentially religious in character and the primary aim of Byzantine art was to capture that which was holy and mysterious in a concrete form such as icons. Due to Archangel Michael's popularity among the Judeo-Christian angels in Greek society, we specifically examined the functions and status of Michael as 'icon' in a Greek Orthodox context.

The subject of this study, therefore, focused on the perception of Archangel Michael as an 'icon' in the pure Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Orthodox context of a 'theological art picture; a religious, sacred image', subject to the theological and artistic Byzantine prescriptions. Moreover, the object, nature and problems of the research (such as its meaning, aim, and method) have been presented and examined.

In our Introduction, general information about the nature of the study, methodology, aims and justification on Archangel Michael with reference to why and how Archangel Michael became the main 'icon' in Greek society was given.

In the first chapter, the terms 'εἰκὼν' (image, a likeness, portrait' or 'similitude) and 'ἄγγελος' (messenger) have been analysed with special attention on the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine religious association especially in their historical and socio-cultural context. In the process of this analysis, emphasis was placed on the hierarchical order of angels as to establish Michael's position in it.

Chapter two gave a historical overview of the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Orthodox society and the importance of iconography and hagiography within this framework. Religious, social, cultural and political influences with special attention to influences and transformation of pagan themes on early Christian art were examined.

Under the title "Archangel Michael represented as an 'icon' in the pure Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Orthodox context of a 'theological art picture'", the third chapter presents the main theories and writings (*Ερμηνεία της βυζαντινής ζωγραφικής τέχνης*) of Dionysius of Fourni, referring to the artistic and symbolic representation of Michael in the

Byzantine traditional iconography. It mainly examined the artistic and symbolic iconographic representation of Archangel Michael in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine periods.

In chapter four we analysed the conceptualisation, characteristics and functions of Archangel Michael in the Post-Byzantine Period but more specifically in the role of angel of death i.e. the angel who brings the souls of the dying into the supernatural world. Because the Byzantine society did not consist of a single people but of several ethnic groups who shared a more or less similar culture, as a result, characteristics of the Biblical, Apocalyptical and Apocryphal Archangel were intermingled with ancient mythological figures (e.g. Charon and Hades), Roman military traditions and contemporary Byzantine fashion. This led us therefore to examine, in chapter six, the results of syncretism, synthesis and parallelism. This chapter will include various elements found on Archangel Michael in Ancient Greek, Roman, Judaic, Christian and Islamic civilisations.

In the final chapter we compared the parallelisms found in the Post-Byzantine 'icon' with those in the modern-day society. As the public admired and adored certain figures in society, this resulted in the elevation of these figures to a messianic role or religious icon to which many looked up to with high regard and respect. It was found that society invested and read certain values into these 'iconic' figures. Three examples of 'modern icons' were selected and analysed. This analysis focused on the characteristics and attitudes found in these 'iconic' figures. Thereafter similar patterns found in each case were highlighted and compared to the icons of Michael found during the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine periods. It has been shown that all these modern-day icons were created by society – in the hope of bringing substance where there is none. The bonds between people and icons, with which they are identified, play a significant role in the development of a collective stereotype identity. The public seeks meaning 'in an apparently meaningless world' through 'iconic' figures that in fact symbolically represent the whole psyche.

Finally, it is hoped, that this study will contribute greatly to the understanding of the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine value system, mentality and worldview.

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Books By YAHWEH's Sword

PDF Book 2 Of BARUCH

Chapters 1 through 87



2 BARUCH 1

Yerusalem will be destroyed

2 BARUCH 1:1

And it happened in the twenty-fifth year of YeconiYah (Jeconiah), the king of Yahudah, that the Word of YAHWEH came to Baruch, the son of Neriah,

2 BARUCH 1:2

And said to him: Have you seen all that this people are doing to ME, the evil things which the two tribes which remained have done more than the ten tribes which were carried away into captivity?

2 BARUCH 1:3

For the former tribes were forced by their kings to sin, but these two have themselves forced and compelled their kings to sin.

2 BARUCH 1:4

Behold, therefore, I shall bring evil upon this city and its inhabitants. And it will be taken away from before MY presence for a time. And I shall scatter this people among the nations that they may be beneficial to the nations.

2 BARUCH 1:5

And MY people will be chastened, and the time will come that they will look for that which can make their times prosperous.

2 BARUCH 2

2 BARUCH 2:1

This, then, I have said to you that you may say to YermeYah(Jeremiah) and all those who are like you that you may retire from this city. For your works are for this city like a firm pillar and your prayers like a strong wall.

2 BARUCH 3

2 BARUCH 3:1

And I said:

2 BARUCH 3:2

O YAHWEH, Sovereign Master, have I therefore come into the world to see the evil things of my mother?

2 BARUCH 3:3

No, Sovereign Master. If I have found free unmerited favor and pardon in YOUR eyes, take away my ruach first that I may go to my fathers and I may not see the destruction of my mother.

2 BARUCH 3:4

For from two sides I am hard pressed: I cannot resist YOU, but my soul also cannot behold the evil of my mother. But one thing I shall say in YOUR presence, O YAHWEH: Now, what will happen after these things?

2 BARUCH 3:5

For if YOU destroy YOUR city and deliver up YOUR country to those who hate us, how will the name of Yisrael be remembered again?

2 BARUCH 3:6

Or how shall we speak again about YOUR splendid deeds? Or to whom again will that which is in YOUR Torah be explained?

2 BARUCH 3:7

Or will the universe return to its nature and the world go back to its original silence?

2 BARUCH 3:8

And will the multitude of the souls be taken away and will not the nature of man be mentioned again?

2 BARUCH 3:9

And where is all that which YOU said to Mosheh about us?

2 BARUCH 4

The New Yerusalem

2 BARUCH 4:1

And YAHWEH said to me:

This city will be delivered up for a time,

And the people will be chastened for a time,

And the world will not be forgotten.

2 BARUCH 4:2

Or do you think that this is the city of which I said: On the palms of MY hands I have carved you?

2 BARUCH 4:3

It is not this building that is in your midst now; it is that which will be revealed, with ME, that was already prepared from the moment that I decided to create Paradise. And I showed it to Adam before he sinned. But when he transgressed the commandment, it was taken away from him - as also Paradise.

2 BARUCH 4:4

After these things I showed it to MY servant Abraham in the night between the portions of the victims.

2 BARUCH 4:5

And again I showed it also to Mosheh on Mount Sinai when I showed him the likeness of the tabernacle and all its vessels.

2 BARUCH 4:6

Behold, now it is preserved with ME - as also Kingdom Paradise.

2 BARUCH 4:7

Now go away and do as I command you.

2 BARUCH 5

Preparation made by the malakim before the enemies arrive

2 BARUCH 5:1

And I answered and said:

So then I shall be guilty in Zion,
that YOUR haters will come to this place and pollute YOUR sanctuary,
and carry off YOUR heritage into captivity,
and rule over them whom YOU love.

And then they will go away again to the land of their idols,
and boast before them.

And what have YOU done to YOUR great NAME?

2 BARUCH 5:2

And YAHWEH said to me:

MY NAME and MY splendor shall last unto eternity.

MY judgment, however, shall assert its rights in its own time.

2 BARUCH 5:3

And you shall see with your eyes that the enemy shall not destroy Zion and burn Yerusalem, but that they shall serve the Judge for a time.

2 BARUCH 5:4

You, however, go away and do all which I have said to you.

2 BARUCH 5:5

And I went away and took with me YermeYah and Adu and SeraiYah and Jabish and GedaliYah and all the nobles of the people. And I brought them to the valley of Kidron and told them all which had been said to me.

2 BARUCH 5:6

And they raised their voices and they all lamented.

2 BARUCH 5:7

And we sat there and fasted until the evening.

2 BARUCH 6

2 BARUCH 6:1

Now it happened on the following day that, behold, an army of the Chaldeans surrounded the city. And in the evening I, Baruch, left the people, went outside, and set myself by an oak.

2 BARUCH 6:2

And I was grieving over Zion and sighed because of the captivity which had come upon the people.

2 BARUCH 6:3

And behold, suddenly a strong ruach lifted me and carried me above the wall of Yerusalem.

2 BARUCH 6:4

And I saw, and behold, there were standing four malakim at the four comers of the city, each of them with a burning torch in his hands.

2 BARUCH 6:5

And another malak came down from heaven and said to them, "Hold your torches and do not light them before I say it to you.

2 BARUCH 6:6

Because I was sent first to speak a Word to the earth and then to deposit in it what YAHWEH, the Most High, has commanded me."

2 BARUCH 6:7

And I saw that he descended in the Kodesh of HaKodesh and that he took from there the veil, the kodesh ephod, the mercy seat, the two tables, the kodesh raiment of the kohenim, the altar of incense, the forty-eight precious stones with which the kohenim were clothed, and all the kodesh vessels of the tabernacle.

2 BARUCH 6:8

And he said to the earth with a loud voice:
Earth, earth, earth, hear the Word of the ALMIGHTY YAHWEH,
and receive the things which I commit to you,
and guard them until the last times,
so that you may restore them when you are ordered,
so that strangers may not get possession of them.

2 BARUCH 6:9

For the time has arrived when Yerusalem will also be delivered up for a time, until the moment that it will be said that it will be restored forever.

2 BARUCH 6:10

And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up.

2 BARUCH 7

2 BARUCH 7:1

And after these things I heard this malak saying to the malakim who held the torches:

2 BARUCH 7:2

Now destroy the walls and overthrow them to their foundations so that the enemies do not boast and say, "We have overthrown the wall of Zion and we have burnt down the place of the ALMIGHTY YAHWEH." And they restored me to the place where I once stood.

2 BARUCH 8

The Enemies Enter the City

2 BARUCH 8:1

Now the malakim did as he had commanded them; and when they had broken up the comers of the wall, a voice was heard from the midst of the Great Tabernacle after the wall had fallen, saying:

2 BARUCH 8:2

Enter, enemies, and come, adversaries, because he who guarded the house has left it.

2 BARUCH 8:3

And I, Baruch, went away.

2 BARUCH 8:4

And it happened after these things that the army of the Chaldeans entered and seized the house and all that is around it.

2 BARUCH 8:5

And they carried away the people into captivity and killed some of them. And they put King ZedekiYah in irons and sent him to the king of Babylon.

2 BARUCH 9

2 BARUCH 9:1

And I, Baruch, came with YermeYah, whose heart was found to be pure from sins, and who was not captured during the seizure of the city;

2 BARUCH 9:2

And we rent our garments, and wept and mourned, and fasted for seven days.

2 BARUCH 10

Baruch's lamentation

2 BARUCH 10:1

And it happened after seven days that the Word of YAHWEH came to me and said to me:

2 BARUCH 10:2

Tell YermeYah to go away in order to support the captives unto Babylon.

2 BARUCH 10:3

You, however, stay here in the desolation of Zion and I shall show you after these days what will happen at the end of days.

2 BARUCH 10:4

And I spoke to YermeYah as YAHWEH commanded me.

2 BARUCH 10:5

He, then, went away with the people, but I, Baruch, came back and sat in front of the doors of the Great Tabernacle, and I raised the following lamentation over Zion and said:

2 BARUCH 10:6

Blessed is he who was not born, or he who was born and died.

2 BARUCH 10:7

But we, the living, woe to us, because we have seen those afflictions of Zion, and that which has befallen Yerusalem.

2 BARUCH 10:8

I shall call the Sirens from the sea, and you, Lilin, come from the desert, and you, demons and dragons from the woods. Awake and gird up your loins to mourn, and raise lamentations with me, and mourn with me.

2 BARUCH 10:9

You, farmers, sow not again. And you, O earth, why do you give the fruit of your harvest? Keep within you the sweetness of your sustenance.

2 BARUCH 10:10

And you, vine, why do you still give your wine? For an offering will not be given again from you in Zion, and the firstfruits will not again be offered.

2 BARUCH 10:11

And you, heaven, keep your dew within you, and do not open the treasures of rain.

2 BARUCH 10:12

And you, sun, keep the light of your rays within you. And you, moon, extinguish the multitude of your light. For why should the light rise again, where the light of Zion is darkened?

2 BARUCH 10:13

And you, bridegrooms, do not enter, and do not let the brides adorn themselves.

2 BARUCH 10:14

And you, wives, do not pray to bear children, for the barren will rejoice more. And those who have no children will be glad, and those who have children will be sad.

2 BARUCH 10:15

For why do they bear in pains only to bury in grief?

2 BARUCH 10:16

Or why should men have children again? Or why should the generation of their kind be named again, where this mother is lonely, and her children have been carried away in captivity?

2 BARUCH 10:17

Henceforth, do not speak anymore of beauty, and do not talk about comeliness.

2 BARUCH 10:18

You, kohanim, take the keys of the sanctuary, and cast them to the highest heaven, and give them to YAHWEH and say, "Guard YOUR house YOURSELF, because, behold, we have been found to be false stewards."

2 BARUCH 10:19

And you, virgins who spin fine linen, and silk with gold of Ophir, make haste and take all things, and cast them into the fire, so that it may carry them to HIM who made them. And the flame sends them to HIM who created them, so that the enemies do not take possession of them.

2 BARUCH 11**2 BARUCH 11:1**

Now this I, Baruch, say to you, O Babylon: If you had lived in happiness and Zion in its splendor, it would have been a great sorrow to us that you had been equal to Zion.

2 BARUCH 11:2

But now, behold, the grief is infinite and the lamentation is unmeasurable, because, behold, you are happy and Zion has been destroyed.

2 BARUCH 11:3

Who will judge over these things? Or to whom shall we complain about that which has befallen us?

2 BARUCH 11:4

O YAHWEH, how have YOU borne it? Our fathers went to rest without grief and, behold, the righteous sleep at rest in the earth.

2 BARUCH 11:5

For they did not know this anguish nor did they hear that which has befallen us.

2 BARUCH 11:6

Would that you had ears, O earth and would that you had a heart, O dust, so that you might go and announce in the realm of death and say to the dead,

2 BARUCH 11:7

"You are more happy than we who live."

2 BARUCH 12

2 BARUCH 12:1

But I shall say as I think and I shall speak to you, O land, that which is happy.

2 BARUCH 12:2

The afternoon will not always burn nor will the rays of the sun always give light.

2 BARUCH 12:3

Do not think and do not expect that you will always have happiness and joy, and do not raise yourself too much and do not oppress.

2 BARUCH 12:4

For surely wrath will arise against you in its own time, because long-suffering is now held back, as it were, by reins.

2 BARUCH 12:5

And having said these things, I fasted for seven days.

2 BARUCH 13

The nations will be judged

2 BARUCH 13:1

And after these things, it happened that I, Baruch, was standing on Mount Zion and, behold, a voice came from the high heavens, saying to me:

2 BARUCH 13:2

Stand upon your feet, Baruch, and hear the Word of the ALMIGHTY YAHWEH.

2 BARUCH 13:3

Because you have been astonished at that which has befallen Zion, you will surely be preserved until the end of times to be for a testimony.

2 BARUCH 13:4

This means that if these happy cities will ever say, "Why has the ALMIGHTY YAHWEH brought upon us this retribution?",

2 BARUCH 13:5

You and those who are like you, those who have seen this evil and retribution coming over you and your nation in their own time, may say to them that the nations will be thoroughly punished."

2 BARUCH 13:6

And this they may expect.

2 BARUCH 13:7

And when they say in that time, "When?", you will say to them:

2 BARUCH 13:8

You who have drunk the clarified wine, you now drink its dregs, for the judgment of YAHWEH the Most High is impartial.

2 BARUCH 13:9

Therefore, HE did not spare HIS own sons first, but HE afflicted them as HIS enemies because they sinned.

2 BARUCH 13:10

Therefore, they were once punished, that they might be forgiven.

2 BARUCH 13:11

But now, you nations and tribes, you are guilty, because you have trodden the earth all this time, and because you have used creation unrighteously.

2 BARUCH 13:12

For I have always benefited you, and you have always denied the beneficence.

2 BARUCH 14

What is the profit of being righteous?

2 BARUCH 14:1

And I answered and said: Behold, YOU have shown me the course of times, and that which will happen after these things.

2 BARUCH 14:2

And YOU have told me that the retribution of that which has been spoken by YOU will come upon the nations. And now, I know there are many who have sinned and who have lived in happiness and who have left the world, but there will be few nations left in those times to which those Words can be spoken which YOU said.

2 BARUCH 14:3

For what is the advantage (of this), or what evil worse than that which we have seen befall us can we expect to see?

2 BARUCH 14:4

But I will continue to speak before YOU.

2 BARUCH 14:5

What have they profited who have knowledge before YOU, and who did not walk in vanity like the rest of the nations, and who did not say to the dead: "Give life to us," but always feared YOU and did not leave YOUR ways?

2 BARUCH 14:6

And, behold, they have been diligent and, nevertheless, YOU had no mercy on Zion on their account.

2 BARUCH 14:7

And if there are others who did evil, Zion should have been forgiven on account of the works of those who did morally right works and should not have been overwhelmed because of the works of those who acted unrighteously.

2 BARUCH 14:8

O YAHWEH, Sovereign Master, who can understand YOUR judgment? Or who can explore the depth of YOUR way?

2 BARUCH 14:9

Or who can discern the majesty of YOUR path? Or who can discern YOUR incomprehensible counsel? Or who of those who are born has ever discovered the beginning and the end of YOUR Wisdom?

2 BARUCH 14:10

For we all have been made like breath.

2 BARUCH 14:11

For as breath ascends without human control and vanishes, so it is with the nature of men, who do not go away according to their own will, and who do not know what will happen to them in the end.

2 BARUCH 14:12

For the righteous justly have excellent hope for the end and go away from this habitation without fear because they possess with YOU a store of morally right works which is preserved in treasuries.

2 BARUCH 14:13

Therefore, they leave this world without fear and are confident of the world which YOU have promised to them with an expectation full of joy.

2 BARUCH 14:14

But woe to those of us who have also now been treated shamefully and who await evils at that time.

2 BARUCH 14:15

But YOU know exactly what YOU have made of YOUR servants, for we are not able to understand that which is excellent like YOU, YAHWEH our Creator.

2 BARUCH 14:16

I shall continue to speak before YOUR presence, O YAHWEH, Sovereign Master.

2 BARUCH 14:17

When in the beginning the world did not exist with its inhabitants, YOU devised and spoke by means of YOUR Word and at the same time the works of YOUR creation stood before YOU.

2 BARUCH 14:18

And YOU said that YOU would make a man for this world as a guardian over YOUR works that it should be known that he was not created for the world, but the world for him.

2 BARUCH 14:19

And now, I see that the world which was made for us, behold, it remains; but we, for whom it was made, depart.

2 BARUCH 15

2 BARUCH 15:1

And YAHWEH answered and said to me: You are rightly astonished about man's departure, but your judgment about the evils which befell those who sin is incorrect.

2 BARUCH 15:2

And with regard to what you say about the righteous who are taken away and the wicked ones who are happy,

2 BARUCH 15:3

And with regard to what you say that man does not know your judgment,

2 BARUCH 15:4

For this reason, now, listen and I shall speak to you; pay attention and I shall let MY Words be heard.

2 BARUCH 15:5

It is true that man would not have understood MY judgment if he had not received the Torah and if he were not instructed with understanding.

2 BARUCH 15:6

But now, because he trespassed, having understanding, he will be punished because he has understanding.

2 BARUCH 15:7

And with regard to the righteous ones, those whom you said the world has come on their account, yes, also that which is coming is on their account.

2 BARUCH 15:8

For this world is to them a struggle and an effort with much trouble. And that accordingly which will come, a crown with great splendor.

2 BARUCH 16

2 BARUCH 16:1

And I answered and said: O YAHWEH, Sovereign Master, behold, the present years are few and evil, and who can inherit that which is unmeasurable in this short time?

2 BARUCH 17

2 BARUCH 17:1

And YAHWEH answered and said to me: With the Most High no account is taken of much time and of few years.

2 BARUCH 17:2

For what did it profit Adam that he lived nine hundred and thirty years and transgressed that which he was commanded?

2 BARUCH 17:3

Therefore, the multitude of time that he lived did not profit him, but it brought death and cut off the years of those who were born from him.

2 BARUCH 17:4

Or what did it harm Mosheh that he lived only one hundred and twenty years and, because he subjected himself to HIM who created him, he brought the Torah to the descendants of Yacob and he lighted a lamp to the generation of Yisrael?

2 BARUCH 18

2 BARUCH 18:1

And I answered and said: He who lighted took from the light, and there are few who imitated him.

2 BARUCH 18:2

But many whom he illuminated took from the darkness of Adam and did not rejoice in the light of the lamp.

2 BARUCH 19

2 BARUCH 19:1

And HE answered and said to me: Therefore he appointed a covenant for them at that time and said, "Behold, I appoint for you Life and death," and HE called heaven and earth as a witness against them.

2 BARUCH 19:2

For he knew that his time was short, but that heaven and earth will stay forever.

2 BARUCH 19:3

They, however, sinned and trespassed after his death, although they knew that they had the Torah to reprove them and that Light in which nothing could err, apart from the spheres, which witnessed, and ME. And I judge everything that exists.

2 BARUCH 19:4

You, however, should not think about this in your heart and you should not be afflicted because of the things which have been.

2 BARUCH 19:5

For now the end of times is at stake whether it be property, happiness, or shame; and not its beginning.

2 BARUCH 19:6

For when a man is happy in his youth and is treated badly in his old age, he forgets all happiness he possessed.

2 BARUCH 19:7

And further, when a man is badly treated in his youth but will be happy in the end, he does not remember his unhappiness anymore.

2 BARUCH 19:8

And further, listen: Even if everyone had been happy continually since the day death was decreed against those who trespassed, but was destroyed in the end, everything would have been in vain.

2 BARUCH 20

2 BARUCH 20:1

Therefore, behold, the days will come and the times will hasten, more than the former, and the periods will hasten more than those which are gone, and the years will pass more quickly than the present ones.

2 BARUCH 20:2

Therefore, I now took away Zion to visit the world in its own time more speedily.

2 BARUCH 20:3

Now, however, remember everything which I commanded you and seal it in the interior of your mind.

2 BARUCH 20:4

And then I shall show you MY strong judgment and MY unexplorable ways.

2 BARUCH 20:5

Therefore, go away and sanctify yourself for seven days and do not eat bread and do not drink water and do not speak to anybody.

2 BARUCH 20:6

And after this time come to this place, and I shall reveal MYSELF to you, and I shall speak to you true things, and I shall command you with regard to the course of times, for they will come and will not tarry.

2 BARUCH 21

Prayer of Baruch, the Son of Neriah

2 BARUCH 21:1

I went from there and sat in the valley of Kidron in a cave of the earth and sanctified myself there and ate no bread, but I was not hungry; I drank no water, but I was not thirsty. And I stayed there until the seventh day as YAHWEH had commanded me.

2 BARUCH 21:2

And after this I came to the place where HE had spoken with me.

2 BARUCH 21:3

And it happened at sunset that my soul received many thoughts, and I began to speak in the presence of YAHWEH the Mighty One, and said:

2 BARUCH 21:4

O hear me, YOU who created the earth, the one who fixed the firmament by the Word and fastened the height of heaven by the Ruach, the one who in the beginning of the world called that which did not yet exist and they obeyed YOU.

2 BARUCH 21:5

YOU who gave commandments to the air with YOUR sign and have seen the things which are to come as well as those which have passed.

2 BARUCH 21:6

YOU who reign with great thoughts over the powers which stand before YOU, and who rules with indignation the countless kodesh beings, who are flame and fire, whom YOU created from the beginning, those who stand around YOUR throne.

2 BARUCH 21:7

For YOU alone (all) this exists so that YOU may create at once all that YOU want.

2 BARUCH 21:8

YOU are the one who causes the rain to fall on earth with a specific number of raindrops. YOU alone know the end of times before it has arrived. Hear my prayer.

2 BARUCH 21:9

For only YOU can sustain those who exist, those who have gone and those who will come, those who sin and those who have proved themselves to be righteous, since YOU are the Living One, the Inscrutable One.

2 BARUCH 21:10

For YOU are the only Living One, the Immortal One and the Inscrutable One, and YOU know the number of men.

2 BARUCH 21:11

And while many have sinned once, many others have proved themselves to be righteous.

2 BARUCH 21:12

YOU know where YOU have preserved the end of those who have sinned or the fulfillment of those who have proved themselves to be righteous.

2 BARUCH 21:13

For if only this life exists which everyone possesses here, nothing could be more bitter than this.

2 BARUCH 21:14

For of what help is strength which changes into weakness, or food in abundance which changes into famine, or beauty which changes into ugliness?

2 BARUCH 21:15

For the nature of men is always changeable.

2 BARUCH 21:16

For as we were once, we are no longer, and as we are now, we shall not remain in the future.

2 BARUCH 21:17

For if an end of all things had not been prepared, their beginning would have been senseless.

2 BARUCH 21:18

But let me know all that which comes from YOU, and regarding that which I ask YOU, enlighten me.

2 BARUCH 21:19

How long will corruption remain, and until when will the time of mortals be happy, and until when will those who pass away be polluted by the great wickedness in this world?

2 BARUCH 21:20

Therefore, command mercifully and confirm all that YOU have said that YOU would do so that YOUR Power will be recognized by those who believe that YOUR long-suffering means weakness.

2 BARUCH 21:21

And now show it to them, those who do not know, but who have seen that which has befallen us and our city, up to now, that it is in agreement with the long-suffering of YOUR Power, because YOU called us a beloved people on account of YOUR NAME.

2 BARUCH 21:22

From now, therefore, everything is in a state of dying.

2 BARUCH 21:23

Therefore, reprove the malak of death, and let YOUR splendor appear, and let the greatness of YOUR beauty be known, and let the realm of death be sealed so that it may not receive the dead from this time, and let the treasures of the souls restore those who are enclosed in them.

2 BARUCH 21:24

For as many years have passed as those which passed since the days of Abraham, Yitschaq, and Yacob and all those who were like them, who sleep in the earth-those on whose account YOU have said YOU have created the world.

2 BARUCH 21:25

And now, show YOUR splendor soon and do not postpone that which was promised by YOU.

2 BARUCH 21:26

And it happened that when I had ended the words of this prayer, I became very weak.

2 BARUCH 22

2 BARUCH 22:1

And afterward it happened that, behold, the heaven was opened, and I saw and strength was given to me, and a Voice was heard from on high which said to me:

2 BARUCH 22:2

Baruch, Baruch, why are you disturbed?

2 BARUCH 22:3

Who starts on a journey and does not complete it? Or who will be comforted making a sea voyage unless he can reach a harbor?

2 BARUCH 22:4

Or he who promises to give a present to somebody; is it not a theft, unless it is fulfilled?

2 BARUCH 22:5

Or he who sows the earth; does he not lose everything unless he reaps its harvest in its own time?

2 BARUCH 22:6

Or he who plants a vineyard; does the planter expect to receive fruit from it, unless it grows until its appointed time?

2 BARUCH 22:7

Or a woman who has conceived; does she not surely kill the child when she bears untimely?

2 BARUCH 22:8

Or he who builds a house, can it be called a house, unless it is provided with a roof and is finished? Tell this to ME first.

2 BARUCH 23

2 BARUCH 23:1

And I answered and said: No, YAHWEH, the Sovereign Master.

2 BARUCH 23:2

And HE answered and said to me: Why, then, are you disturbed about that which you do not know, and why are you restless about that of which you do not possess any knowledge?

2 BARUCH 23:3

For as you have not forgotten men who exist and who have passed away, I remember those who will come.

2 BARUCH 23:4

For when Adam sinned and death was decreed against those who were to be born, the multitude of those who would be born was numbered. And for that number a place was prepared where the living ones might live and where the dead might be preserved.

2 BARUCH 23:5

No creature will live again unless the number that has been appointed is completed. For MY Ruach creates the living, and the realm of death receives the dead.

2 BARUCH 23:6

And further, it is given to you to hear that which will come after these times.

2 BARUCH 23:7

For truly, MY yashuah (salvation) which comes has drawn near and is not as far away as before.

2 BARUCH 24

2 BARUCH 24:1

For behold, the days are coming, and the scrolls will be opened in which are written the sins of all those who have sinned, and moreover, also the treasures in which are brought together the righteousness of all those who have proven themselves to be righteous.

2 BARUCH 24:2

And it will happen at that time that you shall see, and many with you, the long-suffering of YAHWEH the Most High, which lasts from generation to generation, who has been long-suffering toward all who are born, both those who sinned and those who proved themselves to be righteous.

2 BARUCH 24:3

And I answered and said: But, behold, O YAHWEH, a man does not know the number of things which pass away nor those which come.

2 BARUCH 24:4

For behold, I also know what has befallen me; but that which will happen with our enemies, I do not know, or when YOU will command YOUR works.

2 BARUCH 25

2 BARUCH 25:1

And YAHWEH answered and said to me: You also will be preserved until that time, namely until that sign which YAHWEH the Most High will bring about before the inhabitants of the earth at the end of days.

2 BARUCH 25:2

This then will be the sign:

2 BARUCH 25:3

When horror seizes the inhabitants of earth, and they fall into many tribulations and further, they fall into great torments.

2 BARUCH 25:4

And it will happen that they will say in their thoughts because of their great tribulations, "YAHWEH the Mighty One does not anymore remember the earth"; It will happen when they lose hope, that the time will awake.

2 BARUCH 26

The apocalypse of the twelve calamities and the coming of the Messiah

2 BARUCH 26:1

And I answered and said: That tribulation which will be will it last a long time; and that distress, will it embrace many years?

2 BARUCH 27

2 BARUCH 27:1

And YAHWEH answered and said to me: That time will be divided into twelve parts, and each part has been preserved for that for which it was appointed.

2 BARUCH 27:2

In the first part: the beginning of commotions.

2 BARUCH 27:3

In the second part: the slaughtering of the great.

2 BARUCH 27:4

In the third part: the fall of many into death.

2 BARUCH 27:5

In the fourth part: the drawing of the sword.

2 BARUCH 27:6

In the fifth part: famine and the withholding of rain.

2 BARUCH 27:7

In the sixth part: earthquakes and terrors.

2 BARUCH 27:8

In the eighth part: a multitude of ghosts and the appearances of demons.

2 BARUCH 27:9

In the ninth part: the fall of fire.

2 BARUCH 27:10

In the tenth part: rape and much violence.

2 BARUCH 27:11

In the eleventh part: injustice and unchastity.

2 BARUCH 27:12

In the twelfth part: disorder and a mixture of all that has been before.

2 BARUCH 27:13

These parts of that time will be preserved and will be mixed, one with another, and they will minister to each other.

2 BARUCH 27:14

For some of these parts will withhold a part of themselves and take from others and will accomplish that which belongs to them and to others; hence, those who live on earth in those days will not understand that it is the end of times.

2 BARUCH 28

2 BARUCH 28:1

But everyone who will understand will be wise at that time.

2 BARUCH 28:2

For the measure and the calculation of that time will be two parts: weeks of seven weeks.

2 BARUCH 28:3

And I answered and said: It is excellent that man should come so far and see, but it is better that he should not come so far lest he fall.

2 BARUCH 28:4

But I shall also say this:

2 BARUCH 28:5

Will he who is incorruptible despise those who are corruptible, and will he despise what happens with those who are corruptible so that he might only look to those who are not corruptible?

2 BARUCH 28:6

But when, YAHWEH, these things will surely come of which YOU spoke to me before, let me also know this, if I have found free unmerited favor and pardon in YOUR eyes:

2 BARUCH 28:7

Is it in one place or in one part of the earth that these things will come or will they be noticed by the whole earth?

2 BARUCH 29

2 BARUCH 29:7

And YAHWEH answered and said to me: That which will happen at that time bears upon the whole earth. Therefore, all who live will notice it.

2 BARUCH 29:2

For at that time I shall only protect those found in this land at that time.

2 BARUCH 29:3

And it will happen that when all that which should come to pass in these parts has been accomplished, the Anointed One will begin to be revealed.

2 BARUCH 29:4

And Behemoth will reveal itself from its place, and Leviathan will come from the sea, the two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation and which I shall have kept until that time. And they will be nourishment for all who are left.

2 BARUCH 29:5

The earth will also yield fruits ten thousand fold. And on one vine will be one thousand branches, and one branch will produce one thousand clusters, and one cluster will produce one thousand grapes, and one grape will produce a cor of wine.

2 BARUCH 29:6

And those who are hungry will enjoy themselves and they will, moreover, see marvels every day.

2 BARUCH 29:7

For winds will go out in front of ME every morning to bring the fragrance of aromatic fruits and clouds at the end of the day to distill the dew of health.

2 BARUCH 29:8

And it will happen at that time that the treasury of manna will come down again from on high, and they will eat of it in those years because these are they who will have arrived at the consummation of time.

2 BARUCH 30

2 BARUCH 30:1

And it will happen after these things when the time of the appearance of the Anointed One has been fulfilled and He returns with splendor, that then all who sleep in hope of Him will rise.

2 BARUCH 30:2

And it will happen at that time that those treasures will be opened in which the number of the souls of the righteous were kept, and they will go out and the multitudes of the souls will appear together, in One assemblage, of one mind. And the first ones will enjoy themselves and the last ones will not be sad.

2 BARUCH 30:3

For they know that the time has come of which it is said that it is the end of times.

2 BARUCH 30:4

But the souls of the wicked will the more waste away when they shall see all these things.

2 BARUCH 30:5

For they know that their torment has come and that their perditions have arrived.

2 BARUCH 31

Baruch speaks to the people

2 BARUCH 31:1

And it happened after these things, that I went to the people and said to them: Assemble to me all our elders and I shall speak words to you.

2 BARUCH 31:2

I And they all assembled in the valley of the Kidron.

2 BARUCH 31:3

And I began to speak and said to them: Hear, O Yisrael, and I shall speak to you, and you, O seed of Yacob, pay attention, and I shall teach you.

2 BARUCH 31:4

Do not forget Zion but remember the distress of Yerusalem.

2 BARUCH 31:5

For, behold, the days are coming, that all that has been will be taken away to be destroyed, and it will become as though it had not been.

2 BARUCH 32

2 BARUCH 32:1

You, however, if you prepare your minds to sow into them the fruits of the Torah, YAHWEH shall protect you in the time in which YAHWEH the Mighty One shall shake the entire creation.

2 BARUCH 32:2

For after a short time, the building of Zion will be shaken in order that it will be rebuilt.

2 BARUCH 32:3

That building will not remain; but it will again be uprooted after some time and will remain desolate for a time.

2 BARUCH 32:4

And after that it is necessary that it will be renewed in splendor and that it will be perfected into eternity.

2 BARUCH 32:5

We should not, therefore, be so sad regarding the evil which has come now, but much more (distressed) regarding that which is in the future.

2 BARUCH 32:6

For greater than the two evils will be the trial when YAHWEH the Mighty One will renew HIS creation.

2 BARUCH 32:7

And now, do not draw near to me for some days and do not call upon me until I shall come to you.

2 BARUCH 32:8

And it happened after having said all these words to them that I, Baruch, went my way. And when the people saw that I went away, they raised their voices and lamented and said:

2 BARUCH 32:9

Where are you going from us, Baruch, and do you leave us as a father who leaves his children as orphans and goes away from them?

2 BARUCH 33

2 BARUCH 33:1

These are the commands which your friend YermeYah, the prophet, gave to you. And he said to you,

2 BARUCH 33:2

"Look to this people during the time I am absent, while I help the rest of our brothers in Babylon, against whom has been declared the sentence that they should be carried away into captivity."

2 BARUCH 33:3

And now, if you abandon us too, it would have been better for all of us that we shall die first, and that then you should abandon us.

2 BARUCH 34

2 BARUCH 34:1

And I answered and said to the people:

Heaven forbid that I should abandon you or that I should go away from you. But I shall go to the Kodesh of Ha Kodeshim to ask from YAHWEH the Mighty One on behalf of you and Zion so that I may receive in some ways more Light, and after that I shall return to you.

2 BARUCH 35

The apocalypse of the forest, the vine, the fountain, and the cedar

2 BARUCH 35:1

And I, Baruch, went to the Kodesh place and sat on the ruins and wept and said:

2 BARUCH 35:2

O that my eyes were springs, and my eyelids, that they were a fountain of tears.

2 BARUCH 35:3

For how shall I be sad over Zion, and lament over Yerusalem?

2 BARUCH 35:4

For at the place where now I am prostrate, the high kohenim used to offer Kodesh sacrifices, and placed thereon incense of fragrant spices.

2 BARUCH 35:5

Now, however, that of which we are proud has become dust, and that which our soul desired is ashes.

2 BARUCH 36

2 BARUCH 36:1

And when I had said this, I fell asleep at that place and saw a vision in the night.

2 BARUCH 36:2

And behold there was a forest with trees that was planted on the plain and surrounded by high mountains and rugged rocks. And the forest occupied much space.

2 BARUCH 36:3

And behold, over against it a vine arose, and from under it a fountain (ran) peacefully.

2 BARUCH 36:4

And that fountain came to the forest and changed into great waves, and those waves submerged the forest and suddenly uprooted the entire forest and overthrew all the mountains which surrounded it.

2 BARUCH 36:5

And the height of the forest became low, and that top of the mountains became low. And that fountain became so strong that it left nothing of the great forest except one cedar.

2 BARUCH 36:6

When it had also cast that one down, it destroyed the entire forest and uprooted it so that nothing was left of it, and its place was not even known anymore. Then that vine arrived with the fountain in shalom and in great tranquillity and arrived at a place which was not far away from the cedar, and they brought to him that cedar which had been cast down.

2 BARUCH 36:7

And I saw, and behold, that vine opened its mouth and spoke and said to the cedar, "Are you not that cedar which remained of the forest of wickedness? Because of you, wickedness remained and has been done during all these years, but never goodness.

2 BARUCH 36:8

And you possessed power over that which did not belong to you; you did not even show compassion to that which did belong to you. And you extended your power over those who were living far from you, and you keep those who are close to you in the nets of your wickedness, and you uplift your soul always like one who could not be uprooted.

2 BARUCH 36:9

But now your time has hastened and your hour has come.

2 BARUCH 36:10

Therefore O cedar, follow the forest which has departed before you and become ashes with it, and let your earth be mixed together.

2 BARUCH 36:11

And now, sleep in distress and rest in pain until your last time comes in which you will return to be tormented even more."

2 BARUCH 37

2 BARUCH 37:1

And after these things I saw that the cedar was burning and the vine growing, while it and all around it became a valley full of unfading flowers. And I awoke and arose.

2 BARUCH 38

Interpretation of the apocalypse

2 BARUCH 38:1

And I prayed and said: O YAHWEH, the Sovereign Master, YOU are the ONE who has always enlightened those who conduct themselves with understanding.

2 BARUCH 38:2

YOUR Torah is Life, and YOUR wisdom is the right way.

2 BARUCH 38:3

Now, show me the explanation of this vision.

2 BARUCH 38:4

For YOU know that my soul has always been associated with YOUR Torah, and that I did not depart from YOUR wisdom from my earliest days.

2 BARUCH 39

2 BARUCH 39:1

And YAHWEH answered and said to me: Baruch, this is the explanation of the vision which you have seen.

2 BARUCH 39:2

As you have seen the great forest surrounded by high and rocky mountains, this is the world:

2 BARUCH 39:3

Behold, the days will come when this kingdom that destroyed Zion once will be destroyed and that it will be subjected to that which will come after it.

2 BARUCH 39:4

This again will also be destroyed after some time. And another, a third, will rise and also that will possess power in its own time and will be destroyed.

2 BARUCH 39:5

After that a fourth kingdom arises whose power is harsher and more evil than those which were before it, and it will reign a multitude of times like the trees on the plain, and it will rule the times and exalt itself more than the cedars of Lebanon.

2 BARUCH 39:6

And the Truth will hide itself in this and all who are polluted with unrighteousness will flee to it like the evil beasts flee and creep into the forest.

2 BARUCH 39:7

And it will happen when the time of its fulfillment is approaching in which it will fall, that at that time the dominion of MY Anointed One which is like the fountain and the vine, will be revealed. And when it has revealed itself, it will uproot the multitude of its host.

2 BARUCH 39:8

And that which you have seen, namely the tall cedar, which remained of that forest, and with regard to the words which the vine said to it which you heard, this is the meaning.

2 BARUCH 40

2 BARUCH 40:1

The last ruler who is left alive at that time will be bound, whereas the entire host will be destroyed. And they will carry Him on Mount Zion, and MY Anointed One will convict him of all his wicked deeds and will assemble and set before him all the works of his hosts.

2 BARUCH 40:2

And after these things He will kill him and protect the rest of MY people who will be found in the place that I have chosen.

2 BARUCH 40:3

And His dominion will last forever until the world of corruption has ended and until the times which have been mentioned before have been fulfilled.

2 BARUCH 40:4

This is your vision, and this is its explanation.

2 BARUCH 41

About the apostates and the believers

2 BARUCH 41:1

And I answered and said: For whom and for how many will these things be? Or who will be worthy to live in that time?

2 BARUCH 41:2

I shall now say before YOU everything that I think, and I shall ask YOU about the things of which I meditate.

2 BARUCH 41:3

For behold, I see many of YOUR people who separated themselves from YOUR statutes and who have cast away from them the yoke of YOUR Torah.

2 BARUCH 41:4

Further, I have seen others who left behind their vanity and who have fled under YOUR wings.

2 BARUCH 41:5

What will, therefore, happen with those? Or how will that last time receive them?

2 BARUCH 41:6

Their time will surely not be weighed exactly, and they will certainly not be judged as the scale indicates?

2 BARUCH 42

2 BARUCH 42:1

And YAHWEH answered and said to me:

2 BARUCH 42:2

Also these things I shall show you. As for what you said: "To whom and to how many will these things be?" The tov that was mentioned before will be to those who have believed, and the opposite of these things will be to those who have despised.

2 BARUCH 42:3

And as for that which you said with regard to those who have drawn near and to those who have withdrawn, this is the explanation.

2 BARUCH 42:4

As for those who have first subjected themselves and have withdrawn later and who mingled themselves with the seed of the mingled nations, their first time will be considered as mountains.

2 BARUCH 42:5

And those who first did not know Life and who later knew it exactly and who mingled with the seed of the people who have separated themselves, their first time will be considered as mountains.

2 BARUCH 42:6

And times will inherit times, and periods periods, and they will receive from one another. And then, with a view to the end, all will be compared according to the length of times and the hours of periods.

2 BARUCH 42:7

For corruption will take away those who belong to it, and Life those who belong to it.

2 BARUCH 42:8

And dust will be called, and told, "Give back that which does not belong to you and raise up all that you have kept until its own time."

2 BARUCH 43

2 BARUCH 43:1

You, however, Baruch, strengthen your heart with a view to that which has been said to you, and understand that which has been revealed to you because you have many consolations which will last forever.

2 BARUCH 43:2

For you will go away from this place and leave the regions which are now before your eyes. And you shall forget that which is corruptible and not again remember that which is among the mortal ones.

2 BARUCH 43:3

Go away, therefore, and command your people and come to this place and afterward fast seven days. And then I shall come to you and speak with you.

2 BARUCH 44

Baruch speaks to the people

2 BARUCH 44:1

And I, Baruch, went from there and came to my people and called my first-born son and the Gedaliahs, my friends, and seven of the elders of the people and said to them:

2 BARUCH 44:2

Behold, I go to my fathers in accordance with the way of the whole earth.

2 BARUCH 44:3

You, however, do not withdraw from the way of the Torah, but guard and admonish the people who are left lest they withdraw from the commandments of YAHWEH the Mighty One.

2 BARUCH 44:4

For you see that HE whom we serve is righteous and that our Creator is impartial.

2 BARUCH 44:5

And see what has befallen Zion and what happened to Yerusalem,

2 BARUCH 44:6

that the judgment of YAHWEH the Mighty One will be made known, as well as HIS ways which are inscrutable and right.

2 BARUCH 44:7

For when you endure and persevere in HIS fear and do not forget HIS Torah, the time again will take a turn for the better for you. And they will participate in the consolation of Zion.

2 BARUCH 44:8

For that which is now is nothing. But that which is in the future will be very great.

2 BARUCH 44:9

For everything will pass away which is corruptible, and everything that dies will go away, and all present time will be forgotten, and there will be no remembrance of the present time which is polluted by evils.

2 BARUCH 44:10

For he who runs now runs in vain and he who is happy will fall quickly and be humiliated.

2 BARUCH 44:11

For that which will be in the future, that is what one will look for, and that which comes later, that is what we shall hope for. For there is a time that does not pass away.

2 BARUCH 44:12

And that period is coming which will remain forever; and there is the new world which does not carry back to corruption those who enter into its beginning, and which has no mercy on those who come into torment or those who are living in it, and it does not carry to perdition.

2 BARUCH 44:13

For those are the ones who will inherit this time of which it is spoken, and to these is the heritage of the promised time.

2 BARUCH 44:14

These are they who prepared for themselves treasures of wisdom. And stores of insight are found with them. And they have not withdrawn from mercy and they have preserved the Truth of the Torah.

2 BARUCH 44:15

For the coming world will be given to these, but the habitation of the many others will be in the fire.

2 BARUCH 45

2 BARUCH 45:1

You, therefore, admonish the people as much as you can. For this is our work.

2 BARUCH 45:2

For, when you instruct them, you will make them alive.

2 BARUCH 46

2 BARUCH 46:1

And my son and the elders of the people said to me: Did YAHWEH the Mighty One humiliate us to such an extent that HE will take you away from us quickly?

2 BARUCH 46:2

And shall we truly be in darkness, and will there be no Light anymore for that people who are left?

2 BARUCH 46:3

For where shall we again investigate the Torah, or who will distinguish between death and Life for us?

2 BARUCH 46:4

And I said to them: I cannot resist the throne of YAHWEH the Mighty One. But Yisrael will not be in want of a wise man, nor the tribe of Yacob, a son of the Torah.

2 BARUCH 46:5

But only prepare your heart so that you obey the Torah, and be subject to those who are wise and understanding with fear. And prepare your soul that you shall not depart from them.

2 BARUCH 46:6

If you do this, those pleasant tidings will come to you of which I spoke to you earlier, and you will not fall into the torment of which I spoke to you earlier.

2 BARUCH 46:7

But with regard to the word that I shall be taken up, I did not let it be known to them at that time, not even to my son.

2 BARUCH 47

2 BARUCH 47:1

And after I had left, having dismissed them, I returned from there and said to them: Behold, I go to Hebron, for to there YAHWEH the Mighty One has sent me.

2 BARUCH 47:2

And I arrived at that place where the Word was spoken to me, and I sat there and fasted seven days.

2 BARUCH 48

Prayer of Baruch

2 BARUCH 48:1

And it happened after seven days that I prayed before YAHWEH the Mighty One and said:

2 BARUCH 48:2

O YAHWEH, YOU summon the coming of the times, and they stand before YOU. YOU cause the display of power of the worlds to pass away and they do not resist YOU. YOU arrange the course of the periods, and they obey YOU.

2 BARUCH 48:3

Only YOU know the length of the generations, and YOU do not reveal YOUR secrets to many.

2 BARUCH 48:4

YOU make known the multitude of the fire, and YOU weigh the lightness of the wind.

2 BARUCH 48:5

YOU investigate the end of the heights, and YOU scrutinize the depths of darkness.

2 BARUCH 48:6

YOU command the number which will pass away, and which will be preserved. And YOU prepare a house for those who will be.

2 BARUCH 48:7

YOU remember the beginning which YOU created, and YOU do not forget that destruction which will come.

2 BARUCH 48:8

With signs of fear and threat YOU command the flames, and they change into winds. And with the Word YOU bring to Life that which does not exist, and with great Power YOU hold that which has not yet come.

2 BARUCH 48:9

YOU instruct the creation with YOUR understanding, and YOU give wisdom to the spheres so that they minister according to their positions.

2 BARUCH 48:10

Innumerable hosts stand before YOU, and serve peacefully YOUR sign according to their positions.

2 BARUCH 48:11

Hear YOUR servant, and regard my appeal.

2 BARUCH 48:12

For we are born in a short time, and in a short time we return.

2 BARUCH 48:13

With YOU, however, the hours are like times, and the days like generations.

2 BARUCH 48:14

Be, therefore, not angry at man because he is nothing; and do not take count of our works; for what are we?

2 BARUCH 48:15

For behold, by YOUR gift we come into the world, and we do go not of our own will.

2 BARUCH 48:16

For we did not say to our parents: "Beget us," nor have we sent to the realm of death saying: "Receive us."

2 BARUCH 48:17

What therefore is our strength that we can bear YOUR wrath, or what are we that we can endure YOUR judgment?

2 BARUCH 48:18

Protect us in YOUR free unmerited favor and pardon, and in YOUR mercy help us.

2 BARUCH 48:19

Look at the small ones who submit to YOU, and deliver all those who come to YOU. And do not take away the hope of our people, and do not make short the times of our help.

2 BARUCH 48:20

For these are the people whom YOU have elected, and this is the nation of which YOU found no equal.

2 BARUCH 48:21

But I shall speak to YOU now, and I shall say as my heart thinks.

2 BARUCH 48:22

In YOU we have put our trust, because, behold, YOUR Torah is with us, and we know that we do not fall as long as we keep YOUR statutes.

2 BARUCH 48:23

We shall always be blessed; at least, we did not mingle with the nations. For we are all a people of the NAME; we, who received one Torah from YAHWEH the One.

2 BARUCH 48:24

And that Torah that is among us will help us, and that excellent wisdom which is in us will support us.

2 BARUCH 48:25

And when I had prayed these things I became very weak.

2 BARUCH 48:26

And HE answered and said to me: You have prayed honestly, Baruch, and all your words have been heard.

2 BARUCH 48:27

But MY judgment asks for its own, and MY Torah demands its right.

2 BARUCH 48:28

For from your words I shall answer you, and from your prayer I shall speak with you.

2 BARUCH 48:29

Because it is as follows: There is nothing that will be destroyed unless it acted wickedly, if it had been able to do something without remembering MY goodness and accepting MY long-suffering.

2 BARUCH 48:30

For this reason surely you will be taken up, as I said to you before.

2 BARUCH 48:31

And the time will come of which I spoke to you and that true is appearing which brings affliction. For it will come and pass away with enormous vehemence; and arriving in the heat of indignation, it will be turbulent.

2 BARUCH 48:32

And it will be in those days that all inhabitants of the earth will live with each other in shalom, because they do not know that MY judgment has come near.

2 BARUCH 48:33

For in that time there will not be found many wise men and there will also be not many intelligent ones, but, in addition, they who know will be silent more and more.

2 BARUCH 48:34

And there will be many tidings and not a few rumors, and the works of the phantoms will be visible, and not a few promises will be told, some idle and others affirmed.

2 BARUCH 48:35

And honor will change itself into shame, and strength will be humiliated to contempt, and the strong one will be broken down, and beauty will become contemptible.

2 BARUCH 48:36

And many will say to many in that time, "Where did the multitude of intelligence hide itself and where did the multitude of wisdom depart?"

2 BARUCH 48:37

And when one thinks about these things, jealousy will arise in those who did not think much of themselves; and passion will take hold of those who were peaceful; and many will be agitated by wrath to injure many; and they will raise armies to shed blood; and they will perish with those in the end.

2 BARUCH 48:38

And it will happen in that time that a change of times will reveal itself openly for the eyes of everyone because they polluted themselves in all those times and caused oppression, and each one walked in his own works and did not remember the Torah of YAHWEH the Mighty One.

2 BARUCH 48:39

Therefore, a fire will consume their thoughts, and with a flame the meditations of their kidneys will be examined. For the Judge will come and will not hesitate.

2 BARUCH 48:40

For each of the inhabitants of the earth knew when he acted unrighteously, and they did not know MY Torah because of their pride.

2 BARUCH 48:41

But many will surely weep at that time-more, however, because of the living ones than of the dead.

2 BARUCH 48:42

And I answered and said: O Adam, what did you do to all who were born after you? And what will be said of the first Eve who obeyed the serpent,

2 BARUCH 48:43

so that this whole multitude is going to corruption? And countless are those whom the fire devours.

2 BARUCH 48:44

But again I shall speak before YOU.

2 BARUCH 48:45

YOU, O YAHWEH, Sovereign Master, YOU know that which is in YOUR creation,

2 BARUCH 48:46

for YOU commanded the dust one day to produce Adam; and YOU knew the number of those who are born from him and how they sinned before YOU, those who existed and who did not recognize YOU as their Creator.

2 BARUCH 48:47

And concerning all of those, their end will put them to shame, and YOUR Torah which they transgressed will repay them on YOUR day.

2 BARUCH 48:48

And HE answered and said to me: But now, let us cease talking about the wicked and inquire about the righteous.

2 BARUCH 48:49

And I will tell about their blessedness and I shall not be silent about their splendor which is kept for them.

2 BARUCH 48:50

For surely, as you endured much labor in the short time in which you live in this passing world, so you will receive great Light in that world which has no end.

2 BARUCH 49

2 BARUCH 49:1

But further, I ask YOU, O YAHWEH the Mighty One; and I shall ask free unmerited and pardon from YOU who created all things.

2 BARUCH 49:2

In which shape will the living live in YOUR day? Or how will remain their splendor which will be after that?

2 BARUCH 49:3

Will they, perhaps, take again this present form, and will they put on the chained members which are in evil and by which evils are accomplished? Or will you perhaps change these things which have been in the world, as also the world itself?

2 BARUCH 50

2 BARUCH 50:1

And HE answered and said to me: Listen, Baruch, to this Word and write down in the memory of your heart all that you shall learn.

2 BARUCH 50:2

For the earth will surely give back the dead at that time; it receives them now in order to keep them, not changing anything in their form. But as it has received them so it will give them back. And as I have delivered them to it so it will raise them.

2 BARUCH 50:3

For then it will be necessary to show those who live that the dead are living again, and that those who went away have come back.

2 BARUCH 50:4

And it will be that when they have recognized each other, those who know each other at this moment, then MY judgment will be strong, and those things which have been spoken of before will come.

2 BARUCH 51

2 BARUCH 51:1

And it will happen after this day which I appointed is over that both the shape of those who are found to be guilty as also the splendor of those who have proved to be righteous will be changed.

2 BARUCH 51:2

For the shape of those who now act wickedly will be made more evil than it is (now) so that they shall suffer torment.

2 BARUCH 51:3

Also, as for the honor and splendor of those who proved to be righteous on account of MY Torah, those who possessed intelligence in their life, and those who planted the root of wisdom in their heart; their honor and splendor will then be magnified by transformations, and the shape of their face will be changed into the Light of their beauty so that they may acquire and receive the undying world which is promised to them.

2 BARUCH 51:4

Therefore, especially they who will then come will be sad, because they despised MY Torah and stopped their ears lest they hear wisdom and receive intelligence.

2 BARUCH 51:5

When they, therefore, will see that those over whom they are exalted now will then be more exalted and magnified than they, then both these and those will be changed, these into the honor and splendor of malakim and those into startling visions and horrible shapes; and they will waste away even more.

2 BARUCH 51:6

For they will first see and then they will go away to be tormented.

2 BARUCH 51:7

Miracles, however, will appear at their own time to those who are saved because of their works and for whom the Torah is now a hope, and intelligence, expectation, and wisdom a trust.

2 BARUCH 51:8

For they shall see that world which is now invisible to them, and they will see a time which is now hidden to them.

2 BARUCH 51:9

And time will no longer make them older.

2 BARUCH 51:10

For they will live in the heights of that world and they will be like the malakim and be equal to the stars. And they will be changed into any shape which they wished, from beauty to loveliness, and from light to the splendor of honor.

2 BARUCH 51:11

For the extents of Kingdom Paradise will be spread out for them, and to them will be shown the beauty of the majesty of the living beings under the throne, as well as all the hosts of the malakim, those who are held by MY Word now lest they show themselves, and those who are withheld by MY command so that they may stand at their places until their coming has arrived.

2 BARUCH 51:12

And the excellence of the righteous will then be greater than that of the malakim.

2 BARUCH 51:13

For the first will receive the last, those whom they expected; and the last, those of whom they had heard that they had gone away.

2 BARUCH 51:14

For they have been saved from this world of affliction and have put down the burden of anguishes.

2 BARUCH 51:15

Because of which men lost their life and for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul?

2 BARUCH 51:16

For once they chose for themselves that time which cannot pass away without afflictions. And they chose for themselves that time of which the end is full of lamentations and evils. And they have denied the world that does not make those who come to it older. And they have rejected the time which causes splendor so that they are not coming to the splendor of which I spoke to you before.

2 BARUCH 52

2 BARUCH 52:1

And I answered and said: How shall we forget those for whom at that time woe is preserved?

2 BARUCH 52:2

And why are we again sad for those who die? Or why do we weep for those who go into the realm of death?

2 BARUCH 52:3

The lamentations should be kept for the beginning of that coming torment; let the tears be laid down for the coming of that destruction which will then come.

2 BARUCH 52:4

But with a view of these things, I shall also speak.

2 BARUCH 52:5

And concerning the righteous ones, what will they do now?

2 BARUCH 52:6

And HE answered and said: Enjoy yourselves in the suffering which you suffer now. For why do you look for the decline of your enemies?

2 BARUCH 52:7

Prepare your souls for that which is kept for you, and make ready your souls for the reward which is preserved for you. And when HE had said this I fell asleep there.

2 BARUCH 53

The apocalypse of the clouds

2 BARUCH 53:1

And I saw a vision. And behold, a cloud was coming up from the great sea. And I was looking at it, and behold, it was entirely filled with black water and there were many colors in that water. And something like great lightning appeared at its top.

2 BARUCH 53:2

And I saw that the cloud was rapidly passing in a quick run and covering the whole earth.

2 BARUCH 53:3

And it happened after this that the cloud began to pour the water that it contained upon the earth.

2 BARUCH 53:4

And I saw that the water which descended from it was not of the same likeness.

2 BARUCH 53:5

For at first, it was very black until a certain time. And then, I saw that the water became bright, but there was not much of it. And after this, I saw black water again, and after this bright again, and black again and bright again.

2 BARUCH 53:6

This, now, happened twelve times, but the black were always more than the bright.

2 BARUCH 53:7

And it happened at the end of the cloud that, behold, it poured black water and it was much darker than all the water that had been before. And fire was mingled with it. And where that water descended, it brought about devastation and destruction.

2 BARUCH 53:8

And after this I saw how the lightning which I had seen at the top of the cloud seized it and pressed it down to the earth.

2 BARUCH 53:9

That lightning shone much more, so that it lighted the whole earth and healed the regions where the last waters had descended and where it had brought about destruction.

2 BARUCH 53:10

And it occupied the whole earth and took command of it.

2 BARUCH 53:11

And after this I saw, behold, twelve rivers came from the sea and surrounded the lightning and became subject to it.

2 BARUCH 53:12

And because of my fear I awoke.

2 BARUCH 54

Prayer of Baruch

2 BARUCH 54:1

And I asked YAHWEH the Mighty One and said: YOU alone, O YAHWEH, knew the heights of the world beforehand and that which will happen in the times which YOU bring about by YOUR Word. And against the works of the inhabitants of the earth YOU hasten the beginnings of the times. And the ends of the periods YOU alone know.

2 BARUCH 54:2

YOU are the one for whom nothing is hard; but YOU are, however, the one who easily accomplishes all by a sign.

2 BARUCH 54:3

YOU are the one to whom both the depths and the heights come together, and whose Word the beginnings of the periods serve.

2 BARUCH 54:4

YOU are the one who reveals to those who fear that which is prepared for them so that YOU may comfort them.

2 BARUCH 54:5

YOU show YOUR mighty works to those who do not know. YOU pull down the enclosure for those who have no experience and enlighten the darkneses, and reveal the secrets to those who are spotless, to those who subjected themselves to YOU and YOUR Torah in faith.

2 BARUCH 54:6

YOU showed this vision to YOUR servant; open to me its exposition also.

2 BARUCH 54:7

For I know that I have received the answer regarding the subjects about which I asked YOU, and that YOU gave me a revelation about that which I asked, and that YOU have let me know with what voice I should honor YOU or from which members I should cause honor and praise to go up to YOU.

2 BARUCH 54:8

For if my members should be mouths and the hairs of my head voices, even so I should not be able to honor YOU properly; and I should not be able to utter YOUR splendor or to express the excellence of YOUR beauty.

2 BARUCH 54:9

For who am I among men or what is my significance among those who are more excellent than I that I have heard all these marvelous things from YAHWEH the Most High and innumerable promises from HIM who created me?

2 BARUCH 54:10

Blessed is my mother among those who bear, and praised among women is she who bore me.

2 BARUCH 54:11

For I shall not be silent in honoring YAHWEH the Mighty One but with the voice of reverence I shall narrate HIS marvelous works.

2 BARUCH 54:12

For who is able to imitate YOUR miracles, O YAHWEH, or who understands YOUR deep thoughts of Life?

2 BARUCH 54:13

For with YOUR counsel, YOU reign over all creation which YOUR right hand has created, and YOU have established the whole fountain of Light with YOURSELF, and YOU have prepared under YOUR throne the treasures of wisdom.

2 BARUCH 54:14

And those who do not love YOUR Torah are justly perishing. And the torment of judgment will fall upon those who have not subjected themselves to YOUR Power.

2 BARUCH 54:15

For, although Adam sinned first and has brought death upon all who were not in his own time, yet each of them who has been born from him has prepared for himself the coming torment. And further, each of them has chosen for himself the coming splendor.

2 BARUCH 54:16

For truly, the one who believes will receive reward.

2 BARUCH 54:17

But now, turn yourselves to destruction, you unrighteous ones who are living now, for you will be visited suddenly, since you have once rejected the understanding of YAHWEH the Most High.

2 BARUCH 54:18

For HIS works have not taught you, nor has the artful work of HIS creation which has existed always persuaded you.

2 BARUCH 54:19

Adam is, therefore, not the cause, except only for himself, but each of us has become our own Adam.

2 BARUCH 54:20

YOU, however, O YAHWEH, explain to me what YOU have revealed to me. And inform me about that which I asked YOU.

2 BARUCH 54:21

For at the end of the world, a retribution will be demanded with regard to those who have done wickedly in accordance with their wickedness, and YOU will honor the faithful ones in accordance with their faith.

2 BARUCH 54:22

For those who are among YOUR own, YOU rule; and those who sin, YOU blot out among YOUR own.

2 BARUCH 55

Interpretation of the apocalypse

2 BARUCH 55:1

And it happened that when I had finished the words of this prayer, I sat down there under a tree to rest in the shadow of its branches.

2 BARUCH 55:2

And I was surprised and astonished, and I pondered in my thoughts about the multitude of the goodness which the sinners who are on earth have rejected from them, and about the great punishment which they have despised, when they knew that they should be punished because of the sins they have committed.

2 BARUCH 55:3

And while I was pondering these and similar things, behold, Ramael, the malak who is set over true visions, was sent to me and said to me:

2 BARUCH 55:4

Why does your heart trouble you, Baruch, and why are you disturbed by your thought?

2 BARUCH 55:5

For if you are already disturbed, only hearing about the judgment, what about when you see it with your eyes openly?

2 BARUCH 55:6

And if you are already so disturbed by the expectation with which you expect the day of YAHWEH the Mighty One, what about when you arrive at its coming?

2 BARUCH 55:7

And if you are so fully terrified by the Words of the announcement of the punishment of those who have transgressed, how much more when this event itself will reveal marvelous things?

2 BARUCH 55:8

And if you have heard the names of the tov and evil things which will come at that time, and if you are grieved, what about when you will see what the Majesty will reveal, who will convince some and cause others to rejoice?

2 BARUCH 56

2 BARUCH 56:1

But now, since you have asked YAHWEH the Most High to reveal to you the explanation of the vision which you have seen,

2 BARUCH 56:2

I have been sent to say to you that YAHWEH the Mighty One has let you know the course of times, namely those which have passed and those which in HIS world will come to pass, from the beginning of HIS creation until the end, (the times) which are known by deceit and by Truth.

2 BARUCH 56:3

For as you saw a great cloud which came up from the sea and went and covered the earth; this is the length of the world which YAHWEH the Mighty One has created when HE took counsel in order to create the world.

2 BARUCH 56:4

And it happened when the word had gone out from HIM, that the length of the world was standing as something small, and it was established in accordance with the abundance of the intelligence of HIM who let it go forth.

2 BARUCH 56:5

And as you first saw the black waters on the top of the cloud which first came down upon the earth; this is the transgression which Adam, the first man, committed.

2 BARUCH 56:6

For when he transgressed, untimely death came into being, mourning was mentioned, affliction was prepared, illness was created, labor accomplished, pride began to come into existence, the realm of death began to ask to be renewed with blood, the conception of children came about, the passion of the parents was produced, the loftiness of men was humiliated, and goodness vanished.

2 BARUCH 56:7

What could, therefore, have been blacker and darker than these things?

2 BARUCH 56:8

This is the beginning of the black waters which you have seen.

2 BARUCH 56:9

And from these black waters again black were born, and very dark darkness originated.

2 BARUCH 56:10

For he who was a danger to himself was also a danger to the malakim.

2 BARUCH 56:11

For they possessed freedom in that time in which they were created.

2 BARUCH 56:12

And some of them came down and mingled themselves with women.

2 BARUCH 56:13

At that time they who acted like this were tormented in chains.

2 BARUCH 56:14

But the rest of the multitude of malakim, who have no number, restrained themselves.

2 BARUCH 56:15

And those living on earth perished together through the waters of the flood.

2 BARUCH 56:16

Those are the first black waters.

2 BARUCH 57

2 BARUCH 57:1

And after these you saw the bright waters; that is the fountain of Abraham and his generation, and the coming of his son, and the son of his son, and of those who are like them.

2 BARUCH 57:2

For at that time the unwritten Torah was in force among them, and the works of the commandments were accomplished at that time, and the belief in the coming judgment was brought about, and the hope of the world which will be renewed was built at that time, and the promise of the Life that will come later was planted.

2 BARUCH 57:3

Those are the bright waters which you have seen.

2 BARUCH 58

2 BARUCH 58:1

And the third black waters you have seen; that is the mingling of all sins which the nations committed afterward, after the death of those righteous men, and the wickedness of the land of Egypt, in which they acted wickedly in the oppression with which they oppressed their sons.

2 BARUCH 58:2

But also these perished at the end.

2 BARUCH 59

2 BARUCH 59:1

And the fourth bright waters which you have seen; that is the coming of Mosheh, and of Aaron, and of Miriam, and of Joshua, the son of Nun, and of Caleb, and all those who are like these.

2 BARUCH 59:2

For at that time the lamp of the eternal Torah which exists forever and ever illuminated all those who sat in darkness. This (lamp) will announce to those who believe the promise of their reward and to those who deny the punishment of the fire which is kept for them.

2 BARUCH 59:3

But also the heaven will be shaken from its place at that time; that is, the heavens which are under the throne of YAHWEH the Mighty One were severely shaken when HE took Mosheh with HIM.

2 BARUCH 59:4

For HE showed him many warnings together with the ways of the Torah and the end of time, as also to you; and then further, also the likeness of Zion with its measurements which was to be made after the likeness of the present sanctuary.

2 BARUCH 59:5

But HE also showed him, at that time, the measures of fire, the depths of the abyss, the weight of the winds, the number of the raindrops,

2 BARUCH 59:6

the suppression of wrath, the abundance of long-suffering, the Truth of Judgment,

2 BARUCH 59:7

the root of wisdom, the richness of understanding, the fountain of knowledge,

2 BARUCH 59:8

the height of the air, the greatness of Kingdom Paradise, the end of the periods, the beginning of the day of judgment,

2 BARUCH 59:9

the number of offerings, the worlds which have not yet come,

2 BARUCH 59:10

the mouth of hell, the standing place of vengeance, the place of faith, the region of hope,

2 BARUCH 59:11

the picture of the coming punishment, the multitude of the malakim which cannot be counted, the powers of the flame, the splendor of lightnings, the voice of the thunders, the orders of the Chief malakim, the treasures of the Light, the changes of the times, and the inquiries into the Torah.

2 BARUCH 59:12

These are the fourth bright waters you have seen.

2 BARUCH 60

2 BARUCH 60:1

And the fifth black waters which you have seen poured down; those are the works which the Amorites have done, and the invocations of their incantations which they wrought, and the wickedness of their mysteries, and the mingling of their pollutions.

2 BARUCH 60:2

But even Yisrael was polluted with sins in these days of the judges, although they saw many signs which were from HIM who created them.

2 BARUCH 61

2 BARUCH 61:1

And the sixth bright waters which you have seen; this is the time in which David and Solomon were born.

2 BARUCH 61:2

And at that time the building of Zion took place, and the dedication of the sanctuary, and the shedding of much blood of the nations which sinned at that time, and the many offerings which were offered at that time at the inauguration of the sanctuary.

2 BARUCH 61:3

And rest and shalom reigned at that time.

2 BARUCH 61:4

And wisdom was heard in the assembly, and the richness of understanding was magnified in the congregations.

2 BARUCH 61:5

And the Kodesh festivals were fulfilled in happiness and much joy.

2 BARUCH 61:6

And the judgment of the rulers was seen at that time without deceit, and the righteousness of the commandments of YAHWEH the Mighty One was accomplished in Truth.

2 BARUCH 61:7

And the land which then received mercy, since its inhabitants did not sin, was praised above all countries, and the city of Zion ruled over all countries and regions at that time.

2 BARUCH 61:8

These are those bright waters you have seen.

2 BARUCH 62

2 BARUCH 62:1

And the seventh black waters you have seen; that is the perversion of the ideas of Jeroboam who planned to make two golden calves,

2 BARUCH 62:2

and all the iniquities accomplished by the kings who succeeded him,

2 BARUCH 62:3

and the curse of Jezebel, and the idolatry which Yisrael practiced at that time,

2 BARUCH 62:4

and the withholding of rain, and the famines of such a kind that the women ate the fruits of their womb,

2 BARUCH 62:5

and the time of their exile which befell the nine and a half tribes because they lived in many sins.

2 BARUCH 62:6

And Salmanassar, the king of the Assyrians, came and carried them away into captivity.

2 BARUCH 62:7

And concerning the nations much could be said: how they acted unrighteously and wickedly, and how they never proved themselves to be righteous.

2 BARUCH 62:8

These are those seventh black waters you have seen.

2 BARUCH 63

2 BARUCH 63:1

And the eighth bright waters you have seen; that is the righteousness and the integrity of Hezekiah, King of Yahudah, and the free unmerited favor and pardon which came upon him.

2 BARUCH 63:2

For at that time Sennacherib was moved to destroy, and his wrath roused him, and also the multitude of the nations which were with him in order to destroy;

2 BARUCH 63:3

when Hezekiah the king heard that which the Assyrian king devised, namely, to come and seize him and destroy his people; the two and a half tribes which were left -and that he also wanted to destroy Zion, then Hezekiah trusted upon his works and hoped upon his righteousnesses, and spoke with YAHWEH the Mighty One and said;

2 BARUCH 63:4

"Pay attention, behold, Sennacherib is ready to destroy us, and he will boast and be uplifted when he has destroyed Zion."

2 BARUCH 63:5

And YAHWEH the Mighty One heard him for Hezekiah was wise, and he paid attention to his prayers for he was righteous.

2 BARUCH 63:6

And YAHWEH the Mighty One then commanded Rameel, his malak who speaks with you.

2 BARUCH 63:7

And I went away and destroyed their multitude, of which the number of the chiefs alone was one hundred and eighty-five thousand, and each of them had an equal number.

2 BARUCH 63:8

And at that time I burned their bodies within, but I preserved their clothes and their arms on the outside so that still more of the marvelous works of YAHWEH the Mighty One might be seen, and so that HIS NAME might be mentioned throughout the entire earth.

2 BARUCH 63:9

Thus Zion was saved, and Yerusalem was delivered from its tribulations.

2 BARUCH 63:10

And all those who were in the kodesh land rejoiced, and the NAME of YAHWEH the Mighty One was praised so that it was spoken of.

2 BARUCH 63:11

These are those bright waters which you have seen.

2 BARUCH 64

2 BARUCH 64:1

And the ninth black waters you have seen; that is, the wickedness that existed in the days of Manasseh, the son of Hezekiah.

2 BARUCH 64:2

For he acted very wickedly, and killed the righteous, and perverted judgment, and shed innocent blood, and violently polluted married women, and overturned altars, and abolished their offerings, and drove away the kohenim lest they minister in the sanctuary.

2 BARUCH 64:3

And he made a statue with five faces: Four of them looked into the direction of the four winds, and the fifth was on the top of the statue so as to challenge the zeal of YAHWEH the Mighty One."

2 BARUCH 64:4

And then the wrath of YAHWEH the Mighty One went out so that Zion should be uprooted as has also happened in your days.

2 BARUCH 64:5

But also the judgment went out against the two and a half tribes so that they also should be carried away into captivity as you have now seen.

2 BARUCH 64:6

And the impiety of Manasseh increased to such a degree that the splendor of YAHWEH the Most High removed itself from the sanctuary.

2 BARUCH 64:7

Therefore, Manasseh was called the impious one in that time, and finally his habitation was in the fire.

2 BARUCH 64:8

For although YAHWEH the Most High had heard his prayer, in the end when he fell into the brazen horse and the brazen horse was melted, it became to him as a sign regarding the hour (which was to come).

2 BARUCH 64:9

For he had not lived perfectly since he was not worthy, but (the sign was given to him) that he might know henceforth by whom he should be punished at the end.

2 BARUCH 64:10

For HE who is able to benefit is also able to punish.

2 BARUCH 65

2 BARUCH 65:1

This Manasseh sinned and he thought in his time that YAHWEH the Mighty One would not call account for these things.

2 BARUCH 65:2

These are those ninth black waters you have seen.

2 BARUCH 66

2 BARUCH 66:1

And the tenth bright waters you have seen; that is the purity of the generation of YoshiYah, the king of Yahudah, who was the only one in his time who subjected himself to YAHWEH the Mighty One with his whole heart and his whole soul.

2 BARUCH 66:2

He purified the country from the idols, sanctified all the vessels which were polluted, restored the offerings to the altar, raised the horn of the Kodesh, exalted the righteous, and honored all those who were wise with understanding. He brought the kohenim back to their ministry, and destroyed and removed the magicians, enchanter, and diviners from the land.

2 BARUCH 66:3

And he not only killed the impious who were living, but also the bones were taken from the graves of the dead and burned with fire.

2 BARUCH 66:4

And he established the Festivals and the Shabbats with their kodesh practices, and he burned the polluted with fire, and as for the lying prophets who deceived the people, also these he burned with fire. He cast the people who obeyed them, as long as they lived, into the Kidron valley, and heaped stones upon them.

2 BARUCH 66:5

And he was zealous with the zeal of YAHWEH the Mighty One with his whole soul, and he alone was strong in the Torah at that time so that he left no one un-circumcised or anyone who acted wickedly in the whole country all the days of his life.

2 BARUCH 66:6

He, then, is one who shall receive reward forever and ever and be honored with YAHWEH the Mighty One more than many in the last time.

2 BARUCH 66:7

For on his account and on account of those who are like him, the precious splendors have been created and prepared which were spoken to you earlier.

2 BARUCH 66:8

These are those bright waters which you have seen.

2 BARUCH 67

2 BARUCH 67:1

And the eleventh black waters you have seen; that is the disaster which has befallen Zion now.

2 BARUCH 67:2

Do you think that there is no mourning among the malakim before YAHWEH the Mighty One, that Zion is delivered up in this way? Behold, the nations rejoice in their hearts, and the multitudes are before their idols and say, ..She who has trodden others down for such a long time has been trodden down; and she who has subjugated has been subjugated."

2 BARUCH 67:3

Do you think that YAHWEH the Most High rejoices in these things or that HIS NAME has been magnified?

2 BARUCH 67:4

But how will it be with HIS righteous judgment?

2 BARUCH 67:5

But after these things those scattered among the nations will be taken hold of by tribulations and live in shame in every place.

2 BARUCH 67:6

For so far as Zion has been delivered up and Yerusalem laid waste, the idols in the cities of the nations are happy and the flavor of the smoke of the incense of the righteousness of the Torah has been extinguished everywhere in the region of Zion; behold, the smoke of the impiety is there.

2 BARUCH 67:7

But the king of Babylon will arise, the one who now has destroyed Zion, and he will boast over the people and speak haughtily in his heart before YAHWEH the Most High.

2 BARUCH 67:8

And he too will fall finally.

2 BARUCH 67:9

These are those black waters.

2 BARUCH 68

2 BARUCH 68:1

And the twelfth bright waters which you have seen; this is the word.

2 BARUCH 68:2

For there will come a time after these things, and your people will fall into such a distress so that they are all together in danger of perishing.

2 BARUCH 68:3

They, however, will be saved, and their enemies will fall before them.

2 BARUCH 68:4

And to them will fall much joy one day.

2 BARUCH 68:5

And at that time, after a short time, Zion will be rebuilt again, and the offerings will be restored, and the kohenim will again return to their ministry. And the nations will again come to honor it.

2 BARUCH 68:6

But not as fully as before.

2 BARUCH 68:7

But it will happen after these things that there will be a fall of many nations.

2 BARUCH 68:8

These are the bright waters you have seen.

2 BARUCH 69

2 BARUCH 69:1

With regard to the last waters you have seen which are blacker than all those preceding which came after the twelfth, those which were brought together; they apply to the whole world.

2 BARUCH 69:2

For YAHWEH the Most High made a division at the beginning for only HE knows what will happen in the future.

2 BARUCH 69:3

For with regard to the evils of the coming impieties which occurred before HIM, he saw six kinds.

2 BARUCH 69:4

And of the morally right works of the righteous which would be accomplished before HIM, he foresaw six kinds, with the exclusion of that which HE should accomplish HIMSELF at the end of the world.

2 BARUCH 69:5

These are, therefore, not black waters with black, nor bright with bright. For that is the end.

2 BARUCH 70

2 BARUCH 70:1

Therefore, hear the exposition of the last black waters which will come after the black waters. This is the Word.

2 BARUCH 70:2

Behold, the days are coming and it will happen when the time of the world has ripened and the harvest of the seed of the evil ones and the tov ones has come that YAHWEH the Mighty One will cause to come over the earth and its inhabitants and its rulers confusion of the ruach and amazement of the heart. And they will hate one another and provoke one another to fight.

2 BARUCH 70:3

And the despised will rule over the honorable, and the unworthy will raise themselves over the illustrious.

2 BARUCH 70:4

And many will be delivered to the few, those who were nothing will rule over the strong, the poor will be greater in number than the rich, and the impious will exalt themselves over the brave.

2 BARUCH 70:5

The wise will be silent, and the foolish will speak. And the thought of men will not be realized then, nor the counsel of the strong, and the hope of those who hope will not be realized.

2 BARUCH 70:6

Then it will happen when those things occur which have been said before will come to pass, that confusion will fall upon all men. And some of them will fall in war, and others will perish in tribulations, and again others of them will be troubled by their own.

2 BARUCH 70:7

YAHWEH the Most High will then give a sign to those nations which HE has prepared before, and they will come and wage war with the rulers who will then remain.

2 BARUCH 70:8

And it will happen that everyone who saves himself from the war will die in an earthquake, and he who saves himself from the earthquake will be burned by fire, and he who saves himself from the fire will perish by famine.

2 BARUCH 70:9

And it will happen that everyone who will deliver himself and escape from all things which have been said before; both those who have won and those who have been overcome; that all will be delivered into the hands of MY Servant, the Anointed One.

2 BARUCH 70:10

For the whole earth will devour its inhabitants.

2 BARUCH 71

2 BARUCH 71:1

And the kodesh land will have mercy on its own and will protect its inhabitants at that time.

2 BARUCH 71:2

This is the vision which you have seen, and this is its explanation. For I have come to tell you these things since your prayer has been heard by YAHWEH the Most High.

2 BARUCH 72

2 BARUCH 72:1

Now, hear also about the bright waters which come at the end after these black ones. This is the Word.

2 BARUCH 72:2

After the signs have come of which I have spoken to you before, when the nations are moved and the time of MY Anointed One comes, He will call all nations, and some of them He will spare, and others He will kill.

2 BARUCH 72:3

These things will befall the nations which will be spared by Him.

2 BARUCH 72:4

Every nation which has not known Yisrael and which has not trodden down the seed of Yacob will live.

2 BARUCH 72:5

And this is because some from all the nations have been subjected to your people.

2 BARUCH 72:6

All those, now, who have ruled over you or have known you, will be delivered up to the sword.

2 BARUCH 73

2 BARUCH 73:1

And it will happen that after He has brought down everything which is in the world, and has sat down in eternal shalom on the throne of the Kingdom, and then joy will be revealed and rest will appear.

2 BARUCH 73:2

And then health will descend in dew, and illness will vanish, and fear and tribulation and lamentation will pass away from among men, and joy will encompass the earth.

2 BARUCH 73:3

And nobody will again die untimely, nor will any adversity take place suddenly.

2 BARUCH 73:4

Unjust judgment, condemnations, contentions, revenges, blood, passions, zeal, hate, and all such things will go into condemnation since they will be uprooted.

2 BARUCH 73:5

For these are the things that have filled this earth with evils, and because of them life of men came in yet greater confusion.

2 BARUCH 73:6

And the wild beasts will come from the wood and serve men, and the asps and dragons will come out of their holes to subject themselves to a child.

2 BARUCH 73:7

And women will no longer have pain when they bear, nor will they be tormented when they yield the fruits of their womb.

2 BARUCH 74

2 BARUCH 74:1

And it will happen in those days that the reapers will not become tired, and the farmers will not wear themselves out, because the products of themselves will shoot out speedily, during the time that they work on them in full tranquility.

2 BARUCH 74:2

For that time is the end of that which is corruptible and the beginning of that which is incorruptible.

2 BARUCH 74:3

Therefore, the things which were said before will happen in it. Therefore, it is far away from the evil things and near to those which do not die.

2 BARUCH 74:4

Those are the last bright waters which have come after the last dark waters.

2 BARUCH 75

2 BARUCH 75:1

And I answered and said: Who can equal YOUR tov, O YAHWEH? for it is incomprehensible.

2 BARUCH 75:2

Or who can fathom YOUR free unmerited favor and pardon which is without end?

2 BARUCH 75:3

Or who can understand YOUR intelligence?

2 BARUCH 75:4

Or who can narrate the thoughts of YOUR Ruach?

2 BARUCH 75:5

Or who of those born can hope to arrive at these things, apart from those to whom YOU are merciful and kind?

2 BARUCH 75:6

For if YOU were not merciful to men, those who are under YOUR right hand, they were not able to come to them, apart from those who are named among the famous number."

2 BARUCH 75:7

But we who exist, when we know why we have come, and then subject ourselves to YOU who brought us out of Egypt, we shall come again and remember those things which have passed away, and rejoice with regard to the things which have been.

2 BARUCH 75:8

But if we do not know now why we have come, and do not recognize the sovereignty of YOU who brought us up from Egypt, we will come again and ask for that which has now occurred, and shall be severely grieved because of that which has happened.

2 BARUCH 76

2 BARUCH 76:1

And he answered and said to me: Since the revelation of this vision has been explained to you as you prayed for, hear the Word of YAHWEH the Most High that you know that which will happen to you after these things.

2 BARUCH 76:2

For you will surely depart from this world, nevertheless not to death but to be kept unto (the end) of times.

2 BARUCH 76:3

Therefore, go up to the top of this mountain, and all countries of this earth will pass before you, as well as the likeness of the inhabited world, and the top of the mountains, and the depths of the valleys, and the depths of the seas, and the number of rivers, so that you may see that which you leave and where you go.

2 BARUCH 76:4

This will happen after forty days.

2 BARUCH 76:5

Go, therefore, now during these days and instruct the people as much as you can so that they may learn lest they die in the last times, but may learn so that they live in the last times.

2 BARUCH 77

Baruch speaks to the people

2 BARUCH 77:1

And I, Baruch, went away from there and came to the people, and assembled them from the greatest to the smallest and said to them:

2 BARUCH 77:2

Hear, O children of Yisrael, behold how many are left from the twelve tribes of Yisrael.

2 BARUCH 77:3

To you and to your fathers YAHWEH gave the Torah above all nations.

2 BARUCH 77:4

And because your brothers have transgressed the commandments of YAHWEH the Most High, HE brought vengeance upon you and upon them and did not spare the ancestors, but HE also gave the descendants into captivity and did not leave a remnant of them.

2 BARUCH 77:5

And, behold, you are here, with me.

2 BARUCH 77:6

If, therefore, you will make straight your ways, you will not go away as your brothers went away, but they will come to you.

2 BARUCH 77:7

For HE is merciful whom you honor, and kind in whom you hope, and True so that HE will do tov to you and not evil.

2 BARUCH 77:8

Have you not seen what has befallen Zion?

2 BARUCH 77:9

Or do you think that the place has sinned and that it has been destroyed for this reason, or that the country has done some crime and that it is delivered up for that reason?

2 BARUCH 77:10

And do you not know that because of you who sinned the one who did not sin was destroyed, and that because of those who acted unrighteously, the one who has not gone astray has been delivered up to the enemies?

The people invite Baruch to write a letter

2 BARUCH 77:11

And the whole people answered and they said to me: Everything which we can remember of the excellent things which YAHWEH the Mighty One has done to us we shall remember, and that which we do not remember HE knows in HIS free unmerited favor and pardon.

2 BARUCH 77:12

But do this for us, YOUR people: Write also to our brothers in Babylon a letter of doctrine and a roll of hope so that you might strengthen them also before you go away from us.

2 BARUCH 77:13

For the shepherds of Yisrael have perished, and the Lamps which gave Light are extinguished, and the fountains from which we used to drink have withheld their streams.

2 BARUCH 77:14

Now we have been left in the darkness and in the thick forest and in the aridness of the desert.

2 BARUCH 77:15

And I answered and said to them: Shepherds and lamps and fountains came from the Torah and when we go away, the Torah will abide.

2 BARUCH 77:16

If you, therefore, look upon the Torah and are intent upon wisdom, then the lamp will not be wanting and the shepherd will not give way and the fountain will not dry up.

2 BARUCH 77:17

Nevertheless, I shall also write to your brothers in Babylon as you have said to me, and I shall send it by means of men. Also I shall write to the nine and a half tribes, and send it by means of a bird.

2 BARUCH 77:18

And it happened on the twenty-first day of the ninth month that I, Baruch, came and sat down under the oak in the shadow of the branches, and nobody was with me; I was alone.

2 BARUCH 77:19

And I wrote two letters. One I sent by means of an eagle to the nine and a half tribes, and the other I sent by means of three men to those who were in Babylon.

2 BARUCH 77:20

And I called an eagle and said to him these words:

2 BARUCH 77:21

You have been created by YAHWEH the Most High that you should be higher than any other bird.

2 BARUCH 77:22

But now go and do not stay in any place, do not go into a nest, do not sit on any tree until you have flown over the breadth of the many waters of the river Euphrates and have come to the people that live there and cast down to them this letter.

2 BARUCH 77:23

Remember that Noah at the time of the flood received the fruit of the olive tree from a dove when he sent it away from the ark.

2 BARUCH 77:24

And also the ravens served EliYah when they brought food to him as they were commanded.

2 BARUCH 77:25

Also Solomon, in the time of his kingship, commanded a bird where he wanted to send a letter and in whatever he was in need of and it obeyed him as he commanded it.

2 BARUCH 77:26

And do not be reluctant and do not deviate to the right nor to the left, but fly and go straight away that you may preserve the command of YAHWEH the Mighty One as I said to you.

2 BARUCH 78

The letter to the nine and a half tribes

2 BARUCH 78:1

The letter of Baruch, the son of Neriah which he wrote to the nine and a half tribes. These are the words of the letter which Baruch, the son of Neriah' sent to the nine and a half tribes which were across the rivers in which were written the following things:

2 BARUCH 78:2

Thus speaks Baruch, the son of Neriah, to the brothers who were carried away in captivity:

2 BARUCH 78:3

Free unmerited favor and pardon and shalom be with you. I remember, my brothers, the love of HIM who created me, who loved us from the beginning and who never hated us but, on the contrary, chastised us.

2 BARUCH 78:4

And truly I know: Are we not all, the twelve tribes, bound by one captivity as we also descend from one father?

2 BARUCH 78:5

Therefore, I have been the more diligent to leave you the words of this letter before I die so that you may be comforted regarding the evils which have befallen you, and you may also be grieved with regard to the evils which have befallen your brothers, and then further, so that you may consider the judgment of HIM who decreed it against you to be righteous, namely, that you should be carried away into captivity, for what you have suffered is smaller than what you have done, in order that you may be found worthy of your fathers in the last times.

2 BARUCH 78:6

Therefore, if you think about the things you have suffered now for your excellence so that you may not be condemned at the end and be tormented, you shall receive hope which lasts forever and ever, particularly if you remove from your hearts the idol error for which you went away from here.

2 BARUCH 78:7

For if you do these things in this way, HE shall continually remember you. HE is the one who always promised on our behalf to those who are more excellent than we that HE will not forever forget or forsake our offspring, but with much mercy assemble all those again who were dispersed."

2 BARUCH 79

2 BARUCH 79:1

Therefore, my brothers, learn first what befell Zion, namely, that Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, came up against us.

2 BARUCH 79:2

For we had sinned against YAHWEH who created us, and had not observed the commandments which HE ordered us.

2 BARUCH 79:3

And yet HE has not chastised us as we deserved.

2 BARUCH 79:4

For what befell you, we suffered even more, for it befell us also.

2 BARUCH 80

2 BARUCH 80:1

And now, my brothers," when the enemies had surrounded the city, malakim were sent from YAHWEH the Most High. And they demolished the fortification of the strong wall, and HE destroyed their solid iron comers which could not be loosened.

2 BARUCH 80:2

Nevertheless, they hid the Kodesh vessels lest they be polluted by the enemies.

2 BARUCH 80:3

And when they had done these things, they left the demolished wall, the looted house, the burned Great Tabernacle, and the people who were overcome to the enemies, for they were delivered up lest the enemies should boast and say, "We have overcome to such an extent that we have even destroyed the house of YAHWEH the Most High."

2 BARUCH 80:4

They have also bound your brothers and carried them away to Babylon and have caused them to live there.

2 BARUCH 80:5

And we have been left here with very few.

2 BARUCH 80:6

That is the affliction about which I write to you.

2 BARUCH 80:7

For truly I know that the inhabitants of Zion were a comfort to you. As long as you knew that they were happy, this was more important than the affliction you endured being separated from them.

2 BARUCH 81

2 BARUCH 81:1

But also hear the word of consolation.

2 BARUCH 81:2

For I mourned with regard to Zion and asked free unmerited favor and pardon from YAHWEH the Most High and said,

2 BARUCH 81:3

"Will these things exist for us until the end?

2 BARUCH 81:4

And will these evils befall us always?" And YAHWEH the Mighty One did according to the multitude of HIS free unmerited favor and pardon, and YAHWEH the Most High according to the magnitude of HIS mercy, and HE revealed to me a Word that I might be comforted, and showed me visions that I might not be again sorrowful, and made known to me the mysteries of the times, and showed me the coming of the periods.

2 BARUCH 82

2 BARUCH 82:1

My brothers, therefore I have written to you that you may find consolation with regard to the multitude of tribulations."

2 BARUCH 82:2

But you ought to know that our Creator will surely avenge us on all our brothers according to everything which they have done against us and among us; in particular that the end which YAHWEH the Most High prepared is near, and that HIS free unmerited favor and pardon is coming, and that the fulfillment of HIS judgment is not far.

2 BARUCH 82:3

For now we seed the multitude of the happiness of the nations although they have acted wickedly; but they are like a vapor.

2 BARUCH 82:4

And we behold the multitude of their power while they act impiously; but they will be made like a drop.

2 BARUCH 82:5

And we see the strength of their power while they resist YAHWEH the Mighty One every hour; but they will be reckoned like spittle.

2 BARUCH 82:6

And we will ponder about the splendor of their majesty while they do not keep the statutes of YAHWEH the Most High; but as smoke they will pass away.

2 BARUCH 82:7

And we think about the beauty of their splendor while they go down in impurities; but like grass which is withering, they will fade away.

2 BARUCH 82:8

And we ponder about the strength of their cruelty while they themselves do not think about the end; but they will be broken like a passing wave.

2 BARUCH 82:9

And we notice the pride of their power while they deny the tov of YAHWEH by whom it was given to them; but as a passing cloud they will vanish.

2 BARUCH 83

2 BARUCH 83:1

For YAHWEH the Most High will surely hasten HIS times, and HE will certainly cause HIS periods to arrive.

2 BARUCH 83:2

And HE will surely judge those who are in HIS world, and will truly inquire into everything with regard to all their works which were sins.

2 BARUCH 83:3

HE will certainly investigate the secret thoughts and everything which is lying in the inner chambers of all their members which are in sin. And HE will make them manifest in the presence of everyone with blame.

2 BARUCH 83:4

Therefore, nothing of the present things should come into your heart, but they should, on the contrary, be expected, since that which was promised will come.

2 BARUCH 83:5

And we should not look upon the delights of the present nations, but let us think about that which has been promised to us regarding the end.

2 BARUCH 83:6

For the ends of the times and the periods will surely pass away and all which is in them together.

2 BARUCH 83:7

The end of the world will then show the great power of YAHWEH our Ruler since everything will come to judgment.

2 BARUCH 83:8

You should, therefore, prepare your hearts for that which you have believed before, lest you should be excluded from both worlds, namely, that you were carried away into captivity here and tormented there.

2 BARUCH 83:9

For that which exists now or that which has passed away or that which will come, in all of that, neither the evil in it is fully evil, nor the tov is even fully tov.

2 BARUCH 83:10

For all sorts of health which exist now changes into illnesses.

2 BARUCH 83:11

And every might which exists now changes into weakness, and every power that exists now changes into miseries, and every youthful energy changes into old age and consummation.

2 BARUCH 83:12

And every beauty of elegances which exists now changes into withering and ugliness.

2 BARUCH 83:13

And every infantile pride which exists now changes into lowliness and shame. And every boast of haughtiness which exists now changes into the shame of silence.

2 BARUCH 83:14

And every delight and all splendor which exists now changes into ruin of silence.

2 BARUCH 83:15

And every joy and every delight which exist now change into rejection and ruin.

2 BARUCH 83:16

And every clamor of pride changes into silent dust.

2 BARUCH 83:17

And every possession of richness which exists now changes into the realm of death alone.

2 BARUCH 83:18

And every seizing desire which exists now changes into involuntary death, and every desire of lust! changes into the judgment of punishment.

2 BARUCH 83:19

And every capability of deceit which exists now changes into refutation by truth.

2 BARUCH 83:20

And every sweetness of ointments which exists now changes into judgment and condemnation.

2 BARUCH 83:21

And every friendship changes into silent defamations.

2 BARUCH 83:22

Since all these things happened now, do you think that they will not be avenged?

2 BARUCH 83:23

But the end of everything will come to Light.

2 BARUCH 84**2 BARUCH 84:1**

Now, I gave you knowledge, while I still live. For I have said that you should particularly learn my mighty commandments which HE has instructed you. And I shall set before you some of the commandments of HIS judgment before I die.

2 BARUCH 84:2

Remember that once Mosheh called heaven and earth to witness against you and said, "If you trespass the Torah, you shall be dispersed. And if you shall keep it, you shall be planted."

2 BARUCH 84:3

And also other things he said to you when you were in the desert as twelve tribes together.

2 BARUCH 84:4

And after his death you cast it away from you and, therefore, that which has been said before has come upon you.

2 BARUCH 84:5

And now, Mosheh spoke to you before it befell you and, behold, it has befallen you for you have forsaken the Torah.

2 BARUCH 84:6

Also I, behold, I say to you after you suffered that if you obey the things which I have said to you, you shall receive from YAHWEH the Mighty One everything which has been prepared and has been preserved for you.

2 BARUCH 84:7

Therefore, let this letter be a witness between me and you that you may remember the commandments of YAHWEH the Mighty One, and that it also may serve as my defense in the presence of HIM who has sent me.

2 BARUCH 84:8

And remember Zion and the Torah and the kodesh land and your brothers and the covenant and your fathers, and do not forget the Festivals and the Shabbats.

2 BARUCH 84:9

And give this letter and the doctrine of the Torah to your children after you as also your fathers handed down to you.

2 BARUCH 84:10

And ask always and pray seriously with your whole soul that YAHWEH the Mighty One may accept you in mercy and that HE may not reckon the multitude of your sinners, but remember the integrity of your fathers.

2 BARUCH 84:11

For if HE judges us not according to the multitude of HIS free unmerited favor and pardon, woe to all us who are born.!

2 BARUCH 85

2 BARUCH 85:1

Further, know that our fathers in former times and former generations had helpers, righteous prophets and kodesh men."

2 BARUCH 85:2

But we were also in our country, and they helped us when we sinned, and they intervened for us with HIM who has created us since they trusted in their works. And YAHWEH the Mighty One heard them and purged us from our sins.

2 BARUCH 85:3

But now, the righteous have been assembled, and the prophets are sleeping. Also we have left our land, and Zion has been taken away from us, and we have nothing now apart from YAHWEH the Mighty One and HIS Torah.

2 BARUCH 85:4

Therefore, if we direct and dispose our hearts, we shall receive everything which we lost again by many times.

2 BARUCH 85:5

For that which we lost was subjected to corruption, and that which we receive will not be corruptible.

2 BARUCH 85:6

We also have written to our brothers in Babylon so that I may attest to them these things also.

2 BARUCH 85:7

And these things which I have said earlier should be before your eyes always, since we are still in the ruach of the power of our liberty.

2 BARUCH 85:8

And further, YAHWEH the Most High is also long-suffering to us here and has shown to us that which comes and has not concealed from us what will happen at the end.

2 BARUCH 85:9

Therefore, before HIS judgment exacts HIS own and Truth of that which is its due, let us prepare ourselves that we may possess and not be possessed, and that we may hope and not be put to shame, and that we may rest with our fathers and not be punished with those who hate us.

2 BARUCH 85:10

For the youth of this world has passed away, and the power of creation is already exhausted, and the coming of the times is very near and has passed by. And the pitcher is near the well, and the ship to the harbor, and the journey to the city, and life to its end.

2 BARUCH 85:11

Further, prepare yourselves so that, when you sail and ascend from the ship, you may have rest and not be condemned when you have gone away.

2 BARUCH 85:12

For behold, YAHWEH the Most High will cause all these things to come. There will not be an opportunity to repent anymore, nor a limit to the times, nor a duration of the periods, nor a change to rest," nor an opportunity to prayer, nor sending up petition, nor giving knowledge, nor giving love, nor opportunity of repentance, nor supplicating for offenses, nor prayers of the fathers, nor intercessions of the prophets, nor help of the righteous.

2 BARUCH 85:13

There is the proclamation of judgment to corruption,' regarding the way! to the fire and the path that leads to the glowing coals."

2 BARUCH 85:14

Therefore, there is one Torah by One, one world and an end for all those who exist.

2 BARUCH 85:15

Then HE will make alive those whom HE has found, and HE will purge them from sins, and at the same time HE will destroy those who are polluted with sins.

2 BARUCH 86

2 BARUCH 86:1

When you, therefore, receive the letter,' read it carefully in your assemblies. And think about it, in particular, however, on the days of your fasts. And remember me by means of this letter in the same way as I remember you by means of this, and always.

2 BARUCH 87

2 BARUCH 86:1

And" it happened when I had finished all the words of this letter and had written it carefully until the end, I folded it, sealed it cautiously, and bound it to the neck of the eagle. And I let it go and sent it away.

The end of the letter of Baruch, the son of Neriah.

Shalom

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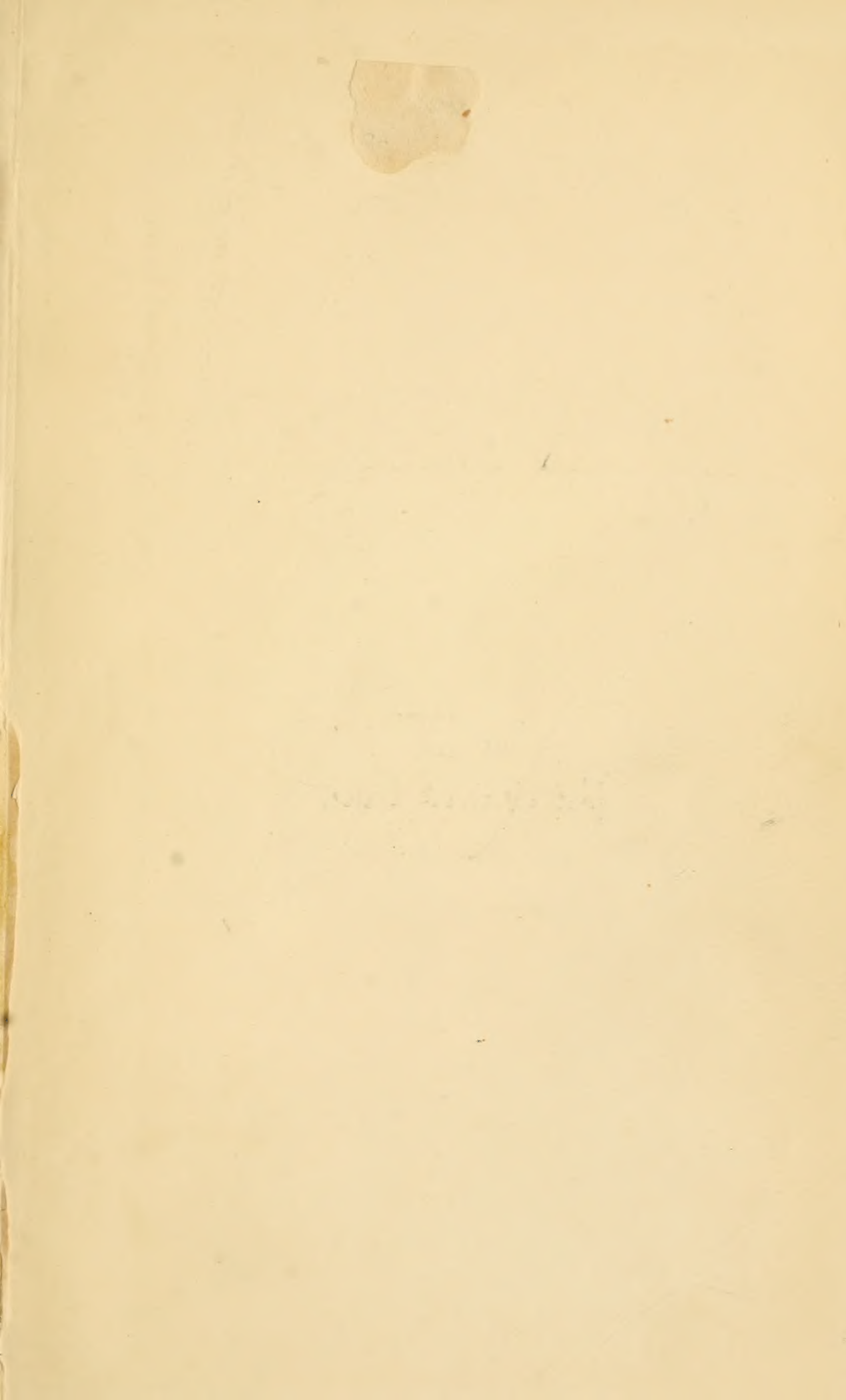


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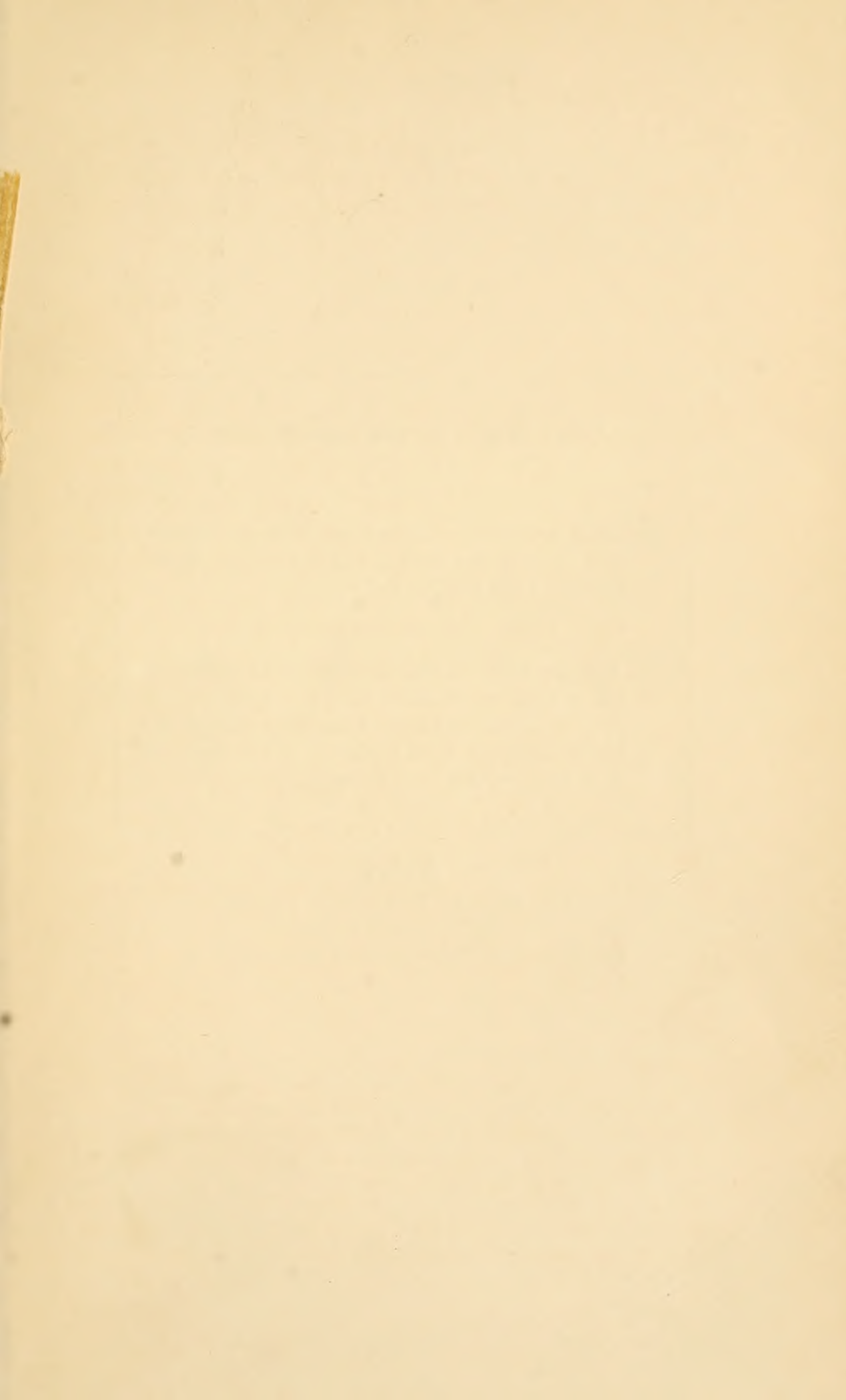
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THE BOOK
OF THE
SECRETS OF ENOCH

TRANSLATED FROM THE SLAVONIC

BY

W. R. MORFILL, M.A.

READER IN RUSSIAN AND THE OTHER SLAVONIC LANGUAGES

AND

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND INDICES

BY

R. H. CHARLES, M.A.

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PREFACE

THE Book of the Secrets of Enoch cannot fail to be of interest to students of Apocalyptic literature and of the origins of Christianity. It is with a view to help such that this the first edition of the book has been undertaken. In certain respects it will appeal also to specialists in Assyriology. So far indeed as it does so, I have been able to do little more than refer to the leading scholars in this department, as my knowledge of such subjects is very slight, and all secondhand.

This book has had a peculiar history. For more than 1200 years it has been unknown save in Russia, where acquaintance with it goes several centuries back. Further, by its present name it was never known in any literature save the Slavonic. Even in Slavonic the name was not quite constant, if we may trust one of the MSS. (B): for there it appears as 'The Secret Books of God which were shown to Enoch.' And yet the book was much read in many circles in the first three centuries of the Church, and has left more traces of its influence than many a well-known book of the same literature (see § 5), and it is undoubtedly of much greater importance in respect of exegesis. In its Greek form it passed current probably under the general designation of Enoch. Occasionally we find that it was not distinguished by those who used it from the older book which has come down to us through the Ethiopic. We have, in fact, in this book another fragmentary survival of the literature that once circulated under the name of Enoch.

That such a book had ever existed was not known in Western Europe till 1892, when a writer in a German review stated that there was a Slavonic version of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch. By Mr. Morfill's help it soon became clear that there was no foundation whatever for such a statement, and subsequent study showed that we had recovered therein an old and valuable pseudepigraph. The next step was naturally to secure its publication, and this was soon made possible through the kindness of the Delegates of the Press.

It will be generally understood that great difficulties beset such an undertaking, and particularly in the case of a book of whose existence there had never been even a surmise in the world of scholarship, and to which there was not a single unmistakable allusion in all ancient literature. The editor in such a case has to pursue untravelled ways, and if, in his efforts to discover the literary environment, the religious views, the date, and language of his author, he has fallen once and again into errors of perception or judgement, he can therein but throw himself on the indulgence of his critics.

The first edition of such a work must have many shortcomings. The editor will be grateful for corrections and further elucidations of the text.

In order to appreciate the value of this book in elucidating contemporary and subsequent religious thought, the reader should consult pp. xxix-xlvii of the Introduction.

In conclusion, I must express my gratitude to Mr. Morfill for his great kindness in undertaking the translation of the Slavonic texts, and for his unfailing courtesy and unwearying energy in the prosecution of the task. It is to him that I am indebted for the account of the Slavonic MSS. in § 2.

R. H. C.

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INTRODUCTION

§ I. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Book of the Secrets of Enoch has, so far as is yet known, been preserved only in Slavonic. It will suit our convenience to take advantage of this fact, and call it shortly 'the Slavonic Enoch,' in contradistinction to the older book of Enoch. As the latter has come down to us in its entirety through the Ethiopic alone, it will be no less convenient to designate it as 'the Ethiopic Enoch.'

This new fragment of the Enochic literature has only recently come to light through certain MSS. which were found in Russia and Servia. My attention was first drawn to this fact when editing the Ethiopic Enoch by an article by Kozak on Russian Pseudepigraphic Literature in the *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.* pp. 127-158 (1892). As it was stated in this article that there was a Slavonic Version of the Book of Enoch hitherto known through the Ethiopic Version, I at once applied to Mr. Morfill for help, and in the course of a few weeks we had before us printed copies of two of the MSS. in question. It did not take much study to discover that Kozak's statement was absolutely devoid of foundation. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch was, as it soon transpired, a new pseud-epigraph, and not in any sense a version of the older and well-known Book of Enoch. In many respects it is of no less value, as we shall see in the sequel.

The Slavonic Enoch in its present form was written somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era. Its author or final editor was an Hellenistic Jew, and the place of its composition was Egypt.

Written at such a date, and in Egypt, it was not to be expected that it exercised a direct influence on the writers of the New Testament. On the other hand, it occasionally exhibits striking parallelisms in diction and thought, and some of the dark passages of the latter are all but inexplicable without its aid.

Although the very knowledge that such a book ever existed was lost for probably twelve hundred years, it nevertheless was much used both by Christian and heretic in the early centuries. Thus citations appear from it, though without acknowledgement, in the Book of Adam and Eve, the Apocalypses of Moses and Paul (400–500 A.D.), the Sibylline Oracles, the Ascension of Isaiah and the Epistle of Barnabas (70–90 A.D.). It is quoted by name in the Apocalyptic portions of the Testaments of Levi, Daniel, and Naphtali (circ. 1 A.D.)¹. It was referred to by Origen and probably by Clement of Alexandria, and used by Irenaeus, and a few phrases in the New Testament may be derived from it.

§ 2. THE SLAVONIC MANUSCRIPTS.

The Slavonic redaction of the text of the Book of Enoch, which is now for the first time translated into English, has come down to us mainly in two versions. It will be clear from the evidence in § 4 that they are translations from a lost Greek original. The manuscripts may be thus classified. I. First those in which we find the complete text, and of these two have been preserved; (*a*) a MS. in the possession

¹ The grounds for this date of the Testaments cannot be stated here, nor yet for the assumption some pages later that they sprang from a Hebrew

original. These I hope to give at length in an edition of these Testaments.

of Mr. A. Khludov ; this is a South Russian recension. The MS. belongs to the second half of the seventeenth century, and is found in a *Sbornik* or volume of miscellanies containing also lives of the Saints and other religious treatises. This text was published by Mr. A. Popov in the *Transactions of the Historical and Archaeological Society of the University of Moscow*, vol. iii. (Moscow 1880). It is unfortunately in many places very corrupt. It forms the basis of the present text, but where it is corrupt attempts have been made to supply a sounder text from other MSS. It is marked by the letter A in the critical notes to the present translation.

(b) A MS. discovered by Prof. Sokolov of Moscow in the Public Library of Belgrade in the year 1886. This is a Bulgarian recension, and the orthography belongs to the middle Bulgarian period. This MS. is probably of the sixteenth century. It contains the account of the priesthood of Methuselah and Nir, the birth of Melchizedek and the Deluge. Though this legend does not belong to this Book of Enoch, it is added as an Appendix. II. There is also a shortened and incomplete redaction of the text of which three MSS. are known ; (a) that preserved in the Public Library of Belgrade ; a Serbian redaction, which was printed by Novaković in the sixteenth volume of the literary magazine *Starine* (Agram, 1884). Many of the readings of this MS. are very interesting. It is of the sixteenth century, and is cited as B. (b) That in the Vienna Public Library, which is almost identical with the preceding ; (c) a MS. of the seventeenth century in the possession of Mr. E. Barsov of Moscow.

Of the above MSS. I have direct acquaintance only with A and B : of the other MSS. I have only an indirect knowledge through the text prepared by Prof. Sokolov, which is based on all the above MSS. Unfortunately, however, this text has not fully discriminated these sources. Accordingly, to avoid misconceptions, this text which is designated as *Sok*,

is to be understood as representing all authorities other than A and B.

Other fragments of the Book of Enoch are to found in Tikhonravov's Memorials of Russian Apocryphal Literature (Памятники отреченной русской литературы), and Рурин's Memorials of Old Russian Literature (Памятники старинной русской литературы). By allusions and citations in early Slavonic literature, we can see that these late manuscripts are only copies of much earlier ones, which have perished. Thus Tikhonravov cites from a fourteenth century MS.

The duty of the translator has been a comparatively simple one—to present a text which would be of service to the Western students of apocryphal literature. To this end all philological questions have been subordinated, and therefore my Slavonic friends must not blame me for not going more into linguistic matters. These would be out of place on the present occasion; certainly the time for such a work has not yet come in England. My translation will have served its purpose by enabling my friend, the Rev. R. H. Charles, to treat the subject as fully and learnedly as he has done from the standpoint of Biblical apocryphal literature. In conclusion, I must say that I am glad in however small a way to be able to contribute to such studies through the agency of Mr. Charles. I wish also to express my thanks to Professors Sokolov and Pavlov of the University of Moscow; to the former for allowing me the use of his emendated text and furnishing me with valuable notes on some obscure passages; and to the latter for the kind interest which he has taken in the book.

W. R. M.

§ 3. THE TEXT FOLLOWED IN THE TRANSLATION.

The formation of the text has been a matter of great difficulty. As I have no knowledge of Slavonic, Mr. Morfill has been so good as to furnish me with literal translations of A, B and of Prof. Sokolov's text. The number of variations

which was unduly great at the outset has to some extent been diminished by Mr. Morfill's critical acumen. This careful scholar, however, I should remark, has conscientiously refrained from all but obvious corrections of the text. Starting then from his translations of the Slavonic MSS. and of Sokolov's text, I resolved after due examination to follow A in the main. B of course is followed when it preserves the obviously better reading, and that it does frequently. When both A and B are corrupt, I have fallen back on the text of Sokolov. Occasionally I have been obliged to follow one reading to the rejection of the others, in cases where all the readings were equally probable or improbable. In only two or three passages have I emended the text, and that in the case of numbers, which are frequently corrupted in tradition through MSS. In all cases the rejected variants are given in the critical notes below, so that, in the event of the discovery of fresh critical materials, the reader can revise the text for himself, and in the process will reverse, no doubt, many of the editor's judgements.

As regards the relative merits of A and B, though the former is very corrupt, it is nevertheless a truer representative of the original than B. B is really a short *résumé* of the work—being about half the length of A. In the process of abbreviation its editor or scribe rejected in some instances and in others recast entire sections with capricious rearrangements of the text. For an example of the method pursued occasionally in B the reader can consult the critical notes on xl.

In A we find many interpolations. Thus in xx. 3 there is a mention of the tenth heaven, and in xxi-xxii. 3 a description of the eighth, ninth and tenth heavens, though the rest of the work directly speaks of and indirectly implies only seven heavens. B omits all reference to this addition in A. The reader will find many other like additions which have as

a rule been relegated to the critical notes or given in the text in square brackets.

The titles at the head of the chapters are given by A. I have enclosed them in square brackets, as they have no claim to antiquity. They are not given in Sokolov's text, nor are they found in B. A few titles do appear in B, but with one exception these consist merely of *Entry of Enoch into the first heaven*, *Entry of Enoch into the second heaven*, &c., &c., *Entry of Enoch into the seventh heaven*.

§ 4. THE LANGUAGE AND PLACE OF WRITING.

1. The main part of this book was written for the first time in Greek. This is shown by such statements, (1) as xxx. 13, 'And I gave him a name (i.e. Adam) from the four substances: the East, the West, the North, and the South.' Adam's name is here derived from the initial letters of the Greek names of the four quarters, i.e. ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία. This fancy was first elaborated in Greek, as this derivation is impossible in Semitic languages. (2) Again, the writer follows the chronology of the LXX. Enoch is 165 years old when he begat Methuselah. According to the Hebrew and Samaritan chronologies he was 65. Josephus also (*Ant.* i. 3. 3), it is true, adopts the LXX chronology. (3) In l. 4 the writer reproduces the LXX text of Deut. xxxii. 35 against the Hebrew. (4) The writer frequently uses Ecclesiasticus, and often reproduces it almost word for word: cf. xliii. 2, 3—Ecclus. xxiii. 7; x. 20, 22, 24: also xlvii. 5—Ecclus. i. 2: also li. 1, 3—Ecclus. vii. 32; ii. 4: also lxi. 2—Ecclus. xxxix. 25: also lxv. 2—Ecclus. xvii. 3, 5. (5) lxv. 4 seems to be derived from the Book of Wisdom vii. 17, 18. So far as we can judge, it was the Greek Versions of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom that our author used.

Some sections of this book were written originally in Hebrew. (See p. xxiv.)

2. This book was written in Egypt, and probably in Alexandria. This is deducible from the following facts. (1) From the variety of speculations which it holds in common with Philo and writings which were Hellenistic in character or circulated largely in Egypt. Thus the existent was created from the non-existent, xxiv. 2; xxv. 1: cf. Philo, *de Justit.* 7; souls were created before the foundation of the world, xxiii. 5: cf. Philo, *de Somno*, i. 22; *de Gigantibus* 3; Wisdom viii. 19, 20. Again, man had seven natures or powers, xxx. 9: cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 40. Man could originally see the angels in heaven, xxxi. 2: cf. Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* xxxii. There is no resurrection of the body, l. 2; lxxv. 6: so the Book of Wisdom and Philo taught. Finally swearing is reprobated by both, xlix. 1, 2: cf. Philo, *de Spec. Leg.* ii. 1. (2) The whole Messianic teaching of the Old Testament does not find a single echo in the work of this Hellenized Israelite of Egypt, although he shows familiarity with almost every book of the Old Testament. (3) The Phoenixes and Chalkydries, xii—monstrous serpents with the heads of *crocodiles*—are natural products of the Egyptian imagination. (4) The syncretistic character of the account of the creation, xxv–xxvi, which undoubtedly betrays Egyptian elements.

We should observe further that the arguments that make for a Greek original tend to support the view that the book was written in Egypt, especially when we take them in conjunction with the date of its composition.

§ 5. RELATION OF THE BOOK TO JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

The discoveries regarding the planets, &c., which Joel (circ. 1200 A.D.) in his Chronography assigns to Seth are, as we have shown on p. 37, most probably derived ultimately from this Book of Enoch. In like manner the statements regarding

the sabbath and the duration of the world, which according to Cedrenus (circ. 1050 A.D.) were drawn from Josephus and the Book of Jubilees are likewise to be assigned to this book; for nothing of this nature appears either in Josephus or the Book of Jubilees. Cedrenus, we should remember, is largely dependent on Syncellus, and Syncellus is very often wrong in his references in the case of Apocalyptic literature (see xxxiii. 1, 2 notes). It is natural that these late writers should err regarding all facts derived from this book, inasmuch as it was already lost to all knowledge many centuries before their day. Let us now pass over these intervening centuries to a time when this book was still in some measure known. Now in the *Book of Adam and Eve* of the fifth century we find two passages drawn from our book which are quotations in sense more than in words. Thus in I. vi we read: 'But the wicked Satan . . . set me at naught, and sought the Godhead, so that I hurled him down from heaven.' This is drawn from xxix. 4, 5: 'One of these in the ranks of the Archangels (i.e. Satan, cf. xxxi. 4) . . . entertained an impossible idea that he should make his throne higher than the clouds over the earth, and should be equal in rank to My power. And I hurled him from the heights.' Again in the *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. viii: 'When we dwelt in the garden . . . we saw his angels that sang praises in heaven.' This comes from xxxi. 2: 'I made for him the heavens open that he should perceive the angels singing the song of triumph.' See notes on xxxi. 2 for similar view in Philo and St. Ephrem. Again in I. xiv of the former book the words: 'The garden, into the abode of light thou longest for, wherein is no darkness,' and I. xi: 'That garden in which was no darkness,' are probably derived from Slav. En. xxxi. 2: 'And there was light without any darkness continually in Paradise.'

Next in the Apocalypse of Moses (ed. Tischend. 1866), p. 19, we have a further development of a statement that appears in our text regarding the sun: see xiv. 2-4 (notes).

In the anonymous writing *De montibus Sina et Sion* 4, we have most probably another trace of the influence of our text in this century. In this treatise the derivation of Adam's name from the initials of the four quarters of the earth is given at length. This derivation appears probably for the first time in literature in xxx. 13 (see note).

In the fourth century there are undoubted indications of its use in the Apocalypse of Paul (ed. Tischend. 1866). Thus the statement, p. 64, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παράδεισος, ἔνθα . . . δένδρον παμμεγέθη (sic) ὥραϊον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπανεπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον is beyond the possibility of question a Christian adaptation of the Slavonic Enoch viii. 3: 'And in the midst (of Paradise is) the tree of life, in that place, on which God rests, when He comes into Paradise.' Again the words, p. 64, ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο . . . ὕδωρ, μεριζόμενον εἰς τέσσαρα ὀρύγματα, and p. 52, ποταμοὶ τέσσαρες . . . ῥέοντες μέλι καὶ γάλα καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον, are almost verbal reproductions of our text, viii. 5: 'From its root in the garden there go forth four streams which pour honey and milk, oil and wine, and are separated in four directions.' With two characteristic features of hell in this Apocalypse, i.e. οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖ φῶς and ὁ πυριῶς ποταμός (pp. 57, 58), we may compare x. 1 of our text: 'And there was no light there . . . and a fiery river goes forth.'

The peculiar speculation of St. Augustine in the *De Civ.* xxii. 30. 5 seems to be derived ultimately from xxxiii. 2 (see notes). Compare with xxxiii. 2 especially the words: 'Haec tamen septima erit sabbatum nostrum cuius finis non erit vespera, sed dominicus dies velut *octavus aeternus*.'

In the early part of the third and in the second century there is the following evidence of the existence of our text. Thus in the Sibylline Oracles, ii. 75 ὀρφανικοῖς χήραις τ' ἐπιδευομένοις τε παράσχον, and 88 σὴν χεῖρα περητεύουσιν ὄρεξον are too closely parallel to l. 5—li. 1, 'Stretch out your hands to the orphan, the widow [and the stranger, B om.]. Stretch out your hands to the poor,' to be accidental.

In Irenaeus *contra Haer.* v. 28. 3 we have the Jewish speculation in our text, xxxiii. 1, 2, reproduced to the effect that as the work of creation lasted six days so the world would last 6,000 years, and that there would be 1,000 years of rest corresponding to the first sabbath after creation. See text, xxxiii. 1, 2 (notes).

In Origen (according to Methodius; see Lommatzsch edition, xxi. p. 59) we find a reference to this speculation: *χιλίων γὰρ ἑτῶν περιοριζομένων εἰς μίαν ἡμέραν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς θεοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως μέχρι καταπαύσεως μέχρις ἡμῶν, ὥς οἱ περὶ τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν φάσκουσι δεινοί, ἐξ ἡμέραι συμπειραιοῦνται. Ἐξακισχιλιοστὸν ἄρα ἔτος φανὲν ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ εἰς δεῦρο συντείνειν· τῇ γὰρ ἑβδομάδι τῷ ἑπτακισχιλιοστῷ ἔτει κρίσιν ἀφίξεσθαι φασιν.* Whether this passage argues a direct knowledge of the Slavonic Enoch is doubtful. There can be no doubt, however, with regard to the direct reference in the *de Princip.* i. 3. 2 ‘*Nam et in eo libello . . . quem Hermas conscripsit, ita refertur: Primo omnium crede, quia unus est Deus, qui omnia creavit atque composuit: qui cum nihil esset prius, esse fecit omnia. . . . Sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur.*’ Now since there is no account of the creation in the Ethiopic Enoch, Origen is here referring to the Slav. Enoch xxiv–xxx; xlvii. 3, 4.

The fragment of the Apocalypse of Zephaniah preserved in Clement, *Strom.* v. 11. 77, is likewise to be traced to our text: cf. xviii. (notes).

During the years 50–100 A.D. our text seems not to be without witness in the literature of that period. Thus in the Ascension of Isaiah, viii. 16, we read with regard to the angels of the sixth heaven: ‘*Omnium una species et gloria aequalis,*’ whereas the difference between the angelic orders in the lower heavens is repeatedly pointed out. Now in our text, xix. 1, it is said of the seven bands of angels present in the sixth heaven that ‘there is no difference in their countenances, or their manner, or the style of their clothing.’

In 4 Ezra [vi. 71] the words ‘ut facies eorum luceant sicut sol’ are found in i. 5 ‘Their faces shone like the sun.’

With the Apocalypse of Baruch, iv. 3 ‘Ostendi eam (i.e. Paradisum) Adamo priusquam peccaret,’ compare xxxi. 2.

In the Epistle of Barnabas xv. 4 τί λέγει τό “συντελέσειν ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις.” τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι ἐν ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν συντελέσει Κύριος τὰ σύνπαντα. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ’ αὐτῷ σημαίνει χίλια ἔτη, we have an exposition of the rather confused words in our text, xxxii. 2—xxxiii. In xv. 5–7, however, the writer of this Epistle does not develop logically the thought with regard to the seventh day; for the seventh day on which God rested from His works should in accordance with the same principle of interpretation as in xv. 4 have been taken as a symbol of a thousand years of rest, i.e. the millennium. In xv. 8, however, this writer shows his return to our text by his use of the peculiar phrase ‘the eighth day’: οὐ τὰ νῦν σάββατα [ἐμοὶ] δεκτά, ἀλλὰ ὁ πεποίηκα, ἐν ᾧ καταπαύσας τὰ πάντα ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὀγδόης ποιήσω, ὅ ἐστιν ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχή. It may not be amiss here to point out that in the next chapter, in verse 5, the Ethiopic Enoch (lxxxix. 56, 66) is quoted as Scripture. The fact, therefore, that Barnabas does not quote our text as Scripture may point to his discrimination between the two books of Enoch to the detriment of the latter. Again in this Epistle, xviii. 1, the words ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν . . . ἥ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκοτὸς are derived from our text, xxx. 15, ‘I showed him the two ways, the light and the darkness.’ Though the Two Ways are often described in early literature (see note on xxx. 15), only in Barnabas are they described in the same terms as in our text.

In the New Testament the similarity of thought and diction is sufficiently large to establish a close connexion, if not a literary dependence. With St. Matt. v. 9, ‘Blessed are the peacemakers,’ compare lii. 11, ‘Blessed is he who establishes peace.’ With St. Matt. v. 34, 35, 37, ‘Swear not at all: neither by the heaven . . . nor by the earth . . . nor by

Jerusalem, . . . but let your speech be, Yea, yea : Nay, nay,' compare xlix. 1, 'I will not swear by a single oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God made. . . . If there is no truth in men, let them swear by a word, yea, yea, or nay, nay.' (See notes.)

With St. Matt. vii. 20, 'By their fruits ye shall know them,' compare xlii. 14, 'By their works those who have wrought them are known.' The words 'Be of good cheer, be not afraid,' St. Matt. xiv. 27, are of frequent occurrence in our text, i. 8 ; xx. 2 ; xxi. 3, &c. With St. Matt. xxv. 34, 'Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world,' compare ix. 1, 'This place (i.e. Paradise) O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous . . . as an eternal inheritance.' Next with St. Luke vi. 35 *μηδὲν ἀπελπίζοντες*, compare xlii. 7, 'Expecting nothing in return' Next with John xiv. 2, 'In my Father's house are many mansions,' compare lxi. 2, 'For in the world to come . . . there are many mansions prepared for men, good for the good, evil for the evil.' With Acts xiv. 15, 'Ye should turn from these vain things unto the living God, who made the heaven and the earth,' compare ii. 2, 'Do not worship vain gods who did not make heaven and earth.' In the Pauline Epistles there are several parallels in thought and diction. With Col. i. 16, 'Dominions or principalities or powers,' compare xx. 1, 'Lordships and principalities and powers': with Eph. iv. 25, 'Speak ye truth each one with his neighbour,' compare xlii. 12, 'Blessed is he in whom is the truth that he may speak the truth to his neighbour.' For other Pauline parallels with our text see pp. xxxix-xli. With Heb. xi. 3, 'The worlds have been framed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear,' compare xxv. 1, 'I commanded . . . that visible things should come out of invisible,' and xxiv. 2, 'I will tell thee . . . what things I created from the non-existent, and what visible things from the invisible.' For two other parallels of Hebrews with our text see p. xli. With Rev.

i. 16, 'His countenance was as the sun shineth,' compare i. 5, 'Their faces shone like the sun': with ix. 1, 'There was given to him the key of the pit of the abyss,' compare xlii. 1, 'Those who keep the keys and are the guardians of the gates of hell.' With Rev. iv. 6, 'A glassy sea,' compare iii. 3, 'A great sea greater than the earthy sea.' This sea in the first heaven, however, may be merely 'the waters which were above the firmament' (Gen. i. 7). With Rev. x. 5, 6, 'And the angel . . . sware . . . that there shall be time no longer,' compare lxxv. 7, 'Then the times shall perish, and there shall be no year,' &c.: xxxiii. 2, 'Let there be . . . a time when there is no computation and no end; neither years, nor months,' &c.

Finally, in the Apocalyptic portions of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, which were written probably about the beginning of the Christian era we find our text quoted directly or implied in several instances. In Levi 3 we have an account of the Angels imprisoned in the second heaven: ἐν αὐτῷ εἰςὶ πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ἐπαγωγῶν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἀνόμων. This must be rendered 'In it are all the spirits of the lawless ones who are kept bound unto (the day of) vengeance.' With this statement compare our text vii. 1, where the fallen angels in the second heaven are described as 'the prisoners suspended, reserved for (and) awaiting the eternal judgement.' Again, in the same chapter of Levi, there are said to be armies in the third heaven, οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης. With these compare the angels of punishment in the third heaven in x. 3. The statement from Enoch in Test. Dan. 5 τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πλάνης. 'Ἀνέγνω γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ Ἐνώχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι ὁ ἀρχὼν ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ Σατανᾶς is drawn from xviii. 3, 'These are the Grigori (i.e. Ἐγρηγοροί) who with their prince Satanail rejected the holy Lord.' In the Test. Napht. 4 the authority of Enoch is claimed by the writer as follows: Ἀέγνω ἐν γραφῇ ἁγία Ἐνώχ, ὅτι καὶ γε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ κυρίου, πορευόμενοι κατὰ πᾶσαν ποιηρίαν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ποιήσετε κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν

Σοδόμων. καὶ ἐπάξει ὑμῖν κύριος αἰχμαλωσίαν . . . ἕως ἂν ἀναλώσῃ κύριος πάντας ὑμᾶς. This is a loose adaptation to later times of xxxiv. 2, 3, 'And they will fill all the world with wickedness and iniquity and foul impurities with one another, sodomy. . . . And on this account I will bring a deluge upon the earth, and I will destroy all.' The quotation in Test. Sim. 5 is probably derived from the same source, and that in Test. Benj. 9 ὑπονοῶ δὲ καὶ πράξεις ἐν ὑμῖν οὐ καλὰς ἔσεσθαι, ἀπὸ λόγων Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου· πορνεύσετε γὰρ πορνείαν Σοδόμων, καὶ ἀπώλησθε ἕως βραχύ, may confidently be traced to it. The words in Test. Juda 18 ἀνέγνω ἐν βίβλοις Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅσα κακὰ ποιήσετε ἐπ' ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις. φυλάξασθε οὖν, τέκνα μου, ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας may likewise be founded upon it. The loose and inaccurate character of the quotations may in part be accounted for as follows.

Although it is a matter of demonstration that the main part of the book was written originally in Greek, it seems no less sure that certain portions of it were founded on Hebrew originals. Such an hypothesis is necessary owing to the above Enochic quotations which appear in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. For the fact that the latter work was written in Hebrew obliges us to conclude that its author or authors drew upon Hebrew originals in the quotations from Enoch. I have not attempted in the present work to discriminate the portions derived from Hebrew originals. For such a task we have not sufficient materials, and what we have, moreover, have not been preserved with sufficient accuracy.

§ 6. INTEGRITY AND CRITICAL CONDITION OF THE BOOK.

In its present form this book appears to be derived from one author. We have in the notes called attention from time to time to certain inconsistencies, but these may in part be due to inaccurate tradition; for the book in this respect has suffered deplorably. There are of course occasional interpo-

lations—of these some are Jewish, and one or two are Christian: xxxvii seems foreign to the entire text.

The text, further, has suffered from disarrangement. Thus xxviii. 5 should be read after xxix, and, together with that chapter, should be restored before xxviii.

§ 7. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP.

The question of the date has to a large extent been determined already. The portions which have a Hebrew background are at latest pre-Christian. This follows from the fact of their quotation in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. As I have remarked above (p. xxiv) it is impossible to define the exact extent of such sections.

Turning, therefore, to the date of the rest of the book, we can with tolerable certainty discover the probable limits of its composition. The earlier limit is determined by the already existing books from which our author has borrowed. Thus *Ecclesiasticus* is frequently drawn upon: see xliii. 2, 3 (notes); xlvii. 5 (note); lii. 8 (note); lxi. 2, 4 (notes), &c. The *Book of Wisdom* also seems to have been laid under contribution: see lxxv. 4 (note). With this book our author shares certain closely related Hellenistic views. Again, as regards the *Ethiopic Enoch*, our author at times reproduces the phraseology and conceptions of that book: see vii. 4, 5 (notes); xxxiii. 4 (note), 9, 10 (notes); xxxv. 2 (note), &c.; at others he gives the views of the former in a developed form: see viii. 1, 5, 6 (notes); xl. 13 (note); lxiv. 5; at others he enunciates views which are absolutely divergent from the former: see xvi. 7 (note); xviii. 4 (note). It is noteworthy also that our author claims to have explained certain natural phenomena, but the explanations in question are not to be found in his writings but in the *Ethiopic Enoch*: see xl. 5, 6, 8, 9 (notes). Finally we observe the same advanced view on Demonology appearing in the *Slavonic Enoch* and in the latest interpolation in the *Ethiopic Enoch*; see xviii. 3 (note).

Ecclesiasticus, the Book of Wisdom (?), and the Ethiopic Enoch (in its latest and present form) were thus at our author's service. The earlier limit of composition, accordingly, lies probably between 30 B. C. and the Christian era.

We have now to determine the later limit. This must be set down as earlier than 70 A. D. For, (1) the temple is still standing; see lix. 2 (notes). (2) Our text was probably known to some of the writers of the New Testament (see pp. xxi-xxiii; xxxix-xliii). (3) It was known and used by the writers of the Epistle of Barnabas and of the latter half of the Ascension of Isaiah.

We may, therefore, with reasonable certainty assign the composition of our text to the period 1-50 A. D. The date of the Hebrew original underlying certain sections of our text is as we have already seen pre-Christian.

The author was a Jew who lived in Egypt, probably in Alexandria. He belonged to the orthodox Hellenistic Judaism of his day. Thus he believed in the value of sacrifices, xlii. 6; lix. 1, 2; lxvi. 2; but he is careful to enforce enlightened views regarding them, xlv. 3, 4; lxi. 4, 5; in the law, lii. 8, 9; and likewise in a blessed immortality, l. 2; lxv. 6, 8-10; in which the righteous shall wear 'the raiment of God's glory,' xxii. 8. In questions affecting the origin of the earth, sin, death, &c., he allows himself the most unrestricted freedom and borrows freely from every quarter. Thus, Platonic (xxx. 16, note), Egyptian (xxv. 2, note), and Zend (lviii. 4-6 notes) elements are adopted into his system. The result is naturally syncretistic.

The date (1-50 A. D.) thus determined above makes our author a contemporary of Philo. We have shown above (p. xvii) that they share many speculations in common, but in some they are opposed. Thus our author protests against the Jewish belief in the value of the intercession of departed saints for the living; see liii. 1 (note). Philo undoubtedly taught this, *De Exsecrat.* 9.

§ 8. SOME OF THE AUTHOR'S VIEWS ON CREATION,
ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ETHICS.

God in the beginning created the world out of nothing, xxiv. 2¹. (For a detailed account of each day's creations see xxv-xxx.) In this creation He made seven heavens, xxx. 2, 3², and all the angelic hosts—the latter were created on the first day—and all animal and plant life, and finally man on the sixth day. After His work on the six days God rested on the seventh. These six days of work followed by a seventh of rest are at once a history of the past and a forecasting of the future. As the world was made in six days, so its history would be accomplished in 6,000 years, and as the six days of creation were followed by one of rest, so the 6,000 years of the world's history would be followed by a rest of 1,000 years, i. e. the millennium³. On its close would begin the eighth eternal day of blessedness when time should be no more, xxxii. 2—xxxiii. 2.

As regards man, all the souls of men were created before the foundation of the world, xxiii. 5, and also a future place of abode in heaven or hell for every individual soul, xlix. 2; lviii. 5; lxi. 2. The world was made for man's sake, lxv. 3. When Wisdom made man of seven substances, xxx. 8, at God's command, God gave him the name Adam from the four quarters of the earth—*ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία*—xxx. 13. Man's soul was created originally good, while in the garden he could see the angels in heaven, xxxi. 2. Free-will was bestowed upon him, and the knowledge of good and evil. He was likewise instructed in the Two Ways of light and darkness, and then left to mould his own destiny, xxx. 15.

¹ Or else formed it out of pre-existing elements, xxv. 1, where we have an adaptation of the egg theory of the universe.

² Hell was in the north of the third heaven. It is possible, how-

ever, that there were also seven hells; see xl. 12 (note).

³ This millennium seems to be identical with a Messianic age, xxxv. 3 (note).

But the incorporation of the soul in the body with its necessary limitations biassed its preferences in the direction of evil, and death came in as the fruit of sin, xxx. 16. Men and angels will be judged and punished for every form of sin¹, xl. 12, 13; xlv. 3; lxxv. 6; but the righteous will escape the last judgement, lxxv. 8; lxxvi. 7; and will be gathered in eternal life, lxxv. 8, and will be seven times brighter than the sun, lxxvi. 7, and they will have no labour, nor sickness, nor sorrow, nor anxiety, nor need, and an incorruptible paradise shall be their protection and their eternal habitation, lxxv. 9, 10. As for sinners there is no place of repentance after death, xlii. 2, but hell is prepared for them as an eternal inheritance, x. 4, 6. And there is no intercession of departed saints for the living, liii. 1.

In an ethical regard there are many noble sentiments to be found in our author, but generally in a very unliterary form. The Slavonic Version is, no doubt, partially to be blamed here. I will append here an outline of a man's ethical duties with sundry beatitudes according to our author. Every man should work; for blessed is he who looks to raise his own hand for labour, but cursed is he who looks to make use of another man's labour, lii. 7, 8. And men, likewise, should be unselfishly just; for blessed is he who executes a just judgement, not for the sake of recompense, but for the sake of righteousness, expecting nothing in return, xlii. 7. And men should also practice charity and beneficence. They should not hide their silver in the earth, but assist the honest man in his affliction, li. 2, and stretch out their hands to the orphan, the widow and the stranger, l. 5, and give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen, and walk without blame before the face of the Lord, ix. Furthermore, men should not swear either by heaven or earth or by any other creature which God made, but by a word, yea, yea, or nay, nay,

¹ Observe that men will be specially punished for ill-treatment of animals, lviii. 4-6.

xlix. 1 ; neither should they avenge themselves, l. 4, nor abuse and calumniate their neighbour, lii. 2 ; but endure every affliction and every evil word and attack for the sake of the Lord, l. 3 ; li. 3. Moreover, they should shun pride : for God hates the proud, lxiii. 4 ; and walk in long-suffering, in humility, in faith and truth, in sickness, in abuse, in temptation, in nakedness, in deprivation, loving one another till they depart from this world of sickness, lxvi. 6. Finally, whereas one man is more honourable than another, either on the ground of cunning or of strength, of purity or wisdom, of comeliness or understanding, let it be heard everywhere that none is greater than he who fears God, xliii. 2, 3. /

§ 9. THE VALUE OF THIS BOOK IN ELUCIDATING CONTEMPORARY AND SUBSEQUENT RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

On the value of this book in elucidating contemporary and subsequent religious thought I shall be brief, save in the case of the doctrine of the seven heavens. This doctrine is set forth by our author with a fullness and clearness not found elsewhere in literature. Thus many gaps in our knowledge of this doctrine have been filled up. It will not be surprising, therefore, if we are thus enabled to explain certain mysterious allusions bearing on this conception in the Bible and elsewhere, which have hitherto been doubtful or inexplicable.

Some of the beliefs which appear in our text, and which in some instances are either partially or wholly elucidated, are as follows :

1. *Death was caused by Sin.* This was a comparatively late view : see notes on pp. 43, 44.

2. *The millennium.* This Jewish conception is first found in this book, xxxii. 2—xxxiii. 2, and the rationale of its origin is clear from this passage when taken together with statements on the same subject in later writers (see notes *in loc.*, and p. xxvii). Its origin was as follows. The account in Genesis of the first week of creation came in pre-Christian times to be regarded

not only as a history of the past, but as a forecast of the future history of the world so created. Thus as the world was created in six days, so its history was to be accomplished in 6,000 years; for 1,000 years are with God as one day (cf. Ps. xc. 4; Jub. iv. 30; 2 Pet. iii. 8; Barnabas, *Ep.* xiv. 4; Iren. *contra Haer.* v. 28. 2; Justin M., *Dial. c. Tryph.* 80), and as God rested on the seventh day, so at the close of the 6,000 years there would be a rest of 1,000 years, i. e. the millennium.

3. *On the creation of man with freewill and the knowledge of good and evil*, see xxx. 15 (notes).

4. *The Seraphim.* In the Chalkidri¹, xii. 1, we have in all probability the serpents who are mentioned in the Ethiopic Enoch xx. 7 along with the Cherubim. They are a class of heavenly creatures, and like the Cherubim are formed by a combination of the members of different animals. The serpent-like form, however, predominated, and hence they were *δρακόντες* in Greek (Eth. En. xx. 7), and Seraphim (שרפים) in Hebrew. How the peculiar name Chalkidri (= Χαλκύδραι brazen serpents?) arose I cannot say, as it is by no means appropriate. The main objection to identifying the Chalkidri with the Seraphim of the Old Testament is the fact that our author only mentions them here in connexion with the sun, xii. 1; xv. 1; and speaks directly of Seraphim elsewhere, xx. 1. However this may be, the passage in the Eth. Enoch xx. 7 is conclusive as to the serpent-like forms of the Seraphim. By this interpretation the word receives the meaning which it naturally has in the Hebrew.

5. *On the intercession of Saints*, see liii. 1 (note).

6. *The seven Heavens—an early Jewish and Christian belief.*

Various conceptions of the seven heavens prevailed largely in the ancient world, alike in the far east and in the west. With these we shall deal only in so far as they influenced or were in any degree akin to the views that prevailed on this subject among the Jews and early Christians.

¹ Various spelt in the MSS. as Chalkadri, Chalkidri, Chalkedry.

For the sake of clearness it may be well to indicate the direction our investigations will take. We shall first set forth or merely mention the beliefs of this nature that prevailed among the Babylonians and the followers of Zoroaster in the East and the speculations of certain Greek philosophers in the West. We shall next touch briefly on certain indications in the Old Testament that point in the direction of a plurality of the heavens, and show that Israel was not unaffected by the prevailing traditions of the ancient world.

That we have not misinterpreted such phenomena in the Old Testament, we are assured, when we descend to Jewish Apocalyptic writings, such as the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, the Slavonic Enoch, 4 Ezra, and to the Talmud, and the Mandaic Religion. Having thus shown that speculations or definitely formulated views on the plurality of the heavens were rife in the very cradle of Christendom and throughout its entire environment, we have next to consider whether Christian conceptions of heaven were shaped or in any degree modified by already existing ideas on this subject. We shall find that there is undoubted evidence of the belief in the plurality or sevenfold division of the heavens in the Pauline Epistles, in Hebrews, and in the Apocalypse.

In early Christian literature such ideas soon gained clearer utterance in Christian Apocalypses, such as the Ascension of Isaiah, the Apocalypses of Moses, Ezra, John, Isaac, Jacob, and the Acts of Callistratus. Such writers also as Clement of Alexandria and Origen are more or less favourably inclined to such conceptions. But shortly after this date these views fell into the background, discredited undoubtedly by the exaggerations and imbecilities with which they were accompanied. And thus though a Philastrius declares disbelief in a plurality of the heavens a heresy, Chrysostom is so violently affected against such a conception that he denies any such plurality at all. Finally such conceptions, failing in the course of the next few centuries to find a home in Christian

lands, betook themselves to Mohammedan countries, where they found a ready welcome and a place of authority in the temple of Moslem theology. We shall now proceed as we have above indicated.

Among the Babylonians we find that hell was divided into seven parts by seven concentric walls (see Sayce, *Babylonian Religion*, 1887, pp. 221-227; Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, Strasburg, 1890, pp. 232-3¹). Hence, we may here observe, this view passed over into the Talmud (Feuchtwang, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, iv. 42, 43).

This sevenfold division of things in general was a familiar one among this people². Thus the cities, Erech and Ecbatana, were each surrounded by seven walls, modelled, no doubt, as Jensen conjectures, on their conception of the seven world-zones (*op. cit.* 172). For the world was held to be divided in this fashion according to the *Gudia* (*op. cit.* 173). This division was due either to the overwhelming importance of the sacred number seven, or else specifically to the number of the planets (*op. cit.* 174). We should observe also that the temple of Erech was called the temple of the seven divisions. Since, therefore, both earth and hell were divided into seven zones, it is only reasonable to infer that a similar conception was entertained regarding the heavens. Jensen, indeed, says that he can find no trace of such a division in the inscriptions. But since the sevenfold division of the planets gave birth to the sevenfold division of earth and hell, it is next to impossible to avoid the inference with Sayce and Jeremias that this same division must have been applied to the heavens through which the planets moved.

In Parseeism we find the doctrine of the seven heavens. This does not appear in the earliest writings, but in the *Ardâi-virâf-nâme* there is an account of the seven heavens

¹ See also Jeremias, *Die babyl.-assur. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, 1887, pp. 34-45.

² Cf. Sayce, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 82 note.

through which Sosiash made a progress in seven days. In the first heaven are men who feel heat and cold simultaneously. (If we might infer from corresponding ideas in the Slavonic Enoch, and other apocalypses, we should conclude this heaven to be an abode of the wicked, and not of the good. There is, however, a hell independently of this.) The inhabitants of the second heaven shine as the stars; of the third as the moon; of the fourth as the sun. The blessedness of endless light is reserved for heroes, lawgivers, and the preeminently pious. In the seventh heaven Zarathustra sits on a golden throne. As we have already remarked, there is only one hell mentioned in the Ardâi-virâf-nâme. On the influence which such ideas had on the Talmud see Kohut, *Zeitschrift D M G*, xxi. 562.

If we now turn from the East to the West, we meet first of all with the Pythagorean tenfold division of the universe. In the centre there was the central fire around which revolved from west to east the ten heavenly bodies. Furthest off was the heaven of fixed stars; next came the five planets; then the sun, the moon, the earth, and finally the counter earth¹. According to the *Timæus* of Plato the universe is shaped as a sphere at the centre of which is placed the earth. Next follow the sun, the moon, and the five other planets, revolving round the earth in orbits separated from each other by distances corresponding to the intervals of the harmonic system. The outermost circle is formed of the heaven of fixed stars.

When we turn to the Stoics we find kindred conceptions; in the centre of the universe the earth is placed in a state of repose. Nearest to the earth revolves the moon, and next in their appropriate orbits the Sun, Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn.

We have thus seen that speculations were rife throughout

¹ For further details see the English translation of Zeller's *Pre-Socratic Philosophy*, i. 444-5.

the ancient world on the plurality of the heavens. It is clear further that these speculations were based mainly on astronomical considerations. That ancient Judaism was not unaffected by such views we may reasonably conclude from certain passages in the Old Testament. The plural form of the word for 'heaven' in Hebrew probably points to a plurality of heavens. Such phrases as 'the heaven of heavens,' Deut. x. 14; 1 Kings viii. 27; Ps. cxlviii. 4, cannot be adequately interpreted unless in reference to such a belief. In Job i. 6, 7; ii. 1, 2, 7 we find a further peculiar feature in the ancient conception of heaven. Satan there presents himself along with the angels in the presence of God. The place indicated by the context is heaven. Similarly in 1 Kings xxii. 19-22 an evil spirit presents himself among the heavenly hosts before the throne of God. The presence of evil in heaven, though offensive to the conscience of later times, seems to have caused no offence in early Semitic thought.

We shall find in the course of our investigations that this peculiar idea reasserted itself from time to time in Judaism and Christianity till finally it was expelled from both.

The probability of an Old Testament belief in the plurality of the heavens is heightened, if we consider the fact that the Jews were familiar with and attached names to the planets. Thus Kronos, Aphrodite, Ares, Zeus, Hermes are mentioned respectively in Amos v. 26; Is. xiv. 12; 2 Kings xvii. 30; Is. lxv. 11; xlv. 1. The Jews were acquainted also with the signs of the Zodiac (Job xxxviii. 32), and offered them an idolatrous worship (2 Kings xxiii. 5).

Since, therefore, we have seen that in the East astronomical considerations, i. e. the sevenfold division of the planets led in due course to a similar division of the heavens, it is not unlikely that this knowledge gave birth to a like result among the Jews.

However this may be, the reasonable probability we have

already arrived at is converted into a certainty when we come down to the Apocalyptic and other writings of the Jews. Of these, the Slavonic Enoch and the Apocalyptic sections of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs were written about or before the beginning of the Christian Era. As the description of the seven heavens in the latter is very brief we shall deal with it first. The rendering that follows presupposes an emendation of Dr. Sinker's text, which I cannot justify here, but hope to do so later in an edition of this work.

The third chapter of the Testament of Levi runs: 'Hear then concerning the seven heavens. The lowest is the gloomiest, because it witnesses every iniquity of men. The second has fire, snow, ice, ready against the day of the ordinance of the Lord, in the righteous judgement of God. In it are all the spirits of the lawless ones which are confined for punishment. (Cf. Slav. Enoch vii.) In the third are the hosts of the armies (cf. Slav. Enoch xvii) which are appointed against the day of judgement to execute vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. . . . In the highest of all the Great Glory dwells, in the holy of holies. . . . In the heaven next to it (i. e. the sixth) are the angels of the presence of the Lord, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous. . . . And in the heaven below this (i. e. the fifth) are the angels who bear the answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord. And in the heaven next to this (i. e. the fourth) are thrones, authorities, in which hymns are ever offered to God.' In chapter ii of the same Testament there is a short reference to the first three heavens: 'And I entered from the first heaven into the second, and I saw there water hanging between the two. And I saw a third heaven brighter than these two.'

We cannot pause here to deal with the details of the above account. We shall only draw attention to the description of the denizens of the second heaven. These are the fallen angels who are reserved for punishment. Although the

description of the seven heavens just given is short, it is too definitely conceived to have appeared thus for the first time in Judaism. In the Slavonic Enoch, whose evidence we shall presently briefly summarize, we have, so far as I am aware, the most elaborate account of the seven heavens that exists in any writing or in any language. 'The Book of the Secrets of Enoch,' as it is named in the Slavonic MSS. in which it is alone preserved, but which for the sake of brevity I call 'the Slavonic Enoch,' was written in the main in Greek, at Alexandria, although portions of it are merely reproductions of a Hebrew original. In the first heaven there is 'a very great sea, greater than any earthly sea.' (Cf. Rev. iv. 6.) This sea seems to be described in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs as 'water hanging between the first and second heavens.' (See above.) In this heaven also are 'the elders and the rulers of the orders of the stars.' Although the number of these is not given, it is either twelve (and then we have here an account related to Eth. En. lxxxii. 9-18, 20) or possibly it is twenty-four, and thus there may be a remote connexion on the one hand between this class of 'elders and rulers . . . of the stars' and the twenty-four elders in Rev. iv. 4, and on the other between it and the Babylonian idea set forth in Diodorus Siculus, ii. 31 *μετὰ δὲ τὸν ζωδιακὸν κύκλον εἴκοσιν καὶ τέτταρας ἀφορίζουσιν ἀστέρας, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις ἐν τοῖς βορείοις μέρεσι, τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις τετάχθαι φασί, καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ὀρωμένους τῶν ζώντων εἶναι καταριθμοῦσι, τοὺς δ' ἀφανεῖς τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι προσωρίσθαι νομίζουσιν, οὓς δικαστὰς τῶν ὅλων προσαγορεύουσιν* (quoted by Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 308, who establishes a connexion between Rev. iv. 4 and this Babylonian idea). The first heaven, further, contains treasures of snow, ice, clouds, and dew.

In the second heaven (chap. vii) Enoch saw the prisoners suspended reserved for and awaiting the eternal judgement. 'And these angels were gloomy in appearance, . . . they

had apostatized from the Lord and transgressed together with their prince.' For a similar account see Test. Levi, above.

In the third heaven (chap. viii) we have the garden of Eden and the tree of life, and likewise 'an olive tree always distilling oil,' i.e. the *arbor misericordiae* (cf. Evang. Nicodemi, ii. 3). We should observe that the location of Paradise in this heaven agrees with the Pauline account 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3.

But (chap. x) in the northern region of this heaven Enoch sees the place of the damned. 'That place has fire on all sides and on all sides cold and ice, thus it burns and freezes.' When Enoch exclaims, 'Woe, woe! how terrible is this place!' his escort replies: 'This place, Enoch, is prepared for those who did not honour God; who commit evil deeds on earth, sodomy, witchcraft, enchantments, . . . stealing, lying, calumnies, envy, evil thoughts, fornication, murder. (Chap. x. 4.)

In the fourth heaven (chap. xi-xv) Enoch sees the course of the sun and moon, and the angels and the wonderful creatures, the phoenixes and the chalkidri, which wait upon the sun. In the midst of this heaven (chap. xvii) are 'the armed host serving the Lord with cymbals and organs and unceasing voice.' Cf. Test. Levi on third and fourth heavens above.

In the fifth heaven (chap. xviii) are the watchers whose fallen brethren Enoch had already seen undergoing torments in the second heaven. These are troubled and silent on account of their brethren.

In the sixth heaven (chap. xix) are 'seven bands of angels, very bright and glorious,' who arrange and study the revolutions of the stars and the changes of the moon and the revolutions of the sun, &c.; 'And the angels over all the souls of men who write down all their works and their lives before the face of the Lord. In their midst are seven phoenixes and seven cherubim and seven six-winged creatures.'

In the seventh heaven (chap. xx) Enoch sees all the heavenly hosts, the ten great orders of angels standing before the Lord in the order of their rank, and the Lord sitting on His lofty throne.

With regard to this scheme, I will content myself with calling attention to the fact that a preliminary Tartarus is situated in the second heaven (cf. second heaven in the Test. Levi); and that hell is placed in the north of the third heaven, and that evil in various forms is found in the second and third heavens, and dissatisfaction and trouble in the fifth.

In 4 Ezra (vi. 55-74) there is a detailed description of the seven ways of the wicked and the seven ways of the righteous. These ways are represented in a form so essentially abstract, that as Gunkel rightly remarks (*op. cit.* p. 309), they must be derived from what were originally concrete conceptions such as the seven heavens and the seven hells. To the latter conception there is no reference in the Slavonic Enoch: yet see xl. 12 (note).

Passing onward we come to the Talmud. In the Talmud the views of the Rabbis waver. Some thought as the Rabbi Jehuda that there were two heavens, *Chagiga* 12^b, but Rabbi Simeon ben Lakish enumerated seven. This latter view was the usual one. In the *Beresh. rabba* c. 6 and the *Chagiga* 12^b, the seven heavens are as follows. The lowest which is called *vilun* is empty. In the second, named *rak'ia*, are the sun, moon, and stars. In the third, named *shechagim*, are the mills which grind the manna for the righteous. In the fourth heaven, *zebul*, are the heavenly Jerusalem, the temple, the altar, and Michael. In the fifth, *maon*, are the angels who sing by night, but are silent by day in order that God may hear the praises of Israel. In the sixth, *machon*, are the treasures of the snow, hail, rain, and dew. In the seventh, *aravoth*, are judgement and righteousness, the treasures of life, peace, and blessing, the souls of the departed pious as

well as the spirits and souls yet to be born, and the dew wherewith God will awake the dead. Finally there are the seraphim, ophannim, chayyoth and other angels of service, and God Himself sitting on a throne. See Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmud*, pp. 197-8; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. 467; Wetstein on 2 Cor. xii.

It is well to observe here that, though the Talmudic description of the seven heavens is puerile in the extreme, its character attests the influence of a growing ethical consciousness.

To such a consciousness the presence of evil in heaven could not but seem incongruous. In banishing evil, however, from the precincts of the heavens, the Rabbis weakened the vigour of the old conceptions; for they were not masters of sufficient imagination to fill up adequately the gaps brought about by their righteous zeal. In connexion with Jewish evidence on this subject, we might point out that the same division of the heavens probably prevailed in the Mandaic Religion, since at all events one of its dogmas was the sevenfold division of hell (Brandt, *Die Mandäische Religion*, p. 182).

We have now found that among the Babylonians, the later followers of Zoroaster, the Greeks, in all probability in ancient Judaism, and certainly in Judaism generally from before the Christian Era onward, speculations, and as a rule clearly defined conceptions, were rife on the plurality of the heavens. We have seen also that the prevailing view was that of the sevenfold division of the heavens, and we have observed further that a feature impossible in modern conceptions of heaven shows itself from time to time in pre-Christian religious conceptions, i.e. the belief in the presence of evil in the heavens.

We have now to consider whether Christian conceptions of heaven were shaped, or in any degree influenced, by already existing views of that nature. A knowledge of ancient

thought on this subject would naturally lead us to expect such an influence at work, and we find on examination that our expectations are in certain respects fully realized. First from 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3 we learn that St. Paul believed in a plurality of the heavens. 'I know a man in Christ fourteen years ago . . . such a one caught up even to the third heaven. And I know such a man . . . how that he was caught up into Paradise.'

Heretofore exegetes have been divided as to whether St. Paul believed in the existence of three heavens or of seven. Owing to the fresh evidence on the subject furnished by the Slavonic Enoch there is no longer room for reasonable doubt on the question. In the Slavonic Enoch we have presented to us a scheme of the seven heavens which in some of its prominent features agrees with that conceived by St. Paul. Thus in the Slavonic Enoch Paradise is situated in the third heaven as in 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3, whereas according to later Judaism it belonged to the fourth heaven (see above). In the next place the presence of evil in some part of the heavens is recognized. Thus in Eph. vi. 12 we meet with the peculiar statement 'Against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavens,' *πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*. The phrase *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις* occurs only in Ephesians of the Pauline Epistles. It is found five times i. 3, 20; ii. 6; iii. 10; and vi. 12, and always in a local sense. It is thus in fact = *ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*.

This phrase is then capable of two interpretations. The 'hosts' in question are the fallen angels in the second heaven, or else the powers of Satan, the prince of the air (cf. Eph. ii. 2). For the latter interpretation the Slavonic Enoch xxix. 4, 5 might be quoted as a parallel: 'One of the ranks of the archangels, having turned away with the rank below him, entertained an impossible idea, that he should make his throne higher than the clouds over the earth, and should be equal in rank to My power. And I hurled him from the

heights with his angels. And he was flying in the air continually above the abyss.' The latter explanation of ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις is probably right. In Col. i. 20, however, we must, if we deal honestly with the context, suppose some such a view of the heavens as that given in the Slavonic Enoch to underlie the words: 'To reconcile all things unto Himself, whether things upon the earth or things in the heavens.' That 'things upon earth' need to be reconciled to God is universally intelligible; but so far as I am aware no exegete has hitherto recognized any such necessity on the part of 'things in the heavens.' Yet this is the obvious meaning of the words. Hence 'the things in the heavens' that are to be reconciled to God must be either the fallen angels imprisoned in the second heaven, or else the powers of Satan whose domain is the air. Though to some universalistic aspects of Paulinism the conversion of Satan is not impossible, it is nevertheless unlikely to be his thought here. Hence we seem to be restricted to the other interpretation, and thus we have therein an indirect parallel to 1 Pet. iii. 19, 'He went and preached to the spirits in prison.' Another statement in Eph. iii. 10 belongs to the same plane of thought: 'To the intent that now unto the principalities and the powers in the heavens (ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις) might be made known through the church the manifold wisdom of God.' These 'principalities and powers' may also be taken as the fallen angels in the second heaven; but it is more likely that they are the rulers of the various lower heavens which are mentioned in iv. 10: 'He . . . that ascended far above all the heavens.' This thought of the seven heavens through which Christ passed or above which he was exalted twice recurs in Hebrews iv. 14: 'Having then a great high priest, who hath passed through the heavens' (διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανοῦς); vii. 26: 'Made higher than the heavens' (ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν γενόμενος). Before we pass on to the consideration of the Apocalypse, we should observe

that Paul used *οὐρανός*¹ frequently (cf. Rom. i. 18; x. 6; 1 Cor. viii. 5; xv. 47), though he believed in a plurality of the heavens.

In the twelfth chapter of Revelation we have a record of the war in heaven between Michael and his angels against Satan and his angels, with the subsequent overthrow and expulsion of the latter. These events spiritually interpreted symbolize, it is true, the victory of good over evil, but when studied in reference to their origin, they mark a revolutionizing of the old Semitic conception of heaven. Evil can no longer be conceived as possible in the abode of righteousness, nor can its place be any more found in heaven. And thus Satan and his angels are cast down to the earth. When once evil in all its forms is driven forth from heaven, the rationale of a sevenfold division of it disappears. There are then no longer conflicting elements which must be restricted to certain divisions and kept apart by concrete barriers. The old Semitic doctrine of the seven heavens really presupposes in some respects dualistic influences. Such a conception could not long hold its ground in a monistic faith. It was this dualistic tinge that made it so acceptable with the heretics. We must now follow the subsequent fortunes of this doctrine in the early centuries of Christianity.

First we find in one of the Christian sections (chaps. vi-xi) of the Ascension of Isaiah an elaborate but sinewless account of the seven heavens. Evil has already been expelled, and the inhabitants of one heaven differ from those of another merely in possessing greater degrees of glory and knowledge. This account of the seven heavens is singularly wanting in variety and imaginative power: it is valuable, however, in an historical reference.

¹ The singular and plural of this word are used, according to Sir J. C. Hawkins, in the New Testament as follows:—

	Mat.	Mark	Luke	John	Acts	Paul.	Heb.	James	Pet.	Rev.
<i>οὐρανός</i>	27	12	31	18	24	11	3	2	1	51
<i>οὐρανοί</i>	55	5	4	0	2	10	7	0	5	1*

*xii. 12—a quotation from, or reference to Is. xlv. 23 and xlix. 13.

Leaving the Ascension of Isaiah, we shall now give the evidence of Clement of Alexandria and Origen on the prevalence of this doctrine.

In the *Stromata* iv. 25 of Clement there is a reference to the seven heavens which are obviously regarded as a true conception; while in v. 11 we have a quotation from a lost Apocalypse of Zephaniah: ἀρ' οὐχ ὅμοια ταῦτα τοῖς ὑπὸ Σοφονία λεχθείσι τοῦ προφήτου; καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα καὶ ἀνήνεγκέν με ὡς οὐρανὸν πέμπτον καὶ ἐθεώρουν ἀγγέλους καλουμένους κυρίους . . . ὑμνοῦντας θεὸν ἄρρητον ὕψιστον.

This passage seems to be ultimately derived from the Slavonic Enoch xviii.

In the lost Book of Baruch the Prophet, there was some account of the seven heavens according to Origen, *de Princip.* ii. 3, 6: 'Denique etiam Baruch prophetae librum in assertionis huius testimonium vocant, quod ibi de septem mundis vel coelis evidentius indicatur.'

But to proceed to Origen's own views we read in *contra Cels.* vi. 21 as follows: ἐπὶ τὰ δὲ οὐρανοὺς, ἣ ὅλως περιωρισμένον ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν, αἱ φερόμεναι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἀπαγγέλλουσι γραφαί· ἀλλ' οὐρανοὺς, εἴτε τὰς σφαῖρας τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι λεγομένων πλανήτων, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀπορρητότερον εἰκόασι διδάσκειν οἱ λόγοι.

Though Origen says that there is no authoritative teaching as to there being seven heavens, it is clear that he really believes in there being this number; for elsewhere he identifies these heavens with the planets of the Greeks, *de Princip.* ii. 11. 6: 'Si quis sane mundus corde, et purior mente, et exercitior sensu fuerit, velocius proficiens cito ad aeris locum adscendet, et ad coelorum regna perveniet per locorum singulorum, ut ita dixerim, mansiones, quas Graeci quidem sphaeras, id est globos, appellaverunt, scriptura vero divina coelos nominat: in quibus singulis primo quidem perspiciet ea, quae ibi geruntur, secundo vero etiam rationem quare gerantur agnoscet: et ita per ordinem digredietur singula, sequens eum, qui transgressus est

coelos, Iesum filium Dei, dicentem : “ Volo, ut ubi sum ego, et isti sint mecum.” ’

We shall now cite the evidence of Christian Apocalyptic works as attesting the prevalence of this belief in the seven heavens.

In the Apocalypse of Moses, p. 19 (*Apocalypses Apocryphae*, ed. Tischendorf, 1866), Eve is bidden to look up to the seven firmaments : ἀνάβλεψον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου καὶ ἴδε τὰ ἑπτὰ στερεώματα ἀνεωγμένα. On p. 21 Michael is bidden : ἄπελθε εἰς τὸν παράδεισον ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ οὐρανῷ. Thus the writer of this Apocalypse, so far as he touches on the subject of the seven heavens, agrees with the teaching of the Slavonic Enoch. In the Apoc. Esdrae (pp. 29, 30 *op. cit.*) there is mention made of a plurality of the heavens, and of Paradise as lying in the east. In the Apoc. Johannis (p. 84 *op. cit.*) the seven regions of the heavens are spoken of : καὶ γενήσεται κρότος μέγας ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ σαλευθήσονται τὰ ἑπτὰ (*a. l. ἐννέα*) πέταλα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

In our account of the third heaven according to the Slavonic Enoch, we showed that hell was situated in the north of that heaven. Similarly in the Testament of Isaac (*Testament of Abraham*, ed. James, pp. 146–8) hell is understood to be in one of the heavens. The same holds true of the Testament of Jacob (*op. cit.* p. 153), and of the Apoc. Esdrae, p. 29.

Finally in the Acts of Callistratus (ed. Conybeare), pp. 311–12, the seven circles of the heavens are mentioned.

Speculations about the seven heavens prevailed largely among the heretics. Thus according to Irenaeus, *contra Haer.* i. 5, 2, the Valentinians taught : ἑπτὰ γὰρ οὐρανοὺς κατεσκευακέναι, ὧν ἐπάνω τὸν δημιουργὸν εἶναι λέγουσι. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἐβδομάδα καλοῦσιν αὐτόν, τὴν δὲ μητέρα τὴν Ἀχαμῶθ Ὀγδοάδα . . . τοὺς δὲ ἑπτὰ οὐρανοὺς οὐκ (?) εἶναι νοητοὺς φασιν, ἀγγέλους δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑποτίθενται . . . ὥς καὶ τὸν παράδεισον ὑπὲρ τρίτον οὐρανὸν ὄντα, τέταρτον ἄγγελον λέγουσι δυνάμει ὑπάρχειν.

In Tertullian, *Adv. Valent.* xx, practically the same account is given : ‘ Tum ipsam caelorum septemPLICEM scenam solio

desuper suo finit. Unde et Sabbatum dictus ab hebdomade sedis suae . . . Caelos autem noeros deputant, et interdum angelos eos faciunt . . . sicut et Paradisum Archangelum quartum, quoniam et hunc supra caelum tertium pangunt.’

The heretic Marcus taught according to Hippolytus a similar doctrine of the heavens, but according to Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* i. 17, 1, he reckoned eight heavens in addition to the sun and moon.

Basilides’ view as to their being 365 heavens is well known (Augustine, *de Haer.* i. 4).

The Ophites (Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* i. 30. 4, 5) believed in seven heavens ruled over by seven potentates, named Jaldabaoth, Jao, Sabaoth, Adoneus, Eloeus, Horeus, Astaphaeus—a Hebdomad which with their mother Sophia formed a Ogdoad. A fuller account of this Hebdomad will be found in Origen, *contra Celsum*, vi. 31, and in Epiphanius *Haer.* xxvi. 10.

In the mysteries of Mithras described by Origen, *contra Celsum*, vi. 22, there are certain speculations akin to the doctrine of the seven heavens.

A fragment of Theodotus preserved by Clement is found regarding the creation of man : ὁθεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῷ τετάρτῳ οὐρανῷ δημιουργεῖται¹.

The doctrine of the seven heavens, therefore, being associated with so many grotesque and incongruous features even in the thoughts of the orthodox, became in due time an offensive conception to the sounder minds in the Church, and this offensiveness was naturally aggravated by the important role it played in heretical theology. Augustine, though he expounds a peculiar doctrine of his own which asserts the existence of three heavens (*de Gen. ad Litt.* xii. 67), feels himself beset with abundant difficulties on this question. On the subject in general he writes : ‘ Si autem sic accipimus tertium coelum quo Apostolus raptus est, ut quartum etiam, et aliquot ultra

¹ The Valentinians also placed Paradise in the fourth heaven.

superius coelos esse credamus, infra quos et hoc tertium coelum, sicut eos alii septem, alii octo, alii novem vel decem perhibent . . . de quorum ratione sive opinione nunc disserere longum est' (*de Gen. ad Litt.* xii. 57). In the fourth century of the Christian era, Churchmen were required according to the clear tenor of Scripture to believe in the plurality of the heavens, but as to the number of these heavens they were at liberty to decide for themselves without prejudicing their orthodoxy. Thus Philastrius, Bishop of Brescia, at the close of the fourth century holds it a heresy to doubt the plurality of the heavens, but a man may without offence believe in seven, three, or two. 'De caelorum diversitate est haeresis quae ambigat. Scriptura enim in primo die caelum et terram facta declarat duo haec elementa, secundo firmamentum aquae factum, et nihilominus ipsum firmamentum caelum appellatum fuisse testatur. David autem dicit de caelis ita: *Laudate dominum caeli caelorum et aquae quae super caelos sunt.* Sive ergo sex caelos, secundum David, et septimum hoc firmamentum accipere quis voluerit, non errat; nam Solomon tres caelos dicit, ita: *Caelum et caelum caeli.* Paulus aequè apostolus usque ad tertium caelum se raptum fatetur. Sive ergo septem quis acceperit, ut David, sive tres, sive duos, non errat, quia et Dominus ait: *Pater qui in caelis est.*' (*De Haeres. Liber xciv.*)

But these and the like speculations had become so objectionable to the master mind of Chrysostom, that despite 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3 he declares the doctrine of a plurality of the heavens to be a mere device of man and contrary to holy scripture: *τίς ἂν οὖν λοιπὸν μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην διδασκαλίαν ἀνέχοιτο τῶν ἀπλῶς ἐξ οἰκείας διανοίας φθέγγεσθαι βουλομένῳ, καὶ ἀπεναντίως τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ πολλοῖς οὐρανοῖς λέγειν ἐπιχειρούντων* (*Hom. in Gen.* iv. 3). And again, in order to discredit the last traces of this view he maintains that the heaven neither revolves nor is spherical (*In Epist. ad Hebraeos, Hom. xiv. 1*).

Our task is now nearly done. It only remains for us to

point out that this doctrine, on its rejection by the Christian Church, passed over with many similar ones into Mohammedanism. In fact, Mohammedanism formed in many respects the *cloaca maxima* into which much of the refuse of Christianity discharged itself.

Thus in the Koran xxiii it is written: 'And we have created over you seven heavens, and we are not negligent of what we have created.' And again in xli: 'And he formed them into seven heavens in two days, and revealed unto every heaven its office.'

Into a detailed representation of these heavens by later Mohammedan writers it is not necessary for us to enter.

So far as I am aware every detail is borrowed from Jewish and Christian Apocalypses. Some form of the Slavonic Enoch seems to have been in Mohammed's hands¹.

¹ The four streams of Paradise (Slav. En. viii. 5) which pour honey and milk and oil and wine, reappear in the Koran xlvii. Again, irrational animals are to be restored to life at the resurrection, to receive the recom-

pense due to them, and then to return to the dust, with the exception of Ezra's ass and the dog of the seven sleepers (cf. Koran iii; xviii; Sale's note on vi; Slav. Enoch lviii. 4-6).

THE
BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH
THE SON OF ARED; A MAN WISE AND
BELOVED OF GOD¹.



[**Concerning the Life and the Dream of Enoch*².]

THERE was a very³ wise man and a worker of great things : God loved him, and received him, so that he should see the heavenly abodes, the kingdoms of the wise, great, inconceivable and never-changing God, the Lord of all, the wonderful and glorious, and bright and all-beholding station of the servants of the Lord, and the unapproachable throne of the Lord, and the degrees and manifestations of the incorporeal hosts, and should be an eye-witness of the unspeakable ministrations of the multitude of creatures, and of the varying appearance, and indescribable singing of the host of Cherubim, and of the immeasurable world.

I. 1. At that time he said: 'Hardly had I accomplished *165 years, when I begat my son Methusal : after that I lived 200 years and accomplished all the years of my life⁴, 365

¹ This general title appears in B as **These are the secret books of God which were shown to Enoch.**

Introduction. THIS IS ENTIRELY WANTING IN B. ² Sok. om. I have retained the headings of the Sections which are given in A, as they are valuable for critical purposes; but as they do not belong to the original text I have enclosed them in brackets. ³ Sok. om.

I. ⁴ B om.; Sok. supports text.

years. 2. *On the first day of the first month¹ I was alone in my house, *and I rested on my bed and slept. 3. And as I slept a great grief came upon my heart, and I wept with mine eyes² *in my dream, and I could not understand what this grief meant, or what would happen to me³. 4. And there appeared to me two men very tall, such as I have never seen on earth. 5. And their faces *shone like the sun⁴, and their eyes *were like burning lamps⁵; and fire came forth from their lips. *Their dress had the appearance of feathers: their feet were purple⁶, *their wings were brighter than gold⁷; *their hands whiter than snow³. They stood at the head of my bed and called me by my name. 6. I awoke from my sleep and *saw clearly these men standing in front of me⁸. 7. I *hastened and⁹ made obeisance to them and *was terrified, and the appearance of my countenance was changed¹⁰ from fear. 8. And these¹¹ men said to me: "Be of good cheer, Enoch, be not afraid; the everlasting¹² God hath sent us to thee, and lo! to-day thou shalt ascend with us into heaven.

¹ In the second month on an appointed day, B; Sok. is conflate.

² I had made myself melancholy weeping with my eyes, and I lay down on my bed to sleep, B. ³ B om.; Sok. supports text. ⁴ Were like the shining sun, Sok. ⁵ Burnt like lamps, A. ⁶ So Sok. A reads there was a conspicuousness in their raiment and singing, in appearance purple; B, their dress and singing were wonderful. ⁷ And on their shoulders as it were golden wings, B. ⁸ So Sok.; standing up quickly (?), B; A om. ⁹ A B om. ¹⁰ Veiled my face, B. ¹¹ The two, Sok. ¹² Almighty, B.

I. With verses 2, 3, cf. Eth. En. lxxxiii. 3, 5. 5. Faces shone like the sun: cf. xix. 1; Rev. i. 16; 4 Ezra [vi. 71]. Eyes were like burning lamps, from Dan. x. 6 עֵינָיו כְּלַפְיָרִי אֵשׁ: cf. Ezek. i. 13; Rev. i. 14; xix. 12. Fire came forth from their lips: cf. for language Rev. ix. 17; xi. 5. Their dress... purple: the text is corrupt. Their hands whiter than snow; cf. Eth. En. cvi. 2, 10 'his body was

whiter than snow': Apoc. Petri τὰ μὲν γὰρ σώματα αὐτῶν ἦν λευκότερα πάσης χιόνος. 7. Countenance was changed: Dan. v. 6, 9, 10. 8. Be of good cheer: Matt. ix. 2 θάρσει; xiv. 27; Mark vi. 50; x. 29; Acts xxiii. 11; xxvii. 22, 25. In LXX Gen. xxxv. 17; Exod. xiv. 13, &c. θάρσει is a rendering of אֲלֵךְ בְּתִרְסָה. Be not afraid: cf. 2 Kings i. 15; Ezek. ii. 6, &c.; Eth. En. xv. 1. The conjunction of Be of good cheer and

9. And tell thy sons and thy servants, all ¹ *who work ² *in thy house ³, and let no one seek thee, till the Lord bring thee back to them.” 10. And I *hastened to obey ⁴ them, and went out *of my house ⁵. And I called my sons Methusal, Regim [*and Gaidal ⁶], and told them what wonderful ⁷ things *the two men ⁸ had said to me.’

[*The Instruction: how Enoch taught his Sons.*]

II. 1. ‘Hear me, my children, for I do not know whither I am going, or what awaits me. 2. Now, my children, I say unto you: turn not aside from God: *walk before the face of the Lord and keep his judgements ⁹ *and do not worship vain gods ¹⁰, who did not make heaven and earth ¹¹, for these

¹ That they are to do without thee on the earth A. ² A and Sok. om. ³ Sok. om. ⁴ Obeyed, B. ⁵ B omits; A adds and shut the doors as was ordered me. ⁶ B om.; Sok. supports text. See exegetical note in loc. ⁷ B om. ⁸ They, A; these men, Sok.

II. A om. ⁹ Sok. adds do not defile the prayers (offered for) your salvation, that the Lord may not shorten the work of your hands, and ye may not be deprived of the gifts of the Lord, and the Lord may not deprive you of the attainment of His gifts in your treasures. Bless the Lord with the firstlings of your flocks and the firstlings of your children, and blessings shall be upon you for ever; and do not depart from the Lord. ¹⁰ To vain creatures, A. ¹¹ Sok. adds nor any other creature.

Be not afraid is found in Matt. xiv. 27.

10. Sons: these are mentioned though not named in Eth. En. lxxxi. 5, 6; xci. 1. Regim: see lvii. 2. Gaidal: this name is derived from LXX. Gen. iv. 18 ἐγγνήθη δὲ τῷ Ἐνώχ Γαῖδάδ. For Γαῖδάδ Mass. gives Irad (ܝܪܕ) and Syriac Idar (ܝܕܪ), which more nearly approaches LXX. Observe that this Gaidal is the son of Enoch who is the grandson of Cain, and therefore wrongly appears here. As however B omits it both here and in lvii. 2, it is probably spurious. A confusion of Enoch, son of Lamech, and Enos, son of Seth, is to be found in the Clementine Recognitions iv. 12.

II. 1. Know whither I am going, &c.: cf. vii. 5. 2. Turn not aside from God: 1 Sam. xii. 20. Walk before the face of the Lord: Ps. lvi. 13; cxvi. 9. Keep his judgements: Lev. xviii. 5; Ezek. xxxvi. 27. Worship vain gods: Deut. viii. 19; cf. 1 Sam. (LXX, Syr., Vulg.) xii. 21. Vain gods who did not make heaven and earth, for these will perish, from Jer. x. 11; cf. Ps. xevi. 5; Is. ii. 18; Acts xiv. 15 ‘Ye should turn from these vain things unto the living God, who made the heaven and the earth.’ Jub. xii. 2, 3, 4 ‘What help . . . have we from those idols which thou dost worship . . . worship them not. Worship the God of heaven.’

will perish, *and also those who worship them¹. 3. * But may God make confident your hearts in the fear of Him². 4. And now, my children, let no one seek me till the Lord brings me back to you.'

[*Of the taking up of Enoch; how the Angels took him up into the first heaven.*]

III. 1. It came to pass when I³ had spoken to my sons, *these men⁴ *summoned me and⁵ took me on their wings⁶ and placed me *on the clouds⁷. *And lo! the clouds moved⁸. 2. *And again (going) higher I saw the air and (going still) higher I saw the ether⁹, and they placed me in the first heaven. 3. * And they showed me a very great sea, greater than the earthly sea¹⁰.

[*Of the Angels who rule the Stars.*]

IV. 1. And they brought *before my face the elders, and the rulers of the orders of the stars¹¹, and they showed me the

¹ B om. ² But keep your hearts in the fear of God, B. For the fear of Him A reads His own paths.

III. Instead of 'Of the taking up of Enoch, &c.' B reads 'The entry of Enoch into the first heaven.' ³ Throughout this verse A speaks of Enoch in the third person. ⁴ The angels, A. ⁵ A om. ⁶ A B add and brought me (him A) to the first heaven, which should be read at end of verse 2. ⁷ There B. ⁸ A B om. ⁹ And there I gazed, and as I gazed higher I saw the air, A. ¹⁰ B trans. after the 200 angels, iv. 1.

IV. ¹¹ Me before the face of the elder, the ruler of the orders of the stars; and showed me their goings and comings from year to year, B.

3. Make confident your hearts in the fear of Him: Prov. xiv. 26.

III. 1. Placed me on the clouds. And lo! the clouds moved: cf. Eth. En. xiv. 8 'the clouds invited me . . . and the winds gave me wings and drove me.' The air . . . and the ether. This corresponds to the firmament in Asc. Is. vii. 9 'Ascendimus in firmamentum et ibi vidi Sammaelem ejusque potestates . . . 13. et postea me ascendere fecit supra firma-

mentum: hoc jam est (primum) coelum.' 3. A very great sea: cf. Rev. iv. 6; xv. 2 'sea of glass.' In Test. xii. Patriarch. Levi 2 this sea lies between the first and second heavens, ὕδωρ κρεμάμενον ἀνάμεσον τούτου καὶ ἐκείνου.

IV. 1. Rulers of the orders of the stars, &c. For a full but divergent account of these see Eth. En. lxxxii. 9-18, 20. The 200 angels. In the Eth. En. Uriel is the sole ruler of the

two hundred angels * who rule the stars and their heavenly service¹; 2. * And they fly with their wings² * and go round all (the stars) as they float¹.

[*How the Angels guard the Habitations of the Snow.*]

V. 1. And * then I looked and saw³ the treasures of the snow * and ice⁴ and the angels⁵ who guard their terrible⁶ store-places; 2. And the treasures of the clouds from which they come forth and into which they enter.

[*Concerning the Dew and the Oil, and different Colours.*]

VI. And they showed me the treasures of the dew, like * oil for anointing⁷, * and its form was in appearance like that of⁸ all earthly colours⁹: also many¹⁰ angels keeping their treasures, * and they shut and open them¹⁰.

[**How Enoch was taken into the second Heaven*¹¹.]

VII. 1. And the men took me and brought me to the

¹ B om. ² B reads immediately after earthly sea, iii. 3. Sok. om.

V. ³ They showed me, B. There I saw, Sok. ⁴ A om. ⁵ Terrible angels, B. ⁶ B om.

VI. ⁷ The balm of the olive tree, Sok. ⁸ And the appearance of it as also of, A. And their robes are like, B. ⁹ May be rendered *flowers*.

¹⁰ B om.

VII. ¹¹ The Entry of Enoch into the second Heaven, B; Sok. om.

stars: cf. lxxii. 1; lxxx. 1. In Eth. En. vi. 5 this is the number of angels that apostatized.

V. 1. Treasures of the snow and ice: Job xxxviii. 22; cf. Eth. En. lx. 17, 18. These treasures are placed in the second heaven by the Test. xii. Patriarch. Levi 3 ὁ δεύτερος (οὐρανὸς) ἔχει πύρ χιόνα κρύσταλλον. 2. Treasures of the clouds: cf. Eth. En. lx. 19.

VI. 1. Treasures of the dew: cf. Eth. En. lx. 20. In the *Beresch. rabba* c. 6, *Bammid'ar rabba*, c. 17, and the *Chagiga* 12^b, there is an

enumeration of the seven heavens. The lowest of these which is called וָלֵב (Lat. velum) is empty. According to some, it appears in the morning and disappears in the evening (see Weber, p. 197): according to Berachoth 58^b the Wilôn is rolled up in order that the light of the second heaven, the Rakia, may be seen. This heaven seems also to be empty according to the Test. xii. Patr. Levi 3 ὁ κατώτερος διὰ τοῦτο στυγνότερός ἐστιν ἐπειδὴ οὗτος ὁρᾷ πάσας ἀδικίας ἀνθρώπων.

second heaven, and showed me¹ *the darkness, and there I saw² the prisoners suspended³, reserved for (and) awaiting³ the eternal⁴ judgement. 2. *And these angels were gloomy in appearance, more than the darkness of the earth³. *And they unceasingly wept every hour⁵, and I said to the men who were with me: 'Why are these men continually³ tortured?' 3. *And the men⁶ answered me: 'These are they who apostatized from *the Lord⁷: who obeyed not the commandments of God, and took counsel of their own will *and transgressed together with their prince and have been already confined to the second heaven⁸. 4. And I felt great pity for them. *And lo! the angels⁹ made obeisance to me, and said to me: "O man of God! *pray for us to the Lord¹⁰." 5. And I answered¹¹ them: "Who am I, a mortal

¹ Sok. adds and I saw. ² B om. ; after darkness, A adds greater than the darkness on earth. ³ B om. ⁴ Great and immeasurable, A ; immeasurable, Sok. ⁵ And I saw those who were condemned weeping, B. ⁶ And they, A ; The men, Sok. ⁷ God, A. ⁸ B om. For second A Sok. read fifth. ⁹ They, A ; and these angels, Sok. ¹⁰ Oh ! that thou wouldst pray to God for us ! B. ¹¹ Sok. adds and said unto.

VII. 1. The darkness and . . . the prisoners . . . reserved for . . . judgement: cf. 2 Pet. ii. 4 'Committed them (the angels that sinned as here) to pits of darkness to be reserved unto judgement.' These prisoners are the angels that 'kept not their first estate' and are 'reserved . . . under darkness unto the judgement of the great day,' Jude 6. They appear to be referred to also in Test. xii. Patr. Levi 3 ἐν αὐτῇ (τῇ δευτέρῃ οὐρανῷ) εἰς πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ἐπαγωγῶν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἀνόμων, where ἐπαγωγῶν seems corrupt. Observe that the angels who sinned with women are imprisoned *under the earth* in the Eth. En. x as also in our text xviii. 7. On the other hand the angels who sinned through lust

for empire are prisoners in the second heaven. 3. Took counsel of their own will. For phraseology cf. Eph. i. 11; Is. xlvi. 10. These angels wished to form a kingdom of their own. Cf. Weber, p. 244. Their prince Satanail: xviii. 3. Second heaven. This emendation is necessary. When the angels of the fifth heaven rebelled they were cast down to the second heaven and imprisoned there. 4. The angels ask Enoch to intercede for them, exactly as in Eth. En. xiii. 4. 'They besought me to draw up a petition that they might find forgiveness.' Man of God: Deut. xxxiii. 1; 1 Tim. vi. 11; 2 Tim. iii. 17. 5. Cf. Eth. En. xv. 2 'Say to the watchers of heaven . . . you should intercede for men and not men

man, that I should pray for angels? Who knows whither I go, or what awaits me: or who prays *for me¹? ”.

[* *Of the taking of Enoch to the third Heaven*².]

VIII. 1. And these men took me from thence, and brought me to the third heaven, and placed me *in the midst of a garden³—* a place⁴ such as has never been known for * the goodness of its appearance⁵. 2. And * I saw⁶ all the trees of beautiful colours and⁷ their fruits ripe * and fragrant⁶, and all kinds of * food which they produced⁸, springing up with delightful fragrance⁹. 3. And in the midst (there is) the tree of life, in that place, on which God rests, when He comes into Paradise. And this tree cannot be described for its * excellence and sweet odour¹⁰. 4. And it is beautiful more than any created thing. And on all sides in appearance it is like gold and crimson and transparent as fire, and it covers everything¹¹. 5. * From its root in the

¹ B om.

VIII. ² Entry into the third Heaven, B. ³ So B and Sok. A reads There, I looked below and I saw gardens. ⁴ I looked below and saw that place, Sok. ⁵ Their goodness, A and Sok. ⁶ B om. ⁷ And I beheld, A. ⁸ Agreeable food, B. ⁹ B adds and four rivers flowing with soft course and every kind of thing good that grows for food. These words belong to verse 6. ¹⁰ The excellence of its sweet odour, B. ¹¹ The whole garden, Sok. After this A adds and the gardens have all kinds of fruits; Sok. adds and the garden has all kinds of trees planted and all fruits. B OMITTS VERSE 4.

for you. Who knows whither I go, &c.: cf. ii. 1.

VIII. 1. A garden: as in 2 Cor. xii. 2, 4 Paradise is placed in the third heaven. 2. All the trees . . . fragrant: cf. Gen. ii. 9; Eth. En. xxix. 2; Apoc. Mosis (p. 20) . . . All kinds of food which they produced: cf. Rev. xii. 2 ‘Bearing twelve manner of fruits.’ 3. In the midst the tree of life: Gen. ii. 9. This is a familiar feature in Jewish Apocalypses. Cp. Eth. En. xxv. 4, 5; Rev. ii. 7; xxii. 2, 14; 4 Ezra vii. 53; viii. 52; Test. Levi 18. See also Iren. i. 5, 2. When we come to Epiphanius

we find it denounced as a Manichaean doctrine, *Haer.* 66, p. 278. The tree of life . . . on which God rests. This is reproduced in a modified form in the Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tischend. p. 64) δένδρον παμμεγέθη ὡραῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπανεπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον. There is a modification of this idea in Apoc. Mosis (ed. Tischend. p. 12) καὶ ὁ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπου ἦν τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐντρεπίζετο. 5. From its root, &c. This is the source of the words in Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tischend. p. 64) καὶ ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο πᾶν εὐωδέστατον ὕδωρ, μεριζόμενον εἰς τέσσαρα ὀρύγματα. The

garden¹ there go forth four² streams which pour honey and milk³, oil and wine, and are separated in four directions, and go about with a soft course. 6. And they go down to the Paradise of Eden, between corruptibility and incorruptibility. And thence⁴ they go along the earth, and have a revolution in their circle like also the other elements⁵. 7. * And there is another tree, an olive tree always distilling oil⁶. And there is no tree there without fruit, and every tree⁷ is blessed⁸. 8. And there are *three hundred angels very glorious, who keep the garden⁹, and with never ceasing voices and blessed singing, they serve the Lord *every day¹⁰. And I said¹¹: 'What a very¹² blessed place is this!' And those men spake unto me :

[*The showing to Enoch of the Righteous, and the Place of Prayers.*]

IX. 'This place, O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous

¹ Emended with Apoc. Pauli from its root; B omits; A and Sok. add in the going out towards earth Paradise is between corruptibility and incorruptibility. This is clearly a corrupt addition. See quotation from Apoc. Pauli in explanatory notes. ² Two, A and Sok. See note 9 on p. 7 for text of B. ³ A adds and the streams pour. ⁴ Sok. adds they go forth and are divided into forty (four ?) and; B omits verse 6. ⁵ Sok. adds of the air. ⁶ A Sok. om. ⁷ Place, A. ⁸ Sok. adds in its fruit and every place is blessed. ⁹ Angels guarding them, very bright in appearance, B. ¹⁰ Every day and hour, A; the whole day, Sok. ¹¹ A adds lo! ¹² B om.

writer has tried to reduce to one organic conception the two originally different conceptions of the heavenly and the earthly Paradise. The latter seems to have been the older: Gen. ii. 8-17; Eth. En. xxxii. 3-6; lxxvii. 3. The heavenly Paradise is referred to in Eth. En. lx. 8; lxi. 12; lxx. 3. Four streams which pour honey and milk and oil and wine. Cf. Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tischend. p. 52) ποταμοὶ τέσσαρες ἐκύκλουν αὐτὴν, ῥέοντες μέλι καὶ γάλα καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον. These four streams are taken over into the Koran xlvii, save that

instead of a river of oil there is a river of incorruptible water. The earthly Paradise is said to be between corruptibility and incorruptibility, because existence in it was a probation and might issue either in corruptibility or incorruptibility: or because it lay on the confines of the regions of corruptibility and incorruptibility. 7. Another tree . . . distilling oil: Cf. xxi. 7. These are the *arbor misericordiae* and the *oleum misericordiae* of Evang. Nicodemi ii. 3: cf. ch. xxii. 8.

IX. 1. Prepared for the righteous:

who endure *every kind of attack¹ *in their lives² *from those who³ afflict their souls: who turn away their eyes from unrighteousness, and accomplish a righteous judgement, and also give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen, and assist the *orphans who are⁴ oppressed, and who walk *without blame⁴ before the face of the Lord, and serve him only. For them this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance.'

[Here they showed Enoch the terrible Places, and various Tortures.]

X. 1. And the men then⁵ led me to the Northern region⁶, and showed me there⁷ a very terrible place. 2. And there are all sorts of tortures in that place. Savage⁷ darkness and impenetrable⁷ gloom; and there is no light there⁷, *but

IX. ¹ Attacks, B.

² A om.

³ Who, B.

⁴ B om.

X. ⁵ Removed me from thence and, B.

⁶ Part of the heavens, B.

⁷ B om.

cf. Matt. xxv. 34. See note on Eth. En. lx. 8. Turn away their eyes from unrighteousness: Ps. cxix. 37; cf. Is. xxxiii. 15. Execute righteous judgement: Ezek. xviii. 8. Give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked: Ezek. xviii. 7: cf. Tob. iv. 16; 4 Ezra ii. 20; Or. Sibyll. ii. 83; viii. 404-405. Assist the orphans who are oppressed: cf. Is. i. 17; Jer. xxii. 3, 16. Walk without blame before . . . the Lord: cf. Luke i. 6. Eternal inheritance: cf. Heb. ix. 15.

X. 1. Northern region. To the modern mind it may seem strange that a division of heaven should be assigned to the wicked, but this idea presented no difficulty to the Jews and early Christians. Thus in the O. T. Satan can present himself in

heaven, Job i. 7, 8; while in the N. T. evil may not only appear, but can also have a settled habitation there: Eph. vi. 12 'the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavens' (ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις). In Rev. xii. 7, 8, 9 this condition of things is represented as being at an end. Satan is cast out of heaven with his angels, and the sphere of his activity and residence is now limited to the earth, Rev. xii. 12. The old idea of wickedness being in heaven reappears in Test. Levi 3, where however it is limited to the second heaven (see also Test. Isaac 146, 147; Test. Jacob 153); but it was subsequently banished from Christian and Jewish thought. See Introduction. 2. Darkness and . . . gloom: Apoc. Petri 12 τὸ πᾶν σκοτεινῶ: Apoc. Pauli, p. 62, where one region of

a gloomy fire is always burning¹, *and a fiery river goes forth². * And all that place has fire on all sides, and on all sides³ cold and ice, * thus it burns and freezes⁴. 3. * And the prisoners are very savage². And the angels terrible and without pity, carrying savage² weapons, and their torture was unmerciful. 4. And I said: * 'Woe, woe²! How terrible is this place⁵!' And the men said to me: 'This place,

¹ Neither fire nor flame and a gloom is over that place, B. ² B. om.
³ In that place; on both sides fire and on both sides, Sok.; B om. ⁴ So Sok. A reads thirst and freezing, B; and murkiness. ⁵ What a terrible place is this! A.

Hades is said *σκότους καὶ ζόφους πεπληρωμένον*. There is no light there: quoted by Apoc. Pauli (p. 57) *οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖ φῶς*. Fiery river. This idea appears first in Eth. En. xiv. 19; Dan. vii. 10, but not there as an instrument of punishment. It seems however to have been applied early to that purpose, as here, and in the form of a lake of fire in Rev. xix. 20; xx. 10, 14, 15; xxi. 8. Or. Sibyll. ii. 196-200, 252-253, 286; iii. 84; viii. 411: cf. Apoc. Petri 8 *λίμνη τις ἦν μεγάλη πεπληρωμένη βορβόρου φλεγόμενου*. Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tischend. p. 57) *ἐνθα ἐπέρρεεν ποταμὸς πύρινος*. In Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 38 the two ideas are combined: *ποταμὸς ἐκπορεύεται πυρὸς ὑποκάτω τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ τόπου, καὶ ῥεῖ εἰς τὸ κενὸν τοῦ ἐκτισμένου, ὃ ἐστὶν ἡ γέεννα* (quoted by James, *Test. Abraham*, p. 160). Fire on all sides, and on all sides cold and ice. This seems to be drawn from Eth. En. xiv. 13, where God's dwelling in heaven is said to be 'hot as fire and cold as ice.' 3. Angels terrible and without pity, carrying savage weapons. Angels of destruction are

mentioned in the O. T. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 2 Kings xix. 35; 1 Chron. xxi. 15. A class of destroying angels may be referred to in Ecclus. xxxix. 28 *πνεύματα, ἃ εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἐκκίσται*. In Eth. En. liii. 3, 4; lvi. 1; lxii. 11; lxiii. 1, a class of evil angels whose sole function is to punish is mentioned and the conception is evidently a familiar one, though here found for the first time in Jewish literature. This idea appears in the N. T. Rev. ix. 11, 15; xvi. Of these the angel mentioned in ix. 11 is *Ἀπολλύων*. In Matt. xiii. 49 good angels cast the wicked into the furnace of fire. These angels of destruction or punishment are frequently referred to in Latin literature. Test. Levi 3 *αἱ δυνάμεις... οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλανῆς*. These angels of punishment are placed in the third heaven as in our text. Cf. Apoc. Petri 6 *οἱ κολάζοντες ἄγγελοι: 8 ἄγγελοι βασανισταί*. The words angels terrible and without pity, carrying savage weapons seem to have been before the writer of Test. Abraham A. xii *ἄγγελοι... ἀνηλεεῖς τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀπότομοι τῷ*

Enoch, is prepared for *those who do not honour God; who commit evil deeds on earth, vitium sodomiticum, witchcraft¹, enchantments, devilish² magic; and who boast of their evil² deeds, *stealing, lying, calumnies, envy, evil thoughts, fornication, and murder². 5. Who steal³ the souls of wretched² men⁴, oppressing⁵ *the poor and spoiling them of their possessions², and themselves grow rich *by the taking of other men's possessions⁶, *injuring them⁷. Who when they might feed the hungry, allow them to die of famine; who when they might clothe them, strip them naked. 6. Who do not know their Creator and have worshipped *gods without life; who can neither see nor hear, being² vain gods, *and have fashioned the forms of idols, and bow down to a contemptible thing, made with hands²; for all these this place is prepared for an eternal inheritance.

[*Here they took Enoch to the fourth Heaven, where is the Course of the Sun and Moon⁸.]

XI. 1. And the men took me and conducted me to the fourth heaven, and showed me all *the comings and⁹ goings forth and all the rays of the light of the sun and moon.

¹ The impure who have done godlessness on the earth, who practise, B. ² B om. ³ B adds secretly. ⁴ B adds who bind them with a galling yoke. ⁵ Who see, A; B om. ⁶ And in order to acquire the goods of strangers, A. ⁷ Oppress them, A; B om.

XI. ⁸ Entry of Enoch into the fourth Heaven, B. ⁹ A om.

βλέμῳ . . . ἀνηλέως τύπτοντες αὐτοὺς ἐν πυρίναις χαρζαναῖς. 4. Prepared for those who do not honour God. Contrast Matt. xxv. 41. *Vitium sodomiticum*. Cf. Apoc. Petri 17: Test. Isaac (James' ed.), p. 148. 6. Cf. Lev. xix. 4; xxvi. 1; Or. Sibyll. v. 77-85; viii. 378-81; 395-98; *Fragm.* i. 20-22; iii. 21-45.

XI. 1. Fourth heaven. According

to the Rabbinic tradition *Chagiga* 12^b the fourth heaven was called **זבול** and it was said to contain the heavenly Jerusalem, the temple, the altar, and Michael who offered daily sacrifice. The following quotation (ἐκ τῶν Θεοδότη . . . Ἐπιτομαί) seems to agree with the Rabbinic view: ὅθεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῷ τετάρτῳ οὐρανῷ δημιουργεῖται. Comings and goings . . .

* And I measured¹ their goings, * and computed their light. 2. And I saw that² the sun has a light * seven times³ greater than the moon. * I beheld their circle, and their chariot⁴ on which * each goes⁵ like a wind * advancing with astonishing swiftness⁶, and * they have⁷ no rest day or night coming or going. 3. There are four great stars; * each star has under it a thousand stars⁸ at the right of the chariot of the sun; and four at the left⁸, * each having under it a thousand stars, altogether eight thousand⁶. 4. * Fifteen myriads of⁹ angels go * out with the sun and attend him during the day, and by night one thousand⁶. * Each angel has six wings. They go¹⁰ before the chariot of the sun¹¹. 5. And a hundred angels * keep warm and light up the sun¹².

[*Of the wonderful Creatures of the Sun.*]

XII. 1. * And I looked and saw other flying creatures, their names phoenixes and chalkadri wonderful and strange

¹ Their dimensions, B. ² And I saw their goings, B. ³ A om.
⁴ His circle and his chariot, A; and around them is a chariot, B. ⁵ They go always, A. ⁶ B om. ⁷ He has, A. ⁸ B adds always going with the sun.
⁹ Fifteen, A; B om. ¹⁰ Six winged creatures go with the angels, A; B om. ¹¹ A adds in a fiery flame. ¹² Minister unto him fire, Sok.; B om. verse 5.

of the sun and moon: cf. Eth. En. lxxii-lxxviii. 2. The sun has a light seven times, &c.: Eth. En. lxxii. 37. Their chariot on which each goes like a wind: Eth. En. lxxii. 5 'the chariots on which he (the sun) ascends are driven by the wind': so also of the moon in Eth. En. lxxiii. 2 and of both in lxxv. 3; lxxxii. 8. Have no rest day or night: Eth. En. xli. 7 '(the sun and moon) rest not': lxxii. 37 'rests not . . . day and night.' Sibyllines iii. 21 'Ἡελίον τ' ἀκάμαντα. 3, 4. There is nothing corresponding to these verses in Eth. En. 5. Cf. Eth. En. lxxv. 4.

XII. 1. Phoenixes and chalkadri. This seems to be the only reference to such creatures in literature. The phoenix, which according to all ancient writers was solitary and unique ('unus in terris,' Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28; cf. Mart. v. 7; Ovid, *Met.* xv. 392) in its kind, is here represented as one of a class. The phoenix is mentioned in Job xxix. 18 according to Jewish authorities, where for 'I shall multiply my days as the sand' they render 'as the phoenix' בַּחֹל. There are many references to it among the Greeks and Romans: Herod. ii. 73; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28; Ovid, *Met.* xv.

in appearance, with the feet and tails of lions, and the heads of crocodiles¹; * their appearance was of a purple colour, like

XII. ¹ And the flying creatures are in form like two birds, one like a phoenix and the other like a chalcid. And in their shape they resemble a lion in their feet and tail and in the head a crocodile, Sok.; B om.

392; Mart. *Epigr.* v. 7, 1; Stat. *Sylv.* ii. 4, 37; Plin. *N. H.* x. 2. The fable regarding it is recounted as sober fact by 1 Clem. *ad Corinth.* xxv; Tertullian, *de Resurrect. Carn.* xiii; Ambrose, *Hexaem.* v. 23; Epiphanius, *Ancorat.* lxxxiv; and the *Apostolic Constitutions* v. 7. Origen, *contra Celsum* iv. 98, doubts it: so also Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxxi. 10, and among the later Greeks Maximus and Photius, and among the Latins Augustine *de Anima* iv. 33. To those who believed the fable we should add Rufinus *Comment. in Symb. Apost.* xi. and the Pseudo-Lactantius, from whose poem *De Phoenice* we draw the following references, which seem to be derived either directly or indirectly from our text. The phoenix in that poem is an attendant of the sun, 'satelles phoebi' ver. 33, as in xii. 2 are the phoenixes: when the sun appears it greets him with strains of sacred song (verses 43-50) and claps its wings (verses 51-54) exactly as the phoenixes in xv. 1. This poem belongs probably to the fourth century. The voice of the phoenix was celebrated for its sweetness: cf. the Jewish poet Ezekiel v. 10 *φωνήν δὲ πάντων εἶχεν εὐπρεπαστάτην*: Pseudo-Lactantius, *de Phoenice* 46 'miram vocem': 56 'innarrabilibus sonis.' Its colour was purple—purpureus (Pliny); *κνάνεός ἐστιν ῥόδους ἐμφερής* (Achil. Tat.), cf. xv. 1 and xii. 1. On the two different legends in the Talmud about the origin of the phoenix see Hamburger, *R. E.*

für Talmud 908-9. On the question generally see Lightfoot, and Gebhardt and Harnack on 1 Clem. xxv. 1; Eckermann in *Ersch und Gruebersect.* iii. xxiv. 310-16; Creuzer, *Symbol. und Mythol.* ii. 163 (third ed.); Piper, *Mythol. und Symbol. der Christl. Kunst* i. 446, 471; Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters* i. 93-98; Seyffarth, *Z. D. M. G.* 1849, 63-89; Gundert, *Z. f. luth. Theol.* 1854, 451-54. Chalkadri. This may be a transliteration of Χαλκίδραι, brazen hydras, or serpents. They are classed with the Cherubim in Eth. En. xx. 7 'Gabriel . . . who is over Paradise and the Serpents (τῶν δρακόντων in the Greek) and the Cherubim.' Hence they seem to have been a class of heavenly creatures, i. e. the Seraphim שְׂרָפִים⁷¹. The idea of flying serpents was a familiar one from the O. T. Is. xiv. 29; xxx. 6 שֶׂרֶף מְעוּפָף. It was not unfamiliar to the rest of the ancient world: cf. Herod. ii. 75; Lucan ix. 729-30; Ovid, *Met.* v. 642-4; *Fast.* iv. 562; also Claudian, Valerius Flaccus, Ammianus, Aelian, Apollonius. In the O. T. these flying serpents are venomous in such passages as Num. xxi. 6; Deut. viii. 15; Is. xiv. 29; xxx. 6. What relation these seraphim bear to those in Is. vi. 2, 6 it is hard to determine. That these latter were winged dragons we must assume according to Delitzsch (*Das Buch Jesaia*, pp. 124, 5). The analogy of the animal-like forms of the Cherubim in Ezek. i. 5-11 is

the rainbow; their size nine hundred measures¹. 2. * Their wings were like those of angels, each with twelve, and they attend the chariot of the sun, and go with him², bringing heat and dew * as they are ordered by God³. 3. * So the sun makes his revolutions, and goes⁴ * under the heavens,

¹ B om. ² So A and Sok., but that the former omits chariot of the. Twelve flying spirits and twelve wings to each angel who accompanies the chariot, B. ³ And as he is ordered by God, Sok. ⁴ B om.; A adds and proceeds.

certainly in favour of this view. The serpent was anciently a symbol of wisdom and healing among the Greeks, the Egyptians (Brugsch, *Rel. und Myth.* pp. 103, 4), and the Hebrews, Num. xxi. 8, 9; 2 Kings xviii. 4; Matt. x. 16; John iii. 14. Hezekiah's destruction of the 'brazen serpent' as associated with idolatry may have caused the symbol to bear almost without exception an evil significance in later times, so that at last it became a designation of Satan: cf. Rev. xii. 9. We are therefore inclined to identify these Chalkadri with the Seraphim or heavenly creatures of Isaiah vi. These Chalkadri, we should add, sing in xv. 1 as do the Seraphim in Is. vi. 3, though their functions in the main are different. The idea here appears in a developed form and is no doubt indebted for its enlargement to Egyptian mythology. The Seraphim first appear in conjunction with other orders of angels in Eth. En. lxi. 10. Here their original character seems already to have been forgotten almost as wholly as in modern days, and they are regarded merely as a special class of angels; whereas in Eth. En. xx. 7 their true nature is still borne in mind. In the N. T. neither Cherubim nor Seraphim appear, but the character-

istics of both reappear, fused together in the 'four living creatures' of Rev. iv. 6-8. However, though the N. T. takes no notice of the Seraphim save the indirect one of Rev. iv. 6-8, the conception obtained in later times the recognition of the Church through Dionysius the Areopagite's scheme of the nine heavenly orders. See Cheyne's *Prophecies of Isaiah*, i. 36, 42; ii. 283-6. Feet and tails of lions. The feet of the Cherubim in Ezek. i. 7 are like calves' feet. Their size nine hundred measures. In Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* iii. 225-227 we find by citations from Strabo, Aelian, Valerius, Philostorgius, Diodorus, &c., that the ancients were ready to believe in monstrous dragons or serpents. Aelian, for instance, speaks of one 210 feet long, while an Arabian writer describes one of 8,000 paces in length. In the Talmud there is frequent mention of angels and creatures of a like monstrous size. 2. Each with twelve. As the ordinary angels in xi. 4 have six wings each, these creatures are assigned twelve each. It would seem more natural to read this verse immediately after xi. 5; xii. 1 however must in some form and in some place appear in the text, as we see from xv. 1. Bringing heat and dew. Contrast

and goes under¹ the earth with the light * of his beams unceasingly².

[*The Angels took Enoch, and placed him on the East at the Gates of the Sun.*]

XIII. 1. These men brought me to the East³ and * showed me the gates⁴ by which the sun * goes forth⁵ at the appointed seasons, and according to the revolution of the months * of the whole year⁶, and * according to the number of the hours, day and night⁷. 2. And I saw the six great⁸ gates * open, each gate having sixty-one stadia and a quarter of one stadium⁶; * and I truly measured them and understood their size to be so much⁹, by which the sun goes forth; and he goes to the west * and makes his course correspond. And he proceeds through all the months⁶. 3. * And by the first gates he goes out forty-two days; by the second gates thirty-five days; by the fourth gates thirty-five; by the fifth gates thirty-five; by the sixth gates⁸ forty-five¹⁰. 4. * And so he returns¹¹ * from the sixth gates in the course of time⁶: * and he enters by the fifth gates during thirty-five days, by the fourth gates thirty-five, by the third gates during thirty-five days; by the second gates thirty-five¹⁰. 5. * And so the

¹ To descend upon, B; under the heaven and under, Sok. ² The rays of the sun, B; Of his beams, Sok.

XIII. ³ B adds of the heavens. ⁴ Placed me at the gates of the sun, A. ⁵ Enters, B. ⁶ B om. ⁷ At the shortening up to the lengthening of the days and nights, B. ⁸ A om. ⁹ And I measured their size, and I could not comprehend their size, B. ¹⁰ A B om. ¹¹ B om. A adds to rest.

the conception in Eth. En. lx. 20. 3. Goes under the earth. This is undoubtedly corrupt, as the sun does not go under the earth but through the fourth heaven when he sets in the west. See xiv. 2 (note). Unceasingly: cf. xi. 2 (note).

XIII. 1. The gates by which the

sun goes forth. These are the six gates mentioned in the next verse. For an account of the sun's six eastern gates and six western see Eth. En. lxxii. 2-4. Six gates: Eth. En. lxxii. 3. The rest of the chapter is hopelessly corrupt. The account seems to be derived originally from Eth. En.

days of the whole year¹ are finished according to the alternation of the four² seasons.

[*They took Enoch to the West.*]

XIV. 1. And *then these³ men took me to the * West of the heavens⁴ and showed me six great gates open, *corresponding to the Eastern gates⁵, opposite *to which the sun goes out by the Eastern gates⁶, according to the number of the days *three hundred and sixty-five, and the quarter of a day⁷. 2. * So he sets by the Western gates⁸. When he goes out by the Western gates⁹ *four hundred angels

¹ By his regular departure the years, B. And so the whole year, A.

² B om.

XIV. ³ The, B. ⁴ Western regions, A. ⁵ Corresponding to the Eastern entrance, B. Opposite to the circuit of the Eastern gates, Sok.

⁶ Where the sun retires, A. By which the sun passes, Sok. ⁷ B om.

⁸ A om. ⁹ A adds he conceals his light under the earth and the glories of his luminary.

lxxii. 2-37. 5. Four seasons: cf. xl. 6. The account of two of these seasons is found in Eth. En. lxxxii. 15-20: that of the remaining two is lost.

XIV. 1. Three hundred and sixty-five, and the quarter of a day. I have shown in my edition of the Eth. En. pp. 190-91 that the writer of chs. lxxii-lxxxii. was familiar with the solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, but that owing to national prejudices he refused to acknowledge it. 2. According to the Eth. En. lxxii. 5 the sun returns after sunset through the north in order to reach the east. In our text, however, the sun revolves through the fourth heaven, xi; xxx. 3, and when he rises in the east goes under the heavens and appears to men. During the night while he passes through

the fourth heaven he is *without light*, or in the words of the text *his crown is taken from him*: when he is about to reappear in the east his crown, or in other words his light, is restored to him. The reason why the sun is obliged to surrender his crown in passing through the fourth heaven before God is presumably that which is given in the Apoc. Mosis (ed. Tischend. p. 19): the sun cannot shine before the Light of the Universe (*ἐνώπιον τοῦ φωτὸς τῶν ὅλων*). The passage in this Apocalypse appears undoubtedly to be founded on the present text. Eve is there represented as seeing the sun and moon praying for Adam before God but *without their light*. She thereupon asks: *ποῦ ἐστὶν τὸ φῶς αὐτῶν, καὶ διὰ τί γεγόνασιν μελανοειδεῖς; καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ Σῆθ. οὐ δύνανται φαίνειν ἐνώπιον τοῦ φωτὸς*

take his crown and bring it to the Lord¹. 3. And the sun revolves² in his chariot *and goes without light³ *for seven complete hours in the night⁴. *And when he comes near the East⁵ *at the eighth hour of the night⁶, *the four hundred angels bring his crown and crown him⁷.

[*The Creatures of the Sun; the Phoenixes and Chalkidri sang.*]

XV. 1. Then sang the creatures⁸ called the Phoenixes and the Chalkidri. On this account every bird claps its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, *and they sang a song at the command of the Lord⁹. 2. The giver of light comes to give his brightness to *the whole world¹⁰. 3. *And they showed me the calculation of the going of the sun. And the gates by which he enters and goes out are great gates, which God made for the computation of the year¹¹. 4. *On this account the sun is great¹².

¹ So B and Sok., but that the former reads four instead of four hundred. A reads but the crown of his splendour is in heaven before the Lord: and there are four hundred angels attending Him. ² Revolves, B Sok. Goes under the earth, A. ³ And rests, A. ⁴ B om.; A Sok. support text, but that Sok. omits complete. After night A adds and reaches half his course under the earth. ⁵ At the Eastern gates, B; Sok. om. ⁶ B om. ⁷ He brings forth his luminary and his shining crown, and the sun is lighted up more than fire, A. And places on it again the crown, B.

XV. ⁸ A adds of the sun; B omits verses 1, 2. ⁹ Singing with their voices, Sok. ¹⁰ His creation, Sok.; A adds and there will be the guards of the morning, which are the rays of the sun and the earthly sun will go out and will receive his brightness to light up all the face of the earth. ¹¹ So A and Sok. B reads this arrangement of the gates by which he enters and goes out the two angels showed me; these gates the Lord made for the computation and his yearly record of the sun. ¹² B om.; A adds its revolutions extend to twenty-eight years, and so it was from the beginning.

τῶν ὄλων, καὶ τούτου χάριν ἐκρύβη τὸ φῶς ἀπ' αὐτῶν. 3. Seven complete hours in the night. This is corrupt. The writer must have known that the length of the night varied with the season. In the Eth. En. a chapter (lxxii) is devoted to the explanation of the varying lengths of the day and night.

XV. 1. See xii. 1 (note). Every bird. We should expect 'all these winged creatures,' i.e. the Phoenixes and Chalkidri. Or are we to take it that the early song of birds at sunrise is here referred to? but this is unlikely.

[*The Men took Enoch and placed him at the East, at the Course of the Moon.*]

XVI. 1. *The other, the computation of the moon these men showed me¹; *all the goings and revolutions². *And they pointed out the gates to me³, twelve great⁴ gates extending *from the West to the East⁵, by which the moon enters *and goes out⁶ at the customary times. 2. She enters *the first gate when the sun is in the West thirty-one days exactly⁷; by the second gate thirty-one⁸ days exactly; by the third gate thirty days exactly; by the fourth gate thirty days exactly; by the fifth gate thirty-one days exactly; by the sixth gate thirty-one days exactly; by the seventh gate thirty days exactly; by the eighth gate thirty-one days exactly; by the ninth gate thirty-one⁹ days exactly; by the tenth gate thirty¹⁰ exactly; by the eleventh gate thirty-one days exactly; by the twelfth gate twenty-eight days¹¹ exactly. 3. And so by the Western gates in her revolutions, and corresponding to the number of the Eastern gates she goes, and accomplishes the year¹². 4. *And unto the sun there are three hundred and sixty-five days and a quarter

XVI. ¹ They also showed me the other arrangement, that of the moon, B. ² And all its course. And the men showed me all the movements of these two, B; A om. ³ A Sok. om. ⁴ Eternal, B. ⁵ Towards the East, B. ⁶ B om. ⁷ B OMITTS ENTIRE VERSE. Sok. reads the first gates (western place of the sun) 31 days to the place of the sun exactly. For 31 A reads 1. ⁸ Emended from 35 A Sok. ⁹ 35, A. ¹⁰ 31, Sok. ¹¹ 22, Sok. ¹² Sok. adds in the days.

XVI. 1. Twelve great gates. These are the same as the gates of the sun in xiii. 2-3. It is obvious that the text is here corrupt, as this account cannot possibly apply to the moon. In order to correct it we have only to read 'sun' instead of 'moon' wherever it occurs. We have thus a description of the Solar year. The

numbers when added together = 365. Hence in ver. 4 we are told that a Solar year = 365½ days. Then in ver. 5 we proceed to consider the lunar year which amounts not to 365 but to 354 days, there being a difference of eleven days, or more exactly eleven and a quarter days.

of one day¹. 5. But in the lunar year there are three hundred and fifty-four days, making twelve months of twenty-nine days; and * there remain eleven days over, which belong to the solar circle of the whole year², and are * lunar epacts of the whole year³. [Thus the great circle has five hundred and thirty-two years.] 6. The fourth part (of one day) is neglected during three years and the fourth year completes it exactly. * On account of this they are omitted from the heavens during three years, and are not added to the number of the days⁴, on which account these change the seasons of the year * in two new months, to make the number complete and there are two others to diminish⁵. 7. And when she has gone through the Western gates, she returns and goes to the Eastern, with her light, * and so she goes day and night in the heavenly circles, below all the circles more quickly than

¹ So she sets by the western gates and finishes the year in 364 days that are accomplished, B. This may be the original text, or 364 may be an error for 354. B OMITS VERSE 5. ² Eleven days of the solar circle are wanting, Sok. ³ Epacts of the lunar year, A. ⁴ She goes through the year on this account and therefore the computation is made apart from the heavens, and in the years the days are not reckoned, B. ⁵ B om.

XVI. 5. Twenty-nine days. This should be 'twenty-nine and a half days.' [Thus the great circle has 532 years.] I have bracketed these words as they have no real connexion with the context. They arose obviously from a marginal gloss. The writer in this chapter does not get beyond the Metonic cycle, whereas the great cycle of 532 years is produced by multiplying together the Metonic cycle of nineteen years, and the Solar cycle of twenty-eight years. This great cycle is called the Dionysian or Great Paschal Period. As it includes all the variations in respect of the new moons and the dominical letters,

it is consequently a period in which Easter and all the movable and unmovable feasts would occur on the same day of the week and month as in the corresponding year of the preceding cycle. This cycle was first proposed by Victorius of Aquitaine, circ. 457 A.D. It is obvious that any reference to such a cycle here is an intrusion. 6. The fourth part, &c. Explanation of leap year. On which account these change the seasons of the year, &c. Hopelessly corrupt. 7. With her light. This seems to imply that her light is not borrowed from the sun as it is taught in the Eth. En. lxxiii.

the winds of the heavens, and there are spirits and creatures, and angels flying¹, with six wings to each of the angels². 8. * And seven (months) are computed to the circle of the moon during a revolution of nineteen years³.

[*Of the singing of the Angels, which cannot be described.*]

XVII. 1. In the middle of the heavens I saw an armed host serving the Lord with cymbals, and organs, and unceasing voice⁴. I was delighted at hearing it.

[*Of the taking up of Enoch into the fifth Heaven.*]

XVIII. 1. The men took * and brought⁵ me up into the fifth heaven⁶, and I saw there many hosts * not to be counted

¹ So Sok. but that it omits of the heavens and of the angels. B reads, So their circle goes as it were round the heavens and their chariot. The wind goes with it, urging its course and the flying spirits draw on the chariots. ² B adds and such is the arrangement of the moon.

³ So Sok.; and its course is in seven different directions for nineteen years, A; B om.

XVII. ⁴ A adds and noble and continuous and varied singing, which it is not possible to describe. And so wonderful and strange is the singing of these angels that it amazes every mind. Sok. adds and with noble singing.

XVIII. ⁵ A B om.

A ⁶ adds and placed me there.

Spirits . . . with six wings. The moon has its attendant *six-winged* spirits as the sun has its *twelve-winged* attendants (xii. 2). 8. This verse deals with the Metonic cycle. This cycle consists of a period of nineteen solar years, after which the new moons happen on the same days of the year. As nineteen solar years = 6,939-1860 days = 235 lunar months = nineteen lunar years and seven months, the solar and lunar years can be reconciled by intercalating seven lunar months at the close of the 3rd, 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 19th years of the cycle.

XVII. An armed host. The

purpose for which they are armed is given in Test. Levi 3, though in this Testament they are placed in the third heaven: ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ εἰσὶν αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν παρεμβολῶν, οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης καὶ τοῦ Βελίαρ. Serving the Lord with cymbals . . . and unceasing voice. This is exactly the conception which Test. Levi 3 gives of the functions of the inhabitants of the fourth heaven: ἐν δὲ τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν εἰσὶ θρόνοι, ἔξουσίαι, ἐν ᾧ ὕμνοι ἀεὶ τῷ θεῷ προσφέρονται.

XVIII. 1. Fifth heaven. Our text and Test. Levi 3 differ absolutely

called Grigori¹; and their appearance was like men, and their size was *greater than that of the giants². 2. And their countenances were withered, and their lips are always silent. And there was no service in *the fifth³ heaven. And I said to the men who were with me: 'Why are these men very withered, and their faces melancholy, and their lips silent, and there is no service in this heaven?' 3. And they said to me: 'These are the Grigori, who, with their prince Satanail.

¹ B om. ² Greater than great wonders, B. Great and they were huge limbed, A. B OM. REST OF CHAPTER. ³ This, Sok.

as to the inhabitants of the fifth heaven. According to the latter the inhabitants are οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ φέροντες τὰς ἀποκρίσεις τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου. This view, however, seems limited to the Test. of Levi, whereas we find in *Chag.* 12^b the same view expressed as here: i.e. in מַעֲנַן the fifth heaven are to be found 'hosts of angels praising God by night, but keeping silent by day that God may hear the praises of Israel.' The latter clause is a late Rabbinic idea. Again, in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 11. 77, we find a fragment of the Apocalypse of Zephaniah which supports, and in all probability is based on, our text: ἄρ' οὐχ ὅμοια ταῦτα τοῖς ὑπὸ Σοφονία λεχθεῖσι τοῦ προφήτου; καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα καὶ ἀνήνεγκέν με εἰς οὐρανὸν πέμπτον καὶ ἐθεώρουν ἀγγέλους καλουμένους κυρίου . . . ἰμνοῦντας θεὸν ἄρρητον ὕψιστον. This Apocalypse is extant in Thebaic in a fragmentary condition, but these fragments do not contain the passage just quoted. Grigori. These are the Watchers, the Ἐγρήγοροι, or עִירִי, of whom we have so full accounts in the Eth. En. vi-xvi.; xix.; lxxxvi. 3. The Grigori. These are the angels whose brethren rebelled and

were confined in the second heaven. See vi. 3 (note). These Watchers rebelled against God before the angels were tempted to sin with the daughters of men. In other words, we have here the agents of the original revolt in heaven, the Satans; and their leader is naturally named Satanail. These existed as evil agencies before the fall of the angels; for in Eth. En. liv. 6 the guilt of the latter consisted in becoming subject to Satan. See Eth. En. xl. 7 (note). The myth here, however, varies somewhat from that in Eth. En. vi-xvi. The leaders in the Eth. En. vi-xvi. are not Satans, but 'watchers,' like their followers. In Eth. En. lxix, however, we have an account which harmonizes with our text. There we see that the superior angels had rebelled before the creation of Adam; that they had tempted Eve and brought about the fall of the angels in the days of Jared. Thus, in Eth. En. lxix. and here, the leaders of the angels who fell in Jared's days are Satans. This is practically the view of portions of the Talmud. See Weber, pp. 211, 243, 244. Who with their prince Satanail. Quoted in Test. Dan. 5 . . . τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πλάνης. Ἀνέγνω

rejected the holy¹ Lord². 4. And *in consequence of these things³ they are kept in great darkness in the second heaven ; * and of them there went three⁴ to the earth from the throne of God to the place Ermon ; and they entered into dealings on the side of Mount Iermon, and they saw the daughters of men, that they were fair, and took unto themselves wives. 5. And they made the earth foul with their deeds⁵. And they acted lawlessly in all times of this age, and wrought confusion, and the giants were born, and the strangely tall men, and there was much wickedness. 6. And on account of this God judged them with a mighty judgement. And they lament for their brethren, and they will be punished at the great day of the Lord. 7. And I said to the Grigori : ' I have seen your brethren and their works, and their great¹

¹ Sok. om. ² Sok. adds to the number of twenty millions. ³ Those who followed them are the prisoners who, Sok. ⁴ Who went, Sok. ⁵ Sok. adds And the wives of men continue to do evil.

γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ Ἐνώχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι ὁ ἀρχὼν ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ Σατανᾶς. ὑμῶν is here corrupt for αὐτῶν. The text cannot mean that all the watchers rebelled, but only that it was from the class of the watchers that the rebels proceeded. It is, of course, just possible that the writers' scheme may differ from the conception we have given above, and be as follows. The rebellious watchers, with their prince Satanail, are confined to the fifth heaven. The subordinate angels who followed them are imprisoned in the second heaven, whereas the watchers who went down to earth and sinned with women are imprisoned under the earth. This view is very attractive, but is open to more difficulties of interpretation than the one we have followed. The MSS. reading *fifth* in vii. 3 is indeed in its favour, but then for 'prince and' in the

same verse we must read 'prince and leaders who.' The main objections to this interpretation, however, lie in xviii. 8, 9, and in vii. 3, where the prisoners of the second heaven are clearly identified with the watchers. In xxx. 1-3 Satanail with his angels is cast down from heaven. 4. Kept . . . in the second heaven : see vii. 3. Three. According to Eth. En. ix. 6 Azazel, or vi. 3, ix. 7 Semjaza : according to *Jalkut Schim.*, Beresch 44^a Assael and Semjaza. Ermon : see Eth. En. vi. 2-6 (notes). Entered into dealings on . . . Mount Iermon : Eth. En. vi. 5. 5. Eth. En. x. 8 ; vii. 2. 6. Eth. En. x. 4-15. They will be punished : i. e. the lustful watchers. 7. There is a confusion in this verse. In vii. Enoch has seen the rebellious watchers being tortured in the second heaven ; whereas he says here that he

torments¹. And I have prayed for them, but God has condemned them (to be) under the earth, till the heaven and earth are ended for ever.' 8. And I said: 'Why do ye * wait, brethren², and not serve before the face of the Lord? and perform your duties³ before the face of the Lord, and do not anger your Lord⁴ to the end.' 9. And they listened to my rebuke. And they * stood in the four orders in this⁵ heaven, and lo! as I was standing with these men, four trumpets resounded together with a loud voice, and the Grigori sang with one voice, and their voices went forth before the Lord⁶ with sadness and tenderness.

[*The taking up of Enoch into the sixth Heaven.*]

XIX. 1. And these men took me thence and brought me to the sixth heaven, and I saw there seven bands of angels, very bright and glorious, and their faces shining more than * the rays of⁷ the sun. * They are resplendent⁷, and there is no difference * in their countenances, or their manner, or the style of their clothing⁸. 2. * And these orders⁹ arrange and study * the revolutions of the stars, and the changes

¹ Sok. adds and their great entreaties. ² Await your brethren, Sok. ³ Sok. adds and serve. ⁴ Sok. adds your God. ⁵ Spoke to the four orders in, A. ⁶ Sok. adds God.

XIX. ⁷ B om. ⁸ Of form between them nor in the fashion of their raiment, Sok. ⁹ Some of these angels, B.

has seen the lustful watchers who are punished under the earth. I have prayed for them: cf. vii. 5 (note). 8, 9. The watchers are silent out of sympathy with their brethren who are punished in the second heaven and under the earth, but at Enoch's rebuke they resume the worship they had left off. Even so their singing is still marked with sadness.

XIX. 1. The account of the sixth heaven disagrees more or less with that of Test. Levi 3, with that of

Chag. 12^b, and with the colourless account in the Asc. Is. There is no difference in their countenances, &c.: Asc. Is. viii. 16 'Omnium una species et gloria aequalis,' seems to be derived from our text, as it emphasizes the differences in glory between the angelic orders in each of the first five heavens, and emphasizes no less the equality in glory of all the angels of the sixth heaven (cf. Asc. Is. viii. 5-7). 2. The heavenly bodies are under Uriel in Eth. En. lxxii-lxxxii.

of the moon, and revolutions of the sun, and superintend the good or evil condition of the world¹. 3. *And they² arrange teachings, and instructions, and sweet *speaking, and³ singing, and all *kinds of glorious⁴ praise. *These are the archangels who are appointed over the angels! They hold in subjection all living things both in heaven and earth⁵. 4. And there are the angels who are over seasons and years, and the angels who are over rivers and the sea, and those who are over the fruits *of the earth, and the angels over every herb, giving all kinds of nourishment to every living thing⁶. 5. And the angels over all souls of men, who write down all their works and their lives⁷ before the face of the Lord. 6. In the midst of them are seven phoenixes and seven cherubims, and seven six-winged creatures, *being as one voice and singing with one voice⁸; and it is not possible to describe their singing, and *they rejoice before the Lord⁹ at His footstool.

[*Thence Enoch is taken into the seventh Heaven*¹⁰.]

XX. 1. And these men took me thence *and brought me¹¹

¹ The peaceful order of the world, and the revolutions of the sun, moon, and stars. ² Other heavenly angels, B. ³ And clear, A; voiced, Sok. ⁴ Things concerned with, A. ⁵ So A Sok.; but that A reads measure for hold in subjection, B om. ⁶ So A Sok.; but that A reads all those who give nourishment for giving all kinds of nourishment; B reads and grass and all things that grow. ⁷ And the angels who write down all the souls of men and all their works and their lives, A; Other angels arrange the things of all men and all living things, and write, B. ⁸ With one voice they sing in harmony, A; Each uttering words by himself, and singing by himself things in harmony, B. ⁹ The Lord rejoices with them, B.

XX. ¹⁰ Entry of Enoch into the seventh heaven, B. ¹¹ A om.

4. In Eth. En. lx. it is subordinate spirits that are over these natural objects. Cf. Eth. En. lxxxii. 13; Rev. ix. 14; xvi. 5. 5. It is Raphael in Eth. En. xx. 3. 6. Six-winged creatures: i. e. seraphim. Cf. xii. 1 (notes). Observe that both cherubim and seraphim are also in the seventh heaven. *Chag.* 12^b places the Sera-

phim, Ophannim, and Chajjoth, and other angels of service in the seventh heaven. Test. Levi 3 in agreement with this verse represents the inhabitants of the sixth heaven as οἱ ἄγγελοι εἰσι τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου, οἱ λειτουργοῦντες.

XX. 1. With this description of the heavenly hosts cf. Is. vi; Ezek.

to the seventh heaven, and I saw there a very ¹ great light and
 *all the fiery hosts of great archangels, and incorporeal powers²
 *and lordships, and principalities, and powers; cherubim
 and seraphim, thrones¹ *and the watchfulness of many eyes.
 There were ten troops, a station of brightness³, and I was
 afraid, and trembled *with a great terror¹. 2. And those
 men *took hold of me and brought me into their midst⁴
 and said to me: 'Be of good cheer, Enoch, be not afraid.'
 3. And they showed me the Lord from afar sitting on His
 lofty⁵ throne⁶. And all the heavenly hosts having approached
 stood¹ on the ten¹ steps, *according to their rank: and¹ made

¹ B om. ² A fiery host of great archangels of spiritual forms, A. All the fiery and bright host of the incorporeal archangels, B. ³ And the ten many-eyed bands of bright station, Sok.; B om. After brightness A Sok. add the gloss like the followers of John. For nine (A) I have read ten with Sok. ⁴ Placed me in their midst, B. For unto their midst A reads after them. ⁵ Very lofty, Sok., B om. ⁶ A adds for it is that upon which God rests. In the tenth heaven, in the tenth heaven is God. In the Hebrew language it is called Avarat.

i; Eth. En. xiv. 9-17; lxi. 7-9; Rev. iv. For *Chag.* 12^b see xix. 6 (note). But this account can well compare for grandeur with any of the above. Lordships, and principalities, and powers . . . thrones. So exactly Col. i. 16 *εἶτε θρόνοι εἶτε κυριότητες εἶτε ἀρχαὶ εἶτε ἐξουσίαι*. Cf. Eph. i. 21 *ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος*; also Rom. viii. 38; Eph. iii. 10, 15; 1 Pet. iii. 22; Eth. En. lxi. 10. Watchfulness of many eyes seems to be derived from Ezek. x. 12. These are the Ophanim, Eth. En. lxi. 10. Ten . . . brightness. These are the ten orders of angels mentioned in ver. 3. Was afraid and trembled: Eth. En. xiv. 14. 2. Be of good cheer, &c.: cf. i. 8. 3. The Lord . . . on His lofty throne: Is. vi. 1; Eth. En. xiv. 20; Rev. xix. 4. All the heavenly hosts . . . on the ten steps according to their rank.

These hosts consist of the ten troops mentioned in ver. 1, arranged in the order of their rank. According to Maimonides in the *Mishne Thora* S. 1; Jesode Thora C. 2, they are: Chajjioth, Ophannim, Arellim, Chashmallim, Seraphim, Mal'achim, Elohim, Bene Elohim, Kerubim, Ishim (Weber, p. 163). In the *Berith menucha* the list is different: Arellim, Ishim, Bene Elohim, Mal'achim, Chashmallim, Tarshishim, Shina'nim, Kerubim, Ophannim, Seraphim (Eisenmenger, ii. 374). But the nearest parallel is to be found in the nine orders of Dionysius the Areopagite, i.e. *Σεραφίμ, Χερουβίμ, Θρόνοι, Κυριότητες, Δυνάμεις, Ἐξουσίαι, Ἀρχαί, Ἀρχάγγελοι, Ἄγγελοι*. These are reproduced in Dante, *Par.* c. xxviii, where the slightly differing arrangement of Gregory the Great (*Hom.* xxxiv. 7) is censured.

obeisance to the Lord. 4. And so they proceeded to their places in joy and mirth, and in boundless light *singing songs with low and gentle voices¹, *and gloriously serving Him².

[*How the Angels placed Enoch there at the limits of the seventh Heaven, and departed from him invisibly.*]

XXI. 1. They leave not *nor depart day or night³ standing before the face of the Lord, working His will⁴, cherubim and seraphim, standing round His throne. *And the six-winged creatures⁵ overshadow all⁶ His throne, singing *with a soft voice⁶ before the face of the Lord: *‘Holy, Holy, Holy: Lord God of Sabaoth! heaven and earth are full of Thy glory⁶!’ 2. When I had seen all these things, *these men said unto me: ‘Enoch, up to this time we have been ordered to accompany thee.’ And⁶ those men departed from me, and I saw them no more. And I remained alone at the extremity of the heaven⁷, and was afraid, and fell on my face, *and said within myself: ‘Woe is me! what has come upon me!⁸’ 3. And the Lord sent one of His glorious archangels⁶, Gabriel, and he said to me: ‘Be of good cheer, Enoch, *be not afraid⁹, *stand up, come with me¹⁰, and stand up before the face of the Lord for ever. 4. And I answered him, *and said¹¹: ‘Oh! Lord, my spirit has departed from me with fear *and trembling⁶! *call to me the men¹² who have brought me to this place: upon them

¹ B om. ² The glorious ones seeing Him, Sok.

XXI. ³ A om. ⁴ B adds and the whole host of. ⁵ With six wings and many eyes, A. ⁶ B om. ⁷ Seventh heaven, A. ⁸ B om. ⁹ Fear not thou these hosts, B. ¹⁰ Come unto me, B. A transposes these words after for ever. ¹¹ B om.; A adds within myself. B adds Woe is me, O Lord! ¹² I called the men, A B.

XXI. 1. Leave not nor depart depart.’ ‘Six-winged creatures . . .
day or night. This is derived from Holy, holy, holy, &c.,’ Is. vi. 2, 3.
Eth. En. xiv. 23 ‘The holy ones 3. Be of good cheer, be not afraid.
of the holy—leave not by night nor See i. 8; xx. 2; xxi. 5; Eth. En.

I have relied, and with them I would go before the face of the Lord.' 5. And Gabriel hurried me away like a leaf carried off by the wind, *and he took me¹ and set me before the face of the Lord².

XXII. 4. I fell down³ and worshipped the Lord. 5. And the Lord spake with His lips to me: 'Be of good cheer,

¹ Having taken me, Sok., A om. ² A adds 6. And I saw the eighth heaven, which is called in the Hebrew language, Muzaloth, changing in its season in dryness and moisture, with the twelve signs of the zodiac, which are above the seventh heaven. And I saw the ninth heaven, which in the Hebrew is called Kukhavim, where are the heavenly homes of the twelve signs of the zodiac.

*Michael the Archangel led Enoch into the tenth heaven
before the face of the Lord.*

XXII. 1. In the tenth heaven Aravoth, I saw the vision of the face of the Lord, like iron burnt in the fire, and brought forth and emitting sparks, and it burns. So I saw the face of the Lord; but the face of the Lord cannot be told. It is wonderful and awful, and very terrible. 2. And who am I that I should tell of the unspeakable being of God, and His wonderful face? And it is not for me to tell of His wonderful knowledge and various utterances; and the very great throne of the Lord not made with hands. And how many stand around Him, hosts of cherubim and seraphim. 3. And moreover their never-ceasing songs, and their unchanging beauty, and the unspeakable greatness of His beauty, who can tell?

In Sok. a duplicate, but somewhat different, version of XXII. 1-3 is given:—

I also saw the Lord face to face. And His face was very glorious, marvellous and terrible, threatening, and strange. 2. Who am I to tell of the incomprehensible existence of the Lord, and His face wonderful, and not to be spoken of: and the choir with much instruction, and loud sound, and the throne of the Lord very great, and not made with hands: and the choir standing around Him of the hosts of cherubim and seraphim!

³ B adds and could not see the Lord God.

xv. 1. 5. Cf. ver. 3. [6. This verse is clearly an interpolation. It is not found either in B or Sok. Furthermore, throughout the rest of the book only seven heavens are mentioned or implied. The term Muzaloth is the Hebrew name for the twelve signs of the Zodiac מְזָלוֹת. Kukhavim is merely a transliteration of כּוֹכָבִים. Some ground for this conception may be found in Eth. En.

xiv. 17, where the path of the stars is above the throne of God, and as the throne of God according to this book is in the seventh heaven, the signs and stars might be regarded as in the eighth or ninth.]

XXII. [1-3. Aravoth a transliteration of עֲרִבּוֹת, which according to Chagig 12^b was really the seventh heaven. The rest of ver. 1 and verses 2, 3, may in some form have belonged

Enoch, be not afraid: rise up and stand before my face for ever.' 6. And Michael, the chief captain, *lifted me up, and ¹ brought me before the face of the Lord, and the Lord said to His servants making trial of them: 'Let Enoch come to stand before My face for ever!' 7. And the glorious ones made obeisance *to the Lord, and said: 'Let Enoch proceed according to Thy word ²!' 8. And the Lord said to Michael: '*Go and take from Enoch his earthly robe, and anoint him with My holy ³ oil, and clothe him with the raiment of My glory.' 9. And so Michael *did as the Lord spake unto him. He ⁴ anointed me ⁵ and clothed me, and the appearance of that oil was more than a great light, and its anointing was like excellent dew; and its fragrance like myrrh, shining like a ray of the sun. 10. *And I gazed upon myself, and I was like one of His glorious ones ⁶. *And there was no difference, and fear and trembling departed from me ⁷. 11. And the Lord called one of His archangels, by name Vretil ⁸, who *was more wise than the other archangels, and ⁹ wrote down all the doings of the Lord. 12. And the Lord said to Vretil ⁸, 'Bring forth

¹ B om. and transposes verses 8-10 before 5. ² And told me to come forth, B. ³ Take Enoch and strip from him all earthly things and anoint him with fine, B. ⁴ Stripped me of my clothes and, B. ⁵ With blessed oil, B. ⁶ Sok. om. ⁷ A Sok. om. ⁸ Pravuil, A; Vrevoil, Sok. ⁹ With wisdom, B.

to the text. I have with some hesitation rejected them]. 6. Michael. Cf. Eth. En. lxxi. 13, 14, where Michael takes charge of Enoch. He is likewise the chief of the archangels, Eth. En. xl. 9. As being the angel set over Israel, Eth. En. xx. 5, he is naturally the chief captain. 8. This is τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦ ἐλέου of *Apoc. Mosis* ed. Tischend. p. 6. Holy oil. See viii. 7: Evang. Nicod. ii. 3. This oil is described in ver. 9, and its effects in ver. 10. Raiment of my glory. These are the garments of

the blessed. Cf. Eth. En. lxii. 15; cviii. 12; 2 Cor. v. 3, 4; Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18; iv. 4; vi. 11; vii. 9, 13, 14; 4 Ezra ii. 39, 45; Herm. *Sim.* viii. 2; Asc. Is. ix. 9. 11. Vretil. I cannot find this name anywhere else. 12. Give a reed to Enoch. These words are drawn upon in *Liber S. Joannis Apocryphus* (Thilo, *Cod. Apocr.* N. T. vol. i. p. 890) 'Ele-vavit Henoc super firmamentum . . . et praecepit ei dari calamus . . . et sedens scripsit sexaginta septem libros.

the books from my store-places, *and give a reed to Enoch ¹, *and interpret to him the books ².' *And Vretil made haste and brought me the books, fragrant with myrrh, and gave me a reed from his hand ³.

[*Of the Writing of Enoch how he wrote about his wonderful Goings and the heavenly Visions, and he himself wrote 366 Books.*]

XXIII. 1. And he told me all the works of *the heaven and ⁴ the earth and the sea, *and their goings and comings ⁵, *the noise of the thunder; the sun and moon and the movement of the stars; their changings; the seasons and years; days and hours ⁶; and ⁷ goings of the winds; and the numbers of the angels; *the songs of the armed hosts ⁸. 2. And everything relating to man, and every language of their songs, and the lives of men, and the precepts ⁹ and instructions, and sweet-voiced singings, and all which it is suitable to be instructed in. 3. *And Vretil instructed me thirty days and thirty nights, and his lips never ceased speaking; and I did not cease thirty days and thirty nights writing all the remarks ¹⁰. 4. And Vretil ¹¹ said to me: *'All the things which I have told thee, thou hast written down. Sit ¹² down and *write all about ¹³ the souls

¹ And take a reed for speedy writing and give it to Enoch, A Sok.
² A om. ³ And show him the books wonderful and fragrant with myrrh from thy hand, A; Sok. agrees with text, save that he adds wonderful before books, and adds for speedy writing after reed.

XXIII. ⁴ B om. ⁵ The movements of all the elements, B; A om.
⁶ The living things and the seasons of the year, and the course of his days and their changings, and the teaching of the commandments, B; Sok. supports text, save that for movement of the stars he reads stars and their goings. After hours Sok. adds and the coming forth of the clouds.
⁷ B omits from and goings to end of ver. 2. ⁸ The fashion of their songs, A. ⁹ Narratives, A. ¹⁰ A om.; Sok. supports text, but that for remarks he reads marks of every creature. After creature Sok. adds and when I had finished the thirty days and nights. ¹¹ Pravuil, A; Vrevoil, Sok. So also in previous verse. ¹² Lo! what things I have instructed thee in and what thou hast written: and now sit, Sok.
¹³ Write down all, Sok.

XXIII. 1. This verse would not unsuitably describe the Book of Celestial Physics in Eth. En. lxxii-lxxxii. Songs of the armed hosts: see xvii.

of men, those of them which are not born, and the places prepared for them for ever.

5. For every soul was created eternally¹ before the foundation of the world.' 6. And I *wrote all out continuously² during thirty days and thirty nights, *and I copied all out accurately, and I wrote 366 books³.

¹ For eternity, Sok.
written 360 books, B.

² Sat, Sok.

³ And so I ceased and I had

5. Every soul was created . . . before the foundation of the world. The Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul is here taught. We find that it had already made its way into Jewish thought in Egypt; cf. *Wisdom of Solomon*, viii. 19, 20 *παῖς δὲ ἤμην εὐφυής, ψυχῆς τε ἔλαχον ἀγαθῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἦλθον εἰς σῶμα ἀμίαντον*. This doctrine was accepted and further developed by Philo. According to him the whole atmosphere is filled with souls. Among these, those who are nearer the earth and are attracted by the body descend into mortal bodies (*τούτων τῶν ψυχῶν αἱ μὲν κατίασιν ἐνδεθσόμεναι σώμασι θνητοῖς, ὅσαι προσγειύτατοι καὶ φιλοσώματοι, De Somn.* i. 22). When they have entered the body they are swept off by it as by a river and swallowed up in its eddies (*ἐκεῖναι δὲ ὥσπερ εἰς ποταμὸν τὸ σῶμα καταβάσαι τοτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ σερμοῦ δίνης βαιοτάτης ἀρπασθεῖσαι κατεπόθησαν, De Gigant.* 3). Only a few escape by obedience to a spiritual philosophy and come to share in the incorporeal and imperishable life that is with God (*De Gigant.* 3). But there were other souls, called demons in philosophy and angels in Scripture, who dwelling in the higher parts were never entangled by love of the earthly (*μηδενὸς μὲν τῶν περιγείων ποτὲ ὄρεσθῆναι τὸ παράπαν, De Somn.* i. 22), and

who reported the commands of the Father to the children, and the needs of the children to the Father (*τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικελεύσεις τοῖς ἐκγόνοις καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκγόνων χρείας τῷ πατρὶ διαγγέλλουσι, De Somn.* i. 22; cf. *De Gigant.* 4). This doctrine of the preexistence of the soul was according to Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 11, held by the Essenes: *καὶ γὰρ ἔρρωται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἥδε ἡ δόξα, φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ὕλην οὐ μόνιμον αὐτοῖς, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους αἰεὶ διαμένειν, καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι μὲν, ἐκ τοῦ λεπτοτάτου φοιτώσας αἰθέρος, ὥσπερ εἰρκταῖς τοῖς σώμασιν ἵνγγι τινι φυσικῇ κατασπώμενας, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀνεθῶσι τῶν κατὰ σάρκα δεσμῶν, οἷα δὴ μακρὰς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένas, τότε χαίρειν καὶ μετεώρους φέρεσθαι*. It became a prevailing dogma in later Judaism. All souls which were to enter human bodies existed before the creation of the world in the Garden of Eden (*Tanchuma*, Pikkude 3) or in the seventh heaven (*Chagig* 12^b) or in a certain chamber (*אוצר*) (*Sifre* 143^b) whence God called them forth to enter human bodies. These souls were conceived of as actually living beings. According to *Bereshith rabba* c. 8, God takes counsel with the souls of the righteous before He creates the earth (cf. Weber, pp. 204, 205, 217-220). See xxx. 16 (note).

[Of the great Secrets of God, which God revealed and told to Enoch, and spoke with him Face to Face.]

XXIV. 1. And the Lord called me *and said to me: 'Enoch, sit thou on My¹ left hand with Gabriel.' And I made obeisance to the Lord. 2. And the Lord spake to me: 'Enoch², * the things which thou seest at rest and in motion were completed by me³. I will tell thee * now, even⁴ from the first, what things I created from the non-existent, and what visible things from the invisible⁵. 3. Not even to My angels have I told My secrets, nor have I informed them of * their origin, nor have they understood My infinite creation⁶ which I tell thee of to-day. 4. * For before anything which is visible existed⁷, * I alone held my course among the invisible things⁸, like the sun from the east to the west, * and from the west to the east. 5. But even the sun has rest in himself, but I did not find rest,

XXIV. ¹ And placed me on His, B. ² Beloved Enoch, A. ³ Thou seest the things which are now completed, A. ⁴ All, Sok. ⁵ A adds Listen Enoch and pay attention to these words, for. ⁶ Their origin nor of My infinite empire, nor have they understood the creation made by Me, A. My mysteries nor their explanations nor My boundless and inexplicable plans in creation, B. ⁷ B om. ⁸ I revealed the light: I went about in the light as one of the invisible.

XXIV. 2. From the non-existent. Here creation *ex nihilo* seems to be taught. In Philo, on the other hand, the world was not created, but only formed from pre-existent chaotic elements. In one passage, however, where the absolute creation of the world is taught, we have an actual and almost verbal agreement with our text—ὡς ἥλιος ἀνατείλας τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιδείκνυται, οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα γεννήσας οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἤγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἂν πρότερον οὐκ ἦν ἐποίησεν, οὐ δημιουργοῦς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίστης αὐτοῦ ὢν (*De Somn.* i. 13). Probably, however, from the non-existent is a

rendering of ἐκ τῶν μὴ ὄντων. This will harmonize with xxv. 1. Visible things from the invisible: cf. passage just quoted from Philo; also Heb. xi. 3 'The worlds have been formed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear.' These words from *Hebrews* do not necessarily imply creation, but can naturally be interpreted after Philo's conceptions. In Gen. i. 2 LXX we find the idea of invisible elements introduced, as it gives ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος as a rendering of what we translate with 'the earth was waste.' 3. Not even to My angels: cf. xl. 3; 1 Pet. i. 12.

because I was creating every thing¹. And I planned to lay the foundations and to make the visible creation.

[*God tells Enoch how out of the lowest Darkness, there comes forth the visible and the invisible.*]

XXV. 1. ‘* And I commanded in the depths that visible things should come out of invisible. And out came Adoil very great², * and I gazed upon him. And lo! his colour was red, of great brightness³. 2. And I said unto him: “Burst asunder, Adoil⁴, and let that which comes from thee be visible.” 3. And he burst asunder, and there came forth a great light⁵, and * I was in the midst of a great light, and as the light came forth from the light⁶, there came forth the great world, * revealing all the creation³, which I had purposed to make, and I saw that it was good. 4. And I made for Myself a throne, and sat upon it, and I said to the light:

¹ B om.

XXV. ² I summoned from the regions below the great Adoil to come forth who had in his belly a great stone, B. ³ B om. ⁴ A om.

⁵ Stone, B. ⁶ I was in the midst of light, and the light thus appearing out of it, Sok.; B om.

XXV. 1. Here the formation of the world from pre-existing elements is taught, as in the Book of Wisdom xi. 17 ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης. Cf. also Philo, *De Justitia* 7 Μηνύει δὲ ἡ τοῦ Κόσμου γένεσις . . . τὰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι. This is in the main the teaching of the Talmud. See Weber, 193–196. Adoil. Is this from אֱלֹהֵי, the hand of God? The word does not occur elsewhere that I am aware of. In this and the two subsequent verses we have an adaptation of an Egyptian myth. 2. We have here a modification of the egg theory of the universe. See Clem. *Recog.* x. 17, 30. In Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth. d. alten Aegypter*, p. 101, we find a very close parallel. According to the monuments: ‘der erste Schöpfungsact began

mit der Bildung eines Eies aus dem Urgewässer, aus dem das Tageslicht, die unmittelbare Ursache des Lebens in dem Bereiche der irdischen Welt herausbrach.’ 3. There came forth a great light. This exactly agrees with the ancient Egyptian myth as described in preceding note. Cf. also Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth.* pp. 160, 161 on *Die Geburt des Lichtes*. There came forth the great world. This should refer to the world of the heavens, as the earth is dealt with in the next chapter. 4. I made for Myself a throne. This throne was created before the world according to *Bereshith rabba* c. 1 as here. This idea may have found support in the LXX of Prov. viii. 27, where wisdom declares that she was with

“Go forth * on high¹ and be established above My throne², and be the foundation for things on high.’ 5. And there was nothing higher than the light, and as I reclined, I saw it from My throne.

[*God again calls from the Depths and there came forth Arkhas, Tazhis³, and one who is very red.*]

XXVI. 1. And I summoned a second time from the depths, *and said: ‘Let the solid thing which is visible come forth from the invisible⁴.’ And Arkhas *came forth⁵ firm⁶ and heavy³ and *very red⁷. 2. And I said: ‘Be thou divided, O Arkhas, and let *that be seen which is⁸ produced from thee.’ And when he was divided, the world came forth, very dark and great, *bringing the creation of all things below⁹. 3. And I saw that it¹⁰ was good. And I said to him: ‘*Go thou down¹¹ and be thou established. *And be a foundation for things below’; and it was so. And it came forth and was established¹², and was a foundation for things below. *And there was nothing else below the darkness¹².

[*How God established the Water, and surrounded it with Light, and established upon it Seven Islands.*]

XXVII. 1. *And I ordered that there should be a separation between the light and the darkness, and I said: ‘Let

¹ Above My throne, Sok. ² Sok. om.

XXVI. ³ Corrupt in A, from ТАЖЕСТЬ = heaviness (Old Slav.). ⁴ I told him to come forth from the unseen into that which is fixed and visible, B; and said: ‘let the strong Arkhas come forth,’ and he came forth strong from the invisible, A. ⁵ A om. ⁶ Very firm, B. ⁷ Black, B. ⁸ The thing, A; B OMITTS ENTIRE VERSE. ⁹ Bearer of the created things from all things below, A. ¹⁰ All, B. ¹¹ Come forth from below, A Sok. ¹² B om.

God at the creation when he established His throne upon the winds (ὅτε ἀφώριξεν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θρόνον ἐπ’ ἀνέμων).

XXVI. 1. Formation, but not

creation, of the earth. Arkhas may be from עֲרִיךְ or even from ἀρχή.

XXVII. The title is very corrupt.

1. Separation between the light and the darkness: Gen. i. 4. I do

there be a thick substance,' and it was so¹. 2. * And I spread this out and there was water, and I spread it over the darkness², below the light. 3. And thus I made firm the waters, that is, the depths, and I surrounded the waters with light, and I created seven circles and I fashioned them like crystal, moist and dry, that is to say, like glass and ice, and as for the waters, and also the other elements, I showed each of them their paths, (viz.) to the seven stars, each of them in their heaven, how they should go; and I saw that it was good. 4. And I separated between the light and the darkness; that is to say, between the waters here and there. And I said to the light: 'Let it be day³'; and to the darkness, 'Let it be night.' And the evening and the morning were the first day⁴.

XXVIII. 1. ⁵ And thus I *made firm the circles of the heavens, and caused the waters *below, which are under the heavens to be gathered into one place, and that the waves should be dried up, and it was so. 2. Out of the waves I made firm and great stones, and out of the stones I heaped together a dry substance, and I called the dry substance earth. 3. And in the midst of the earth I appointed a pit, that is to say an abyss. 4. I gathered the sea into one place, and I restrained it with a yoke. And I said to

XXVII. ¹ And I ordered that they should take from the light and the darkness and I said: 'Let it be thick and covered with light,' Sok.; B om. ² So A Sok., but that A adds with light after out. B reads And having clothed (spread out?) certain things with light, I made broad and stretched out the path of the waters above the darkness. B OMITS THE REST OF THE CHAPTER. ³ Be thou day, Sok. ⁴ A adds as title of XXVIII, Sunday. On it God showed to Enoch all His wisdom and power: during all the seven days how He created the powers of the heaven and earth and all moving things and at last man.

XXVIII. ⁵ A and Sok. agree in this chapter. B is fragmentary and transposed, and reads: (2) And I made the great stones firm, (1) and ordered

not pretend to understand what follows.

xxx. 5. 4. Gen. i. 4, 5.

XXVIII. 1. Gen. i. 9. 2. I called the dry substance earth.

An exact rendering of Gen. i. 10.

3. This may be Sheol, or Tartarus (cf. xxix. 5), or it may be the abysses of the waters: cf. Gen. vii. 11; viii. 2; Eth. En. lxxxix. 7, 8; Jubilees ii.

the sea: 'Lo! I give thee an eternal portion and thou shalt not move from thy established position.' So I made fast the firmament and fixed it above the water. 5. This I called the first day of the creation. Then it was evening, and again morning, and it was the second day¹.

XXIX. 1. And for all the heavenly hosts I fashioned² a nature like that of fire, and My eye gazed on the very firm and hard stone. And from the brightness of My eye the lightning received its wonderful nature. 2. And fire is in the water and water in the fire, and neither is the one quenched, nor the other dried up. On this account lightning is brighter than the sun, and soft water is stronger than hard stone³. 3. And from the stone I cut the mighty fire. *And from the fire I made the ranks of the spiritual hosts, ten thousand angels⁴, *and their weapons are fiery, and

the waters of the abysses to dry up, (4) and having collected into rivers the overflowings of the abysses and the seas into one place, I bound them with a yoke. I made an everlasting separation between the earth and the sea, and the waters cannot burst forth. And I made fast the firmament, and fixed it above the waters. ¹ A adds as title of the next three verses: The day is Monday, the fiery creations.

XXIX. ² B adds the sun of a great light and placed it in the heavens that it might give light upon earth. ³ So A and Sok., but that Sok. adds keener and before brighter. B omits a nature . . . hard stone. ⁴ And from stones I created the hosts of spirits, B. A supports text, but that for ten thousand it read of the ten. B adds and all the starry hosts, and the Cherubim, and the Seraphim, and the Ophannim, I cut out of fire.

2. 4. Cf. Job xxvi. 10; Ps. civ. 9; Prov. viii. 29; Jer. v. 22. Firmament: Gen. i. 7, 8. 5. This verse should be read immediately after xxix, and together with that chapter should be restored before xxviii. This is clear from the analogy of xxx. 1, 2, 7, 8. It is impossible in its present position.

XXIX. This chap. is clearly dislocated from its original position before xxviii. There is no mark of time attached to it. The work of the first day is given in xxv-xxvii; that

of the second day in xxviii. 1-4; that of the third in xxx. 1. xxviii. 5, as we have already seen, must have been differently placed originally. Hence, if we recall the fact that in Jubilees ii. 2, and occasionally in patristic tradition, the creation of the angels is assigned to the first day—evidently on the ground of Job xxxviii. 7—we can restore the text to perfect harmony with itself and Jewish tradition by placing xxix, followed immediately by xxviii. 5, after xxvii.

their garment is a burning flame, and I ordered them to stand each in their ranks¹.

[*Here Satanail was hurled from the Heights with his Angels.*]

4. * One of these in the ranks of the Archangels, having turned away with the rank below him, entertained an impossible idea, that he should make his throne higher than the clouds over the earth, and should be equal in rank to My power. 5. And I hurled him from the heights with his angels. And he was flying in the air continually, above the abyss¹.

XXX. 1. * And so I created all the heavens, and it was the

¹ B om.

3. From the fire I made the . . . angels. So Pesikta 3^a: see Weber L. d. J. 161. 4. One of these . . . with the rank below him. This is clearly Satan. The rank below him is probably the watchers. But however we interpret the text we are beset with difficulties. There are conflicting elements in the text. See xii. and xviii. with notes: vii; xix; xxxi. 3-7 (notes). **Make his throne higher than the clouds.** If this is genuine we must take *clouds* in the sense of heavens. Satan was one of the highest angels before his fall: cf. xviii. 4. Satan and Sammael can not be distinguished in Rabbinic writings. On the attempt of Sammael to found a kingdom see Weber, 244. The following passage from the *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. vi. is evidently derived from our text: 'The wicked Satan . . . set me at naught and sought the Godhead, so that I hurled him down from heaven.' 5. He was flying in the air continu-

ally. This view seems to have been generally received amongst the Jews. Cf. Eph. ii. 2 'The prince of the power of the air'; vi. 12; Test. Benj. 3 τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος τοῦ Βελίαρ: Asc. Is. iv. 2 'Berial angelus magnus res huius mundi . . . descendet e firmamento suo'; vii. 9 'Et ascendimus in firmamentum, ego et ille, et ibi vidi Sammaelem eiusque potestates'; x. 29 'descendit in firmamentum ubi princeps huius mundi habitat.' Tuf. haarez, f. 9. 2 'Under the sphere of the moon, which is the last under all, is a firmament . . . and there the souls of the demons are.' Cf. Eisenmenger, ii. 411. According to the Stoics, on the other hand, the abode of the blessed was under the moon. Cf. Tertull. *De An.* 54; Lucan ix. 5 sq. For other authorities see Meyer on Eph. ii. 2; Eisenmenger, ii. 456. It is hard to get a consistent view of the demonology of this book; it seems to be as follows: Satan, one of the archangels (xviii. 4; xxix. 4), seduced the watchers of the

third day. On the third day¹ I ordered the earth to produce *great trees, such as bear fruit, and mountains², and *every sort of herb and every³ seed that is sown⁴, *and I planted Paradise, and enclosed it, and placed fiery angels armed, and so I made a renewing. 2. Then it was evening, and it was morning, being the fourth day⁵. On the fourth day⁶ I ordered that there should be great lights in the circles of the heavens. 3. In the first and highest circle I placed the star Kruno; and on the second⁷ Aphrodite; on the third

XXX. ¹ B om. In verse 1 A adds Tuesday as title before On the third day. ² All sorts of trees and high mountains, B. ³ A om. ⁴ B adds before I produced living things and prepared food for them. ⁵ B om.; Sok. supports text, but adds of the earth after renewing. A adds Wednesday as title of 2^b—7. ⁶ B OMITTS VERSES 2—7^a. ⁷ Sok. adds lower I placed.

fifth heaven into revolt, in order to establish a counter kingdom to God, xxix. 4. Therefore Satan, or the Satans (for it is the name of a class) (Weber, 244), were cast down from heaven, xxix. 5; xxxi. 4, and given the air for their habitation, xxix. 5. As for his followers, the watchers of the fifth heaven, they were cast down to the second and there kept imprisoned and tortured, vii. 3; xviii. 4. Some, however, of the Satans or Watchers went down to earth and married the daughters of men, xviii. 4. From these were born giants, xviii. 5. Thereupon these watchers were imprisoned under the earth, xviii. 6, 7, and the souls of the giants, their children, became subjects of Satan. To return to the Satans, however, when man was created, Satan envied him and wished to make another world, xxxi. 3. Out of envy he tempted Eve to her fall, xxxi. 6.

XXX. 1. Cf. Gen. i. 10, 11. Mountains. This is corrupt. We should have a reference here probably to non-fruit-bearing trees, as in Jub. ii. 7 τὰ ξύλα

τὰ κάρπιμά τε καὶ ἄκαρπα. Every seed that is sown. This phrase is found in Jubilees, ii. 7, as one of the third day creations. Paradise. Also in Jub. ii. 7, among the creations of the third day. 2. Circles of the heavens. In Philo, *De Mundi Op.* 38, we find seven circles as here, though with a different meaning: τὸν οὐρανὸν φασιν ἑπτὰ διεξῶσθαι κύκλοις. 3. Gen. i. 14—19. In the *Chronography of Joel*, circ. 1200 A. D., p. 34 (ed. Bekker, 1836), the discovery of the signs of the Zodiac, the solstices and the seasons, and the naming of the planets, are assigned to Seth; but as such discoveries were anciently assigned to Enoch, and were only in later tradition ascribed to Seth, we may not unreasonably regard the mention in Joel of the five planets, Kronos, Zeus, Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, as ultimately derived from the Enoch literature. The statement in Joel is, ὁ δὲ Σῆθ πρῶτος ἐξεύρε . . . τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν . . . καὶ τοῖς ἄστροις ἐπέθηκεν ὀνόματα καὶ τοῖς πέντε πλανήταις εἰς τὸ

Ares; *on the fourth the Sun¹; on the fifth Zeus; on the sixth Hermes; on the seventh² the moon. 4. And *the lower air I adorned with the lesser stars. 5. And³ I placed the sun to give light to the day, and the moon and the stars to give light to the night; the sun that he should go *according to each sign of the Zodiac⁴; and the course of *the moon through the twelve signs of the Zodiac⁵. 6. And I fixed their names *and existence, the thunders, and the revolutions of the hours, how they take place⁶. 7. Then it was evening and the morning, the fifth day. *On the fifth day⁷ *I commanded the sea to produce⁸ fish, *and

¹ A om. ² A adds the lesser.

³ And I adorned it with the

lesser stars, and on the lower, A.

⁴ To every living thing, A.

⁵ The twelve months, A.

⁶ And their reverberations, and new births, and making of the hours as they go, Sok.

⁷ B om. After fifth day A adds Thursday, and after sixth day it adds Friday.

⁸ B adds and multiply.

γνωρίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ μόνον· καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον πλανήτην ἐκάλεσε Κρόνον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον Δία, τὸν τρίτον Ἄρεα, τὸν τέταρτον Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν πέμπτον Ἑρμῆν. In the mysteries of Mithras, described in Origen, *Contra Celsum* vi. 22, the five planets and the sun and moon are said to be connected by a heavenly ladder. From the first words of the preceding ch. we see that these heavenly bodies had some connexion with the seven heavens, as in our text. The order in which the planets and the sun and moon are mentioned in *Contra Celsum* differs from that given above, and is as follows: Kronos, Aphrodite, Zeus, Hermes, Ares, Selene, Helios. The five planets are first referred to by Philolaus, a Pythagorean, and later by Plato in his *Timaeus*, but not by their individual names (ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ πέντε ἄλλα ἄστρα ἐπὶ κλην ἔχοντα πλανήται). These names, which are not found till we come

down to the *Epinomis*, the work of a disciple of Plato, are enumerated as follows, each with an appellation derived from a god: τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου, τὸν τοῦ Διός, τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεος, τὴν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, τὸν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ. According to Archimedes (*Macrob. in Somn. Scip.* i. 19. 2) the order of the planets was as follows: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon, and this order was generally adopted by Cicero (*de Div.* ii. 43), Manilius (i. 803, 6), Pliny, *H. N.* ii. 6. The five planets were known to Israel in O. T. times: Kronos as כִּיּוֹן Amos v. 26; Aphrodite as הִילֵל Is. xiv. 12; Ares as נִרְגַּל 2 Kings xvii. 30; Zeus as גֵּר Is. lxv. 11; Hermes as נִבּוֹ Is. xlvi. 1. 5. The Sun . . . according to each sign of the Zodiac. See ch. xiii-xiv. and Eth. En. lxxii. The moon, &c. See lvi. and Eth. En. lxxiii-lxxiv. 7. Cf. Gen. i. 20-26. Observe that most of the creations of the sixth day, Gen.

winged fowls of all kinds¹, and all things that creep upon the earth, and four-footed things that go about the earth, and the things that fly in the air, * male and female, and every living thing breathing with life. 8. And it was evening and morning the sixth day¹. * On the sixth day¹ * I ordered My Wisdom to make man² of seven substances. (1) His flesh from the earth; (2) his blood * from the dew; (3) his eyes from the sun³; (4) his bones from the stones; (5) his thoughts from the swiftness of the angels, and the clouds; (6) his veins⁴ and hair from the grass of the earth⁵; (7) his

¹ B om. ² And when I had finished all I ordered My Wisdom to make man, B. B OMTS THE REST OF THE CHAPTER. ³ From the dew and the sun (3) his eyes form the abysses of the seas, Sok. ⁴ For veins we should probably read nails. See quotation from Philo in the Commentary on this verse. ⁵ A Sok. add and from the wind—a manifest dittography.

i. 24-26, are here assigned to the fifth. 8. Ordered my Wisdom. Wisdom is here hypostatized as in Prov. viii. 30 'Then I was by him as a master workman.' In the Book of Wisdom, Wisdom is the assessor on God's throne, ix. 4; was with Him when He made the world, ix. 9; was the instrument by which all things were created, viii. 5; is the ruler and renewer of all things, viii. 1; vii. 27. Compare further this conception of Wisdom with that of the Logos of Philo, which was the instrument by which God created the world. Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 31 *σκιά θεοῦ δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ᾧ καθάπερ ὀργάνῳ προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποίη :* *De Cherubim* 35 *εὐρήσεις γὰρ αἴτιον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸν θεόν, ὑφ' οὗ γέγονεν, ὕλην δὲ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, ἐξ ὧν συνεκράθη, ὄργανον δὲ λόγον θεοῦ, δι' οὗ κατεσκενάσθη.* Of seven substances. The list of these substances is corrupt. See Critical Notes. It seems to have some connexion with the speculations

of the Stoics (G. Sext. *Math.* ix. 81) and of Philo. Thus, as in our text, man's body is derived (1) from the earth, *De Mundi Op.* 51. Again, whilst in (4) his bones are derived from stones, in Philo, *Leg. All.* ii. 7, he is said at the lowest stage to have a nature in common with the stones and trees (*ἡ μὲν ἔξίς κοινή καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐστὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, ἧς μετέχει καὶ τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐοικότα λίθοις ὁστέα*): again whilst in our text (6) his veins (?) and hair are from the grass of the earth, in Philo, *Leg. All.* ii. 7, he is said in the next higher stage to be allied to plant-nature, such as the nails and hair (*ἡ δὲ φύσις διατείνει καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φυτὰ καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν δὲ εἰσὶν ἐοικότα φυτοῖς, ὄνυχές τε καὶ τρίχες*): finally, (7) agrees with Philo's doctrine: cf. *De Mundi Op.* 46. If we could restore the text as it stood originally the resemblance would probably be closer. Philo's view of man's nature is well summed up in *De Mundi Op.* 51 *πᾶς ἄνθρωπος κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν*

spirit from My spirit and from the wind. 9. And I gave him seven natures: hearing to his body, sight to his eyes, smell to the perception, touch to the veins, taste to the blood, the bones for endurance, sweetness for thought. 10. *I purposed a subtle thing¹: from the invisible and visible nature I made man. From both are his death and life, *and his form²; *and the word was like a deed³ *both small in a great thing⁴, and great in a small thing. 11. And I placed him upon the earth; like a second angel, in an honourable, great, and glorious way. 12. And I made him a ruler *to rule upon the earth, and to have My wisdom⁵.

¹ Lo! I purposed to say a subtle word, Sok. ² Sok. om. ³ A word is a message as it were something created, Sok. ⁴ Both in great things and in little things, A. ⁵ Upon the earth having rule by My wisdom, Sok.

ᾠκεῖται θείῳ λόγῳ, τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως . . . ἀπαύγασμα γεγοῶς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κατασκευὴν ἅπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ· συγκέκριται γὰρ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, ἐκάστου τῶν στοιχείων εἰσενεγκόντος τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν αὐταρκεστάτης ὕλης, ἣν ἔδει λαβεῖν τὸν δημιουργόν, ἵνα τεχνιτεύσῃται τὴν ὁρατὴν ταύτην εἰκόνα. For the later Talmudic views cf. Weber, 202–204; Malan's *Book of Adam and Eve*, pp. 209–15. In the Anglo-Saxon Ritual (circ. 950), to which Dr. Murray has called my attention, man is said to be made out of eight substances: 'Octo pondera de quibus factus est Adam. Pondus limi, inde factus est caro; pondus ignis, inde rubeus est sanguis et calidus; pondus salis, inde sunt salsae lacrimae; pondus roris, inde factus est sudor; pondus floris, inde est varietas oculorum; pondus nubis, inde est instabilitas mentium; pondus venti, inde est anhela frigida; pondus gratiae, inde est sensus hominis.' 9. Seven natures. Here again the text is very untrustworthy and the follow-

ing words seem corrupt: **body, veins, blood**, whilst the clauses **the bones . . . thought** are quite irrelevant. Here we should possibly follow Philo, *De Mundi Op.* 40 τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὸ δίχα τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέρος ἐπταχῇ σχίζεται, πρὸς πέντε αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸ φωνητήριον ὄργανον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ γόνιμον, and thus for the corrupt clauses read **the vocal organ and the generative power**. Cp. Test. Napht. 2. Philo's division of man's nature is derived from the Stoics: cf. Plut. *Plac.* iv. 4 οἱ Στωικοὶ ἐξ ὀκτῶ μερῶν φασὶ συνιστάναι (τὴν ψυχὴν), πέντε μὲν τῶν αἰσθητικῶν, ὁρατικοῦ, ἀκουστικοῦ, ὁσφρητικοῦ, γευστικοῦ, ἀπτικοῦ, ἑκτοῦ δὲ φωνητικοῦ, ἐβδόμου σπερματικοῦ, ὀγδόου αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ. Cf. also Plut. *Plac.* iv. 21. 10. Man's spiritual and material nature. 11. Like a second angel. According to the *Beresh. Rab.* fol. 17, Adam, when first created, reached from the earth to the firmament. In the *Book of Adam and Eve*, i. 10, Adam is called a 'bright angel.' 12. Gen. i. 26, 28. 13. This verse may

And there was no one like him upon the earth of all My creations. 13. And I gave him a name from the four substances: the East, the West, *the North, and the South¹. 14. And I appointed for him four special stars, and I gave him the name Adam. 15. *And I gave him his will², and I showed him the two ways, the light and the

¹ A transposes.² A om.

either be the source of or may be derived from the Sibylline Oracles, iii. 24-26

Αὐτὸς δὴ θεὸς ἐστ' ὁ πλάσας τετρα-
γράμματος Ἀδὰμ,

Τὸν πρῶτον πλασθέντα, καὶ οὖνομα
πληρώσαντα

Ἀντολίην τε δύσιν τε μεσημβρίην τε
καὶ ἄρκτον.

The third line is used frequently, though with a different application, in the Oracles, i. e. ii. 195; viii. 321; xi. 3. It will be observed that this arrangement gives the initials Adma in the wrong order. This etymology is next found in the anonymous writing *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, 4, formerly ascribed to Cyprian: 'Nomen accepit a Deo. Hebraicum Adam in Latino interpretat "terra caro facta," eo quod ex quattuor cardinibus orbis terrarum pugno comprehendit, sicut scriptum est: "palmo mensus sum caelum et pugno comprehendere terram et confinxerunt hominem ex omni limo terrae; ad imaginem Dei feci illum." Oportuit illum ex his quattuor cardinibus orbis terrae nomen in se portare Adam; invenimus in Scripturis, per singulos cardines orbis terrae esse a conditore mundi quattuor stellas constitutas in singulis cardinibus. Prima stella orientalis dicitur anatole, secunda occidentalis dysis, tertia stella aquilonis arctus, quarta stella meridiana dicitur mesembria. Ex nominibus stellarum numero quattuor de singulis stellarum nominibus tolle singulas litteras principales, de stella

anatole α, de stella dysis δ, de stella arctus α, de stella mesembria μ; in his quattuor litteris cardinalibus habes nomen αδαμ.' This etymology is given with approval by Bede, *In Genesim Expositio* iv. 'Hae quattuor literae nominis Adam propria habent nomina in partium nominibus, id est anatole, dysis, arctus, mesembria; id est oriens occidens, septentrio, merides. Et haec proprietas significat dominatum Adam in quattuor supradictis partibus mundi.' It is found also in the *Chronikon* of Glycas (circ. 1150), p. 143: κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ τῷ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ὀνόματι προσηγόρευσε αὐτὸν . . . καὶ ὅρα τὰ τοῦ τοιοῦτου ὀνόματος γράμματα· τὰ τέσσαρα γὰρ ὑπεμφαίνουσι κλίματα· ἄλφα ἀνατολή, δέλτα δύσις, ἄλφα ἄρκτος, μὴ μεσημβρία. See Jubilees iii. 28 (notes); Targ.-Jon. on Gen. ii. 7.

14. Four special stars. These stars are named from the four quarters of the earth, and Adam's name is formed from their initial letters. See citation from *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, which seems to be derived from our text. Stars may here mean 'angels.' According to the Jalk. Rub. fol. 13; Jalk. Shim. fol. 4 (see *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 215) certain ministering angels were appointed to wait on Adam. 15. I gave him his will: cf. Tanchuma Pikkude 3 (quoted by Weber, p. 208), 'God does not determine beforehand whether a man shall be righteous or wicked, but puts this in the hands of the man

darkness. And I said unto him: 'This is good and this is evil'; that I should know whether he has love for Me or hate: that he should appear in his race as loving Me. 16. I knew his nature, he did not know his nature. Therefore his ignorance is *a woe to him that he should sin, and

only.' In the text free-will is conceded to man, but this is prejudicially affected by his ignorance (ver. 16): cf. *Eccelus*. xv. 14, 15 αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐν χειρὶ διαβουλίου αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν θέλῃς συντηρήσεις ἐντολὰς καὶ πίστιν ποίησαι εὐδοκίας. On the question generally see Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 8. 14; *Antt.* xiii. 5. 9; xviii. 1. 3; *Psalms of Solomon*, ed. by Ryle and James, pp. 95, 96. 15. The two ways, the light and the darkness. This popular figure of the Two Ways was suggested by Jer. xxi. 8 'Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I set before you the way of life and the way of death'; by Deut. xxx. 15 'I have set before thee this day life and good and death and evil'; *Eccelus*. xv. 17 ἐναντι ἀνθρώπων ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ὁ ἐὰν εὐδοκήσῃ δοθήσεται αὐτῷ: xvii. 6 καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς. For parallel N. T. expressions cf. Mt. vii. 13, 14; 2 Pet. ii. 2. Of the two great post-apostolic descriptions of the Two Ways, in the *Didachè* and in the *Ep. of Barnabas*, that of the latter presents the nearest parallel to our text: chap. xviii. 1 ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν διδασχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἥ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους. In the *Dilachè* i. 1 we have ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου: cf. *Test. Asher* 1 δύο ὁδοὺς ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς ἀνθρώπων . . . ὁδοὶ δύο, καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ: *Sibyll. Or.* viii. 399, 400 αὐτὸς ὁδοὺς προέθηκα δύο, ζωῆς θανάτου τε Καὶ γνώμην προέθηκ' ἀγαθὴν ζωὴν προελεῖσθαι: cf. also Pastor Hermiae

Mand. vi. 1, 2; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 5; *Apost. Church Order*, iv; *Apost. Constitutions*, vii. 1; Clem. *Homilies* v. 7. I said unto him: 'This is good and this is evil,' &c. This does not harmonize with the account in Gen., where the knowledge of good and evil follows on eating the forbidden fruit. That I should know whether he has love for Me or hate. Deut. xiii. 3 'Your God proveth you to know whether ye love the Lord your God.' 16. Ignorance is a woe to him that he should sin. This ignorance, as we see from the preceding verse, is not first and directly an ignorance of moral distinctions, but of his nature with its good and evil impulses (יצר הרע and יצר הטוב). Ignorance is thus regarded here as an evil in itself. This is probably the result of Platonic thought, which had gained great influence over Hellenistic Judaism, and the idea of the text seems related, however distantly, to that ethical system which may be summed up in the words πᾶς δ' ἄδικος οὐχ ἐκὼν ἄδικος (Plato, *Legg.* 731 c): οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων ἐκόντα ἑξαμαρτάνειν (*Prot.* 345 D): κακὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐκὼν οὐδεὶς (*Tim.* 86 D). See also *Legg.* 734 B; *Rep.* ix. 589 c; *Hipp. Maj.* 296 c. Herein it is taught that no man wilfully chooses evil in preference to good; but in every act of moral judgement the determining motive is to be found in the real or seeming preponderance of good in the course adopted: and that, should this course

I appointed death on account of his sin¹. 17. And²
I caused him to sleep, and he slumbered. And I took from

¹ Worse than sinning, and for sin there is nothing else but death, Sok.
² Sok. adds I cast upon him a shadow and.

be the worse one, the error of judgment is due either to physical incapacities or faulty education, or to a combination of both. This view of sin as an involuntary affection of the soul follows logically from another Platonic principle already enunciated by our author (see xxiii. 5, note). This principle is the pre-existence of the soul. The soul, as such, according to Platonic teaching, is wholly good. Evil, therefore, cannot arise from its voluntary preferences; but from its limitations, i. e. from its physical and moral environment, from its relation to the body and from wrong education. In the Book of Wisdom this view is widely diverged from. There the body is not held to be irredeemably evil, but souls are already good and bad on their entrance into this life (viii. 19, 20). In Philo, on the other hand, there is in the main a return to the Platonic and Stoic doctrine. The body is irredeemably evil; it is in fact the tomb of the soul (*σῶμα* = *σῆμα*); and only the sensuously-inclined souls are incorporated with bodies (see above, xxiii. 5, note). The views adopted by our author on these and kindred points stand in some degree in a closer relation to the Platonic principles than do those of Philo or the author of the Book of Wisdom. Thus he held: (1) That the soul was created originally good. (2) That it was not predetermined either to good or ill by God, but left to mould its own destiny (see xxx. 15). (3) That its incorporation in a body, however, with its necessary limitations served

to bias its preferences in the direction of evil. (4) That faithful souls will hereafter live as blessed incorporeal spirits, or at all events clothed only in God's glory (xxii. 7); for there is no resurrection of the body. Death on account of his sin. So Ecclus. xxv. 24 *ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀρχὴ ἀμαρτίας, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἀποθνήσκομεν πάντες*; for 'man was created exactly like the angels,' Eth. En. lxix. 11, righteous and immortal, but death came through sin, Book of Wisdom, ii. 23, 24; Eth. En. xcvi. 4. The same teaching is found in the Talmud: see Weber, 208, 214, 239. This doctrine of man's conditional immortality and of death entering the world through sin does not belong to O.T. literature; for Gen. ii. 17, when studied in its context, implies nothing more than a premature death; for the law of man's being is enunciated in Gen. iii. 19 'Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return,' and his expulsion from Eden was due first and principally to the need of guarding against his eating of the tree of life and living for ever. Furthermore, even in Ecclus., where the idea of death as brought about by sin is first enunciated, the doctrine appears in complete isolation and in open contradiction to the main statements and tendencies of the book; for it elsewhere teaches that man's mortality is the law from everlasting (*ὅ γὰρ διαθήκη ἀπ' αἰῶνος* Ecclus. xiv. 17): and that being formed from earth unto earth must he return, xvii. 1, 2; xl. 11. Nor again is this doctrine a controlling principle in the system

him a rib¹, and I made him a wife. 18. And by his wife death came, and I received his last word. And I called her by a name, the mother; that is Eve.

[*God gives Paradise to Adam, and gives him Knowledge, so as to see the Heavens open, and that he should see the Angels singing a Song of Triumph.*]

XXXI. 1. Adam had a life on earth², . . . and I made a garden in Eden in the East, and (I ordained) that he should observe the law and keep *the instruction³. 2. I made for him the heavens open that he should perceive the angels singing the song of triumph. And there was light *without any⁴ darkness continually in Paradise. 3. And the devil took thought, as if wishing to make another world, because things were subservient to Adam on earth, to rule it and have lordship over it. 4. The devil is to be the evil spirit of the lowest places⁵; *he became Satan, after he left the heavens. His name was formerly Satanail⁶. 5. And then, *though he became different from the angels in nature, he did not change his understanding of just and sinful

¹ Sok. adds as he slept.

XXXI. ² There is evidently a lacuna here. ³ It, Sok. B omits ENTIRE CHAPTER. ⁴ That never knew, Sok. ⁵ A adds as he wrought devilish things. ⁶ As flying from the heavens he became Satan, since his name was Satanail, Sok.

of the writers of the Book of Wisdom. When, however, we come down to N. T. times we find it the current view in the Pauline Epistles: cf. Rom. v. 12; 1 Cor. xv. 21; 2 Cor. xi. 3. On various views on sin and death and their causes see Eth. En. vi-viii; x. 8; xxxii. 6; lxix. 6, 11; xcvi. 4, with notes. 18. By his wife death came: cf. Eccus. xxv. 23; 1 Tim. ii. 14. See preceding note. I received his last word. Corrupt.

XXXI. 2. This verse is almost quoted in the *Book of Adam and*

Eve I. viii. 'When we dwelt in the garden . . . we saw the angels that sang praises in heaven.' According to S. Ephrem, i. 139, Adam and Eve lost the angelic vision on their fall (Malan). Philo, *Quaest.* xxxii. in *Gen.*, believes 'oculis illos praeditos esse quibus potuerunt etiam eas quae in coelo sunt.' For the continual light in Paradise see *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. xii; xiii; xiv. 3. On the envy of Satan see Wisdom, ii. 24; Joseph. *Antt.* i. 1. 4; Weber, 211, 244. 4. See notes on xviii. 3 and xxix. 4.

thoughts¹. He understood the judgement upon him, and the former sin which he had sinned. 6. And on account of this, he conceived designs against Adam; in such a manner he entered² and deceived Eve. But he did not touch Adam. 7. * But I cursed him for (his) ignorance³: but those I previously blessed, them I did not curse⁴, 8. nor man did I curse, nor the earth, nor any other things created, but the evil fruit of man, and then his works.

[*On account of the Sin of Adam, God sends him to the Earth, 'From which I took thee,' but He does not wish to destroy him in the Life to come.*]

XXXII. 1. I said to him: 'Earth thou art, and to earth also from whence I took thee shalt thou return. I will not destroy thee, but will send thee whence I took thee. Then I can also take thee in My second coming'; and I have blessed all My creation, visible and invisible⁵. 2. And I blessed the seventh day, * which is the Sabbath⁶, for in it I rested from all My labours.

[*God shows Enoch the Duration of this World, 7000 Years, and the eighth Thousand is the End. (There will be) no Years, no Months, no Weeks, no Days.*]

XXXIII. 1. Then also I established the eighth day. Let

¹ Though he was changed from the angels, he did not change his nature, but he had thought, as is the mind of just men and sinners, Sok.

² Sok. adds into Paradise. ³ Sok. om. ⁴ Sok. adds and those whom before I had not blessed, them also I did not curse.

XXXII. ⁵ A adds (against B Sok.) And Adam was five and a half hours in Paradise. B omits entire chapter. ⁶ Sok. om.

6. See xxx. 18, note; Weber, 211, 244.

7. Cursed him for (his) ignorance. This ought to refer to the Serpent or to Satan.

XXXII. 1. My second coming. God's coming to judge the earth, to bless His people, and to punish their enemies. This is called *καιρὸς ἐπισκοπῆς*

and *ἡμέρα διαγνώσεως* in the Book of Wisdom, iii. 7, 18. It is referred to again in xlii. 5 of our text. God's first coming to the earth was for the sake of Adam and to bless all that He had made, lviii. 1.

XXXIII. 1, 2. From the fact that Adam did not live to be 1000 years

the eighth be the first * after My work¹, and let * the days² be after the fashion of seven thousand. 2. * Let there be at the beginning of the eighth thousand a time when there is no computation, and no end; neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days, nor hours³. 3. And now Enoch, what

XXXIII. ¹ Of my rest, Sok. BOMITS VERSES 1, 2. ² A om. ³ And let the eighth day be for a beginning in the likeness of eight thousand. So concerning the first day of My rest, and also the eighth day of My rest, let them return continually, Sok. Margin of Sok.'s MS. reads: the beginning of unrighteousness, the time without end, neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days, nor hours.

old, the author of the Book of Jubilees, iv. 30, concludes that the words of Gen. ii. 17 'In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die' were actually fulfilled. It is hence obvious that already before the Christian era 1000 years had come to be regarded as one world-day. To arrive at the conception of a world-week of 7000 years—6000 years from the creation to the judgement, followed by 1000 years, or a millennium of blessedness and rest—it was necessary to proceed but one step further, and this step we find was taken by the author of our text. In Irenaeus, moreover, *Contra Haer.* v. 28. 3 this reasoning is given explicitly: ὅσαι . . . ἡμέραις ἐγένετο ὁ κόσμος, τοσαύταις χιλιοντάσι συντελεῖται. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φησιν ἡ γραφή. Καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ 5' τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐποίησε, καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ζ' ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τῶν προγεγονότων διήγησις καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων προφητεία· ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς α' ἔτη. ἐν ἑξ ὧν ἡμέραις συντελέσεται τὰ γεγονότα. φανερόν οὖν ὅτι ἡ συντέλεια αὐτῶν τὸ 5, ἔτος ἐστί. Clemens Alex. *Strom.* iv. 25 refers to this conception—possibly to our text. It is not improbable that the statements of Cedrenus on this head are drawn from our text. Thus on p. 9 he writes: τούτου χάριν

ἡὐλογήθη καὶ αὕτη (ἡ ἡμέρα) ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡγιασθή καὶ σάββατον ὡς καταπαύσιμος προσηγορεύθη, καὶ ὡς τύπος τῆς ἐβδόμης χιλιοετηρίδος καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν συντελείας, ὡς Ἰώσηπος μαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις ἣν καὶ Μωσέως εἶναι φασὶ τινες ἀποκάλυψιν. It is, we repeat, not improbable that our text is the original source of Cedrenus' statements, inasmuch as nothing of the kind is found either in Josephus or the Book of Jubilees, from which he professes to derive them. Syncellus, on whom Cedrenus is largely dependent, is frequently wrong in his references in the case of Apocalyptic literature. A most interesting expansion and an adaptation of the text to Christian conceptions are to be found in Augustin, *De Civ.* xxii. 30. 5 'Ipse etiam numerus aetatum, veluti dierum, si secundum eos articulos temporis computetur qui in Scripturis videntur expressi, iste Sabbatismus evidentius apparebit, quoniam septimus invenitur: ut prima aetas tanquam dies primus sit ab Adam usque ad diluvium, secunda inde usque ad Abraham . . . ab Abraham usque ad David una, altera inde usque ad transmigrationem in Babyloniam, tertia inde usque ad Christi carnalem nativitatem. Fiunt itaque omnes quinque. Sexta

things I have told thee, *and what thou hast understood, and what heavenly things thou hast seen ¹, and what thou hast seen upon the earth, and what *thou hast ² written in books, by My wisdom all these things I devised *so as to create them ³. and I made them from the highest foundation to the lowest, *and to the end ¹. 4. And there is no counsellor ⁴ *nor inheritor of My works ¹. I am the eternal One, and the One not made with hands: *My thought is without change, My wisdom is My counsellor ⁵ and My word is reality; and My eyes see all things, *if I look to all things ³ they *stand fast ⁶. If I turn away My face, all are in need of Me. 5. And now pay attention, Enoch, and know thou who is speaking to thee, and do thou take the books which thou thyself hast written. 6. And I give thee *Samuil and Raguil ⁷ who brought thee *to Me ³. And go *with them ⁸ upon the earth, and tell thy sons what things I have said to

¹ B om. ² I have, A. ³ A om. ⁴ Lamp, B. ⁵ My thought is a lamp, B. ⁶ Stand and tremble with fear, A Sok. ⁷ Semil and Basuil, B; B adds and him. ⁸ B Sok. om.

nunc agitur . . . post hanc tanquam in die septimo requiescet Deus, cum eundem septimum diem, quod nos erimus, in se ipso Deo faciet requiescere. . . . Haec tamen septima erit Sabbatum nostrum, cuius finis non erit vespera, sed dominicus dies velut octavus aeternus. . . . Ecce quod erit in fine sine fine.' For other speculations in reference to the world-week see *Evang. Nicodemi*, ii. 12; *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. iii. A time when there is no computation . . . neither years nor months, &c. Sibyll. Or. viii. 424-427 may have been influenced by our text where it speaks of the eternity of blessedness:

Οὐκ ἔτι λοιπὸν ἐρεῖς λυπούμενος "αὔριον ἔσται,"

Οὐκ "ἐχθὲς γέγονεν" οὐκ ἡματα πολλὰ μερίμνης,

Οὐκ ἔαρ, οὐ χειμῶν, οὐτ' ἄρ θέρος, οὐ μετόπωρον,

Οὐ δύσις ἀντολίη· ποιήσω γὰρ μακρὸν ἡμαρ.

3. I made them from the highest foundation to the lowest: cf. *Ecclus.* xviii. 1 ὁ ζῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἔκτισε τὰ πάντα κοινῇ, where κοινῇ is a rendering of יְיָיָ. 4. My thought is without change. Num. xxiii. 19; 1 Sam. xv. 29; *Ezek.* xxiv. 14. My wisdom is My counsellor. See xxx. 8 (note). Cf. *Ecclus.* xlii. 22 καὶ οὐ προσεδέθη οὐδενὸς συμβούλου. My word is reality. So *Eth. En.* xiv. 22 (Gk.) πᾶς λόγος αὐτοῦ ἔργον. Cf. *Ps.* xxxiii. 9; *Ecclus.* xlii. 15 ἐν λόγοις κυρίου τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. My eyes see all things: cf. *Ecclus.* xxxix. 19. If I turn away My face, &c. *Ps.* civ. 29 'Thou hidest Thy face, they are

thee, and what thou hast seen from the lowest heaven up to My throne. 7. For I have created all the hosts, and all the powers, and there is none that opposes Me, or is disobedient to Me. For all are obedient to My sole power, and labour for My rule alone. 8. Give¹ them the works written out by thee, *and they shall read them, and know Me to be the Creator of all; and shall understand that there is no other God beside Me². 9. *They shall distribute the books of thy writing to their children's children³, and from generation to generation, and from nation to nation. 10. *And I will give thee, Enoch, My messenger, the great captain Michael, for thy writings and for the writings of thy fathers, Adam, Seth, Enos, Kainan, Malaleel, and Jared, thy father⁴. 11. *And I shall not require them till the last age, for I have instructed My two angels, Ariukh and Pariukh, whom I have put upon the earth as their guardians. 12. And I have ordered them in time to guard them that the account of what I shall do in thy family may not be lost in the deluge to come⁵.

¹ I will give, A. ² B om. ³ Let the children give them to the children, B. ⁴ As being the messenger Enoch of my captain Michael. Because that thy writings and the writings of thy fathers, Adam and Sit, B. ⁵ (Because these) will not be required till the last age, I have ordered my angels, Oriokh and Mariokh, to give orders to guard in season the writings which I have placed upon the earth, and that they should guard the writings of thy fathers, so that what I have wrought in thy family may not be lost, B; A om. In the text I have followed Sok., but that for to punish them I have read to guard them with B.

troubled.' 6. Cf. Eth. En. lxxxi. 5, 6. Samuil. This is either from שְׁמוֹעַ אֵל = heard of God, 1 Sam. i. 20, or from שְׁמוֹ and אֵל = name of God. Raguil is a transliteration of רֵעִי אֵל = friend of God. 9. Cf. xlvii. 2, 3; xlviii. 7-9; liv; lxv. 5; Eth. En. lxxxii. 1, 2, where, exactly as here, the books are to be transmitted straightway to the generations of the world, whereas in i. 2; xciii. 10; civ. 12 the method and times of the disclosure of the books are different. Though the writings are

committed to the keeping of men, they are under the guardianship of special angels until the time for their complete disclosure and understanding has come. See verses 11, 12. 10. Michael was the guardian angel of Israel: Dan. x. 13, 21; xii. 1. See Eth. En. ix. 1; x. 11; xx. 5 (note); xl. 4, &c.; Weber, 165. 11. Till the last age. At last the time for the due comprehension of these books will arrive: see ver. 9, note; xxxv. 2, 3; (liv); Eth. En. xciii. 10; civ. 12. Ariukh. This proper

[*God accuses the Idolators ; the Workers of Iniquity, such as Sodom, and on this account He brings the Deluge upon them.*]

XXXIV. 1. * For I know the wickedness of men that they will not bear the yoke which I have put upon them, nor sow the seeds which I have given them, but will cast off My yoke and accept another, and sow vain seeds and bow to vain gods, and deny Me the only God¹. 2. And they will fill all the world with * wickedness and iniquity, and foul impurities with one another, sodomy and all other impure practices, which it is foul to speak about². 3. And on this account I will bring a deluge upon the earth * and I will destroy all³, and⁴ the earth shall be destroyed in great corruption.

[*God leaves one Just Man from the Family of Enoch, with all his House, which pleased God according to His Will.*]

XXXV. 1. And I will leave a righteous man * of thy race⁵, with all his house who shall act according to My will. From

XXXIV. ¹ Sok. supports text but that it omits nor sow . . . given them. A reads: They turned from My law and My yoke and raised up worthless races such as feared not God nor worshipped Me, but began to bow before vain gods, and denied Me, the only God. ² Unjust deeds and harlotries and services of idols, B; Sok. adds and evil service. ³ B Sok. omit. ⁴ A adds all.

XXXV. ⁵ A B om.

name is found in Gen. xiv. 1, 9; Dan. ii. 14. The derivation is doubtful, being êri-aku = servant of the moon-god (Delitzsch), or a compound from עֲרִיאִי: hence a lionlike man (Gesenius).

XXXIV. 1. Cast off My yoke: cf. for phrase xlvi. 9; Ecclus. xxviii. 19, 20; Matt. xi. 29. Sow vain seeds. This is obscure. The words seem to be metaphorical and not to refer to Deut. xxii. 9. Deny, &c.: cf. Josh. xxiv. 27. 2. It is this verse that is referred to in Test. Napht. 4, though it is there somewhat

differently applied: ἀνέγνων ἐν γραφῇ ἀγία Ἐνώχ, ὅτι καί γε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ κυρίου, πορευόμενοι κατὰ πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ποιήσετε κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν Σοδόμων. 3. The words immediately subsequent to those just quoted from Test. Napht. seem to be in part derived from this verse: καὶ ἐπάξει ὑμῖν κύριος αἰχμαλωσίαν . . . ἕως ἂν ἀναλώσῃ κύριος πάντας ὑμᾶς is simply an adaptation of I will bring a deluge upon the earth, and I will destroy all.

XXXV. 1. Righteous man, i. e.

their seed *after some time¹ will be raised up a numerous² generation, but *of these, many will be¹ very insatiable. 2. Then on the extinction of that family, I will show them the books of thy writings, and of thy fathers, and the guardians of them on earth will show them to the men who are true, *and please Me, who do not take My name in vain¹. 3. And they shall tell to another³ generation, and these *having read them¹, shall be glorified at last more than before.

[*God ordered Enoch to live on the Earth thirty Days, so as to teach his Sons, and his Sons' Sons. After thirty Days he was thus taken up into Heaven.*]

XXXVI. 1. And now, Enoch, I give thee a period⁴ of thirty days to work in thy house. And tell thou thy sons⁵, *and all thy household before Me; that they may listen to what is spoken to them by thee⁶; that they read and understand, how there is no other God beside Me; *and let them always keep My commandments, and begin to read and understand the books written out by thee⁶. 2. And after thirty days, I will send My angels⁷ for thee, and they⁸ shall take thee from the earth, and from thy sons, *according to My will⁹.

[*Here God summons an Angel.*]

[XXXVII. 1. And God called one of His greatest angels,

¹ B om. ² Another, Sok. ³ That, B.

XXXVI. ⁴ Sok. adds of preparation. ⁵ B adds all that thou guardest in thy heart. ⁶ B om. ⁷ Angel, A Sok. ⁸ He, A Sok. ⁹ To Me, A Sok.

Noah. 2. On the extinction of that family. This seems to refer to the destruction of the wicked during the period of the sword. About the same time the books of Enoch were to be given to the righteous. See for the same connexion of ideas Eth. En. xciii. 9, 10; xci. 12. The guardians. See xxxiii. 9, 11 (notes). 3. The

period of the sword and the disclosure of Enoch's books introduces the Messianic age.

XXXVI. 1. In Eth. En. lxxx. 6 the period is one year. Read and understand, &c.; cf. Eth. En. lxxxii. 1-3. 2. Cf. Eth. En. lxxx. 6.

XXXVII. This chapter, which

*terrible and awful¹, and placed him by me, *and the appearance of that angel was like² snow, and his hands were like ice; *he had a very cold appearance³, and my face was chilled because I could not endure *the fear of the Lord⁴; *just as it is not possible to⁵ endure the mighty fire and heat of the sun, and the frost of the air. 2. And the Lord said to me, ‘ Enoch, if thy face is not chill here, no man can look upon thy face⁶.’]

[*Mathusal had Hope, and awaited his Father Enoch by his Bed, Day and Night.*]

XXXVIII. 1⁷. And the Lord said to those men who first took me: ‘Take Enoch with you to the earth, and wait for him till the appointed day.’ 2. And at night they placed me upon my bed, and Mathusal, expecting my coming by day and by night, was a guard at my bed. 3. And he was terrified when he heard my coming, and I gave him directions that all my household should come, that I might tell them everything.

[*The mournful Admonition of Enoch to his Sons, with Weeping and great Sorrow, speaking to them⁸.*]

XXXIX. 1. *Listen, my children, what things are according to the will of the Lord. I am sent to-day to you to tell you from the lips of the Lord, what was and what is happening now, and what will be before the day of

XXXVII. ¹ In a voice like thunder, B. ² In appearance he was white as, A. ³ In appearance having great cold, Sok.; Bom. ⁴ The great terror and awe, B. ⁵ For I could not, A; B omits just as . . . frost of the air. ⁶ B om.

XXXVIII. ⁷ B OMITS ENTIRE CHAPTER.

XXXIX. ⁸ The Instructions given by Enoch to his Sons, B.

is found in all the MSS., is read in its present position in A Sok., but after xxxix in B. I have bracketed it as it seems irrelevant to the entire text.

XXXVIII. 1. Cf. xxxvi. 2.

Cf. i. 2-4. 3. Cf. Eth. En. xci. 1.

judgement. 2. Hear, my children, for I do not speak to you to-day from my lips, but from the lips of the Lord who has sent me to you. For you hear¹ *the words of my lips, a mortal man like yourselves². 3. *I have seen the face of the Lord as it were iron that is heated in the fire, and when brought out sends forth sparks and burns. 4. Look at the eyes of me³, *a man laden with a sign for you⁴. *I have seen the eyes of the Lord shining like a ray of the sun and striking with terror human eyes. 5. You, my children, see the right hand of a man⁵ *made like yourselves⁵ *assisting you. I have seen the right hand of the Lord assisting me, and filling the heavens. 6. You see the *compass of my actions, like to your own⁶. I have seen the measureless and harmonious⁷ form of the Lord. To Him there is no end. 7. You therefore hear the words of my lips, but I have heard the words of the Lord, like great thunder, with continual agitation of the clouds. 8. And now, *my children⁸, listen to the⁸ discourses *of your earthly father³. It is terrible and awful to stand before the face of an earthly prince—*terrible and very awful³ because the will of the prince is death and the will of the prince is life⁹; how much more is it terrible and awful to stand before the face of the *Lord of lords, and of the earthly¹⁰ and the heavenly hosts. Who can endure this never-ending terror?

¹ 1. Hear, my children, my beloved ones, the admonition of your father: how according to the will of God, I am sent to you now. What exists and what was, and what is happening now, and what will be before the day of judgement, I do not now tell you from my own lips, but from the lips of the Lord; for the Lord sent me to you. 2. And do you therefore hear, A. I was sent of late to tell you from the lips of the Lord what things are, and what shall be before the day of judgement. And now, my children, I do not speak to you from my own lips, but from the lips of the Lord, B. ² B om.; Sok. adds I have heard from the fiery lips of the Lord: for the lips of the Lord are like a fiery furnace, and his angels [winds] are a flame of fire going forth. You, my children, as that of a man made like yourselves, but. ³ B om. ⁴ A man in his marks just like you, Sok.; B om. ⁵ A B om. ⁶ So A Sok., but that for actions Sok. reads body; B om. ⁷ Incomparable, B. B transposes 6^b after 7. ⁸ My, B. ⁹ A om.; B adds or great terrors, and omits the rest of the verse. ¹⁰ Heavenly Ruler, the Lord of the living and the dead, A.

[*Enoch instructs faithfully his Children about all Things, from the Mouth of the Lord; how he saw, and heard and wrote them down.*]

XL. 1. And now, my children, I know all things¹ from the lips of the Lord; for² my eyes have seen from the beginning to the end³. 2. I know all things and have written all things in the books, both the heavens and the end of them, and their fulness, and all the hosts, and I have measured their goings, and written down the stars and their innumerable quantity.) 3. What man has seen their alternations and their goings? Not even the angels know their number; I have written down the names of all. 4. And I have measured the circle of the sun, and I have measured his rays; *and his coming in and going out, through all the months, and all his courses, and their names I have written down. 5. I have measured the circle of the moon, and its waning which occurs during every day, and the secret places in which it hides every day and ascends according to all the hours. 6. I have laid down the four seasons, and from the seasons I made four circles, and in the circles I placed the years; I placed the months, and from the

XL. ¹ A Sok. add One thing I have learned. Throughout this chapter B is transposed in every way imaginable. B OMITTS VERSES 2-7. ² And another, A Sok. ³ Sok. adds and from the end to the return.

XL. 1. I know all things . . . my eyes have seen, &c. This seems to be the passage to which Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* (Dind. iii. 456) refers: ὁ Δανιὴλ λέγει ὁμοδοξῶν τῷ Ἐνώχ τῷ εἰρηκότι 'καὶ εἶδον τὰς ὕλας πάσας': and Origen (*de Princ.* iv. 35) 'scriptum namque est in eodem libello dicente Enoch universas materias perspexi.' Cf. Sibyll. Or. viii. 375, where, in a passage recalling several phrases of this chapter, ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος οἶδα, ὃς οὐρανὸν ἐκτίσα καὶ γῆν. 2. Stars and their innumerable quantity.

Cf. Eth. En. xliii. 1, 2; xciii. 14. 3. Not even the Angels, &c. Cf. xxiv. 3. 4. See xiii, xiv (notes). 5. See xvi (notes). Its waning which, &c. There is not a single reference to this phenomenon in the Slav. Enoch, but there is a complete account of its waxing and waning in Eth. En. lxxiv. Secret places in which it hides, &c. Corrupt. 6. I have laid down the four seasons. In xiii. 5 we have a reference to the four seasons, but in Eth. En. lxxxii. 11-20 there is an account which, though

months I calculated the days, and from the days¹ I have *calculated² the hours³. 7. Moreover, I have written down all things *moving⁴ upon the earth⁵. *I have written down all things that are nourished⁶, all seed sown and unsown, which grows on the earth, and all things belonging to the garden, and every herb and every flower, and their fragrance and their names. 8. And the dwellings of the clouds, *and their conformations and their wings⁷, how they bring rain and *the rain-drops, I investigated all. 9. And I wrote down the course of the⁷ thunder *and lightning⁷, and they⁸ showed me the keys, *and their guardians⁹ and their path¹⁰ by which they go. They are brought forth in bonds, in measured degree, *and are let go in bonds¹, lest by their *heavy course and vehemence¹¹ they should overload the clouds of wrath and destroy everything on earth. 10. I have written down the treasures of the snow, and the store-houses of the hail, and the cool breezes. *And I observed the holder of the keys of them during the season: and how he fills the clouds with them¹², and yet does not exhaust their treasures. 11. I *wrote down¹³ the abodes of the winds, *and I observed and saw⁷ how those who hold *their keys¹⁴ bear balances and measures, and in the first place they put them on a balance, in the second they¹⁵ let them go in measure *moderately, with care⁷ over the whole earth, so that with their heavy breathing they should

¹ A om. ² Measured and calculated, Sok. ³ Sok. adds and written them down. ⁴ That were arranged, Sok. ⁵ Sok. adds making inquiries into them. ⁶ Sok. om. ⁷ B om. ⁸ The angels, B. ⁹ Which guarded them, B. ¹⁰ Coming in and going out, Sok. ¹¹ Grievous vehemence, B. Heavy opening (?) and vehemence, Sok. ¹² I saw at that time how the clouds are restrained by them as a key does prisoners, B. I watched their seasons: how those that hold the keys of them fill the clouds with them, Sok. ¹³ Saw, B. ¹⁴ Keys of their prisons, B. ¹⁵ B adds measure and.

now defective, was clearly complete originally. 8. Cf. Eth. En. lx. 19-22 for an account of these phenomena. 9. Course of the thunder, &c.

This is to be found in Eth. En. lix; lx. 13-15. 10. Cf. vi. 1, 2; Eth. En. lx. 17, 18. 11. See Eth. En. xli. 4.

not shake the whole¹ earth. 12. * For I have measured the whole earth, its mountains and all hills, fields, trees, stones, rivers; all things that exist I have written down, the height from earth to the seventh heaven, and down to the lowest hell¹, * the place of judgement and the mighty hell² laid open, and * full of lamentation. And I saw how¹ the prisoners suffer, awaiting the immeasurable judgement. 13. * And I wrote out all of those who are being judged by the judge, and all the judgement they receive, and all their deeds¹.

¹ B om. ² From thence I was taken to the place of judgement, and I saw hell, B. I append here chapter XL in full, as it appears in B. This chapter in B is manifestly fragmentary and disarranged, and serves to justify the originality of the fuller form as preserved in A Sok. 1. My children, I know all from the lips of the Lord. For mine eyes saw from the beginning to the end, 8. and the dwelling places of the clouds, 9. with those which bring storms and thunder. And the angels showed me the keys which guarded them. 10. I saw the treasure of snow and ice, 9. and the path by which they go: they are brought forth in bonds in measure, and let go in bonds, so that with grievous vehemence they should not oppress the clouds and destroy in the earth, 10. both the air and the cold. I saw at that time how the clouds are restrained by them as a key does prisoners, and they are not allowed to exhaust their treasures. 11. I saw the abodes of the winds, how those who hold the keys of their prisons bear with them the balances and the measures: in the first place they lay on the balances; in the second they measure, and in measure do they let them go over the whole earth: so that by their powerful breath they should not shake the earth. 12. From thence I was taken to the place of judgement and I saw hell open and the prisoners and the eternal judgement.

12. Down to the lowest hell. We come here upon a conception irreconcilable with the general scheme of the author. Hell, according to this scheme, is really located in the third heaven. See x, where the place, its horrors, and the classes it is prepared for, are described at length. But the old Jewish beliefs of an underworld of punishment are too strong to be wholly excluded, and so consistency is here sacrificed to completeness. For an analogous comparison cf. xviii. 7. It is possible, further, that the author may have had some idea of a series of seven hells, as he speaks here of 'the lowest

hell,' and as this idea is afterwards found in Rabbinic tradition; see Eisenmenger, ii. 302, 328-330. If, however, we observe how close this hell is to the Garden of Eden, in xlii. 3, we shall be inclined to identify it with the place of punishment described in x. The interpretation, however, of xlii. 3 is difficult. Awaiting the immeasurable judgement. These words, which are found also in vii. 1, in reference to the fallen watchers, would seem to imply an intermediate place of punishment, in fact, Sheol or Hades. 13. This was an ancient belief of the Jews: cf. liii. 2; lxiv. 5; Jubilees iv. 23; x. 17.

[*How Enoch wept for the Sins of Adam.*]

XLII. 1. And I saw *all our forefathers from the beginning with Adam and Eve¹, and I sighed and wept, *and spake of the ruin (caused by) their wickedness²: *Woe is me for my infirmity and that of my forefathers¹. 2. And *I meditated in my heart and said³: 'Blessed is the man who was not born, or, having been born, has never sinned before the face of the Lord, so that he should not come into this place, to bear the yoke of this place!' ✓

[*How Enoch saw those who keep the Keys, and the Guardians of the Gates of Hades standing by.*]

XLII. 1. I saw *those who keep the keys, and are the guardians of the gates of hell, standing⁴, like great serpents,

XLII. ¹ Bom. ² The destruction of the unholy, B. ³ I said in my heart, B.

XLII. ⁴ The guardians of hell holding the keys, standing opposite to the gates, B. B blends xli and xlii. 1-2 together in this order, xlii. 1; xli; xlii. 2. It will be seen that it omits reference to Adam and Eve.

From being the scribe of God's works, as he is universally in the Eth. and the Slav. Enoch, the transition was easy to the conception of Enoch as a scribe of the deeds of men. Cf. for later tradition Test. Abraham (ed. James), p. 115 καὶ εἶπεν 'Αβραὰμ πρὸς Μιχαήλ· Κύριε, . . . τίς ἐστιν ὁ ἄλλος ὁ ἐλέγχων τὰς ἀμαρτίας; καὶ λέγει Μιχαήλ πρὸς 'Αβραάμ . . . ὁ ἀποδεικνύμενος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης 'Ενώχ· ἀπέστειλεν γὰρ κύριος αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα, ἵνα ἀπογράψωσιν τὰς ἀμαρτίας καὶ τὰς δικαιοσύνας ἐκάστου.

XLII. 1. It seems to be implied here that the forefathers of Enoch, including Adam and Eve, are in the place of punishment, and that they are to remain there till God comes to judge the world (xlii. 5, note). That

Adam and the patriarchs were in Hades was a prevalent early Christian belief. Cf. *Descensus ad Inferos*, viii-ix. 2. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 12 'Melius erat nos non adesse quam advenientes . . . pati.' Eth. En. xxxviii. 2; Apoc. Bar. x. 6.

XLII. 1. Who keep the keys. In Sibyll. Or. viii. 121-2 we have a strange application of this idea:

αἰὼν κοινὸς ἅπασιν
κλειδοφύλαξ εἰρκτῆς μεγάλης ἐπὶ
βῆμα θεοῦ.

Keys. Cf. Rev. ix. 1; xx. 1. Guardians of the gates of hell. According to Emek hammelech, fol. 144, col. 2, each division of hell is under the control of a certain angel (Eisenmenger, ii. 332). The Greek word here may have been *τημελοῦχοι*. In the singular number it has become a proper name in Apoc. Pauli. Like

and their faces were like quenched lamps, and their eyes were fiery¹, and their teeth were sharp². *And they were stripped to the waist³. 2. And I said *before their faces⁴, 'Would that I had not seen you, *nor heard of your doings⁵, *and that those of my race had never come to you⁶! *Now they have only sinned a little in this life, and always suffer in the eternal life⁷.' 3. *I went out to the East, to the paradise of Eden, where rest has been prepared for the just, and it is open to the third heaven, and shut from this world⁸. 4. *And guards are placed at the very great gates of the east of the sun, i. e. fiery angels, singing triumphant songs, that never cease rejoicing in the presence of the just. 5. At the last coming they will lead forth Adam with our forefathers, and conduct them there, that they may rejoice, as a man calls those whom he loves to feast with him; and they having come with joy hold converse, before the dwelling of that man⁷, *with joy awaiting his feast, the enjoyment and the immeasurable wealth, and joy and merriment in the light, and eternal life⁹. 6. *Then

¹ Like a darkened flame, B. ² B Sok. om. ³ A om. ⁴ To the persons (there), B. ⁵ B om. A OMITS VERSES 2-14^a. ⁶ Nor brought my family to you, Sok. ⁷ B om. ⁸ B seems to recall this verse in the words: And I saw there a blessed place and every created thing blessed. B introduces this section with the words: Entry of Enoch unto the Paradise of the Just. ⁹ And all living there in joy and in boundless happiness and eternal life, B.

quenched lamps. Contrast the faces and eyes of the heavenly angels, i. 5. 2. Cf. xli. 2. 3. The expression 'open to the third heaven' is strange; it would seem to imply that this is not the heavenly Paradise in the third heaven, but the original Garden of Eden. On the other hand, as this Paradise is prepared for the righteous, we are obliged to identify it with the Paradise of this third heaven described in viii-ix. 5. The last coming. See xxxii. 1 (note); lviii. 1. Adam with our forefathers. See

xli. 1 (note). The idea that the patriarchs were in hell or hades is at variance with what is stated or implied in some parts of the Eth. En. Cf. lx. 8, 23; lxi. 12; lxx. 3, 4, where we find Paradise already peopled with the righteous; but it is not incompatible with lxxxix. 52; xciii. 8, where apparently Enoch and Elijah are its only inhabitants. According to xxii the patriarchs were to remain in hades till the final judgement. This would, in some degree, harmonize with our text. 6-14. Nine

I said¹, 'I tell you, my children: blessed is he who fears
 * the name of the Lord, and serves continually before His
 face, and brings his gifts with fear continually in this life²,
 * and lives all his life justly, and dies³. 7. Blessed is he
 who executes a just judgement, * not for the sake of recom-
 pense, but for the sake of righteousness, expecting nothing
 in return: a sincere judgement shall afterwards come to
 him³. 8. * Blessed is he who clothes the naked with
 a garment, and gives his bread to the hungry. 9. Blessed
 is he who gives a just judgement for the orphan and
 the widow, and assists every one who is wronged⁴.
 10. Blessed is he who turns from the * unstable path of this
 vain world⁵, and walks by the righteous path * which leads
 to eternal life³. 11. Blessed is he who sows just seed,

¹ Sok. om. ² And serves the Lord; and do you, my children, learn to bring gifts to the Lord that you may have life, B. ³ B om.

⁴ Blessed is he who has given a just judgement, and assists the orphan and the widow, and every one who is oppressed: clothes the naked, and gives bread to the hungry, B. ⁵ Path of deceit, B.

beatitudes. These are very colour-
 less. 7. Executes a just judge-
 ment. Cf. ix; Ezek. xviii. 8. This
 verse recalls in some measure the
 words of Antigonus of Socho: 'Be
 not like servants who serve their
 master for the sake of reward, but be
 like those who do service without
 respect to recompense, and live al-
 ways in the fear of God.' Expecting
 nothing in return. Cf. Luke vi.
 35. Sincere. Corrupt. With the
 entire verse we have a good parallel
 in Orac. Sibyll. ii. 61, 63

πάντα δίκαια νέμειν, μηδ' εἰς ἄδικον
 κρίσιν ἐλθῆς.

ἦν σὺν κακῶς δικάσης, σὲ θεὸς μετέ-
 πειτα δικάσσει.

8. These words are found in ix.
 9. Cf. ix; Ps. x. 18; Is. i. 17; Jer.
 xxii. 3, 16; Zech. vii. 9, 10. 10.

Walks by the righteous path. Cf.
 Prov. iv. 11; Or Sibyll. iii. 9-10

τίπτε . . . οὐκ εὐθείαν ἀταρπὸν
 βαίνετε ἀθανάτου κτιστοῦ μεμνημένοι
 αἰεί:

also Fragm. i. 23 sq. 11. Is the
 blessing for those who sow seed that
 is justly their own? In Orac. Sibyll.
 ii. 71-72, 'he who steals seed is
 accursed for ever':

σπέρματα μὴ κλέπτειν* ἐπαράσιμος
 ὅς τις ἔληται
 ἐς γενεὰς γενεῶν, ἐς σκορπισμὸν
 βιότοιο.

On the other hand, the reference may
 be metaphorical and the sense as fol-
 lows: 'From your righteous deeds ye
 will reap sevenfold.' This is probably
 an adaptation of Ecclus. vii. 3 μὴ σπεῖρε
 ἐπ' αὐλάκας ἀδικίας, καὶ οὐ μὴ θερίσης
 αὐτὰς ἑπταπλασίως. Cf. Job iv. 8;

he shall reap sevenfold. 12. Blessed is he in whom is the truth, that he may speak the truth to *his neighbour¹. 13. Blessed is he *who has love upon his lips, and tenderness in his heart². 14. Blessed is he who understands every work of the Lord, *and glorifies the Lord God³; *for the works of the Lord are just, and of the works of man some are good, and others evil, and by their works those who have wrought them are known⁴.

[*Enoch shows his Children how he measured and wrote out the Judgements of God.*]

XLIII. 1. *Lo! my children, the things which I have gained on the earth and meditated upon from the Lord God I have written down both winter and summer. I have compiled the account of all, and concerning the years I have calculated each hour; I have measured the hours and written out the lists of them and I have ascertained all their differences⁵. 2. As one year is more honourable than another⁶, so is one man more honourable than another. This

¹ The man who is sincere, Sok. ² Upon whose lips are tenderness and mercy, B. ³ Accomplished by the Lord and glorifies him, Sok. ⁴ B om. A reads And I saw all the works of the Lord how righteous they are, and of the works of men some (are righteous) but others wicked. And the impure are known by their deeds.

XLIII. ⁵ I, my children, have measured and written out every deed and every measure, and every just judgement (weight, Sok.), A Sok. Sok. adds: And have written them out as the Lord ordered me, and in all these I have found diversity. ⁶ B adds and one day more than another and one hour more than another.

Prov. xxii. 8; Hos. x. 13. 12. Cf. Lev. xix. 11; Eph. iv. 25; Orac. Sibyll. ii. 58 ψεύδεα μὴ βάζειν: 64 μαρτυρίην ψευδῇ φεύγειν, τὰ δίκαι' ἀγορεύειν. 13. Cf. Prov. xxxi. 26. 14. By their works . . . are known. Cf. Mt. vii. 16, 20.

XLIII. 2, 3. As one year, &c. We should expect rather as one day, &c. Cf. Eccclus. xxiii. 7 διὰ τί ἡμέρα ἡμέρας ὑπερέχει; The main thought of these verses is derived from Eccclus. x. 20, 22, 24 (cf. Jer. ix. 23, 24): in

fact no one is greater than he who fears God is a direct quotation from x. 24. This passage runs: 20 ἐν μέσφ' ἀδελφῶν ὁ ἡγούμενος αὐτῶν ἔντιμος, καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι κύριον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ. 22. πλοῖσιος καὶ ἔνδοξος καὶ πτωχός, τὸ καύχημα αὐτῶν φόβος κυρίου. 24. μεγιστὰν καὶ κριτῆς καὶ δυνάστης δοξασθήσεται, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν τις μείζων τοῦ φοβουμένου τὸν κύριον. . . . 30. πτωχός δοξάζεται δι' ἐπιστήμην αὐτοῦ, καὶ πλούσιος δοξάζεται διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ. Cf. Orac. Sibyll. ii. 125.

man on account of many possessions, that man on account of the wisdom¹ of the heart; this man on account of understanding, another on account of cunning; this man for the silence of the lips²; * this man on account of purity, that on account of strength; this man on account of comeliness, another on account of youth; this man on account of sharpness of mind, another on account of quicksightedness of body, and another for the perception of many things. 3. Let it be heard everywhere³; there is no one greater than he who fears God. He shall be the most glorious for ever.

[*Enoch instructs his Sons that they should not revile the Persons of Men, whether they are great or small.*]

XLIV. 1. God⁴ made man with His own hands, in the likeness of His countenance, both small and great the Lord created him. He who reviles the countenance of * man, reviles the countenance of the Lord⁵. 2. * He who shows wrath against another without injury, the great wrath of the Lord shall consume him. 3. If a man spits at the face of another⁶ * insultingly, he shall be consumed⁷ * in the great judgement of the Lord⁸. 4. Blessed is the man who * does not direct his heart with malice against any⁹ man, and who assists the man who is * injured, and¹⁰ under judgement, and raises up the oppressed, * and accomplishes the prayer of him who asks¹¹! 5. For in the day of the great judgement,

¹ Benevolence, B.

² Tongue and lips, B.

³ B om.

XLIV. ⁴ B adds fashioned and. ⁵ The prince, and loathes the countenance of the Lord; despises the countenance of the Lord, A. Man reviles the countenance of the prince and loathes the countenance of the Lord, Sok. ⁶ There is the anger of the Lord, and a great judgement for whoever spits in the face of a man, B. ⁷ His insolence will consume him, Sok.; B om. ⁸ B om. ⁹ Puts confidence in, B. ¹⁰ A, Sok. om. ¹¹ Performs a kindness to him who wants it, Sok.; B om.

XLIV. 1. He who reviles the countenance, &c. We may reasonably compare James iii. 9. 2. Cf.

Matt. v. 22. 4. This beatitude seems out of place here. It would come in fittingly at the close of xlii.

every measure and standard and weight, * which is for traffic, namely, that which is hung on a balance and stands for traffic¹, knows its own measure, and * shall receive its reward by measure².

[*God shows that He does not wish Sacrifices from Man, nor Burnt-Offerings, but pure and contrite Hearts.*]

XLV. 1. * He who hastens and brings his offering before the face of the Lord, then the Lord will hasten the accomplishment of his work, and will execute a just judgement for him³.
2. He who increases his lamp before the face of the Lord, the Lord increases greatly his treasure * in the heavenly kingdom⁴.
3. God does not require bread, nor a light, * nor an animal, nor any other sacrifice⁵, * for it is as nothing⁶. 4. * But God requires a pure heart⁴, and by means of all this, He tries the heart of man.

¹ Hang as on a balance, that is on the scale and which stands for traffic, Sok. B OMITTS ENTIRE VERSE. ² Its measure shall receive its reward, Sok.

XLV. ³ If a man hastens to work folly before the Lord, the Lord furthers him in the carrying out of his work, and makes his judgement faulty. So A through a corruption of ПРИНОСЪ into ПРАЧНО and insertion of HE before СОВОРИТЬ; B om. ⁴ B om. ⁵ Nor food of any kind nor meat, B. Nor an animal, nor an ox, nor any other victim, Sok. ⁶ That is not so, Sok.; B om.

XLV. 3. Cf. Ps. xl. 6; li. 16; Is. i. 11; Mic. vi. 6-8; Eccl. xxxii. 1-3; Orac. Sibyll. viii. 390, 391

οὐ χρήζω θυσίης ἢ σπονδῆς ὑμετέ-
ρηφιν

οὐ κνίσσης μαρῆς, οὐχ αἵματος ἐχθί-
στοιο:

also ii. 82; Athenag. *Supplic. pro Christo*, 13. This is not Essenism: see lix. 1-3. We find the same spiritual appreciation of sacrifices in

Ecclus. xxxii. 1-5 side by side with injunctions to offer them: ὁ συντη-
ρῶν νόμον πλεονάζει προσφοράς, θυσιά-
ζαν σωτηρίου ὁ προσέχων ἐντολαῖς ἀντα-
ποδιδούς χάριν προσφέρων σεμίδαλιν,
καὶ ὁ ποιῶν ἐλεημοσύναν θυσιάζαν αἰ-
νέσεως καὶ ἐξιλασμοὺς ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ
πονηρίας. 4. A pure heart. Ps.
li. 10. Tries the heart of man.
Deut. viii. 2; 2 Chron. xxxii. 31;
Ps. xxvi. 2.

[How an earthly Prince will not receive Gifts from Man which are contemptible and impure. How much more does God loath impure Gifts, and rejects them with Wrath, and will not receive the Gifts of such a Man.]

XLVI. 1. *Hear, my people, and pay attention to the words of my lips¹. If any one brings gifts to an earthly prince, but having unfaithfulness in his heart: if the prince knows it, will he not be angry with *him on account of that, and he will not take² his gifts, and will hand him over to condemnation? 2. Or if a man flatters another *in his language, but (plans) evil against him in his heart, will not the other understand the craft of his heart, and he himself will be condemned, so that his unrighteousness will be evident to all³? 3. But when God shall send a great light, by means of that there will be judgement⁴ to the just and unjust, and nothing will be concealed.

[Enoch instructs his Sons from the Lips of God, and gives them the Manuscripts of this Book.]

XLVII. 1. Now, my children, put my thoughts in your hearts; pay attention to the words of your father, which *have come to⁵ you from the mouth of the Lord. 2. Take these books of the writings of your father, and read them, *and in them ye shall learn all the works of the Lord. There have been many books from the beginning of creation, and shall be to the end of the world, but none shall make

XLVI. ¹ Sok. om. B OMITS ENTIRE CHAPTER. ² Sok. om. ³ With falsehood and is good in his tongue but evil in his heart, will not his heart perceive this and he will judge by himself so that he is proved not to be right, Sok. ⁴ Just judgement that is no respecter of persons, Sok.

XLVII. ⁵ I tell, Sok. B OMITS ENTIRE CHAPTER.

XLVI. 2. Cf. Orac. Sibyll. ii. 120
μηδ' ἕτερον κεύθοις κραδίη νόον ἄλλ'
ἀγορεύων. 3. What the great

light means is not clear.

XLVII. 1. Cf. xxxix. 2. 2.

None shall make things known

things known to you like my writings¹. 3. But if you shall preserve² my writings, you will not sin against God. For there is no other besides the Lord, neither in heaven nor on earth, nor the depths below, nor the solitary foundations. 4. God established the foundations upon things that are unknown, and stretched out the *visible and invisible heavens³, and made firm the earth upon the waters, and established the waters on things that are not fixed⁴. Who has created all the innumerable works of creation? 5. * Who has numbered the dust of the earth⁵, and the sand of the sea, and the drops of rain, and the dew of the morning, *and the breath of the wind⁶? Who has *bound earth and sea with bonds⁷ that cannot be broken up: *and has cut⁸ the stars out of fire, *and beautified⁹ the heavens¹⁰, and placed *the sun¹¹ in the midst of them * so that¹¹.

[Of the course of the Sun throughout the seven Circles.]

XLVIII. 1. The sun¹² goes in the seven circles of the

¹ For the books are many and in them we shall learn all the words of the Lord. Such as they are from the beginning of creation, so shall they be to the end of the world, A. ² Keep strictly, Sok. ³ Heavens over the visible things, Sok. ⁴ A reads And He considered what is the water and the foundation of things that are not stedfast and, and transposes these words to end of verse. ⁵ Sok. om. ⁶ Has filled earth and sea and the winter, A. ⁷ Emended from And I cut, A; and (who) sowed, Sok. ⁸ And I beautified, A. ⁹ Sok. adds and placed. ¹⁰ A om. XLVIII. ¹² He, Sok.

to you like my writings. Cf. Eth. En. xciii. 10. 3. But... not sin against God. Cf. xxxiii. 9; xlviii. 7-9. This claim is analogous to that made in the Eth. En. xxxvii. 4; xcii. 1; xciii. 10; c. 6; civ. 12, 13. With this we may contrast Ecclus. xviii. 3 οὐθενὶ ἐξεποίησεν ἐξαγγεῖλαι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. There is no other besides the Lord. Cf. Is. xlv. 5, 14, 18, 22. This is a favourite sentiment in the Sibylline Oracles. Cf. iii. 69

αὐτὸς γὰρ μόνος ἐστὶ θεὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτ' ἄλλος:

also iii. 760; viii. 377; Fragm. i. 7, 15; iii. 3; v. 1. 4. Stretched

out, &c. Ps. civ. 2; Is. xl. 22; xlii.

5. Made firm the earth upon the waters, 2 Pet. iii. 5. 5. Who has numbered... the sand of the sea, and the drops of rain. This is drawn word for word from Ecclus. i. 2 ἄμμον θαλασσῶν καὶ σταγόνas ὑετοῦ . . . τίς ἐξαριθμήσει; Cf. Is. xl. 12, and the oracle in Herod. i. 47 οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης, and likewise recalls LXX Job xxxvi. 27 ἀριθμηταὶ δὲ αὐτῷ σταγόνες ὑετοῦ. Beautified the heavens. Cf. Ecclus. xvi. 27 ἐκόσμησεν εἰς αἰῶνα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

XLVIII. 1. The text is corrupt

heavens, *and I gave him¹ 182 thrones when he goes on a short day, and also 182 thrones when he goes on a long day. 2. And he has two great thrones on which he rests, returning hither and thither above the monthly thrones. From the month Tsivan² after³ seventeen days he descends to the month Thevan⁴, and from the seventeenth day of Thevad⁴ he ascends. 3. And so the sun goes through all the courses of the heaven⁵; when he goes near the earth, then the earth rejoices and produces its fruit; when he departs, then the earth is sad, and the trees and all the fruits have no development. 4. *All this by measure and minute arrangement of time He has arranged by His wisdom⁵, both in the case of things visible and invisible. 5. He has made all things visible out of invisible, Himself being invisible. 6. Thus I tell you, my children, distribute the books to your children, in all your families, and among the nations. 7. Those who are wise let them fear God, and let them receive them *and let them love them more than

¹ Which are the support of the, A. B OMITS ENTIRE CHAPTER.

² Pamorus, Sok. ³ A om. ⁴ Thibith, Sok. ⁵ Hereby he gives a complete measure and with good arrangement of the times and has fixed a measure, A.

and unintelligible. According to xi. 1; xxx. 3 the sun is in the fourth circle of the heavens and does not revolve through the seven circles. Again the twice-mentioned 182 thrones are really when added the 364 world-stations of which we have some account in the Eth. En. lxxv. 2, i.e. 'the harmony of the course of the world is brought about through its separate 364 world-stations.' These world-stations or thrones as in our text are the 364 different positions occupied by the sun on the 364 days of the year. Just as in the Eth. En. lxxii-lxxxii and Jubilees iv no attempt is made here to get the complete number of days in the solar

year, i.e. 365 $\frac{1}{4}$: contrast xiv. 1. This passage therefore either belongs to or is built upon the oldest literature of Enoch. This reckoning of the year at 364 days may be due partly to opposition to heathen systems and partly to the fact that 364 is divisible by 7, and amounts to 52 weeks exactly. See Eth. En. 190-91. 2. Tsivan . . . Thevad. The text is here corrupt. As apparently the two solstices are meant, we should read either Sivan . . . Kislev or Tamuz . . . Tebet. 5. Cf. xxiv. 2 (note); xlvii. 2 (note). Has made here was no doubt ἐπλασε, not ἐποίησε. 6. See xxxiii. 9 (note). 7. Let them love them more than any kind of food.

any kind of food¹, and read them². 8. * But those who are senseless and have no thought of the Lord and do not fear God³ will not receive them but turn away, and * keep themselves from them⁴, * the terrible judgement shall await them⁵. 9. Blessed is the man who bears their yoke, and puts it on, for he shall be set free in the day of the great judgement.

[*Enoch instructs his Sons not to swear either by the Heaven or the Earth; and shows the Promise of God to a Man even in the Womb of his Mother.*]

XLIX. 1. For⁵ I swear to you my children⁶, but I will not swear by a single oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God made. God⁷ said: 'There

¹ And the books will be more profitable to them than all good food on earth, Sok. A adds or earthly advantage. ² Sok. adds And let them cling to them. ³ And it shall result to them if they have no thought of God nor fear him, and if they, A. ⁴ Do not receive the books, A. ⁵ Sok. om.

XLIX. ⁶ B om. rest of verse.

⁷ For the Lord, Sok.

So Eth. En. lxxxii. 3 'this wisdom will please those that eat (thereof) better than good food.' Cf. xlvii. 2 (note). 8. Those who . . . will not receive them . . . the terrible judgement shall await them. The punishment denounced against those who refuse the disclosures of this book is more severe than anything to be found in the Eth. En. For a perfect parallel we must go to Rev. xxii. 18, 19. 9. The appeal for reception is far wider in this book than in the Eth. En. There only 'the elect of righteousness,' 'the righteous and the wise,' 'those who understand,' receive the revelations of Enoch: cf. lxxxii. 3; xciii. 10; civ. 12. Bears their yoke, cf. xxxiv. 1.

XLIX. 1. Swear . . . neither by heaven, &c. From this passage and

from Philo it is clear that Mt. v. 34-35 was a Jewish commonplace. For in Philo *de Special. Leg.* ii. 1 we find: ὁ γὰρ τοῦ σπουδαίου, φησί, λόγος ὅρκος ἔστω βέβαιος, ἀκλινής, ἀψευδέστατος, ἐρηρυσμένος ἀληθείᾳ . . . εἰώθασι γὰρ ἀναφθεγξάμενοι τοσοῦτον μόνον 'νὴ τόν,' ἢ 'μὰ τόν,' μηδὲν παραλαβύντες, ἐμφάσει τῆς ἀποκοπῆς, τρανοῦν ὅρκον οὐ γενόμενον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ παραλαβέτω τις, εἰ βούλοιο, μὴ μὴν τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρεσβύτατον εὐθὺς αἴτιον, ἀλλὰ γῆν, ἥλιον, ἀστέρας, οὐρανόν, τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον: *De decem Orac.* 17 Κάλλιστον δὴ καὶ βιωφελέστατον καὶ ἀρμόττον λογικῇ φύσει τὸ ἀνώμοτον, οὕτως ἀληθεύειν ἐφ' ἐκάστου δεδιδραγμένη, ὥς τοὺς λόγους ὅρκους εἶναι νομίζεσθαι. Cp. also *Leg. All.* iii. 72; *De Sac. Abelis et Caini*, 28; *De Plant. Noe* 19; *Quod Omnis Probus Liber*, 12. It was Mr. Conybeare

is no swearing in me, nor injustice, but truth. If there is no truth in men, let them swear by a word, yea, yea, or nay, nay. 2. * But I swear to you, yea, yea¹, that * there has not been even a man in his mother's womb, for whom a place has not been prepared for every soul²; * and a measure is fixed how long a man shall be tried in this world³. * O! my children, be not deceived¹ * there is a place prepared there for every soul of man⁴.

[*How Nobody born upon the Earth can hide himself, nor are his Deeds concealed. (God) commands that he should be on the Earth a short time, endure Temptation, and Annoyance, and not injure the Widow and Orphan.*]

L. 1. I have laid down in the writings the actions of every man, * and no one born on the earth can hide himself, nor can his deeds be concealed; I see all⁵. 2. Now, therefore, my children, in patience and meekness accomplish the number of your days, and ye shall inherit the endless life which is to come. 3. * Every wound, and every affliction, and every

¹ B om. ² So A Sok. but that for every A reads the rest of that. B reads Even before man was created a place of judgement was prepared for him. ³ And a measure and a standard how long a man shall live in this world, and shall be tried in it, Sok.; And it was measured out and fixed, and there man will be tried, B. ⁴ So A Sok. but that Sok. adds previously after place. B reads As before it was appointed for him.

L. ⁵ B om.; Sok. adds as in a looking-glass.

that first called my attention to these passages in Philo. On the various forms of swearing usual among the Jews and censured in Mt. v. 33-36 and indirectly in the text, see Lightfoot *in loc.*; Eisenmenger, ii. 490 sqq.

XLIX. 2. A place . . . prepared for every soul. So *Tractat Chagiga*, fol. 15, col. 1; *Torath Adam*, fol. 101, col. 3; *Avodath hakkodesh*, fol. 19, col. 1, where it is said that a place

is prepared for every man either in Paradise or Hell (Eisenmenger, ii. 315).

L. 1. Nor can his deeds be concealed. Eth. En. ix. 5. 2. In patience, &c. Cp. Luke xxi. 19 'In your patience ye shall win your souls.' A blessed immortality for the righteous is taught in this book, but apparently no resurrection of the body. 3. Cp. Eccus. ii. 4; 2 Tim. iv. 5; Heb. x. 32; 1 Pet. ii. 19;

evil word, and attack¹ endure for the sake of the Lord.
4. And when you might have vengeance² do not repay, either
*your neighbour or your enemy³. For God⁴ will repay as
your avenger in the *day of the great judgement⁵. *Let it
not be for you to take vengeance⁶. 5. Whoever of you
shall spend gold or silver for the sake of a brother, shall receive
abundant treasure in *the day of judgement⁷ *and stretch
out your hands to⁸ the orphan, the widow, and the stranger⁹.

[*Enoch instructs his Sons, not to hide their Treasures upon
Earth, but bids them give Alms to the Needy.*]

LI. 1. *Stretch out your hands to the poor man¹⁰ according
to your powers. 2. *Do not hide your silver in the earth¹¹:

¹ Whatever wound or disease or affliction or evil end shall light upon you, B. Put away from you every wound and every injury and every evil word. If an attack and an injury be inflicted upon you for the sake of the Lord, Sok. ² Sok. adds an hundredfold. ³ Your neighbour, B; one who is near you or afar off, Sok. ⁴ Living God, B; Lord, Sok. ⁵ Great day of, A. ⁶ Therefore be not avenged here from men but then from the Lord, Sok. B om. ⁷ That world, A Sok. ⁸ Do not oppress, A. ⁹ B om.; A adds lest the wrath of God should come upon you.

LI. ¹⁰ And assist the poor man, B; Sok. om. ¹¹ Sok. reads in your treasures after come upon you, B om.

Jam. i. 12. See li. 3. 4. Cp. Ecclus. xxviii. 1 ὁ ἐκδικῶν παρὰ Κυρίου εὐρήσει ἐκδίκησιν, καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτοῦ διαστηριῶν διαστηρίσει. 2. ἄφες ἀδίκημα τῷ πλησίον σου, καὶ τότε δεηθέντος σου αἱ ἀμαρτίαι σου λυθήσονται. See also verses 3-6. God will repay . . . in the day of the great judgement. These words follow the LXX of Deut. xxxii. 35 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω. The LXX thus read לְיוֹם נָקָם אֱשֶׁלֶם instead of the Mass. לִי נָקָם וְשָׁלַם. The Samaritan likewise reads לְיוֹם. Cp. also Prov. xx. 22; xxiv. 29. In Rom. xii. 19; Heb. x. 30, the writers follow a text of Deut. xxxii. 35 agreeing partly with the Mass. and partly

with that implied by the LXX. 5. Whoever, &c. Cp. Prov. xix. 17: Ecclus. xxix. 10. See LI. 2 (note). Stretch out your hands to the orphan, &c. Orac. Sibyll. ii. 75 ὀρφανικοῖς χήραις τ' ἐπιδευομένοις τε παράσχου. Cf. ix.

LI. 1. Stretch out your hands to the poor, &c. This is drawn from Ecclus. vii. 32 πτωχῷ ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρά σου, which in turn seems drawn from Prov. xxxi. 20. Cf. Job vii. 9: Orac. Sibyll. ii. 88. According to your powers. Cf. Ecclus. xiv. 13; xxix. 20. 2. Do not hide your silver in the earth. Cf. Ecclus. xxix. 10 ἀπόλεσον ἀργύριον δι' ἀδελφὸν καὶ φίλον καὶ μὴ ἰωθήτω ὑπὸ

*assist the honest man in his affliction, and affliction shall not come upon you, in the time of your labour. 3. And whatever violent and grievous yoke shall be put upon you, endure all for the Lord's sake¹, and so you will receive your reward in the day of judgement. 4. Morning, afternoon, and evening, it is good to go into the house of the Lord to glorify *the Creator of all². 5. Wherefore³ let every thing that hath breath glorify Him, and let every creature visible and invisible give forth praise.)

[*God instructs His faithful Servants how they are to praise His Name.*]

LII. 1. Blessed is the man who opens *his lips to praise the God of Sabaoth, and praises the Lord with his heart⁴. 2. Cursed is every man who opens his *lips to abuse and to calumniate his neighbour⁵. 3. Blessed⁶ is he who opens his lips to the blessing and praise of God! 4. Cursed is he who opens his lips to swearing and blasphemy before the face of the Lord all his days. 5. Blessed is he who

¹ B om. ² Your Creator, A. ³ For, Sok.; Sok. also puts the verbs in the indicative; B OMITTS VERSE.

LII. ⁴ Heart and lips to the praise of the Lord, B. ⁵ Heart to abuse, abusing the poor and calumniating his neighbour, Sok.; B supports text but that it omits and to calumniate. After neighbour A adds for him shall God rebuke. ⁶ B OMITTS VERSES 3, 4.

τὸν λίθον. Assist... in his affliction. Cf. Eccus. iv. 4 *ικέτην θλιβόμενον μὴ ἀπαναίνου*. 3. Eccus. ii. 4 *πάν ὁ ἐὰν ἐπαχθῇ σοι . . . μακροθύμησον*. Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 19; iii. 14. Cf. L. 3. 4. Ps. lv. 17: Cf. Dan. vi. 10. These three Jewish hours of prayer—the *third* (that of morning sacrifice), the *sixth* (noon), the *ninth* (that of evening sacrifice)—are observed in Acts ii. 15; iii. 1; x. 9. See Lightfoot *in loc.* for his Talmudic references. House of the Lord. This means the temple; for though the author is a Jew living in Egypt, he is writing

for Judaism as a whole, and is giving herein the ideal conduct of an inhabitant of Jerusalem. In LIX. 2, 3, he prescribes the right method of sacrifice, and sacrifices could only be offered in Jerusalem. 5. Every thing that, &c. Ps. cl. 6.

LII. With these beatitudes compare xlii. 6-14. Like the latter these are wanting in vigour. They seem to be in the main derived from Ecclesiasticus. 2. Cf. Wisdom i. 11 *ἀπὸ καταλαλιᾶς φείσασθε γλώσσης*. 4 Swearing and blasphemy. Cf. Eccus. xxiii. 9-12. 5. Cf. Eccus.

blesses all the works of the Lord. 6. Cursed is he who speaks ill of¹ the works of the Lord. 7. Blessed is he who *looks to raise his own hand for labour². 8. Cursed is he who looks to³ make use of another man's labour. 9. Blessed is he who preserves the foundations of his fathers *from the beginning⁴. 10. Cursed is he who breaks the enactments⁵ of his fathers. 11. Blessed is he who *establishes peace and love⁶. 12. Cursed is he who troubles those who *are at peace⁷. 13. Blessed is he who *does not speak peace with his tongue, but in his heart there is peace to all⁸! 14. Cursed is he who speaks peace with his tongue, but in his heart there is no peace⁹. 15. For all these things in measures and in books will be revealed in the day of the great judgement¹⁰.

[*Let us not say that our Father is with God, and will plead for us at the Day of Judgement. For I know that a Father cannot help his Son, nor a Son a Father.*]

LIII. 1. And now, my children, do not say; Our father

¹ Sok. adds all. ² Looks to the work of his own hands, B. Looks to raise up the fallen, A. ³ A adds and is eager to. ⁴ B om. ⁵ B adds and ordinances. ⁶ Goes to seek peace and leads others to peace, B. ⁷ Love their neighbours, A. ⁸ Speaks peace, for peace abides with him, B. Speaks with a humble tongue and heart to all, A. ⁹ A adds a sword. B OMITTS ENTIRE VERSE. ¹⁰ B adds Therefore, my brethren, preserve your hearts from everything unjust that you may inherit an habitation of light for ever.

xxxix. 14 εὐλογήσατε κύριον ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. 7. Cf. Eph. iv. 28. 8. Seems to be derived from Eccus. xxxi. 26 φονεύων τὸν πλησίον ὁ ἀφαιρούμενος συμβίωσιν, καὶ ἐκχέων αἷμα ὁ ἀποστερῶν μίσθον μισθίου. Cf. Orac. Sibyll. ii. 56-57 :

μὴ πλουτεῖν ἀδίκως, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὁσίων βιοτεύειν.

ἀρκεῖσθαι παροῦσι καὶ ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέχεσθαι.

10. Cf. Eth. En. xcix. 2, 14; Eccus. xvii. 11. 11. Cf. Mt. v. 9. 12. This is derived from Eccus. xxviii. 9 ἀνὴρ

ἁμαρτωλὸς ταραξεί φίλους καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον εἰρηγενόντων ἐκβάλλει διαβολήν. Cf. also Eccus. xxviii. 13. 14. Cf. Ps. xxviii. 3; lv. 21; lxii. 4; Orac. Sibyll. ii. 120, 122.

LIII. 1. This idea that departed saints interceded on behalf of the living has been attributed by some scholars to Is. lxiii. 16 (see Ewald, *History of Israel*, i. 296; Cheyne, *Prophecies of Isaiah*, ii. 107-108; 299-300). If, however, the doctrine of a blessed immortality or of the resurrection was a late development

stands before God, and prays *for us (to be released) from sin¹; *for there is no person there to help any man who has sinned². 2. You see how I have written down all the works of every man *before his creation², *which is³ *done in the case of all men for ever². 3. And no man *can say or unsay⁴ what I have written with my hand. For God sees all things, *even the thoughts of wicked men⁵, *which lie in the storeplaces of the heart². 4. And now,

LIII. ¹ Concerning our sins, A. what things are, Sok.; B om.

² B om.

³ And I shall write

⁴ Destroy, B; contradict, Sok.

⁵ The thoughts of man that they are vain, A; B om.

among the Jews, this idea must necessarily have been later still, and accordingly unless we are prepared to bring down considerably the date of Is. lxiii, we shall have some difficulty in justifying such an interpretation. It seems indeed that this idea among the Jews was comparatively late in origin. The first indubitable evidence in its favour is to be found in the Eth. En. xxii. 12; xcvii. 3, 5; xcix. 16; and thus we find that it was an accepted Pharisaic belief early in the second century B.C. The next mention of this belief is to be met with in 2 Macc. xv. 14 where Jeremiah, who appears in a vision to Judas Maccabaeus, is described as follows: ὁ φιλάδελφος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πολλὰ προσευχόμενος περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως Ἰερεμίας ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ προφήτης. This was also the teaching of Philo, *de Exsecrat.* 9: τρισὶ χρησόμενοι παρακλήτοις τῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καταλλαγῶν . . . δευτέρῳ δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀρχηγῶν τοῦ ἔθνους οὐσίῳ, ὅτι ταῖς ἀφειμέναις σωματικαῖς ψυχαῖς ἀπλαστον καὶ γυμνὴν ἐπιδεικνυμέναις πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα θεραπείαν τὰς ὑπὲρ νῶν καὶ θυγατέρων ἱκετείας οὐκ ἀτελεῖς εἰώθασιν ποιεῖσθαι, γέρας αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ ἐπήκοον ἐν εὐχαῖς. The

same view was obviously held by Joseph. *Antt.* i. 13. 3, where he describes Abraham as saying to Isaac when on the point of sacrificing him: μετ' εὐχῶν δὲ καὶ ἱερουργίας ἐκείνου τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν σὴν προσδεξιόμενον καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καθέξοντος ἔσθ' μοι εἰς κηδεμόνα καὶ γηροκόμον. And also in Orac. Sibyll. ii. 330-333:

τοῖς καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς ἄφθιτος
ἄλλο παρέξει
εὐσεβέεσσ', ὅπότ' ἂν θεὸν ἄφθιτον
αἰτήσωνται
ἐκ μαλεροῖο πυρός τε καὶ ἀκαμάτων
ἀπὸ βρυγμῶν
ἀνθρώπους σῶσαι δώσει· καὶ τοῦτο
ποιήσει.

Finally this doctrine is recognized and apparently accepted in certain parts of the N. T.: Matt. xxvii. 47, 49; Luke xvi. 24-31; John viii. 56 (?); Heb. xii. 1?; Rev. vi. 9-11. For the prevalence of this belief in later Judaism, see Eisenmenger, ii. 357-9; 361. The idea of intercession may be derived from ancestor-worship, and not from the doctrine of a future life as I have implied above; cf. Cheyne's *Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, 352, 3. 2. Enoch is the universal scribe. 3. Cf. Ps. xciv. 11; Eccles. xvii. 15. 20.

my children, pay attention to all the words * of your father which I say to you¹: *that ye may not grieve afterwards and say: Our father for some cause or other, never told them to us, in the time of this folly².

[*Enoch admonishes his Sons that they should give the Books to Others.*]

LIV. * Let these books which I have given you be the inheritance of your peace³: *do not conceal them⁴ but tell⁵ them to all desiring them *and admonish them⁶ that *they may know the works of the Lord which are very wonderful⁷.

[*Here Enoch makes a Declaration to his Sons: and speaks to them with Tears: 'My children, my Hour draws near, that I should go to Heaven. Lo! Angels stand before me!'*]

LV. 1. My children, the appointed day and time⁸ have drawn near *and constrain me to depart⁹. The angels *will come and¹⁰ stand before me *on the earth awaiting what has been ordered them¹¹. 2. In the morning I shall go to the highest¹² heavens¹³ to my eternal habitation. 3. Therefore I tell you to do all that is good before the face of the Lord.

[*Methosalem asks a Blessing of his Father; that he may give him Bread to eat.*]

LVI. 1. Methosalem having answered his father Enoch said¹⁴: 'If it is good in thine eyes, *my father¹⁵,* let me

¹ Of the lips of your father, B. ² B om.

LIV. ³ That you may have an inheritance of peace and the books which I have given you from God, B. ⁴ A om. ⁵ Give, A. ⁶ Sok. om. ⁷ Words cannot make known the works of God, B.

LV. ⁸ B adds appointed by God. ⁹ A reads after stand before me. ¹⁰ Who wish to go with me, A Sok. ¹¹ So A Sok. but that

before on the earth, A adds they now stand; B om. ¹² Upper, B; A om. ¹³ A adds to the highest Jerusalem.

LVI. ¹⁴ B om. ¹⁵ Enoch, Sok.

LIV. See xxxiii. 9 (note). Works LV. 1. See xxxvi. 2. Highest . . . wonderful. Job xxxvii. 14, 16; heavens. Cf. lxxvii. 2. Ps. lxxi. 17, &c.

put food¹ before thy face and then, having blessed our houses and thy sons, *and all thy family², let thy people be glorified by thee; and then afterwards thou wilt depart, *as God hath said³.' 2. Enoch answered his son *Methosalem and said⁴: 'Hear, my child, since God has anointed me with the oil of his glory, there has been no² food in me, *and my soul remembers nothing of earthly pleasure⁵ nor do I desire *anything earthly⁶.

[*Enoch orders his Son Methosalem to call all his Brothers.*]

LVII. 1. But⁷ call all⁸ thy brothers, and all your⁹ families, and the elders of the people, that I may speak to them and depart *as is appointed for me⁸. 2. And Methosalem hastened, and called his brethren. Regim, Riman¹⁰, Ukhan¹¹, Khermion. [Gaidal⁸], and¹² the elders of¹³ the people, *and brought them all¹⁴ before the face of his father Enoch¹⁵. And having blessed them, he spake to them¹⁶.

[*The Instruction of Enoch to his Sons.*]

LVIII. 1. 'Listen to me, my sons. *In those days when the Lord came upon the earth for the sake of Adam, and visited¹⁷ all his creation, which He Himself had made¹⁸. 2. The¹⁹ Lord²⁰ called all the cattle of the earth²¹, and all

¹ Let me do, A: let us put food, Sok. ² A om. ³ As God wishes, Sok.; B om. ⁴ And said, Sok.; B om. ⁵ B om. ⁶ Earthly food, B.

LVII. ⁷ My son Methosalem, A. ⁸ B om. ⁹ Our, B. ¹⁰ Rim, B. ¹¹ Azukhan, B. ¹² A adds all. ¹³ Sok. adds all. ¹⁴ And called them, Sok.; A om. ¹⁵ Sok. adds and they bowed before his face, and Enoch saw them. ¹⁶ Sok. adds saying.

LVIII. ¹⁷ So A and Sok., but that Sok. adds your father after Adam; B reads in the days of our father Adam the Lord came to visit him and. ¹⁸ A adds and after all these created Adam: Sok. adds in brackets in the previous thousand years and after all these created Adam. ¹⁹ And the, A B Sok. ²⁰ Lord God, B. ²¹ B adds and all the wild beasts and all the fourfooted things.

LCI. 2. Cf. xxii. 7, 8.

Khermion are not mentioned in i. 10.

LVII. 1. Cf. xxxvi. 1; Eth. En. xci. 1. 2. Riman, Ukhan, and

On Gaidal, see i. 10 (note).

LVIII. 1. When the Lord came

creeping things, and all the fowls that fly *in the air¹, and brought them all¹ before the face of our father Adam², and he gave names to all living things on the earth. 3. And the Lord made him lord over all, and put all things under his hands³, and *subdued (them) to submission and to all obedience⁴ *to man⁵. So the Lord created⁶ man as master over all His possessions. 4. The Lord will not judge any soul of beast on account of man, *but he will judge the soul of man on account of the souls of beasts in the world to come⁷. 5. *For as there is a special place for mankind for all the souls of men according to their number, so there is also of beasts. And not one

¹ B om. ² Sok. adds that he should give names to all fourfooted things. ³ Made subject to Adam all the newly created things, B. ⁴ Secondly he placed all things under the rule of and made them obedient, B. Made them dumb and made them deaf to obey, A. ⁵ As unto every man, Sok. ⁶ A adds every. ⁷ But the soul of man shall judge the animals in this world, A; B gives the sense of the verse; but there shall not be a judgement of every living soul but only of that of man, and (?) in the great life to come.

upon the earth . . . and visited. See xxxii. 1 (note). 5. Special place . . . for all the souls of men. See xlix. 2 (note). So also of beasts. As the Jews believed at the beginning of the Christian era that all animals had spoken one language before the fall, and therefore in some degree possessed rationality (Jubilees iii. 28; Joseph. *Antt.* i. 1.4), it was only natural that they should proceed to infer a future existence of the animal world. The O. T. indeed does not show a single trace of this belief, though it always displays a most tender solicitude for their well-being; nor do we find it in any pre-Christian Jewish writing, with the exception of the present text. Even here the future life is of a limited nature. It is ethically motivated. This

further term of existence is not conceded for the brute's own sake, but wholly with a view to the punishment of man. The brute creation is to live just long enough to bring an indictment for ill-treatment against man at the final judgement. Though this idea of any future life in connexion with the brute creation may move the wonder of the modern mind, it is justified by perfectly analogous ideas in the ancient world. Not to speak of the doctrine of metempsychosis in Greece and the deification of animals in Egypt, such conceptions as those in the text would not unnaturally flow from the powers and qualities frequently assigned to animals by Greek thinkers. Thus, according to Plut. *Plac.* v. 20, 4, the souls of brutes were rational though

soul shall perish which God has made till the great judgement. 6. And every soul of beast shall bring a charge against man if he feeds them badly¹.

¹ I have followed Sok. in verses 5, 6. B partly preserves the sense there is one place and one fold for the souls of beasts. For every living soul which God has made was not reserved for the great judgement. And every soul of beasts, &c., as in text. A is transposed and corrupt; There is a special place for mankind; as there is every soul of man according to his number, so the beast also shall not perish. And every soul of beast which God has made shall bring a charge against man at (or until) the great judgement if, &c., as in text.

incapable of acting rationally on account of their bodies; according to Xenocrates they possessed a consciousness of God, καθόλου γοῦν τὴν περὶ τοῦ θείου ἔννοιαν Ξενοκράτης . . . οὐκ ἀπελπίζει καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις (Clem. Strom. v. 590). Chrysippus ascribed reason to brutes (Chalkid in Tim. p. 148 b); while Sextus Medicus (ix. 127) maintained that the souls of brutes and of men were alike. Hence it was generally believed that the souls of men could pass into brutes, πρῶτον μὲν ἀθάνατον εἶναί φησι τὴν ψυχὴν, εἶτα μεταβάλλουσιν εἰς ἄλλα γένη ζώων (Porph. V. P. 19): while Plato indeed went further and derived the souls of all brutes ultimately from those of men, through a process of deterioration, ὥς γάρ ποτε ἐξ ἀνδρῶν γυναικες καὶ τᾶλλα θηρία γενήσονται, ἠπίσταντο οἱ ξυνιστάντες ἡμᾶς (Tim. 76 D). With regard to individual animals, some thinkers believed that bees contained a divine element (Virg. Georg. iv. 219-221), while Democritus and Pliny placed religion among the moral virtues of elephants (H. N. viii. 1). But the closest parallels are to be found in Zoroastrianism, to which indeed we should probably trace in some measure the ideas of the text. Thus in the Zend-Avesta

Vendidad *Fargard* 13 (Darmesteter) we find an entire chapter dealing with the sacredness of the life of the domesticated dog and the crime of attempting its life—its murderer was to lose his soul to the ninth generation (1-4): with the food that was to be given to it and the penalties entailed by feeding it badly (20-28), which were to range from fifty to two hundred blows with the horse-goad. Nay more, the land, its pastures and crops were to suffer for the unatoned death of the dog, and these plagues were not to be removed till the man who had slain it was slain in turn or had offered sacrifices three days and three nights to the pious soul of the departed dog (54, 55). Finally, the soul of the dog went after death to the source of the waters (51). In the *Midrash Koheleth*, fol. 329, col. 1, we find the following quaint and slightly analogous thought: ‘Rabbi Chama, the son of Gorion, said that wolves and unfruitful trees must give account: just as man must give account, so also must unfruitful trees.’ Eisenmenger, i. 468. It is noteworthy that the ideas of the text have passed over into the creed of the Mohammedans. Thus, according to Sale’s note on the sixth chapter of the Koran, irrational animals will be

[*Enoch teaches all his Sons why they must not touch the
Flesh of Cattle, because of what comes from it.*]

LIX. 1. He, who acts lawlessly with regard to the souls of beasts, acts lawlessly with regard to his own soul. 2. For a man offers clean animals *and makes his sacrifice that he may preserve his soul¹. And if he offer as a sacrifice from clean *beasts and² birds³, he preserves his soul. 3. Everything that⁴ is given you for food, bind by the four feet: that is an atonement: he acts righteously (therein) and preserves his soul. 4. But he who kills a beast without a wound kills his own soul and sins against his

LIX. ¹ And then he preserves his soul, B. ² B om. ³ A adds it is a salvation for man. ⁴ A om.; B OMITTS VERSES 3, 4, 5.

restored to life at the resurrection that they may be brought to judgement and have vengeance taken on them for the injuries they had inflicted on each other in this life. Then after they have duly retaliated their several wrongs, God will turn them again to dust (Sale's Koran, Prelim. Discourse, Sect. iv), with the exception of Ezra's ass and the dog of the seven sleepers which will enjoy eternal life in Paradise (Koran iii; xviii). Are we to interpret in this manner Orac. Sibyll. viii. 415-418?—

καὶ ὕστερον ἐς κρίσιν ἤξω
κρίνων εὐσεβέων καὶ δυσσεβέων βίον
ἀνδρῶν·

καὶ κρινὸν κρινῶ καὶ ποιμένι ποιμένα θήσω
καὶ μύσχον μύσχῳ πέλας ἀλλήλων ἐς
ἐλεγχον.

Even in Christian times animals were credited with intelligence, conscience, responsibility, as well as with the passions, vices and virtues of mankind (see *Bestie delinquenti*, D'Addosio, 1892, from which the following

facts are taken). They were accordingly solemnly tried, and advocates were assigned at the public expense to them to plead their cause. Thus moles (824 A. D.), a sow (1324), a cock (1474), snails (1487) were duly tried and condemned. They were also occasionally subjected to torture, and their cries were regarded as a confession of guilt (l. c. p. 46). Even as late as 1531 a book was written by Chassauée to discuss the lawfulness of trying animals judicially, and the legitimate methods of procedure (l. c. p. 75).

LIX. 1. He who acts lawlessly, &c. At first sight this would seem to refer to the sin of bestiality, and such was the view of the scribe of A: see title, but the context is against this, as verses 2-4 clearly show. Hence some illegitimate method of sacrificing or slaughtering animals seems to be referred to here. 2, 3. These verses point to a date prior to the destruction of the temple, 70 A.D. 4. Against

own flesh. 5. And if any one does an injury to an animal secretly, it is an evil custom and he sins against his soul.

[*How we ought not to kill a Man, neither with Weapon nor with Tongue*¹.]

LX. 1. If he does an injury to the soul of man, he does an injury to his own soul; and there is no salvation for his flesh, *nor forgiveness² for ever³. 2. He who kills the soul of a man, kills his own soul, and destroys his own body, and there is no salvation for him for ever. 3. He who prepares a net for another man *will fall into it himself and there is no salvation for him for ever⁴. 4. He, who prepares a weapon against a man, shall not escape punishment in the great judgement for ever. 5. If a man acts crookedly or speaks evil against any soul, he shall have no righteousness for himself for ever.

[*Enoch admonishes his Sons to preserve themselves from Unrighteousness, and to stretch out their hands frequently to the Poor, and to give them something from their Labours.*]

LXI. 1. Now therefore, my children, preserve your hearts from every unrighteousness which the Lord hates. As a man asks his soul from God, so let him do to every living soul⁵. 2. *For in the world to come², *I know all things

LX. ¹ A inserts this title after verse 1. ² B om. ³ B adds but when a man is in Paradise he is liable to judgement no more. ⁴ Shall not lose the punishment for it in the day of judgement for ever, Sok. B OMITTS VERSES 2-5.

LXI. ⁵ B adds Even if it be not for eternal life.

strangling beasts. 5. Bestiality may be here referred to.

LX. 1. The sin referred to in 1 Thess. iv. 6. 3. Cf. Pss. ix. 15; xxxv. 8; lvii. 6. In this verse and the next two there is an utter want of proportion between the sin

and its punishment. 5. Cf. Ps. ci. 5.

LXI. 1. Unrighteousness which the Lord hates. Cf. Jud. v. 17; Ecclus. xv. 11, 13. 2. In the world to come . . . many mansions. Cf. Eth. En. xxxix. 4, 7, 8; xli. 2; John

how that¹ there are many mansions prepared for men; *good for the good; evil for the evil; many and without number². 3. Blessed are those who shall go to the mansions of the blessed³; for in the evil ones there is no rest nor any means of return from them. 4. Listen, my children, both small and great: When a man *conceives a good thought in his heart and brings⁴ gifts before the Lord of his labours—if his hands have not wrought them⁵ then the Lord turns away His face from the labour of his hands, and *he cannot gain advantage from⁶ the work of his hand. 5. But if his hands have wrought, but his heart murmurs *and he does not make an offering of his heart, but murmurs⁷ continually, he has no success.

[How it is proper to bring one's Gifts with Faith, and how there is no Repentance after Death.]

LXII. 1. Blessed is the man who in patience shall bring

¹ I know that, Sok.; B om. ² Numberless abodes for the good and the evil, B. ³ B omits the rest of the chapter. ⁴ Sets it in his heart to bring, Sok. ⁵ The labour, Sok. ⁶ It is impossible for him to find, Sok. ⁷ The sickness of his heart will not cease and making a murmur, Sok.

xiv. 2. Good for the good, evil for the evil. This is adapted from Ecclus. xxxix. 25 ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐκτισται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, οὕτως τοῖς ἀμαρτωλοῖς κακά. Cf. Or. Sibyll. Fragm. iii. 18–19 τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀγαθὸν προσφέρων πολὺ πλείονα μισθόν, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς ἀδίκους τε χόλον. 4. The text seems corrupt. The idea is: it is a good thing to offer gifts to God; but if a man sacrifice to God that which is another man's or is gotten wrongfully, God turns away His face from him. Cf. lxvi. 2. The author appears to have had before him Ecclus. xxxi. 21 θυσιάζων ἐξ ἀδίκου, προσφορὰ μεμωκημένη, 22 καὶ οὐκ εἰς εὐδοκίαν μωκήματα ἀνόμων. 23 οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ὁ ὕψιστος ἐν προσφοραῖς ἀσεβῶν.

Further in ver. 24 ὁ προσάγων θυσίαν ἐκ χρημάτων πενήτων is condemned. Finally with he cannot gain advantage from, &c., compare ver. 28 τί ἀφέλῃσαν πλεῖον ἢ κόπον; If his hands have not wrought them. Cf. Or. Sibyll. viii. 403, 406:

τούτῳ μὲν καθαρὴν θῆς ἀναίμακτόν τε τράπεζαν
ἐκ μόχθων ιδίῳ πορίσας ἀγναῖς παλάμῃσιν.

5. Men must offer willingly: only those are blessed. Cf. Exod. xxv. 2; xxxv. 5; Prov. xi. 25. But his heart murmurs. Cp. lxiii. 2; Deut. xv. 10 'thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him.' Ecclus. xxxii. 10, 11 ἐν ἀγαθῷ ὀφθαλμῷ δέξασον τὸν κύριον . . . καὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ ἀγίασον δεκάτην.

his gifts¹ before the face of the Lord, for he shall avert the recompense of his sin. 2. *If he speaks words out of season² *there is no repentance for him: if he lets the appointed time³ pass and does not *perform the work, he is not blessed; for⁴ there is no repentance after death. 3. For every deed which a man does *unseasonably is⁵ an offence before men, and a sin before God.

[*How one must not despise the Humble, but give to them truly, so that thou mayest not be accursed before God.*]

LXIII. 1. When a man clothes the naked and feeds the hungry, he gets a recompense from God. 2. If his heart murmurs, *he works for himself a double evil: he works destruction to that which he gives and there shall be no reward for it⁶: 3. *And the poor man, when his heart is satisfied or his flesh is clothed⁷ and he acts contemptuously, he destroys the effect of *all his endurance of poverty⁸ and *shall not gain the blessing of a recompense⁹. 4. For the Lord hates every contemptuous *and proud-speaking¹⁰ man: *and likewise every lying word: and that which is covered with unrighteousness. And it is cut with the sharpness of a deadly sword, and thrown into the fire, and burns for ever¹¹.)

LXII. ¹ A adds with faith. ² If he remembers the appointed time to utter his prayer, B. If before the time he recalls his word, Sok. ³ B omits, AND ALSO THE REST OF THE CHAPTER. ⁴ Act righteously, A. ⁵ Before the time and after the time is altogether, Sok.

LXIII. ⁶ He works for himself a double destruction and when he gives anything to a man there shall be no reward for that which he has given, A. B reads He renders his deeds of mercy profitless. ⁷ Nay more if food fill his heart to the full or his flesh is clothed, A. If he becomes overfed. B. ⁸ His good works, B. ⁹ Does not return with gratitude the benefits he has received, A. Gains nothing, B. ¹⁰ B om. ¹¹ And every lying word is sharpened with unrighteousness, and is cut with the sharpness of a deadly sword, and that cutting has no healing for ever, Sok. B om.

LXII. 1. Forgiveness is not the message of this book. For most sins there is no pardon. 2. Words out of season. The text is hopeless here.

LXIII. 1. See ix (notes). 2. See lxi. 5 (note). 4. The Lord hates, &c. Pss. xviii. 27; ci. 5; Prov. vi. 16, 17.

[*How the Lord calls Enoch: the People take Counsel to go to kiss him in the Place called Achuzan.*]

LXIV. 1. When Enoch said these words to his sons, *and the princes of the people¹, all the people *far and near² heard how the Lord called Enoch. And³ they took counsel, *and they all said⁴: ‘Let us go and kiss Enoch!’ 2. And the men assembled to the number of 2000⁵, and came to the place Achuzan⁶, where Enoch was, and his sons. 3. And⁷ the elders of the people⁸ *came together and made obeisance and⁹ kissed Enoch, and said to him: ‘*Enoch, our father⁹; be thou blessed of the Lord, the eternal King!’ 4. And now bless thy *sons, and all the⁹ people, that we may be glorified *before thee to-day. 5. For thou art glorified⁹ before the face of the Lord *for ever¹; since God has chosen thee *above all men upon the earth, and has appointed thee⁹ as *the scribe of His creation of visible and invisible things, and⁹ an avenger¹⁰ of the sins of men, *and a succour to thy family⁹!’ And Enoch answered all his people saying⁹:

[*Of the Exhortation of Enoch to his Sons.*]

LXV. 1. ‘Listen, my children: before that anything existed *and all creatures were made, the Lord made¹¹ all things both visible and invisible. 2. *When the times of these things

LXIV. ¹ A om. ² And all his neighbours, B. For how the Lord, B reads how the Lord God. ³ A B om. ⁴ Saying, B; A om. ⁵ 4000, B. ⁶ Asukhan, B. ⁷ A adds all the host of. ⁸ Sok. adds and all the host. ⁹ B om. ¹⁰ One who removes, A B.

XLV. ¹¹ The Lord made the world and then created, B. The Lord made, A.

LXIV. 5. Scribe of His creation. See xl. 13 (note); liii. 2. Avenger, &c. This may refer to Enoch’s office at the final judgement when he recounts all the deeds of men. See quotation from Test. Abraham given

in note on XL. 13. The reading, however, of A B one who removes may be right. Enoch may be conceived as a mediator. Cf. Philo’s conception of the Logos i. 501.

LXV. 1. Made. This must mean

had come and were passed, understand how¹ after all these things He made man in His own image *after His¹ likeness, and placed in him eyes to see; and ears to hear; and a heart to understand, and reason² to take counsel. 3. And the Lord *contemplated the world for the sake of man³, and made all the creation* for his sake⁴, and divided* it into times. And from the times He made years, and from the years He made months, and from the months He made days, and of the days He made seven. 4. And in these He made the hours⁵ *and divided them into small portions¹, that a man should understand *the seasons, and compute years and months, and hours; their alternations and beginnings and ends: and⁶ that he should compute *his life from the beginning till death⁷, *and should meditate upon his sin, and should write down his evil and good deeds. 5. For nothing done is concealed before the Lord. Let each man know his deeds, and not transgress the commandments and let him keep My writings securely from generation to generation¹. 6. When *all the creation of visible and invisible things⁸ comes to an end which the Lord has made; then every man shall come to the great judgement of the Lord⁹. 7. Then¹⁰ the times shall perish, *and

¹ B om. ² With his mind, A. ³ Saw all the works of man, A. B om. ⁴ A om. B transposes it into next sentence. ⁵ Time for the sake of man, and determined the times and the years, and the months and the hours, B. ⁶ The changes of the times and the end and the beginning of the years, and the end and the days and hours, B. ⁷ The death of his life, B. ⁸ The world, B. ⁹ A om. ¹⁰ And then all, A.

‘devised,’ if it is original. 2. Made man in his own image . . . understand. This agrees too closely to be accidental with Ecclus. xvii. 3 κατ’ εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς. 5. . . ὀφθαλμούς, ὦτα καὶ καρδίαν ἔδωκε διανοεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς. 4. Understand the seasons . . . beginnings and ends. We have here a close resem-

blance to Wisdom vii. 17-18 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔδωκε . . . εἶδέναι . . . ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος καὶ μεσότητα χρόνων, τροπῶν ἀλλαγὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς καιρῶν. 5. See xxxiii. 9 (note). 6. The judgement closes the existence of man on earth. At this judgement all men must appear, but there is nothing to suggest that there is a resurrection of the body. 7. See

there shall be no year, nor month, nor day, and there shall be no hours nor shall they be reckoned¹. 8. There shall be one eternity, and all the just * who shall escape the great judgement of the Lord² shall be gathered together in eternal life * and for ever and ever the just shall be gathered together and they shall be eternal³. 9. Moreover there shall be no labour, nor sickness, nor sorrow, * nor anxiety, nor need⁴, nor night, nor darkness, but a great⁵ light. 10. * And there shall be to them a great wall that cannot be broken down²; and bright⁶ * and incorruptible² paradise * shall be their protection, and their eternal habitation⁷. * For all corruptible things shall vanish², * and there shall be eternal life⁸.

[*Enoch instructs his Sons, and all the Elders of the People: how with Fear and Trembling they ought to walk before the Lord, and serve Him alone, and not to worship Idols; for God made Heaven and Earth and every Creature and its Form.*]

LXVI. 1. And now, my children, preserve your souls from all unrighteousness, which the Lord hates⁹. Walk before His face with fear * and trembling¹⁰, and serve Him alone.

¹ And the years moreover shall perish and the months and days and hours shall be dispersed and moreover shall not be counted, Sok. For hours . . . counted A reads there shall be no hours nor shall there be any addition to them or calculation. ² B om. ³ And there shall be one everlasting time for the just and they shall live for ever, A. And there shall be everlasting life for the just, being eternal, Sok. After eternal B adds and incorruptible. ⁴ A adds nor violence; Sok. reads nor necessary anxiety nor constraint. ⁵ B adds unending and never disturbed. ⁶ Great, B Sok. ⁷ B om. Sok. reads and there shall be the roof of the eternal habitation, and transposes to end of Chapter. ⁸ And incorruptible things shall come, Sok.

LXVI. ⁹ B OMITTS THE REST OF THE CHAPTER.

¹⁰ Sok. om.

xxxiii. 2. 8-9. A blessed immortality. 10. Wall. This may be the wall that divides Paradise (see ix) from the place of punishment (see x). 11. Cp. Ecclus. xiv. 19 *πάν ἔργον σιγήμενον ἐκλείπει*.

LXVI. 1. Unrighteousness which the Lord hates. Cf. Deut. xii. 31; Wisdom xiv. 9. Walk before His face with fear and trembling. Cf. Phil. ii. 12 'work out your own salvation with fear and

*Worship the true God, and not dumb idols. 2. But pay attention to His command¹, and bring every just offering before the face of the Lord. But the Lord hates that which is unrighteous. 3. For the Lord sees every thing; whatever man meditates in his heart, *and what counsel he plans², and every thought is continually before the Lord. 4. *If ye look at the heavens there is the Lord, as the Lord made the heavens. If ye look at the earth then the Lord is there since the Lord made firm the earth and established every creature in it³. If ye scrutinize the depths of the sea, and every thing under the earth there also is the Lord. For the Lord created all things. 5. Do not bow down to the work of men, *nor to the work of the Lord⁴, leaving *the Lord of all creation⁵; for no deed is concealed before the face of the Lord. 6. Walk, my children, in long suffering, in humility⁶, in spite of calumny, and insult; in faith, and truth: in the promises, and sickness, in abuse, in wounds, in temptation, *in nakedness, in deprivation⁷, loving one another, till ye depart from this world of sickness. Then ye shall be heirs of eternity. 7. Blessed are the just, who shall escape the great judgement⁸! And they shall be seven times brighter than the sun, for in this age altogether the seventh part is separated. 8. (Now concerning) the light, the darkness, the food, the sweetnesses,

¹ Sok. om. ² Then his reason counsels, Sok. ³ So Sok. transposed and defective in A. Who made firm the earth, and established every creature in it. If ye look at the heavens there is the Lord. ⁴ A om. ⁵ The works of the Lord, A. ⁶ A adds honour. ⁷ Deprivation and nakedness, Sok. ⁸ Sok. adds of the Lord.

trembling.' For fear and trembling cf. also 2 Cor. vii. 15; Eph. vi. 5. 2. Bring every just offering. See lxi. 4 (note). 3. Sees every thing whatever man meditates, &c. Cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 9; 2 Chron. vi. 30; Ps. xciv. 11; Prov. xv. 11; Dan. ii. 30. 4. Founded partly on Ps. cxxxix.

8-12. The author has rightly omitted all reference to Sheol as this is already included in his conception of the heavens. 5. No deed is concealed, &c. Cf. Jer. xvi. 17; Eccus. xvii. 15. 6. Cf. Rom. viii. 35; 2 Cor. xi. 27; 2 Pet. i. 4. 7. Cf. lxxv. 8. 8. Sweetnesses, &c. Eth. En. lxix. 8.

the bitternesses, the paradise, the tortures, *the fires, the frosts and other things¹; *I have put² all this down in writing, that ye may read and understand.

[*The Lord sent a Darkness upon the Earth, and covered the People and Enoch; and he was taken up on high; and there was Light in the Heavens.*]

LXVII. 1. When Enoch had discoursed with the people, the Lord sent a darkness upon the earth, and there was a gloom, and it hid those men standing³ with Enoch. 2. And *the angels hasted and took Enoch and carried him⁴ to the highest heaven where the Lord⁵ received him, and set him before *His face⁶, and the darkness departed from the earth, and there was light. 3. And the people saw and did not understand, how Enoch was taken, and they glorified God. And they *who had seen such things⁷ departed⁸ to their houses⁹.

LXVIII. 1. Enoch was born on the sixth day of the month Tsivan¹⁰! he lived 365 years. He was taken up into heaven on the first day of the month Tsivan¹¹, and he was in heaven sixty days. 2. He wrote down the descriptions of all the creation which the Lord had made, and he wrote 366 books, and gave them to his sons. 3. And he was on earth

¹ Sok. om. ² Put, A.

LXVII. ³ A adds and talking. ⁴ They took him, A. ⁵ A adds is and they. ⁶ The face of the Lord, A. ⁷ Sok. om. A reads Found the roll in which was the instruction concerning the invisible God and they. ⁸ A adds all. ⁹ B adds and concludes with to our God be glory for ever, Amen.

LXVIII. ¹⁰ Pamorus, Sok.

¹¹ Nisan, Sok.

LXVII. 2. Highest heaven. LV. 2. In Asc. Is. ix. 7 the seventh This is an exceptional privilege; for heaven is represented as the future Paradise in the third heaven is the habitation of the righteous. eternal abode of the righteous. See

thirty days¹, and thus he was taken to heaven in the same² month Tsivan³ on the *same day the² sixth day; the day on which he was born, and the same hour. 4. As each man has *but a dark existence⁴ in this life, so also is his beginning *and birth⁵, and departure from this life. In what hour he began; in that he was born, and in that he departs. 5. And Methusalem hastened, and all⁵ his brethren⁶, the sons of Enoch, and built an altar in the place called Achuzan, *whence and when Enoch⁷ was taken up *to heaven⁵. 6. And they took⁸ cattle, and invited all the people and sacrificed victims⁹ before the face of the Lord. 7. *All the people came and the elders of the people; all the host of them to the festivity, and brought their gifts to the sons of Enoch, and made a great festivity, rejoicing and being merry for three days; praising God who had given such a sign by means of Enoch, who had found favour with Him. And that they should hand it down to their son's sons, from generation to generation, for ever. Amen⁵.

¹ Sok. adds having spoken with them. ² A om. ³ Pamorus, Sok.
⁴ An equal nature, Sok. ⁵ Sok. om. ⁶ Sok. adds and all. ⁷ Where, Sok.
⁸ Sok. adds animals and. ⁹ Victim, Sok.

APPENDIX.

THE following fragment of the Melchizedekian literature was found by Professor Sokolov in the chief MS. on which he has based his text. In this MS. it is given as an organic factor of the Slavonic Enoch. This is done by omitting all the words in A lxviii. 7, after 'merry for three days,' and then as we see below immediately proceeding 'And on the third day,' &c. No hint of this large addition is found in A or B, but Sokolov writes that it appears in several MSS. to which he had access. The reader will observe that in many passages it implies the Slavonic Enoch. The text is obviously corrupt in many places.

We have in this fragment a new form of the Melchizedek myth. For the other forms it took see Bible Dictionaries *in loc.* This fragment seems to be the work of an early Christian heretic as we may infer from iii. 34 ; iv. 8.

I. 1. And on the third day at the time of the evening the elders of the people spake to Methusalam saying : 'Stand before the face of the Lord, and before the face of all the people, and before the face of the altar of the Lord, and thou shalt be glorified among the people.' 2. And Methusalam answered his people : 'Wait, O men, until the Lord God of my father Enoch—shall himself raise up to himself, a priest over his people.' 3. And the people waited yet a night to no purpose on the place Akhuzan. 4. And Methusalam was near the altar, and prayed to the Lord and said, 'Oh ! only Lord of all the world, who hast taken my father Enoch, do thou raise up a priest for thy people, and teach their hearts to fear thy glory, and to do all according to thy will.' 5. And Methusalam slept, and the Lord appeared to him in a nightly vision, and said to him 'Listen, Methusalam, I am the Lord God of thy father Enoch, hear the voice of this people, and stand before My altar and I will glorify thee before the face of all the people, and thou shalt be glorified all the days of thy life.' 6. And Methusalam arose from his sleep,

and blessed the Lord who had appeared to him. 7. And the elders of the people hastened to Methusalam and the Lord God inclined the heart of Methusalam to hear the voice of the people, and he said: 'The Lord God gives His blessing upon all these people before my eyes to-day. (May the Lord your God) do what is a good thing in His eyes to this people.' 8. And Sarsan and Kharmis, and Zazus, the elders of the people hastened and clothed Methusalam in beautiful garments and placed a bright crown on his head. 9. And the people hastened, and brought sheep and cattle and of birds all that was known (to be proper for) Methusalam to sacrifice before the face of the Lord, and in the name (before the face) of the people. 10. And Methusalam went out to the altar of the Lord, and his face shone like the sun, as it is rising in the day, and all the people were following after him. 11. And Methusalam stood before the altar of the Lord, and all the people stood round the altar. 12. And the elders of the people took sheep, and oxen, and bound their four feet, and laid them on the top of the altar, and said to Methusalam; 13. 'Lift the knife and kill them according to the proper way before the face of the Lord.' 14. And Methusalam stretched out his hands to the heavens and called to the Lord, saying thus: 'Woe is me, O Lord! who am I to stand at the head of Thy altar and at the head of these people.' 15. Now, Lord, look down on Thy servant and on all these people. Now let all the things sought for happen and give a blessing to Thy servant before the face of all the people, that they may understand that thou hast appointed a priest over Thy people. 16. And it came to pass that when Methusalam had prayed, the altar shook, and a knife rose from the altar, and leaped into the hand of Methusalam before the face of all the people. And the people trembled, and glorified the Lord. 17. And Methusalam was honoured before the face of the Lord, and before the face of all the people from that day. 18. And Methusalam took the knife, and killed every thing that was brought by the people. And they rejoiced, and were merry before the face of the Lord and before the face of Methusalam on that day. 19. And afterwards the people departed each to his own house.

II. 1. Methusalam began to stand at the altar before the face of the Lord and all the people from that day for ten years, trusting in an eternal inheritance, and having taught well the whole land and all his people; and no man was found to turn from the Lord in vanity during all the days in which Methusalam lived. 2. And

the Lord blessed Methusalam and was pleased with his sacrifices, and his gifts and all his services which he served before the face of the Lord. 3. And when the time of the days of the departure of Methusalam took place, and the Lord appeared to him in a nightly vision, and said to him: 'Listen, Methusalam! I am the Lord God of thy father Enoch, I order thee to see, how the days of thy life are finished, and the day of thy rest has drawn near. 4. Call Nir, the son of thy son Lamech, the second, born after Noah, and clothe him in the robes of thy consecration, and place him by my altar, and tell him all that shall be in his days, because the time of the destruction of the whole earth draws near, and of every man and every living thing upon the earth. 5. For in his days there shall be a very great confusion upon the earth, because a man has been envious of his neighbour, and people have become inflamed against people and nation stirs up war against nation, and all the earth is filled with foulness and blood, and every kind of evil. 6. And moreover in addition they deserted their Maker, and have bowed down to vain gods, and to the firmament of heaven, and the course of the earth and the waves of the sea. And the adversary is multiplied and rejoices in his deeds to My great vexation. 7. And all the earth changes its form, and every tree and every fruit changes its seeds, expecting the time of destruction. And all peoples are changing upon the earth to My grief. 8. Then I shall command the abysses to pour themselves upon the earth, and the great treasures of the waters of heaven shall come upon the earth in their nature and according to their first nature. 9. And all the stability of the earth shall perish and all the earth shall tremble and shall be deprived of its strength from that day. 10. Then I will preserve the son of thy son Lamech, his first son Noe and from his seed I will raise up another world, and his seed shall exist for ever till the second destruction when also men shall sin before my face. 11. Methusalam leaped up from his sleep and his dream troubled him greatly. And he called all the elders of the people and told them all that the Lord had said to him, and all the vision that had appeared to him from the Lord. 12. And the people were grieved at his vision, and answered him: 'Let the Lord God do according to his will! And now, Methusalam, accomplish thou all things which the Lord enjoined thee.' 13. And Methusalam called Nir, the son of Lamech, the younger brother of Noe, and clothed him in the robes of the priesthood before the face of all the people, and placed him at the head of the altar, and taught him all that he was to do among the people. 14. And

Methusalam called to the people: 'Lo! Nir will be before your face from to-day as a prince and a leader.' 15. And the people said to Methusalam, 'Let it be unto us according to thy word, and let the voice of the Lord be as He spoke to thee.' 16. And when Methusalam had spoken to the people before the altar, his spirit was confused, and he bent his knees, and stretched out his hands to the heavens, and prayed to God. And as he prayed his spirit went forth to the Lord. 17. And Nir and all the people made haste and made a grave for Methusalam in the place Aruzan. 18. And Nir came in glorious attire in all his priestly robes, with lights, with much pomp, and the people lifted up the body of Methusalam, and having glorified it, laid it in the grave, which they had made for him, and buried him, and said: 'Blessed was Methusalam before the face of the Lord, and before the face of all people.' 19. When they were about to depart to their own households, Nir said to the people: 'Go quickly now, and bring sheep and heifers, and turtle-doves, and pigeons, and let us offer them before the face of the Lord, and then go to your houses.' 20. And the people listened to Nir the priest, and hastened and brought the victims, and bound them to the head of the altar. 21. And Nir took the sacrificial knife, and slew all the [victims] that were brought, and offered them before the face of the Lord. 22. And all the people rejoiced before the face of the Lord, and glorified on that day the Lord of Nir, the ruler of heaven and earth. From that day there was peace and order over the whole earth in the days of Nir, during 202 years. 23. And then the people turned from God and began to be jealous one of another, and people rebelled against people, and tongue arose against tongue, in reviling. 24. And if lips were the same, hearts chose different things. 25. And then the devil began to reign for the third time, the first time before paradise, the second time in paradise, the third time outside of paradise, he continued (doing so) till the deluge. 26. And there arose a great dispute and confusion. And Nir the priest heard it, and was greatly grieved, and said in his heart, 'In truth I have understood that the time has drawn near, and the end which the Lord spake to Methusalam, the father of my father Lamech.

III. 1. And the wife of Nir, named Sopanima, being barren, brought forth no child to Nir. 2. And Sopanima was in the time of her old age, and on the day of her death she conceived in her womb, and Nir the priest did not sleep with her, nor knew

her from the day that the Lord appointed him to serve before the face of the people. 3. When Sopanima knew of her conception she was ashamed, and felt humbled, and concealed herself all the days, till she brought forth, and no one of the people knew. 4. And when 282 days were accomplished and the day of birth began to draw near, Nir remembered about his wife, and called her to himself in his house, that he might talk to her. 5. And Sopanima came to Nir, her husband, being with child, and the appointed day of the birth was drawing near. 6. And Nir saw her and was very much ashamed, and said to her: 'What hast thou done, wife, and hast shamed me before the face of these people. And now depart from me, and go where thou didst commence the shame of thy womb, so that I defile not my hand upon thee, and sin before the face of the Lord!' 7. And Sopanima spake unto Nir, her husband, saying: 'My lord, lo! the time of my old age, and the day of my death has come (and there was no youth in me) and I do not know when the period of my years is past, and the unfruitfulness of my womb begin.' 8. And Nir did not believe his wife, and said to her a second time: 'Depart from me lest I do thee an injury, and sin before the face of the Lord!' 9. And it came to pass, when Nir had spoken to his wife, Sopanima fell at the feet of Nir, and died. 10. And Nir was very much grieved, and said in his heart: 'Was this from my voice, since a man by his voice and thought sins before the face of the Lord. 11. Now the Lord is merciful to me; I know in truth in my heart, that my hand was not upon her. And so I say: "Glory to thee, oh! Lord, since no one on earth knows this deed, which the Lord has wrought!"' 12. And Nir hastened and shut the doors of the house, and went to Noe, his brother, and told him all, that had happened concerning his wife. 13. And Noe hastened, and came with Nir, his brother, into the house of Nir, on account of the death of Sopanima, and they talked to themselves (and saw) how her womb was at the time of the birth. 14. And Noe said to Nir: 'Let it not be a subject of sorrow to thee, Nir, my brother, that the Lord has to-day concealed our shame because no one of the people knows this. 15. Now let us go quickly, and bring her secretly, and may the Lord hide the ignominy of our shame. 16. And they laid Sopanima on the bed, and they wrapped her with black robes, and shut her in the house ready for burial, and dug a grave in secret. 17. And then came an infant from the dead Sopanima, and sat on the bed at her right hand. And Noe, and Nir entered, and saw the infant sitting by the dead Sopanima

and wiping its clothes. 18. And Noe, and Nir were tempted with a great fear, for the child was complete in its body, like one of three years old; and spake with its lips, and blessed the Lord. 19. And Noe, and Nir gazed upon it; and lo! the seal of the priesthood was on its breast, and it was glorious in countenance. 20. And Noe, and Nir said 'See the Lord renews the consecration according to our blood, as he desires (this is from the Lord, my brother, and the Lord renews the blood of consecration in us).' 21. And Noe and Nir hastened, and washed the child, and clothed it in priestly raiment, and gave it the blessed bread. And it ate. And they called its name Melchizedek. 22. And Noe and Nir took the body of Sopanima, and stripped from her the black robes, and clothed her in very bright robes, and built a church for her (another house—a beautified grave). 23. And Noe, and Nir, and Melchizedek came and buried her publicly. And Noe said to his brother Nir: 'Watch this child in secret till the time, because deceitful people shall arise over all the earth and shall begin to reject God, and having perceived nothing shall put him to death. And then Noe went out to his own place. 24. And great lawlessness began to multiply over the whole earth, in the days of Nir. 25. And Nir began to be very anxious, especially about the child, saying: 'Woe is me, eternal Lord. In my days have begun to multiply all kinds of lawlessness upon the earth, and I understand, how that the end is near unto us more (than ever), and upon all the earth for the lawlessness of the people. 26. And now, Lord, what is the vision, and what is the solution of it, and what shall I do for (the child)?—Will it also go with us to destruction?' 27. And the Lord heard Nir, and appeared to him in a nightly vision, and said to him: 'Nir, I do not endure the great lawlessness that has been on the earth in many things, and lo! I wish now to send a great destruction upon the earth, and every earthly creature shall perish. 28. But do not trouble thyself about the child, Nir, for in a short time I will send my chief captain Michael, and he shall take the child and place him in the paradise of Eden, in the garden where Adam was formerly during a period of seven years, having the heaven always open until the time of his sin. 29. And this child shall not perish with those who perish in this generation, as I have shown, but shall be a holy priest in all things, Melchizedek, and I will appoint him that he may be the chief of the priests who were before (*alia lectio*—that he may be a priest of priests for ever, and I will consecrate him, and will appoint him over the people being made greatly holy). 30. And

Nir rose from his sleep, and blessed the Lord, who had appeared unto him, saying: 'Blessed is the Lord God of my fathers, who has spoken unto me, (*some MSS. add*—who will not allow the depreciation of my priesthood in the priesthood of my fathers, as thy word), who made a great priest in my days in the womb of my wife Sopanima. (*Some MSS. add*—31. Because I had no family and this child shall be to me in the place of my family, and shall be as a son to me, and thou shalt honour him with Thy servants the priests, with Seth, and Enoch, and Tharasidam, Maleleil, and Enos, and thy servant, and thus Melchizedek shall be a priest in another generation. 32. For I know that this generation shall end in confusion, and all shall perish. And Noe, my brother, shall be preserved in that day. 33. And from my race shall rise up many people, and Melchizedek shall be the chief of the priests among the people, ruling alone, serving thee O Lord!) 34. Because I had not another child in this family, who might be a great priest, but this son of mine, and thy servant; and do thou great Lord, on this account honour him with thy servants, and great priests—with Seth, and Enos, and Rusii, and Almilam, and Prasadam, and Maleleil, and Seroch, and Arusan, and Aleem, and Enoch, and Methusalam, and me, thy servant Nir, and Melchizedek shall be the head over twelve priests who lived before, and at last shall be the head over all, (being) the great high priest, the Word of God, and the power to work great and glorious marvels above all that have been. 35. He, Melchizedek, shall be a priest and king in the place Akhuzan, that is to say, in the middle of the earth where Adam was created: there shall at last be his grave. 36. And concerning that chief priest it has been written that he also shall be buried there, where there is the middle of the earth, as Adam buried his son Abel there whom his brother Cain killed, wherefore he lay three years unburied, till he saw a bird called a jackdaw, burying its fledgling. 37. I know that a great confusion has come and this generation shall end in confusion, and all shall perish except that Noe my brother shall be preserved, and afterwards there shall be a planting from his family, and there shall be other people, and another Melchizedek shall be the head of the priests among the people, ruling, and serving the Lord.'

IV. 1. And when the child had been forty days under the roof of Nir, the Lord said to Michael: 'Go down upon the earth to Nir, the priest, and take My child Melchizedek, who is with him,

and place him in the paradise of Eden for preservation, because the time draws nigh, and I will discharge all the water upon the earth, and all that is upon the earth shall perish. 2. (And I will establish another race, and Melchizedek shall be the chief of the priests, in that family, just as Seth is to me in this family¹.) 3. And Michael hastened, and came by night, and Nir was sleeping in his bed. And Michael appeared to him, and said to him: 'The Lord says unto thee, Nir: "Send the child to me; I entrusted him to thee."' 4. And Nir did not know that the chief captain Michael was speaking to him, and his heart was confused, and he said: 'If the people know about the child, and take him, they will slay him. For the heart of this people is crafty before the face of the Lord. And Nir said to him who spoke to him 'The child is not with me, and I do not know who thou art, who art speaking to me.' 5. And he who was speaking to me answered: 'Be not afraid, Nir, I am the chief captain of the Lord. The Lord hath sent me, and lo! I will take thy child to-day, and will go with him, and will place him in the paradise of Eden, and there shall he be for ever. 6. And when the twelfth generation shall be, and a thousand and seventy years shall be, in that generation a just man shall be born, and the Lord shall tell him to come out upon that mountain where the ark of thy brother Noe shall stand, and he shall find there another Melchizedek who has lived there seven years, concealing himself from the people who worship idols, so that they should not slay him, and he shall lead him forth and he shall be priest, and the first king in the town of Salem after the fashion of this Melchizedek, the commencement of the priests. And 3432 years shall be fulfilled till that time from the beginning and creation of Adam. 7. And from that Melchizedek there shall be twelve priests in number till the great Igumen, that is to say leader, who shall bring forth all things visible and invisible. 8. And Nir understood his first dream, and believed it, and having answered Michael, he said: 'Blessed is the Lord, who has glorified thee to-day to me, and now bless thy servant Nir, as we are drawing near our departure from this world, and take the child, and do unto him as the Lord hath spoken unto thee. 9. And Michael took the child on that night on which he came, and took him on his wings, and placed him in the paradise of Eden. 10. And Nir having risen on the following day, went to his house, and did not find the child, and there was instead of joy very great sorrow, because he had no other son except this (*alia lectio*—because he

¹ Clearly a variant of iii. 37.

looked upon this child in the place of a son). 11. So died Nir, and after him there was no priest among the people. And from that time a great confusion arose on the earth.

V. 1. And God called Noe on the mountain of Ararat, between Assyria, and Armenia, in the land of Arabia, by the sea, and said to him: 'Make there an ark of 300 ells in length, and in breadth 50 ells, and in height 30, and two stories in the midst, and the doors about an ell. 2. And of those 300 ells, and of ours 15,000, and so of those 50, and of ours 2000 and 500, and so of those 30, and of ours 900, and of those one ell, and of ours 50.' 3. According to this number the Jews keep this measure of the ark of Noe, as the Lord said to him, and (so) they make each measure, and each rule even up to the present time. 4. The Lord God opened the doors of the heavens, and rain came on the earth 150 days, and all flesh died. 5. Noe was in the 500th year and begat three sons: Shem, Ham, and Japhet. 6. 100 years after the birth of his three sons, he went into the ark in the month according to the Hebrew Itsars, according to the Egyptian Famenoth in eighteen days. 7. And the ark floated forty days. And altogether they were in the ark 120 days. 8. And he went into the ark, being 600 years (old), and in the sixth hundred and first year of his life he went out of the ark in the month Farmut according to the Egyptians, and according to the Hebrews Nisan about twenty-eight days. 9. Then he lived 250 years, and died; he lived altogether 950 years according [to the will of] the Lord our God, to him be glory from the beginning, and now, and to the end of the world. Amen. 10. Enoch was altogether 365 years old.

11. In another way it is written here concerning Noah's ark. Of their 300 ells, and of ours 15,000, of theirs 100, and of ours 5000: of theirs 20, and of ours 1000; of theirs 10, and of ours 500: of theirs 5, and of ours 250: of theirs 1, and of ours 50! This is the truth spoken.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE PHOENIXES.

WHEN I wrote the note on the Phoenixes in XII. 1 I was not aware that mention of a class of these birds was to be found elsewhere. I have, however, since found in Dr. Kohler's article on 'The pre-Talmudic Haggada' (*Jewish Quarterly*, 1893, pp. 399-419) a quotation from an old Essene Mishna—*Massecheth Derech Eretz*—in which it is said that 'the generation of the bird כלהב' went alive into Paradise. This bird Dr. Kohler identifies with the Phoenix. The question is discussed in the *Alphabetum Siracidis* edited by Steinschneider, 1858, p. 28^b.

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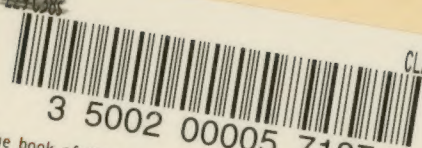
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INTRODUCTION

SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK

The Apocalypse of Abraham, which has been preserved in old Slavonic literature, falls into two distinct parts (cf. the somewhat similar case of *The Ascension of Isaiah*). The first part, contained in chaps. i.-viii., consists of a Midrashic narrative based upon the legend of Abraham's conversion from idolatry, which has several peculiar features.¹ The second part (chaps. ix.-xxxii.) is purely apocalyptic in character, and contains a revelation made to Abraham about the future of his race, after his (temporary) ascent into the heavenly regions, under the guidance of the archangel Jael, who here seems to play the part of Metatron-Michael. It is based upon the account of Abraham's trance-vision described in Genesis xv.—a favourite theme for apocalyptic speculation. In the Book, as it lies before us, the two parts are organically connected. Thus in chap. x. the archangel says: *I am the one who was commissioned to set on fire thy father's house together with him, because he displayed reverence for dead (idols)*—an allusion to the narrative of chap. viii.; and the general plan of the whole work seems to be based upon the idea that Abraham's dissatisfaction with the idol-worship by which he was surrounded, which found vent in his strong protest to his father Terah (chaps. i.-viii.), appealed so much to the divine favour, that the archangel Jael was specially sent by God to instruct him and initiate him into the knowledge of heavenly mysteries. Whether the apocalyptic portion ever existed in a shorter and independent form will be discussed below.

The Book opens with a description of Abraham's activities as a maker and seller of idols, his father Terah being a manufacturer of idols. His doubts as to the justifiable character of the idol-worship are roused especially by an accident that befell the stone image called Merumath, and by a similar accident that happened to "five other gods," by which they were broken in pieces (chaps. i.-ii.). Reflecting on this, he is led to protest to his father against the unreality of asking a blessing from such helpless images, thereby rousing Terah's anger (chaps. iii.-iv.). He is led to test further the powers of the idols by placing a wooden god *Barisat* before the fire, and telling the idol to see that the fire must not be allowed to die down during his absence. On returning he finds *Barisat* fallen backwards and "horribly burnt" (chap. v.). He again protests to his father against the futility of such worship, sarcastically contrasting the relative merits of gold, silver and wooden idols (chap. vi.). He then proceeds to show that the elements of fire, water, earth, and the heavenly bodies (sun, moon, and stars) are more worthy of honour than the idols, and yet, as each is subjected to some superior force, they can none of them claim to be God (chap. vii.). While he was yet speaking to his father a voice came from heaven bidding him leave his father's house. He had scarcely left the house when fire descended and consumed all within it.

The apocalyptic part opens with a divine command to Abraham to prepare a sacrifice with a view to receiving a divine revelation concerning the future (chap. ix.). Abraham,

¹ See Appendix I, esp. p. 60.

terrified at the experience, is confronted by the angel Jaoel, who encourages him, and explains his commission to be with Abraham, and act as his celestial guide. Under the direction of the angel he proceeds to Horeb, the Mount of God, a journey of forty days (chaps. x.-xii.), and there, with the help of Jaoel, accomplishes the sacrifice. At this point Azazel, the fallen archangel and seducer of mankind, intervenes and attempts to dissuade Abraham from his purpose. In the form of an unclean bird he flies down "upon the carcasses" (cf. Gen. xv. II), and tries to induce Abraham to leave the holy place, but in vain. Jaoel denounces the evil spirit, bidding him depart, and telling him that the heavenly garment which was formerly his has been set aside for Abraham (chaps. xiii.-xiv.).

After this Abraham and the angel ascend on the wings of the unslaughtered birds (of the sacrifice) to heaven, which is described at length. It is filled with "a strong light" of power inexpressible, and there they see the angels who are born and disappear daily, after singing their hymn of praise (chaps. xv.-xvi.). At this point Abraham, hearing the divine voice, falls prostrate, and, taught by the angel, utters the celestial song of praise, and prays for enlightenment (chap. xvii.). He sees the divine throne with the Cherubim and the holy Creatures (*hayyoth*), of whom a description is given, and particularly of their rivalry which is mitigated by the activity of Jaoel (chap. xviii.). God now speaks and discloses to Abraham the powers of heaven in the various firmaments below (chap. xix.). God promises him a seed numerous as the stars (chap. xx.). In answer to a question by Abraham about Azazel, God shows him a vision of the world, its fruits and creatures, the sea and its monsters (including Leviathan), the Garden of Eden, its fruits, streams, and blessedness. He sees also a multitude of human beings "half of them on the right side of the picture, and half of them on the left" (chap. xxi.). The fall of man is explained to him, being traced to the sin of Adam and Eve in the Garden, a vision of which appears in the picture and also of its results upon the destinies of mankind, who are divided into the people on the right side of the picture, representing the Jewish world, and the people on the left representing the heathen world. In particular the sin of idolatry resulting in impurity and murder is sketched and made manifest (chaps. xxii.-xxv.). The question, why sin is permitted, is answered by God (chap. xxvi.), and this is followed by a vision of judgement in which the destruction of the Temple is portrayed. In answer to Abraham's anguished question it is explained to him that this is due to the sin of idolatry on the part of his seed. At the same time a hint is given him of coming salvation (chap. xxvii.). In answer to the question, how long shall the judgement last? a description is given of the troubles preceding the Messianic Age, and the dawn of the latter (chaps. xxviii.-xxix.; the latter chapter contains a long Christian interpolation). At this point Abraham finds himself "upon the earth," but receives a further disclosure regarding the punishment of the heathen and the ingathering of Israel (chaps. xxx.-xxxi.). A short paragraph repeating the promise of the chosen people's deliverance from oppression closes the Book (chap. xxxii.).

The character of the Book, as a whole, is thoroughly Jewish. Its original language was probably Hebrew or Aramaic, from which a Greek version (underlying the Slavonic) was made; and the date of the original composition may be placed at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century A.D.

THE SLAVONIC TEXT AND MSS¹

The Slavonic version, or rather translation, of *The Apocalypse of Abraham* (*Ap. Abr.*) has been preserved in a number of MSS. The oldest and most valuable of these is the famous Codex Sylvester,² which now belongs to the Library of the Printing-department of the Holy Synod in Moscow. The MS., which dates from the first half of the fourteenth century, is written on parchment, with two columns on each page, and contains 216 leaves in all, our Apocalypse occupying leaves 164-182.³ It contains a collection of lives of different saints, and *The Apocalypse of Abraham* stands in it as a work complete in itself, without any connexion with the works which precede and follow it.

The text of our Apocalypse according to Codex Sylvester (cited as S) has been edited by Professor N. Tikhonravov in his *Memorials of Russian Apocryphal Literature* (*Pamyatniki otrechennoi russkoi literatury*), Moscow, 1863, Vol. I. pp. 32-53; and also Professor J. Sreznevsky in his *Ancient Monuments of Russian Writing and Language* (*Drevnie Pam'yatniki russkovo pis'ma i yazyka*), Petrograd, 1863, I. pp. 247^b-256^a, with readings from the Uvaroff MS., which apparently is a mere copy of S. Tikhonravov has supplied his edition with corrections of the numerous clerical mistakes which abound in S, thereby earning the gratitude of students, while Sreznevsky has satisfied himself with producing a mere copy of the text, with all its mistakes. Apart from these editions there has also been published by the Imperial Society of Bibliophiles a facsimile edition of the text of our Apocalypse, according to S (Petrograd, 1890), thus affording students the means of consulting the MS. itself. Apart from S the text of *Ap. Abr.* is also contained in many Palæas.⁴ The Palæa, as its name indicates (ἡ παλαιά sc. διαθήκη), deals with the Old Testament, especially with the historical part of it, beginning with creation and ending with David or Solomon, the biblical narratives being enlarged and embellished with apocryphal and pseudepigraphical matter. The origin of the Slavonic Palæa must be sought in some Greek prototype,⁵ which by way of Bulgaria and Serbia had, at an early date, found an entrance into Russia, where for centuries it enjoyed great popularity—at least so long as a translation of the whole Bible had not been made accessible to both clergy and people, that is up till the sixteenth century.

¹ The substance of this section of the Introduction has been contributed by Mr. J. I. Landsman.

² Sylvester, after whom the MS. is named, was a prominent priest in the early years of the reign of Ivan the Terrible, upon whom he for some years exercised a salutary influence. He was an author and lover of books, and the Codex was one of a collection of MSS. which remained after his death in the Kirillo monastery, whither he was banished: see Sreznevsky, *Narratives about the Saints Boris and Gleb* (*Skazan'ia o sv'yatykh Borisě i Glěbě*), Petrograd, 1860, Pt. I., and *The Orthodox Encyclopædia* (*Pravoslavnaya Bogoslovshaya E.*) iv. 1195 (s.v. *Domostroi*).

³ A full description of S is given by Sreznevsky, *op. cit.*, pp. i-viii.

⁴ On the subject of the Palæa see the works of N. S. Tikhonravov (*Sochinenia*), Moscow, 1898, Vol. I. pp. 156-170, and the valuable notes at the end of the volume; cf. also the article *Palæa* in the Russian Encyclopædia published by Brockhaus—Efron.

⁵ A MS. of a Greek Palæa is known to exist in the Vienna Library, and has been edited by A. V. Vasil'eff in *Anecdota græco-byzantina*, I. pp. 188-192 (Moscow, 1892).

There are two kinds of Palæas, the historical and the expository, the former being also known as the “eyes” of the Palæa, because it contains the text upon which the expository Palæa comments. The expositions are of a polemical character, the polemic being invariably directed against the Jews (*Zhidovin*), to whom it is demonstrated that all the prophecies and the manifold types had found their true fulfilment in Christ. The Palæa draws richly upon the Jewish Midrashic Literature, and then uses the material as an argument against the Jews from whom it was borrowed.

Originally our Apocalypse had no place in the Palæa, as may be seen from the oldest Palæa MS., which dates from the fourteenth century, and is preserved in the Alexander-Nevsky Monastery (Petrograd). Later, it was inserted, but still retained its original character of an independent work (as is the case in the Uvaroff Palæ); but later still (from the sixteenth century and onwards) the text of *Ap. Abr.* loses its original character of an independent work, the material being worked into the life of Abraham. The title of the Book is dropped, and the first person in which Abraham speaks in S is altered into the third, that is, it is changed into a narrative about Abraham, though the scribe often forgets himself and retains the first person of the original.

The apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings must have been introduced into Russia at a very early date. Large parties of devout Russians, conducted by some learned monk, made frequent pilgrimages to Constantinople and the Holy Land. It was on such pilgrimages that the people were, for the first time, made acquainted with these writings, and the learned monk would, on the spot, translate the book, which had enriched his knowledge concerning the Patriarchs or the Apostles, into Slavonic, and then bring it back, as a most precious treasure to his own country, to the great delight of his fellow-monks in the monastery. It may, therefore, be taken for granted that the Greek original of our Apocalypse had never been brought to Russia, and that there never existed more than one translation of it into Slavonic, for S and the Palæa do not represent different translations, but only different types or recensions of one and the same version. The differences between the Palæa and S are very slight, the former only modernising here and there the style and the orthography. The Palæa is, therefore, of great value for the reconstruction of the original text, especially as it has preserved, in many cases, a more correct copy than is the case with S. The Palæa version is, however, disfigured by the many interpolations made by subsequent scribes which are all absent from S, and which are easily discernible as being interpolations.¹

The Palæa version of our Apocalypse has been edited by Tikhonravov² from a MS. which once belonged to the Joseph-Monastery in Volokolamsk, whence it has been transferred to the Library of the Moscow Academy of Divinity,³ the MS. dating from the fifteenth century. Then I. Porfir'ev edited it in his *Apocryphal Narratives about Old Testament Persons and Events* (*Apokrificheskia skazania o vetkhozavetnykh litsakh i sobytiakh*), Petrograd, 1877,

¹ Matter which is not found in S is, in the translation printed below, enclosed in square brackets, and printed in smaller type.

² *Op. Cit.*, pp. 54-77.

³ Cited below as A.

pp. 111-130,¹ from a MS. dating from the seventeenth century, originally the property of the Library of the Solovetzk-Monastery, whence it was transferred to the Library of the Kasan Academy of Divinity.² A and K are closely related to each other, and represent a type of text common to them both. Thus the same mistakes are found in both, and also the same additional matter, not extant in S.³

Another Palæa-text, containing part of the text of our Apocalypse, viz. the legendary narrative in chaps. i.-viii. only, has been edited by A. Pypin in *Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha of Russian Antiquity* (*Ložnyja i otrečennyja knigi russkoi stariny*) in the third volume of Kuselev-Bezborodko, *Memorials of Old Russian Literature* (*Pam'yatniki starinnoj russkoi literatury*), Petrograd, 1882, pp. 24-26. This is from the Palæa of the Rumjancov Museum, dating from the year 1494.⁴

In S the end of the Book is missing, but is, fortunately, extant both in A and K. K also has at the end a short paragraph not found in A, which forms an appropriate conclusion to the whole Book. The reader will find it given in the notes on the concluding passage. See further Appendixes II. and III.⁵

DATE OF COMPOSITION AND ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE BOOK

The Slavonic text, it is obvious, was made from a Greek version which, no doubt, was current in Constantinople. It is probable, however, that the Greek text underlying the Slavonic was itself a translation of a Semitic original. A number of indications suggest this. The simple co-ordination of the sentences, the naïve repetitions, and the frequency of the phrase "Here am I" (= Hebrew *hinnēnî*), which characterise all parts of the Book, point in this direction. Then, too, the sarcastic names given to the idols in the first part (chaps. i.-viii.)—the stone idol *Merumath* (= 'eben Mē'rūmā, "stone of deceit"), the wooden idol *Barisat* (= *bar 'ishtā* "son of the fire," Aramaic)—presuppose a knowledge of Hebrew or Aramaic, or both, on the part of the original readers which would hardly be likely in a purely Greek composition. The fact, too, that Abraham is supposed to be the speaker throughout may lend some weight to the argument for a Hebrew original. The cumulative effect of these considerations taken in conjunction with the intensely Jewish character of the Book as a whole makes a Semitic original highly probable. Perhaps the Book was composed in Hebrew, with a slight admixture of Aramaic, such as occurs in the early Palestinian Midrashim.

The date of the composition of the Book can be determined, within narrow limits, with some probability. Clearly the *terminus a quo* is the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 70 A.D. which is bewailed by Abraham in the apocalyptic part of the Book. The fact, too, that it forms the central point of the picture, that the revelation leads up to it as a sort

¹ Forming part of Vol. XVII, published by the Department of the Russian Language and Literature of the Imperial Academy of Sciences.

² Cited below as K.

³ For some examples of identical errors in the text which appear in both A and K see Bonwetsch, p. 8.

⁴ Cited as R below.

⁵ See further, Bonwetsch, pp. I-II.

of climax, and that the apocalyptist is so deeply moved at the disclosure, suggests that the event is fairly recent. Ginzberg (J.E., i. 92) thinks "the last decades of the first century" are probably the period to which the composition of the Book should be assigned, at any rate in its earliest form. In any case the *terminus ad quem* can hardly be later than the first decades of the second century. The fact that the Book won acceptance in Christian circles, and was adapted by slight interpolation to Christian purposes—though its intensely Jewish character is manifest on every page—strongly supports the early date. Such a Book would have appealed to Jewish-Christians in Palestine, when Jewish-Christianity was still in close touch with a non-Christian Jewish community in the Holy Land—and it may be assumed, in view of the Semitic character of its original language, that the Book was of Palestinian origin. It must, therefore, have been produced at a time when early apocalyptic literature was still being written in Hebrew or Aramaic, *i. e.* not later than the early decades of the second century.¹

The question as to the existence of the Book at first in a shorter and much simpler form is discussed below.

EARLY ATTESTATION OF THE BOOK

That the Book must have enjoyed some considerable vogue and popularity in certain Christian circles is proved by its survival, in more than one form, in old Slavonic literature. And this must be equally true of the Greek form of the Book from which the Slavonic was derived. There is, as we should expect, some early evidence of the Book's existence, though some of it is vague and uncertain. What seems to be the clearest and most explicit piece of evidence of this kind is found in the *Clementine Recognitions*, I. 32, which carries us back to at least the early part of the fourth century, and which, not improbably, through the sources of the Clementine Literature, may go back to an earlier period, still, perhaps another century.² The section in the *Recognitions* deals with Abraham, and the part which specially concerns us runs as follows:

From the first this same man [Abraham], being an astrologer, was able, from the account and order of the stars, to recognise the Creator, while all others were in error, and understood that all things are regulated by His providence. Whence also an angel, standing by him in a vision, instructed him more fully concerning those things which he was beginning to perceive. He shewed him also what belonged to his race and posterity, and promised them that those districts should be restored rather than given to them.

Here the first sentence clearly refers to some form of the legend of Abraham's conversion from idolatry; but it agrees rather with Philo's account in *de Abrahamo*, § 15 (see Appendix I.) than with that embodied in the first part of our Book, which depicts Abraham in his early days as a maker and seller of idols rather than as an astrologer. But the second sentence forms a good description of the second or apocalyptic part of our Book, and may be taken as a reference to it. That in fact a book known as "the Apocalypse of Abraham" existed in his time is explicitly stated by Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxxix. 5) where, in speaking of the Gnostic sect called

¹ See E.A., p. lviii ff.

² Cf. Hort, *Clementine Recognitions*, pp. 80 ff.

“the Sethians,” he says they possessed a number of books “written in the name of great men,” seven in the name of Seth, and among others one “in the name of Abraham which they also declare to be an apocalypse,” and which is “full of all wickedness” (πάσης κακίας ἔμπλεων). Schürer thinks that this heretical book cannot be identified with our Apocalypse. Dr. M. R. James, however,¹ is inclined to believe “that Epiphanius on his authority is here going too far, and is fathering on the Sethians a book, which they may well have used, but which they did not manufacture.” It is quite possible, and not improbable that this Gnostic sect made use of our Book in an interpolated form. As we shall see, there are Gnostic features in it in the form in which it has reached us, and Ginzberg is inclined to regard these as interpolations from a Gnostic book bearing the same name. A heretical Book (or Apocalypse) of Abraham may also possibly be referred to in a passage in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, vi. 16 (compiled in its present form probably in the second half of the fourth century), which runs as follows:

And among the Ancients also some have written apocryphal books of Moses, and Enoch, and Adam, and Isaiah, and David, and Elijah, and of the three patriarchs, pernicious and repugnant to the truth (φθοροποιὰ καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρά).

It will be noticed that this is a list of Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, most of the items of which are easily recognisable. By “the three patriarchs” can only be meant Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Thus the passage attests the existence, at the time when the compiler wrote, of an apocryphal Book of Abraham, which may well be identical with our Apocalypse.² Lastly there is the evidence of the lists of books (containing the bare names) included in the *Synopsis of Pseudo-Athanasius* (compiled probably about 500 A.D.) and the *Stichometry of Nicephorus* (drawn up in Jerusalem perhaps about 850 A.D.). The latter is identical with the former, except that it attaches to the name of each book the number of *stichoi* or lines contained in it. The first six names on these lists are as follows: (1) *Enoch*; (2) *Patriarchs*; (3) *Prayer of Joseph*; (4) *Testament of Moses*; (5) *Assumption of Moses*; (6) *Abraham*. The second list adds to the sixth name “stichometry 300,” thus giving us “a book [of Abraham] rather shorter than the Greek Esther, which has 350 στίχοι.” Dr. M. R. James³ is of opinion that the word ἀποκάλυψις is to be supplied before Ἀβραάμ here, and this view we may safely accept. We have thus another piece of evidence of the existence of a Book called “the Apocalypse of Abraham,” which was of sufficient importance to be included in a list of books of Old Testament apocrypha containing such well-known names as the Book of Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Assumption of Moses.

From a survey of this evidence it may be concluded that an apocryphal book (or books) under the name of Abraham was current in the early Christian centuries: and that our Apocalypse is one product or form of this literature. The so-called *Testament of Abraham* is, no doubt, another. The possibility remains to be considered that our Apocalypse may have assumed different forms (by enlargement or curtailment) and have been adapted at different times for different purposes.

¹ *The Testament of Abraham* (Cambridge “Texts and Studies”), p. 14.

² It might, of course, refer to some other apocryphal Book of Abraham; Dr. M. R. James thinks the reference may be to *The Testament of Abraham*.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 9. The synopsis embraces eleven items.

GNOSTIC ELEMENTS IN THE TEXT

Among the Gnostic features in the text of our Book may be reckoned the significant emphasis laid upon “right” and “left” in the apocalyptic representation (cf. xxii. (end), xxiii.), the “right” side being the source of purity and light, the “left” that of impurity and darkness. This idea is ancient,¹ depending upon the dualism which insists upon the category of light and darkness, and can be traced back to ancient Zoroastrianism. But it was developed in the early Gnostic systems (see Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* I., xi. 2: II. xxiv. 6), and in the Jewish Kabbalah, where “right side” and “left side” (*sitrā yêmînā wě-sitrā 'ahārā*) become technical terms. In the Emanistic system of the Zohar, the whole world is divided between “right” and “left,” where pure and impure powers respectively operate—on the right side the Holy One and His powers, on the left the serpent Sammael and his powers (cf. Zohar, *Bereshith*, 47b, 53f, 169b and following, 174b). When, therefore, we find our Book dividing mankind into two hosts, one on the right side (= the Jews) and one on the left (= the heathen), the presence of Gnostic influence seems clear. At the same time, it may well be an original feature of the Book, as the idea had already been assimilated by the ancient Jewish mystical tradition (Kabbalah), and if our Apocalypse was of Essene origin there would be nothing surprising in the presence of such an element.

The opposition between light and darkness seems also to be present in an obscure passage in chap. xiv., which is absent from S. It runs as follows (Azazel is being addressed):

For thy heritage is (to be) over those existing with thee being born with the stars and clouds, with the men whose portion thou art, and (who) through thy being exist; and thine enmity is justification.

Perhaps by those “being born with the stars and clouds” is meant those who by birth and creation belong to the sphere of night and darkness, as opposed to the righteous who belong to the sphere of light. This again accords with the ancient dualistic conception referred to above, and may very well be an original feature. The absence of the clause from S may be due to excision. It can hardly be an interpolation from Slavonic sources.

On the other hand, there are two passages where the original text may have been modified under Christian Gnostic influence (apart from the obvious interpolation indicated by italic type in chap. xxix.). In chap. xx. God, addressing Abraham, says: “As the number of the stars and their power, (so will) I make thy seed a nation, and a people set apart for me in my heritage *with Azazel*.” And again in chap. xxii.: “But those which are on the right side of the picture—they are the people set apart for me of the peoples *with Azazel*.” Here God is represented as sharing His heritage (= the Jewish people) with the evil spirit Azazel. “This,” says Ginzberg (*J.E.*, i. 92), “is no doubt the Gnostic doctrine of the God of the Jews as *kakodaimon*,” *i. e.* that the God of the Old Testament is an inferior deity, whose work was fused with evil elements. Still, these Gnostic elements in our Book are not very pronounced; there are no clear and explicit allusions to any of the full-blown doctrines of the Ophites or kindred Gnostic sects. The phenomena suggest that the Book is an essentially Jewish one, which may have been used and read by Gnostic Christians, and adapted by slight revision to make it acceptable to such readers.

¹ Cf. Matt. xxv.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK AND INTEGRITY OF ITS TEXT

The Book is essentially Jewish, and there are features in it which suggest Essene origin; such are its strong predestinarian doctrine, its dualistic conceptions, and its ascetic tendencies. It may well have passed from Essene to Ebionite circles—the interpolation in chap. xxix. certainly looks like the work of a Jewish-Christian—and thence, in some form, have found its way into Gnostic circles.

Is the Book as it lies before us—apart from the interpolation in chap. xxix.—substantially in its original shape? To this question an affirmative answer may, with some probability, be given. Ginzberg, it is true, suggests a different view. He says (*J.E.*, i. 92):

It is quite probable that certain parts of the heretical Apocalypse of Abraham, which was in circulation among the Gnostics (Epiphanius, xxxix. 5), were incorporated in the present text [of our Apocalypse]. Subtracting, then, the first part [*i. e.* chaps. i.-viii., containing the “Legend”], which does not belong to the Apocalypse, and the Gnostic and Christian interpolations, only about three hundred lines remain, and this number would exactly correspond with the number which, according to the stichometry of Nicephorus, the Apocalypse of Abraham contained.

There are considerable difficulties attaching to this theory. It is difficult to suppose that the Book in its original form was without the opening chapters (i.-viii.) narrating Abraham’s conversion from idolatry. There are several allusions in the later chapters to this opening narrative, which come in quite naturally. The chapters form a good introduction to what follows, and, as such, were probably put into their present shape by the original author of the Book. The material of the legend was, of course, much older; but it is to be noticed that our author has handled this material in a very free way, and this fact also suggests that these chapters were no mere addition to the Book, borrowed from one of the current forms of the legend. It seems more probable that the shorter “Apocalypse of Abraham” implied by the Stichometry of Nicephorus was a shortened recension of the original book, probably adapted for orthodox Christian purposes. It is by no means impossible that a shorter recension may have existed side by side with the fuller original form at a later date. The latter may have survived and have been read in certain circles by preference, and thence have passed over into the old Slavonic Church literature. Whether the heretical “Apocalypse of Abraham” referred to by Epiphanius which, according to him was “full of all wickedness” was another and independent recension, it is impossible to say. On the whole it seems more likely that the older form of the Book—especially if it had grown up in Ebionite (Jewish-Christian) circles—was the form in which it was read by the Sethian Gnostics. The mere fact that it was read in such circles would make it suspicious in the eyes of a later orthodoxy, which may have endeavoured to suppress it by issuing a shorter recension of the text. But the older form was too popular to be eliminated in this way entirely—though it has almost disappeared from Christian literature, and in its Greek and Semitic forms has, in fact, disappeared, only surviving in its old Slavonic dress.

That such a Jewish-Christian Book would have been acceptable to Sethian Gnostic readers is not surprising. This Gnostic sect held the doctrine that the *Sophia* “found means to preserve through every age, in the midst of the Demiurge’s world, a race bearing within them the spiritual seed which was related to her own nature” . . . they “regarded Cain as a

representative of the Hylic; Abel, of the Psychical; and Seth, who was finally to reappear in the person of the Messiah, of the Pneumatic principle.”¹

The emphasis laid in our Book (chap. xxiv.) upon the lawlessness of Cain, “who acted lawlessly through the Adversary,” and its evil consequence in the slaughter of Abel would appeal to such Gnostic readers no less than the division of mankind into “right” and “left,” and the assignment of the latter to the dominion of the “lawless Adversary” Azazel. Abraham, too, the hero of the Book, was in the line of Seth, and it is from him that the Messiah springs (chap. xxix.). All this would be read by such Gnostic readers in the light of their own presuppositions.

We conclude, then, that the Book, substantially as it lies before us, is a Jewish and Essene production, like the related *Testament of Abraham*. It depicts the initiation of Abraham into the heavenly mysteries associated with the Divine “Chariot” (cf. Ezek. i.). Its angelology is in line with Essene speculation, and in chap. xvii. Abraham is taught by the archangel, in the form of the celestial hymn, the mystery of the Divine Name. We have reached the stage when Enoch has fallen into the background, and Abraham, like Moses, has become the centre of mystic lore, that is “when the seal of circumcision had become the pledge of life.”² It is noteworthy that the Kabbalistic book *Sefer Yesirā* (? second century A.D.) was attributed to Abraham.

It may occur to some readers as an objection to this view that the prominence assigned to Abraham’s sacrifice in the Book, and to the destruction of the Temple, regarded as the supreme calamity, is inconsistent with Essene authorship, since the Essenes rejected animal sacrifices. But, as Kohler has shewn,³ the Essenes, who accepted the Mosaic Law, were not opposed to such sacrifices on principle. What they opposed was the priesthood in the Temple “out of mistrust as to their state of holiness and purity, rather than out of aversion to sacrifice.” To Abraham, the Essene saint, acting under direct divine command, no such objection would apply.

It should be added that the Slavonic MSS. yield a text which is markedly shorter than the texts of the Palæan MSS. Some of the omitted passages are perhaps cases of deliberate excision, and others of accidental omission. But there remain a substantial number where the shorter text is probably original, and the presence of glosses or later amplifications is to be suspected. All such passages are indicated in the text of the translation given below.

THEOLOGY OF THE BOOK

The apocalyptic part of the Book is based upon the story of Abraham’s sacrifice and trance, as described in Gen. xv. This experience is interpreted to mean that Abraham received a divine disclosure as to the destinies of his descendants, which is also the view of the Rabbinical Midrash (cf. *Bereshith rabba*, xliv. 15 f.). This scheme provides the framework in which our apocalypse is set. Abraham, after completing the prescribed sacrifice, ascends to heaven, under the guidance of the angel, and from thence sees below him the drama of the world’s future, and also the various powers and forces that operate in the celestial sphere. In

¹ Neander, *Church History*, ii. 154.

² Cf. Kohler in *J.Q.R.*, vii. 594 (July 1895),

³ In *J.E.*, v. 230 (s.v. *Essenes*).

exactly the same way the Midrash (*Bereshith rabba*, xlv. 14) interprets Abraham's experience as an ascension. According to a saying of R. Jehuda, citing the authority of R. Johanan, God *caused him* [Abraham] *to ascend above the vault of the firmament*, and said to him: "Look now toward heaven": "looking" [here] means nought else but from [the height] above to [what is] below. This is a continuation of a comment on the sentence: *And He brought him forth outside* (Gen. xv. 5) interpreted to mean: "And He (God) brought him (Abraham) forth outside the world."

The angel who conducts Abraham on his celestial journey is the archangel Jaoel, who plays an all-important rôle. As is pointed out in the notes, he fulfils the functions elsewhere assigned to Michael and Metatron. Just as Metatron bears the tetragrammaton (cf. Ex. xxiii. 21, "My Name is in him"), so Jaoel here (chap. x.) is possessed of the power of the Ineffable Name. The name Jaoel itself is evidently a substitute for the tetragrammaton, which was too sacred to be written out in full. This angelic being is thus God's vicegerent, second only to God Himself. Yet he may not be worshipped, but rather himself sets Abraham the example of worshipping God. He is thus the supreme figure in Jewish angelology. Like Enoch, who was also transformed into Metatron, Jaoel acts as celestial guide. Jaoel is also the heavenly choir-master (chap. xii. "Singer of the Eternal"; cf. also chap. xvii.), a function assigned elsewhere to Michael; like Michael he is the guardian of the chosen race (chap. x., end), and is potent to subdue "the attack and menace of every single reptile" (*ibid.*).

It is this supreme angelic being who in one line of apocalyptic tradition becomes the heavenly Son of Man—a conception that exercised an important influence on Christological development.¹

Over against Jaoel stands Azazel, who here appears as the arch-fiend,² and as active upon the earth (chap. xiii.), though his real domain is in Hades, where he reigns as lord (chap. xxxi.). In fact, according to the peculiar representation of our Apocalypse, Azazel is himself the fire of Hell (cf. chap. xiv. "Be thou the burning coal of the furnace of the earth," and xxxi., "burnt with the fire of Azazel's tongue"). He is the source of all wickedness and uncleanness (chap. xiii.), and the godless are his heritage (*ibid.*). He is denounced as the slanderer of truth and the seducer of mankind, having "scattered over the earth the secrets of heaven," and "rebelled against the Mighty One" (chap. xiv.). The radical dualism of the Book comes out not only in the sharp division of mankind into two hosts, which stand for Jewry and heathendom respectively, but also in the clearly defined contradistinction of two ages, the present Age of ungodliness and the future Age of righteousness (cf. chap. xxix. and ix.). The present Age—called "this æon" (chap. xxxi.)—is "corruptible" (chap. xvii.), "the Age of ungodliness" (chap. xxix., xxxii.), during which the heathen have the dominion over the Jews (chap. xxxi.); it is to last "twelve" years or "hours" (chap. xxix.). Over against it stands "the coming Age" (chap. xxxi.), or "Age of the righteous" (chap. xvii., xxix.). The origin of sin is traced to the Fall, which is described in chap. xxiii. The agent is, of course, the serpent, who is merely the instrument of Azazel. Indeed, the twelve wings of the latter are given in the

¹ Cf. E.A., p. 284. The name Jaoel (Yahoel) occurs as the name of a principal angel (over fire) in the Kabbalistic Book *Berith Menuha* 57a, and below him are seven others, including Gabriel: see Lucken, *Michael*, p. 54.

² So in one form of the tradition in 1 Enoch, Azazel stands at the head of the fallen angels.

description to the serpent. The evil spirit, who is described as being “between” the human pair in the Garden, “representeth ungodliness, their beginning (on the way) to perdition, even Azazel,” and the seer proceeds to ask why God has given “power to such to destroy the generation of men in their works upon the earth.” In some sense, then, according to the representation of our Apocalypse, the sin of Adam affects the destinies of all his descendants. The moral poison of sensuality (Heb. *zôhāmā*) with which the serpent infected Eve (T. B., *Yēbāmôth*, 103 b) passed on to all generations (cf. *Wisdom* ii. 24, 4 *Ezra*. iii. 21).¹ This has an important bearing on the Pauline doctrine of original sin. At the same time, our Apocalypse, in spite of its strong expression of predestinarian views elsewhere, insists with marked emphasis upon the freedom of man’s will (cf. chap. xxvi.).

The Book apparently knows nothing of a resurrection. The righteous dead, it would seem, proceed straight to the heavenly Paradise (“the Garden of Eden”), where they enjoy heavenly “fruits and blessedness” (chap. xxi.), while the wicked dead go immediately to the underworld and Azazel. Nothing is said of an intermediate state. The more usual view is that the heavenly Paradise is reserved for the righteous dead, who will enter it after the final judgement (except for a few privileged saints like Enoch, who are allowed to enter it beforehand). The nearest parallel to the idea of our Book, seems to occur in 1 Enoch lx. 8, 23, lxi. 12, lxx. 4, where the elect righteous already dwell in the garden of life.

“A judgement” is spoken of “at the end of the world,” but it is a judgment upon the heathen nations effected by Israel at the end of the present age of ungodliness² (cf. chap. xxii., xxix.).

A detailed eschatological description of the end of the present age of ungodliness and the coming in of the age of righteousness is given in chap. xxix.-xxxi. In chap. xxix. it is stated that before the beginning of the new Age God’s judgement will be effected on the ruthless heathen nations by God’s people¹; ten plagues come upon all creatures of the earth on account of sin; those who are of Abraham’s seed survive according to a pre-determined number, hasten to Jerusalem, wreak vengeance on their foes, and rejoice before God, to whom they return (chap. xxix.). In the following chapter (xxx.) a detailed description is given of the ten plagues which visit the heathen “at the twelfth hour of the present Age.” Chap. xxxi. describes the trumpet-blast which announces the mission of God’s Elect One (the Messiah), who gathers together the dispersed of Israel, and the annihilation and horrible doom of the godless foes of Israel and of God’s enemies both within and without Israel (the former renegade Jews), and the joy which the downfall of these wicked people and the signal manifestation of God’s righteousness cause.

As has been pointed out above, our Apocalypse, like the companion one of *The Ascension of Isaiah*, and other examples in the apocalyptic literature, expresses the mystical tradition and experience associated with the mysteries of the Divine Chariot or Throne. The speculation which gave rise to this tradition starts from Ezekiel’s Chariot-Vision (Ezek. i.), and is embodied in a fairly extensive literature especially in i. and ii. Enoch in the

¹ In T.B. *Aboda zara* 22b R. Johanan refers to this as follows: *At the moment when the serpent came upon Eve he infected her with sensuality (zôhāmā). Was this also the case with Israel (generally)? When the Israelites stood upon Mount Sinai their infection (impulse to sensuality, zôhāmāthān) ceased; the aliens (heathen) who did not stand upon Mount Sinai—their infection (of sensuality) did not cease.* The Covenant on Mount Sinai annulled the effects of the Fall.

earlier Apocalyptic, and in the neo-Hebraic “Hekalot” literature (eighth to tenth centuries A.D.). The material of which it is composed, and which is constantly re-shaped, consists mainly of descriptions of the seven heavens “with their hosts of angels, and the various store-houses of the world, and of the divine throne above the highest heaven.”¹ Heaven is pictured as filled with light of inexpressible brilliance, and the Divine Chariot is surrounded by fiery angels of warlike aspect. The mystic who is allowed to enter the celestial sphere usually receives divine disclosures about the future or the spiritual world.

In order to enjoy this experience the mystic has to prepare himself to enter the ecstatic state which is brought about especially by ablutions and fasting, but also sometimes by fervent invocations and by other means. He is rewarded by “the vision of the Merkabah” or “Divine Chariot” (*sēfiyyath hamerkābā*). Those who thus imagined themselves entering the Heavenly Chariot and floating through the air were called *Yōrēdē Merkābā*, i. e. “those who go down (embark) into the ship-like chariot” (Jellinek). “In this chariot they are supposed to ascend to the heavens, where in the dazzling light surrounding them they behold the inner-most secrets of all persons and things otherwise impenetrable and invisible.”² The heavenly charioteer is Metatron (according to Kohler suggested by Mithra), the angel next the Throne, whose name is like God’s, and who possesses all knowledge, and imparts it to man. Metatron, as we have seen, is Enoch transformed. In our Book he seems to appear under the name Jaobel. It is interesting to note that according to the late Jewish “Hekalot” the initiated one who is admitted to the heavenly regions, in order to be allowed to step before the Divine Throne must recite certain prayers until God Himself addresses him, if he be worthy; cf. with this the Hymn-Prayer which Abraham is taught to recite in chap. xvii. of our Book. According to Kohler³ the Merkabah mysteries “remained the exclusive property of the initiated ones, the *Senû’im* or *Hashshā’im*,” whom he identifies with the Essenes.

[The emphasis that is laid throughout all parts of the Book upon the sin of idolatry is noteworthy, and especially that the Temple-sacrifices had been polluted by idolatrous rites (cf. chap. xxiv.). Perhaps this is intended to suggest a reason why the sanctuary was destroyed.]

¹ The “judgement of the Great Assize” mentioned in chap. xxiv. occurs in a clause which is absent from S, and may be an interpolation.

It will be noticed that chaps. xxx. and xxxi. duplicate to some extent the contents of chap. xxix. They read like an appendix. Moreover, the figure of the Messiah first emerges here, and his *rôle* is a somewhat limited one. The last words of chap. xxix. (“And lo! I am with you for ever”) may well have formed the conclusion of the Apocalypse.

It should be noted also that in the Christian addition in chap. xxix. no emphasis is laid upon Christ’s divinity. The description reads like an Ebionitic one.

In this connexion it may be noted that the identification of the fruit of the forbidden tree in chap. xxiii. with the grape may reflect the ascetic tendency, which grew up in Jewish (and Jewish-Christian) circles after the destruction of Jerusalem, to abstain from wine as a mark of mourning. This feeling may have stimulated the view that wine was the source of woe to mankind (see note on passage). Apparently the Essenes regarded Jonadab, the founder of the sect of “water-drinkers” (Rechabites), as a prototype of the Essene order (see *J.E.*, v. 230b).

² According to chapter xxii. these peoples are destined “some for judgement and restoration, and others for vengeance and destruction at the end of the world.”

³ Cf. *J.E.*, viii. 499b.

LITERARY AFFINITIES AND SPECIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE BOOK

Our Apocalypse has affinities, as has already been pointed out, with such books as *The Ascension of Isaiah*, which like it deals with the mysteries of the heavens¹ and is set in a similar mystical framework. But the latter work has a pronouncedly Christian element, and is a production of Jewish-Christian origin in its present form, whereas in our Book the Christian element is confined to a short interpolated passage in chap. xxix.

With the *Testament of Abraham*, there is a certain affinity, and this work, like our Apocalypse, may be of Essene origin. But the two books are quite distinct, and their historical setting is different. The *Testament*, though it contains an apocalyptic element in the parts which describe Abraham's "ride" through the heavenly regions when he sees the fate of departed souls, is based upon the idea of Abraham's death; moreover, the chief angelic figure in the *Testament* is Michael, and the eschatology is different. Possibly the eschatology of the two Books may be regarded as complementary, the *Apocalypse* giving the national, and the *Testament* the individual aspects of it from the Essene standpoint.

There is, too, a certain affinity with the Clementine literature (*Homilies* and *Recognitions*), which is highly important for the history of Gnostic Judæo-Christianity. Thus in the Clementine *Homilies* the doctrine of contrasts is much elaborated. The ruler of this world is Satan, the ruler of the future world is the Messiah. The divinity of Christ is not recognised, no stress is laid upon the doctrine of the atonement, and strict asceticism is enjoined.

Our Book is important as illustrating the Jewish ideas that lie behind the doctrine of original sin in connexion with the story of the Fall, and in its angelology and demonology. In the angelic figure of Jaöel (= Michael = Metatron), God's vicegerent and the imparter of divine revelation to man (in the person of Abraham) we have one more illustration of the range of conceptions on the Jewish side which influenced the Logos-idea and Christological development. The pessimistic estimate of the world as it is—"the æon of ungodliness—which to a large extent is under the dominion of Azazel, illustrates such phrases as "the god of this world" (2 Cor. iv. 4), "the ruler of this world" (John xii. 31) which are applied to Satan. These probably reflect popular Jewish feeling. The earth is the Lord's, as St. Paul himself insists (1 Cor. x. 26), but has fallen under the dominion of the evil one, and can only be redeemed therefrom by God's Messiah.

Our Book is specially important as one more interesting example of the apocalyptic ideas of late Judaism, and, more particularly, as throwing a welcome light on the ideas specially congenial to early Jewish-Christianity when it had already become, to some extent, detached from the common stream of Church life.

¹ The seven heavens are referred to, and partly described in our Apocalypse in chap. xix. Another point of contact is the reference to the "heavenly garment" in chap. xiii., end. For a discussion of the theological affinities of these ideas with the New Testament writings cf. Introduction to *The Ascension of Isaiah*, pp. xxi-xxiv.

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For the editions of the Slavonic text see the second section of this Introduction.

A valuable German translation of the Slavonic text, with critical notes and Introduction, has been published in the series *Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche*: it is edited by Prof. G. Nathanael Bonwetsch (Leipzig, 1897).

Articles by Ginzberg in *J.E.*, i. 91f.; Lagrange in *Revue Biblique*, 1905, pp. 511-514; see also Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, iii. pp. 336-338.

SHORT TITLES, ABBREVIATIONS, AND BRACKETS USED IN THIS EDITION

1 Enoch = The Ethiopic Book of Enoch.

2 Enoch = The Slavonic Book of Enoch.

Ap. Bar. = The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch.

The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch = The Apocalypse edited under this title (and based upon a Greek and also a Slavonic text) by Dr. H. Maldwyn Hughes in the Oxford Corpus of *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ii. pp. 527-541.

Asc. Is. = The Ascension of Isaiah.

Pirke de R. Eliezer is cited according to the edition (English translation and notes) of G. Friedlander (London, 1916).

Beer = *Leben Abraham's nach Auffassung der jüdischen Sage*, von Dr. B. Beer (Leipzig, 1859).

Bonwetsch = *Die Apocalypse Abrahams . . .* herausgegeben von G. Nathanael Bonwetsch (Leipzig, 1897, in the series *Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche*).

Volz = *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*, dangesvellt von Paul Volz (Tübingen und Leipzig, 1903).

Weber = *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften*: von Dr. Ferdinand Weber (Leipzig, 1897).

S = Codex Sylvester (first half of fourteenth century): Facsimile Edition, Petrograd, 1890 (edited also by Tikhonravov).

P = Palæa (Old Testament narratives and expositions in Slavonic).

A = a Palæa-text of Ap. Abr., edited by Tikhonravov from a MS. of the fifteenth century.

K = a Palæa-text of Ap. Abr., edited by I. Porfir'ev from a MS. of the seventeenth century.

R = a Palæa-text of Ap. Abr., i.-viii., edited by A. Pypin from a MS. dated 1494.

Lueken = *Michael: eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael*: von Wilhelm Lueken (Göttingen, 1898).

E.A. = *The Ezra-Apocalypse*, edited by G. H. Box (1912).

J.Q.R. = Jewish Quarterly Review.

D.B. = Dictionary of the Bible.

See further
the second
section of the
Introduction

J.E. = Jewish Encyclopædia.

M.T. = Masoretic Text.

[] Square brackets enclosing words in smaller type indicate additional, and in most cases presumably interpolated, matter, which is absent from S.

() Round brackets enclosing words in *italic type* indicate glosses or editorial additions.

() Round brackets enclosing words in ordinary type indicate additions to the text of the translation made for the sake of clearness.

For the works cited under the following names—

Tikhonravov, see pp. xi, xiv.

Srcznevsky, see p. xi.

Pypin, see p. xiv.

Porfir'ev, see p. xiv.

[The translation that follows has been prepared with the assistance of Mr. J. I. Landsman, who has consulted for this purpose the Facsimile Edition of Codex S, and the various printed editions referred to above. For the form of the translation here given Mr. Landsman takes full responsibility. No previous translation or edition of the Book has been published in English so far as the Editor is aware.]

THE APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

PART I

THE LEGEND (Chapters I.-VIII)

Title¹

The Book of the Revelation of Abraham, the son of Terah, the son of Nahor, the son of Serug, the son of Roog (Reu²), the son of Arphaxad, the son of Shem, the son of Noah, the son of Lamech, the son of Methuselah, the son of Enoch, the son of Jared (Arad).

Abraham's Conversion from Idolatry (Chapters I.—VIII.).

I. On the day when I planed the gods of my father³ Terah and the gods of Nahor *his brother*,⁴ when I was searching as to who the Mighty God in truth is—I, Abraham, at the time when it fell to my lot, when I fulfilled the services (*the sacrifices*)⁵ of my father Terah to his gods of wood and stone, gold and silver, brass and iron;⁶ having entered into their temple for service, I found the god whose name was Merumath⁷ (which was) hewn out of stone, fallen forward at the feet of the iron god Nahon.⁸ And it came to pass, when I saw it, my heart was perplexed, and⁹ I considered in my mind that I should not be able to bring him back to his place, I, Abraham, alone,¹⁰ because he was heavy, being of a large stone,¹¹ and I went forth and made it known to my father. And he entered with me, and when both of us moved him (the god) forward, so that we might bring him back¹² to his place, his head fell from

¹ The whole of the title occurs only in S.

² Some links in the genealogical chain are omitted: Reu son of Peleg, son of Eber, son of Shelah, son of Arphaxad (Gen. xi. 10-16); Abraham was thus "the tenth from Noah" (Josephus, *Ant.*, i. 6, 5).

³ Abraham is represented as having followed the occupation of his father, that of an idol-maker; cf. *Bereshith rabba* on Gen. xi. 28 (see Appendix, p. 58).

⁴ *his* (i. e. Abraham's) *brother*; probably a gloss (the structure of the narrative demands "my"); A omits.

⁵ Probably a gloss (so Tikhonravov); or read *of the altar* for *sacrifices* (Bonwetsch).

⁶ Cf. Dan. v. 4.

⁷ The stone idol Merumath (= Heb. 'eben mērûmā, "stone of deceit") was the chief object of Abraham's worship at this period.

⁸ So A; S has *Naritson*; K, *by name Nahin*.

⁹ *and* omitted by S.

¹⁰ *I Abraham alone*: K omits; S. + *and lo!*

¹¹ *being of a large stone*: R omits.

¹² *so that we might bring him back*: R omits.

him¹ while I was still holding him by the head. And it came to pass,² when my father saw that the head of Merumath³ had fallen from him, he said to me: "Abraham!" And I said: "Here am I." And he said to me: "Bring me an axe, of the small ones,⁴ from the house." And I brought it to him.⁵ And he hewed aright another Merumath out of another stone, without head, and the head which had been thrown down from Merumath he placed upon it, and the rest of Merumath he shattered.⁵

II. And he made five other gods, and gave them to me [and]⁶ commanded me to sell them outside in the street of the town. And I saddled my father's⁷ ass, and placed them upon it, and went towards the inn to sell them. And lo! merchants from Fandana⁸ in Syria were travelling with camels going to Egypt,⁹ to trade.¹⁰ And I spoke with them. And one of their camels uttered a groan, and the ass took fright and sprang away and upset the gods; and three of them were smashed, and two were preserved. And it came to pass, when the Syrians saw that I had gods, they said to me: "Why didst thou not tell us [that thou hadst gods? Then we would have bought them]¹¹ before the ass heard the sound of the camel, and they would not have been lost. Give us, at any rate, the gods that remain, and we will give thee the proper price¹² for the broken gods, also for the gods that have been preserved."¹² For I was concerned in my heart as to how I could bring to my father the purchase-price;¹³ and the three broken ones I cast into the water of the river Gur, which was at that place, and they sank into the depths,¹⁴ and there was nothing more of them.

III. When I was still going on the way, my heart was perplexed within me, and my mind was distracted. And I said in my heart: ["What evil deed is this that my father is doing? Is not he, rather, the god of his gods, since they come into existence through his chisels and lathes, and his wisdom, and is it not rather fitting that they should worship my father, since they are his work? What is this delusion of my father in his works?]¹⁵ Behold, Merumath fell and could not rise in his own temple, nor could I, by myself, move him until my father came, and the two of us moved him; and as we were thus too weak, his head fell from him, and he (*i.e.* my father) set it upon another stone of

¹ R omits.

² R omits.

³ + *his god*, K.

⁴ *of the small ones*: K omits.

⁵ K reads: *And he cut off the head of another god of stone and fastened it upon the god Merumath which fell before, and the head which fell down from him and the rest of the other god he shattered.*

⁶ *and*: S K omit.

⁷ *father's*: A omits.

⁸ *Fandana* probably = Paddan-Aram (Gen. xxv. 20).

⁹ Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 25.

¹⁰ K reads: *in order to buy from thence papyrus from the Nile. And I questioned them, and they informed me.*

¹¹ S omits.

¹² A K omit; they read instead: *And I deliberated in my heart, and they gave me the value.*

¹³ K reads: *and he took the pieces of the broken gods and cast them in the Dead Sea, from which it could never emerge.*

¹⁴ A K, + *of the river Gur*.

¹⁵ This passage is given by A K, but is absent from S; apparently it is a later interpolation.

another god,¹ which he had made without head. And the other five gods were broken in pieces down from the ass, which were able-neither to help themselves,² nor to hurt the ass, because³ it had broken them to pieces; nor did their broken fragments come up out of the river.”⁴ And I said in my heart: “If this be so, how can Merumath, my father’s god, having the head of another stone,⁵ and himself being made of another stone,⁵ rescue a man, or hear a man’s prayer and reward him?”⁶

IV. And while I cogitated thus, I reached my father’s house; and having watered the ass, and set out hay for it, I brought the silver and gave it into the hand of my father Terah. When he saw it he was glad, [and]⁷ he said: “Blessed art thou, Abraham, of my gods,⁸ because thou hast brought the price of the gods, so that my work was not in vain.” And I answered and said to him: “Hear, O my father, Terah! Blessed are the gods⁹ of thee, for thou art their god, since⁹ thou hast made them; for their blessing is ruination, and their power¹⁰ is vain;¹¹ they who did not help themselves,¹² how shall they, then, help thee or bless me¹³? I have been kind to thee in this affair,¹⁴ because by (using) my intelligence, I have brought thee the money for the broken gods.” And when he heard my¹⁵ word, he became furiously angry with me, because I had spoken hard words against his gods.

V. I, however, having thought over my father’s anger, went out; [and after I had gone out]¹⁶ my father¹⁷ cried, saying: “Abraham!” And I said: “Here am I.” And he said: “Take and collect the splinters of the wood out of which I made gods of pine-wood before thou camest; and make ready for me the food of the mid-day meal.”¹⁸ And it came to pass, when I collected the splinters of wood, I found under them a little god which had been lying among the brush-wood on my left, and on his forehead was written: GOD BARISAT.¹⁹ And²⁰ I did not

¹ Cf. *Wisdom* xiii. 10 (“a useless stone, the work of an ancient hand”); K reads: *and set upon him the stone head of another god.*

² Cf. *Wisdom* xiii. 16 (“knowing that it is unable to help itself”).

³ =? *although* (Heb. *’aph kî*; Rabbinic *’aph ‘al pi*).

⁴ According to the Mishna ‘*Abôdâ zânâ* iii. 3 it was the duty of Jews to destroy an idol by sinking it in the waters of the Dead Sea, from which it could never emerge.

⁵ Omitted by K.

⁶ Cf. *Wisdom* xiii. 17 f. (the whole chapter should be compared in this context).

⁷ S omits.

⁸ Lit. *to my gods*: read? *of (by) my god* (Bonwetsch).

⁹ Text of S here corrupt.

¹⁰ A, *help*.

¹¹ K, *powerless*.

¹² Cf. note² in previous chapter.

¹³ For the thought cf. Heb. vii. 7.

¹⁴ Lit. *transaction*.

¹⁵ K, *this*.

¹⁶ S omits.

¹⁷ S, *he*.

¹⁸ Cf. Is. xlv. 15, *Wisdom* xiii. 12 f.

¹⁹ *Barisat* = probably *bar ‘ishtâ*, “son of the fire.”

²⁰ A K, + *it came to pass, when I found him, I kept him and.*

inform my father that I had found the wooden god Barisat under the chips. And it came to pass, when I had laid the splinters in the fire, in order that I might make ready food for my father—on going out to ask a question regarding the food, I placed Barisat before the kindled fire,¹ saying threateningly to him: “Pay careful attention, Barisat, [that]² the fire do not die down until I come; if, however, it dieth down, blow on it that it may burn up again.” And I went out and accomplished my purpose.³ And on returning I found Barisat fallen backwards, and⁴ his feet surrounded by fire and horribly burnt.⁵ I burst into a fit of laughter, and I said to myself: “Truly, O Barisat, thou canst kindle the fire and cook food!” And it came to pass, while I spake (thus) in my laughter⁶ he (*i.e.* Barisat) was gradually burnt up by the fire and reduced⁷ to ashes. And I brought the food to my father, and he did eat. And I gave him wine and milk,⁸ and he was gladdened and blessed his god Merumath. And I said to him: “O father Terah, bless not thy god Merumath, and praise him not, but rather praise thy god Barisat because, loving thee more, he hath cast himself into the fire to cook thy food!” And he said to me: “And where is he now?” [And I said:]⁹ “He is burnt to ashes in the violence of the fire and is reduced to dust.” And he said: “Great is the power of Barisat! I (will) make another to-day, and to-morrow he will prepare¹⁰ my food.”

VI. When I, Abraham, however, heard such words from my father, I laughed in my mind and sighed in the grief and in the anger of my soul, and said:¹¹ “How then can that which is made by him—manufactured statues—be a helper of my father? Or shall the body then be subject to its soul, and the soul to the spirit, and the spirit to folly and ignorance!”¹² And I said:¹¹ “It is fitting once to endure evil. So I will direct my mind to what is pure and lay my thoughts open before him.” [And]¹³ I answered and said: “O father Terah, whichever of these thou praisest as a god, thou art foolish in thy mind. Behold the gods of thy brother Ora,¹⁴ which stand in the holy temple, are more worthy of honour than [these of]¹⁵ thine. For behold Zuchaus, the god of thy brother Oron,¹⁶ is more worthy of honour than thy god

¹ Lit. *kindling of the fire*.

² S omits.

³ Lit. *did my counsel*: a Hebrew phrase, ‘āsā ‘ēsā, “execute a plan” (Is. xxx. 1).

⁴ S, + *before*.

⁵ A; + *And it came to pass when I saw it*.

⁶ A, *mind*; K, *in my mind and laughed*.

⁷ Lit. *became*.

⁸ Wine was sometimes mixed not only with water, but with milk, in Palestine; cf. *Cant.* V. 1 (*I have drunk my wine with my milk*): cf. also Is. lv. 1.

⁹ S A omit.

¹⁰ Lit. *make*.

¹¹ *i.e.* thought (“said in my heart”). The sentence that follows (“It is fitting once to endure evil”) means: “It is well to suffer in this way for a good cause.”

¹² In this sentence the text of S is not in order, and has been corrected by Tikhonravov in accordance with A and K.

¹³ Omitted by S.

¹⁴ *i.e.* Haran (so S); A has *thy father Nahor*, K *my brother Nahor*.

¹⁵ Omitted by S.

¹⁶ Another form of Haran (so S); A and K read as indicated in the previous note.

Merumath, because he is made of gold which is highly valued by people, and when he groweth old in years he will be re-modelled; but if your god Merumath is changed or broken, he will not be renewed, because he is a stone; the which is also the case with the god Joavon¹ ²[who standeth with Zucheus over the other gods—how³ much more worthy of honour is he than the god Barisat, who is made of wood, while he is forged of silver! How³ is he made, by adaptation of man, valuable to outward appearance! But thy god Barisat, while he was still, before he had been prepared, rooted up (?)⁴ upon the earth and was great and wonderful with the glory of branches and blossom,⁵ thou didst hew out with the axe, and by means of thy art he hath been made into a god. And lo! his fatness is already withered and perished, he is fallen from the height to the ground, he hath come from great estate to littleness, and the appearance of his countenance hath vanished, and he] Barisat himself is burnt up by fire and reduced to ashes and is no more; and thou sayest: “To-day I will make another which⁶ to-morrow shall make ready my food!”⁷ “He hath perished to utter destruction!”⁷

VII. ⁸“Behold, the fire is more worthy of honour than ⁹all things formed because even that which is not subjected is subjected unto it, and things easily perishable are mocked by its flames.⁹ ¹⁰But even more worthy of honour is the water,¹⁰ because it conquereth the fire and ¹¹satisfieth the earth.¹¹ But even it I do not call God, because ¹²it is subjected to the earth under which the water inclineth.¹² But I call the earth much more worthy of honour, because it overpowereth the nature (*and the fulness*)¹³ of the water. Even it (*viz. the earth*), however, I do not call god, [because]¹⁴ it, too, is dried up by the sun, [and]¹⁴ is apportioned to man to be tilled.¹⁵ [I call the sun more worthy of honour than the earth,]¹⁶ because it with its rays illumineth the whole world ¹⁷and the different atmospheres.¹⁷ [But]¹⁴ even it I do not call god, because at night ¹⁸and by clouds its course is obscured.¹⁸ Nor, again, do I call the moon or the stars

¹ So S; A, *Joauv*; K, *Joav*; R, *Jav*.

² The long passage in brackets which here follows is extant in A and K, but is wanting in S. It consists of a long comparison between the gods Joauv (Joavon) and Barisat, and is very obscure. It is probably a later interpolation.

³ Lit. *that*.

⁴ ? read *rooted*.

⁵ i.e. while it was growing as a tree.

⁶ Lit. *and he*.

⁷ *Hath he not abandoned this (once for all) by perishing to utter destruction?* A (K).

⁸ A K insert at the beginning of this chapter: *Having thought thus, Abraham came to his father, saying: “Father Terah,”* forgetting that Abraham was already speaking to him. The sentence is wanting in S.

⁹ So S; for this A K have *thy honoured gods of gold, silver, stone, and wood, because it burneth up thy gods; yea, thy gods are burnt up in subjection to the fire, while the fire mocked them, devouring thy gods*.

¹⁰ A K read: *But that (viz. the fire) I do not call god, because it hath been subjected to the water, while the water is more worthy of honour than it (i. e. the fire)*.

¹¹ A K, *maketh the fruits of the earth sweet*.

¹² A K, *the water inclineth under the earth*.

¹³ So S; but A K omit—it is probably a gloss.

¹⁴ S omits.

¹⁵ Lit. *for work* (= Heb. *la' ābōd*).

¹⁶ Omitted by S; but it must have belonged to the original text. It is attested by A K.

¹⁷ So S; A K omit: *atmospheres* (? lower and upper) = *ᾠέρες*; cf. 4 Ezra vi. 4, *altitudines aerum*.

¹⁸ A K, *it is obscured by the darkness*.

god, because they also in their season obscure [their]¹ light at night.² [But]¹ hear [this],¹ Terah my father; for ³I will make known to thee³ the God who hath made everything, not these we consider as gods. Who then is He? or what is He?

Who hath crimsoned the heavens, and made the
sun golden,
And the moon lustrous, and with it the stars;
And hath made the earth dry in the midst of many
waters,
And set thee in⁴⁵ [and tested me in the
confusion of my thoughts]⁵

“Yet may God reveal Himself to us through Himself!”

VIII. And it came to pass while I spake⁶ thus to my father Terah in the court of my⁷ house, there cometh down⁸ the voice of a Mighty One⁹ from heaven in a fiery cloud-burst,¹⁰ saying and crying: “Abraham, Abraham!” And I said: “Here am I.” And He said: ¹¹“Thou art seeking in the understanding of thine heart the God of Gods and the Creator;¹¹ ¹²I am He:¹² Go out from thy father Terah, and get thee out from the¹³ house, that thou also be not slain in the sins of thy father’s house.” And I went out. And it came to pass when I went out, that before I succeeded in getting out in front of the door of the court, there came a sound of a [great]¹⁴ thunder¹⁵ and burnt ¹⁶him and¹⁶ his house,¹⁶ and everything whatsoever in his house, down to the ground, forty cubits.¹⁷

¹ S omits.

² Or by (through) night.

³ Lit. *I will investigate* (or *examine*) *before thee concerning*. The question that follows, *Who then is He?* etc., gives the subject of the investigation.

⁴ Something has to be supplied here.

⁵ So A K; S omits.

⁶ S K, *reflected*.

⁷ A K, *his* (i. e. Terah’s), rightly. At this point there follows in A K (R) an insertion which contains, among other things, a version of the well-known legend about Abraham’s burning of the idol-temple, and with it his brother Haran; cf. Appendix I.

⁸ Lit. *falleth* (S); K, *fell* (A omits).

⁹ = LXX. ὁ ἰσχυρός (frequent as a rendering of Heb. hā’ēl, “God”); cf. 4 Ezra ix. 45, etc.

¹⁰ K, *flame*.

¹¹ The text of S is not in order; Sreznevsky reads: *Cogu Coisya, God thou dost fear, and the Creator thou art seeking*.

¹² A omits.

¹³ K, *his*.

¹⁴ S omits.

¹⁵ K, + *and there fell fire from heaven*.

¹⁶ A (K R) omit.

¹⁶ K, + *and the dwellers therein, both men and beasts*.

¹⁷ Here R ends. The Midrashic story about the burning of Terah’s house is really based upon an interpretation of the Biblical “Ur of the Chaldees” (Gen. xi. 31, xv. 7). Here “Ur” is interpreted as = “fire”; Abraham was brought out of “Ur” (“fire”) by the Lord.

PART II

THE APOCALYPSE (Chapters IX.-XXXII.).

Abraham receives a Divine Command to offer Sacrifice after Forty Days as a Preparation for a Divine Revelation (Chapter IX.; cf. Gen. xv.).

IX. Then a voice came to me speaking twice: "Abraham, Abraham!" And I said: "Here am I!" And He said: "Behold, ¹it is I; *fear not*,² for I am before the worlds,³ and a mighty God who hath created ⁴the light of the world.⁴ *I am a shield over thee*,² and I am thy helper. Go, take me *a young heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtledove and a pigeon*,⁵ and bring me a pure sacrifice. And in this sacrifice I will lay before thee the ages (to come), and make known to thee what is reserved, and thou shalt see great things which thou hast not seen (hitherto);⁶ because thou hast loved to search me out, and I have named thee my Friend.⁷ But abstain⁸ from every form of food that proceedeth out of the fire, and from the drinking of wine, and from anointing (thyself) with oil, forty days,"⁹ and then set forth for me the sacrifice which I have commanded thee, in the place *which I will shew thee, on a high mountain*,¹⁰ and there I will shew thee the ages which have been created and established,¹¹ made and renewed,¹¹ by my Word,¹² and¹³ I will make known to thee what

¹ K, *I am with thee*.

² Cf. Gen. xv. 1.

³ Or ages ("æons").

⁴ A, *the first light*: K, *in the beginning heaven and earth and then the first luminary of light and of the world* (cf. Gen. i. 1 f.). The reference is apparently to the created (not the uncreated) light. For the latter cf. note on chap. xvii.

⁵ Cf. Gen. xv. 9.

⁶ The revelation made to Abraham which is described in Gen. xv. 9 f. early became a favourite theme for apocalyptic speculation, and an intimation was discovered in the passage of Israel's later captivity and subjection to the four oppressive world-powers of the Book of Daniel (see the Targums *ad loc.*). This apocalyptic experience of Abraham is referred to in 4 Ezra iii. 14 (*and unto him [Abraham] only didst thou reveal the end of the times secretly by night*). According to the Ap. Bar. iv. 4 the heavenly Jerusalem was shown to Abraham "by night among the portions of the victims."

⁷ Or "lover." Abraham, as God's chosen friend (or "lover of God," cf. 2 Chron. xx. 7, Is. xli. 8, Ep. James ii. 23) can receive special revelation; for the juxtaposition of the two ideas cf. 4 Ezra iii. 14.

⁸ Or *refrain thyself*. By *every form of food that proceedeth out of the fire*, flesh-meat is no doubt meant.

⁹ Fasting as a preparation for the reception of a divine revelation was much practised by the apocalyptists. In 4 Ezra four fasts of seven days followed in each case by a divine revelation are referred to. Here, it is to be noted, the period is one of forty days. For the terms here used cf. 4 Ezra ix. 24. Anointing the body (especially the face) with oil was a mark of joy used in connexion with feasting (cf. Eccles. ix. 8, Ps. xxiii. 5, Amos vi. 6), and omitted in mourning as a sign of grief (cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 2, Dan. x. 3).

¹⁰ Cf. Gen. xxii. 2.

¹¹ A omits.

¹² The "Word" of God here has a quasi-personal significance; cf. 4 Ezra vi. 38 ("and thy Word, O Lord, perfected the work"), 43, etc.

¹³ *and* omitted by A.

shall come to pass in them on those who have done evil and (practised) righteousness in the generation of men.

Abraham, under the Direction of the Angel Jaobel, proceeds to Mount Horeb, a Journey of Forty Days, to offer the Sacrifice (Chapters X.-XII.).

X. And it came to pass, when I heard the voice of Him who spake such words to me, (and)¹ I looked hither and thither and lo! there was no breath of a man,² ³and my spirit was affrighted, and my soul fled from me, and I became like a stone, and fell down upon the earth, for³ I had no more strength to stand on the earth.⁴ ⁵And while I was still lying with my face upon the earth,⁵ I heard the voice of the Holy One speaking: "Go, Jaobel,⁶ and by means of my ineffable Name raise me yonder man, and strengthen him (so that he recover) from his trembling." And the angel came, whom He had sent to me, in the likeness of a man, and⁷ grasped me by my right hand, and set me up upon my feet, and said to me:⁸ "Stand up,⁹ [Abraham,]¹⁰ Friend of God who loveth thee; let not¹¹ the trembling of man seize thee! For, lo! I have been sent to thee to strengthen thee and bless thee in the name of God—who loveth thee—the Creator of the celestial and terrestrial. Be fearless and hasten to Him. I am called Jaobel¹² by Him who moveth that which existeth with me on the seventh¹³ expanse upon¹⁴ the firmament,¹⁵ a power in virtue of the ineffable Name that is dwelling in me.¹⁶ I am

¹ Omit (a Hebraism? marks apodosis).

² Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 29 ("omnes qui spiramentum habent hominis").

³ K reads: *and he was affrighted in his spirit, and his soul perished in him, and he became like a dead man, and fell down like a stone upon the earth, and.*

⁴ Cf. Ezek. i. 28; Dan. viii. 17, x. 8 f.; 1 Enoch xiv. 14, 24; 4 Ezra x. 29 f.

⁵ K omits.

⁶ The name of the archangel Joel (Jaobel) is differently spelt in the various texts (cf. the Slavonic version of *The Book of Adam*, ed. by Jagić, in *Denkschriften des Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philol.-histor. Classe*, Vol. XLII): S, *Naol*, *lloil*; A, *Aol*, K, *Jaol*, *Book of Adam*, *Joil* = Joel. Jaobel (= Heb. *Yahoel*) is represented in our Apocalypse as a being possessed of the power of the ineffable name, a function assigned in the Rabbinical writings to Metatron, "whose name is like unto that of God Himself" (T.B. *Sanh.* 38b). The name *Yahoel* (Jaobel) is evidently a substitute for the ineffable name *Yahweh*, the writing out of which in full was forbidden. In chap. xvii. below God Himself is addressed as Jaobel. For Jaobel as the heavenly choir-master cf. note on chap. xvii.

⁷ A omits.

⁸ Cf. 4 Ezra x. 30.

⁹ A omits.

¹⁰ S omits.

¹¹ A K, *if*.

¹² S, *Eloel*; A, *Aol*; K, *loal*.

¹³ A, *middle*.

¹⁴ *i.e.*? "over."

¹⁵ The angel sent to Isaiah to conduct him through the various "heavens" had "come from the seventh [*i. e.* the highest] heaven"; cf. *Asc. Is.* vi. 13, vii. 27.

¹⁶ Cf. Ex. xxiii. 21 ("my name is in him," *i. e.* the angel of Jahveh); here Jaobel seems to play the rôle of Michael (see Introduction, p. xxv).

the one who hath been given to restrain, according to His commandment, the threatening attack of the living creatures of the Cherubim against one another,¹ and teach those who carry Him² the song of the seventh hour of the night of man.³ I am ordained to restrain the Leviathan, for unto me are subject the attack and menace of every single reptile.⁴ [I am he who hath been commissioned to loosen Hades, to destroy him who stareth at the dead.]⁵ I am the one who was commissioned to set on fire thy father's house together with him, because he displayed

¹ By "the living creatures of the Cherubim" are meant the "holy *hayyoth*" of Ezek. i. who are expressly identified with the [heavenly] Cherubim in Ezek. x. 20. They are four in number (each with four faces), and are the bearers of the divine throne (see next note). Apparently they are here represented as of threatening aspect and in danger of menacing attack upon one another, so that a restraining influence was necessary. According to the Midrash (*Exodus rabba* v.) envy and mistrust are absent from the angelic world, though the angels envied Israel the possession of the Law; but cf. *Asc. Is.* 9.

² i.e. "the holy *hayyoth* ['living creatures'] who carry the throne of glory" (*Sifra* on Lev. i. 1).

³ According to T.B. *Abôdâ zārâ* 3b, "God sits [at night] and listens to the song of the living creatures [*hayyoth*], as it is said (Ps. xlii. 8): *By day the Lord commandeth His loving-kindness* [i. e. judges and sustains the world, and occupies Himself in the study of the Law], *and in the night His song is with me.*" In T.B. *Hag.* 12b it is said that the companies of ministering angels in the fifth heaven "utter His song in the night, and are silent in the day for the sake of the glory of Israel." In *Pirke de R. Eliezer* iv. Michael is represented as the head of the first of four bands of ministering angels who utter praise before the Holy One; cf. also *Mekilta* to Ex. xv. 1; and in the New Testament Luke ii. 13 (the angelic song at night).

⁴ Michael is represented in Kabbalistic literature as the angel-prince who is set over the element of water (cf. Lueken, *Michael*, p. 54); this conception is probably old, for on it rests the haggadic story that when Solomon married Pharaoh's daughter, Michael drove into the bed of the sea a stick, around which slime gathered, and on which Rome was ultimately built (*Midrash rabba* on Cant. i. 6, in the name of R. Levi, end of third century A.D.). Michael is also the prince of snow, which belongs to the element of water (*Deut. rabba* v. 12). Leviathan as the sea-monster *par excellence* would be subject to him, with all reptiles, though the task of slaying the monster is assigned, by Jewish legend, to Gabriel; but Michael and Gabriel are often confused in these connexions. [For the "spirit of the sea" that restrains it cf. 1 Enoch lx. 16.] The representation here is parallel in a sense with that which depicts Michael as the enemy and conqueror of Satan (cf. Rev. xii. 7 ff.) and in later Christian tradition as the vanquisher of the dragon (cf. Lueken, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 ff.). It should be noted that according to the Kabbalistic book *Raziel* fol. 4a the name of Michael is a powerful charm against the reptiles (cf. Lueken, p. 28).

⁵ The bracketed clause is omitted by S. One of Michael's functions (with Gabriel) is to open the gates of Hell and release the sinners therein; see *Yalqut Shim.* on Is. xxvi. 2, and cf. Lueken, *op. cit.*, p. 52. What is meant by "destroying" *him who stareth at the dead* is not clear. It might conceivably refer to the duty of burying the dead. To allow a corpse—even an enemy's—to remain unburied was considered an impiety (cf. Ps. lxxix. 2 f.; Tobit i. 17, ii. 7; Josephus, *Apion*, ii. 29), and it is notable that, according to *The Life of Adam and Eve*, xlvi. 4 f.; (cf. Charles, *Corpus* ii. 151), Michael and Uriel bury the bodies of Adam and Abel in Paradise. But the language of the phrase here hardly suits this. In view of the next clause, where "dead" = dead idols, the reference may perhaps be to idol-worship. In a Byzantine text the story of Michael's contest with the devil about the body of Moses is given a somewhat similar motive. The devil is represented as seeking to bring down Moses' dead body to the Israelites in order that they may worship it—and this may depend originally upon a Jewish source which in this way protested against the Christian worship of saints and relics (cf. Lueken, *op. cit.*, p. 121 f.). But perhaps *stareth at* should be altered to *terrifieth*, and the reference is to Death personified; cf. Add. Note, p. 55 f.

reverence for dead (idols).¹ I have been sent to bless thee now, and the land² which the Eternal One, whom thou hast invoked, hath prepared for thee, and for thy sake have I wended my way upon the earth.³ Stand up, Abraham! Go without fear; be right glad and rejoice; and I am with thee! For eternal honour hath been prepared for thee by the Eternal One. Go, fulfil the sacrifices commanded. For lo! I have been appointed to be with thee and with the generation prepared (to spring) from thee; and with me Michael⁴ blesseth thee for ever. Be of good cheer, go!”

XI. And I rose up and saw him who had grasped me by my right hand and set me up upon my feet: and the appearance of his body⁵ was like sapphire, and the look of his countenance like chrysolite, and *the hair of his head like snow*, and the turban upon his head⁶ like the appearance of the rainbow, and the clothing of his garments like purple; and a golden sceptre was in his right hand.⁷ And he said to me: “Abraham!” And I said: “Here am I, thy servant.” And he said: “Let not my look affright thee, nor my speech, that thy soul be not perturbed).⁸ Come with me and I will go with thee, until the sacrifice, visible, but after the sacrifice,⁹ invisible for ever. Be of good cheer, and come!”

XII. And we went, the two of us together, forty days and nights,¹⁰ and I ate no bread, and drank no water, because my food¹¹ was to see the angel who was with me, and his

¹ In the Rabbinical form of the legend (see Appendix) Abraham is rescued from the fiery oven into which he had been cast by Nimrod by Michael, according to the opinion of Eliezer b. Jacob (*Genesis rabba* xliv. 16). Michael, according to the Rabbis, was the defender of the Patriarchs. Strictly it is Gabriel who is the prince of fire.

² i.e. the land of Palestine. In Mohammedan tradition Michael is the good angel who brings peace and plenty.

³ It was Michael who, according to Rabbinic tradition, at various times appeared to Abraham, e. g. he told Abraham that Lot had escaped, protected Sarah from being defiled by Abimelech (*Pirke de R. Eliezer* xxvi.), announced to Sarah that she should have a son (Gen. xviii. 10), rescued Lot from Sodom (T.B. *Baba mesia*, 86b), and prevented Isaac from being sacrificed by substituting a ram. In *The Test. of Abraham* (i.) it is Michael who comes down and visits Abraham in order to take his soul.

⁴ Here Michael is associated with the speaker, the archangel Jaoel. This rather suggests that the latter is really fulfilling the rôle of Metatron (Michael and Metatron are companions, *Zohar* i. 149b). But Jaoel really combines the functions of both. The writer wishes to make it clear that Jaoel is closely associated with Michael.

⁵ K, + *his feet* (a gloss? suggested by Rev. i. 15).

⁶ Cf. Rev. xix. 12 (“upon his head many diadems”).

⁷ Cf. Rev. i. 16 (“and he had in his right hand seven stars”). There is a general resemblance here to the description of the exalted Christ in Rev. i. 14-16, but the details are different except that both have the characteristic descriptive phrase, derived from Dan. vii. 9 (“the hair of his head like pure wool,” here “like snow,” cf. Rev. i. 14); cf. also 2 Enoch i. 5 (the description of the two angels who visit Enoch). The figure described is regal (notice the purple garments and the sceptre), and is invested with the divine glory; cf. Ezek. 26 f.

⁸ Or “troubled”; cf. 2 Enoch i. 8, and often in apocalyptic writings.

⁹ K, + *I will be*. The angel appears in visible form for the time being. So Michael appears to Abraham “like a very comely warrior” (*Test. Abrah.* i.).

¹⁰ Cf. 1 Kings xix. 8.

¹¹ S, + *and my drink*.

speech—that was my drink.¹ And we came to the Mount of God, the glorious Horeb. And I said to the angel: “Singer of the Eternal One! Lo! I have no sacrifice with me,² nor am I aware of a place of an altar on the mountain: how can I bring a sacrifice?” And he said to me: “Look round!”³ ⁴And I looked round,⁴ and lo! there were following us all the prescribed sacrificial (animals)—the young heifer, and the she-goat, and the ram, and the turtle-dove, and the pigeon.⁵ And the angel said to me: “Abraham!” I said: “Here am I.” And he said to me: “All these slaughter, and divide the animals *into halves, one against the other*, but the birds do not sever;⁶ and (“but”) give to the men, whom I will shew thee, standing by thee, for these are the altar⁷ upon the Mountain, to offer a sacrifice to the Eternal; but the turtledove and the pigeon give to me, for I will ascend upon the wings of the bird,⁸ in order to shew thee in heaven, and on the earth, and in the sea, and in the abyss, and in the under-world, and in the Garden of Eden, and in its rivers and in the fulness of the whole world and its circle—thou shalt gaze in (them) all.”⁹

**Abraham accomplishes the Sacrifice, under the Guidance of the Angel,
and refuses to be diverted from his Purpose by Azazel**
(Chapters XIII.-XIV.).

XIII. And I did everything according to the commandment of the angel, and gave the angels, who had come to us, the divided animals, but the angel¹⁰ took the birds. And I waited for the evening sacrifice. And there flew an unclean bird *down upon the carcasses*,¹¹ and I drove it away. And the unclean bird spake to me, and said: “What doest thou, Abraham, upon the holy Heights, where no man eateth or drinketh,¹² neither is there upon them (any) food of

¹ Cf. John iv. 31-34. Elijah ate and drank before starting on his journey to Horeb, and “went in the strength of that meat forty days and forty nights” (1 Kings xix. 8): cf. Ex. xxiv. 18. There is a close parallel to our text in Philo, *Life of Moses*, Bk. III. 1, where it is said of Moses in the Mount: “he neglected all meat and drink for forty days together, evidently because he had more excellent food than that in those contemplations with which he was inspired from above from heaven.”

² Cf. Gen. xxii. 7.

³ A, *behind*.

⁴ A K omit.

⁵ Cf. Gen. xv. 9.

⁶ Cf. Gen. xv. 10.

⁷ Living men (or rather angels) take the place of the material altar; cf. the metaphorical use of “temple” as applied to the body (cf. John ii. 21; 1 Cor. iii. 16, vi. 19). But such a use of the term “altar” does not appear to have become current in Jewish literature.

⁸ The ascent to heaven is accomplished on the wings of a dove. The dove is appropriate in this connexion because of its swiftness (cf. Ps. lv. (6) 7, “Oh that I had wings like a dove,” etc.; cf. also Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 190 ff.), and its purity. For the symbolism of the dove applied to Israel, and also to the Holy Spirit (Matt. iii. 16), cf. I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, pp. 47 ff.

⁹ The revelations here promised to Abraham correspond to the earlier models given in 1 and 2 Enoch.

¹⁰ K, + *Jaoel*.

¹¹ Cf. Gen. xv. 11.

¹² *i. e.* they are in the domain of the spiritual sphere, where there is no eating and drinking; cf. *Test. Abrah.* (A) iv., “all the heavenly spirits are incorporeal, and neither eat nor drink.”

man, but these¹ consume everything with fire, and (will) burn thee up. ²Forsake the man, who is with thee, and flee; for if thou ascendest to the Heights they will make an end of thee.² And it came to pass, when I saw the bird speak, I said to the angel: "What is this, my lord?" And he said: "This is ungodliness,³ this is Azazel."⁴ And he said to it: "Disgrace upon thee, Azazel! For Abraham's lot is in heaven, but thine upon the earth. Because thou hast chosen and loved this for the dwelling-(place) of thine uncleanness, therefore the eternal mighty Lord made thee a dweller upon the earth⁵ and through thee every evil spirit of lies,⁶ and through thee wrath and trials for the generations of ungodly men;⁷ for God, the Eternal, Mighty One, hath not permitted that the bodies of the righteous should be in thy hand,⁸ in order that thereby the life of the righteous and the destruction of the unclean may be assured.⁹ Hear, friend,¹⁰ begone with shame from me. For it hath not been given to thee to play the tempter in regard to all the righteous. Depart from this man! Thou canst not lead him astray, because he is an enemy to thee, and of those who follow thee and love what thou wilt. For, behold, the vesture which in heaven was formerly thine hath been set aside for him,¹¹ and the mortality

¹ i. e. the heavenly beings.

² Omitted by A K.

³ Cf. Zech. v. 8.

⁴ Azazel is the fallen archangel, the seducer of mankind, who here, as in the Book of Enoch, fills the rôle of Satan or Sammael. He is essentially the spirit of uncleanness, and, in this character, is depicted in our text as descending in the form of an unclean bird. It is interesting to note that the Palestinian Targum on Gen. xv. 11 interprets the unclean birds figuratively of idolatrous peoples ("And there came down idolatrous peoples which are like to unclean birds, to steal away the sacrifices of Israel; but the righteousness of Abram was a shield over them").

⁵ Azazel, who is here clearly a fallen archangel like the later Satan (cf. Bousset, *Relig. d. Judentums*², 386), has been expelled from heaven by God. According to 2 Enoch xxix. 5 Satan's domain, after his expulsion, was the air (cf. Eph. ii. 2), but here Azazel is a "dweller upon the earth," where he controls the evil powers (cf. John xii. 31, "prince of this world," Matt. iv. 8 f.). In *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (cf. also Asc. Is.) Beliar is the arch-fiend, the head of the evil spirits, and the source of impurity and lying. But Azazel, like all celestial beings, can fly through the air (*Gen. rabba* xix.) and assume any form, such as that of a bird (*T. B. Sanh.*, 107a).

⁶ Azazel's expulsion carried with it that of his hosts, of which he was the leader. [Note that in chap. xxxi. of our Book Azazel is depicted as the lord of hell.]

⁷ For the sin and misery brought upon the earth by the fallen angels cf. 1 Enoch viii. 2, ix. 6, 8, x. 7 f., etc.

⁸ According to *T. B. Baba bathra*, 17a the "evil impulse" (*yeseh hā-ra'*) had no power over the three righteous men, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. In *The Test. Abrah.* Abraham is represented as sinless.

⁹ Notice the strong dualism. The activity of the evil powers makes perdition certain for their victims, while, on the other hand, by its very failure in the case of the righteous it makes their felicity more certain in the end.

¹⁰ [Lit. "counsellor," an idiomatic expression still found in Russian dialects (cf. Dalj's *Dictionary of the Russian Language*, s.v. *sovetnik*) meaning "friend," used in a good-humoured way.—J. I. L.]

¹¹ The "heavenly garments" are here referred to "which are now stored up on high in the seventh heaven" according to Asc. Is. iv. 16. The idea, originally a realistic one, was gradually spiritualised, and came to mean the spiritual bodies in which the righteous will be clothed in heaven; cf. 1 Enoch lxii. 15 f. ("garments of glory," "garments of life"); cf. also 2 Enoch xxii. 8 f., where Michael is bidden by God to "take from Enoch his earthly robe . . . and clothe him with the garment of my glory." In *The Ascension of Isaiah* the seer is unable to ascend to the highest heaven until his "garment" has been brought to him

(Asc. Is. ix. 1-2). There he sees the crowns and garments which are reserved for the righteous (*ibid.* ix. 13 ff.); cf. also Asc. Is. viii. 14; Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18, vi. 11, vii. 9; 2 Cor. v. 3 ff.

which was his hath been transferred to thee.”¹

XIV. The angel said to me: ²[“Abraham!” And I said: “Here am I, thy servant.” And he said: “Know from henceforth that the Eternal One hath chosen thee, (He) whom thou lovest; be of good courage and use this authority, so far as I bid thee, against him who slandereth truth;³ should I not be able to put him to shame who hath scattered over the earth the secrets of heaven⁴ and hath rebelled⁵ against the Mighty One?⁶”] ⁷Say to him: ‘Be thou the burning coal of the Furnace of the earth;⁸ go, Azazel, into the inaccessible parts of the earth;⁹[for thy heritage is (to be) over those existing with thee being born with the stars and clouds,¹⁰ with the men whose portion thou art, and (who) through thy being exist;¹¹ and thine enmity is justification. On this account by thy perdition disappear from me.” And

¹ Azazel has thus lost his “garment of life,” or robe of immortality, and become mortal, while Abraham gains it.

² S, *Abraham*.

³ Cf. John viii. 44 (“he [the Devil] is a liar and the father thereof”). Satan—here Azazel—is *par excellence* “the slanderer” (ὁ διαβόλος), “he who slandereth truth.”

⁴ The fallen angels (1 Enoch vii., lxix. 6 ff.), and especially Azazel (1 Enoch viii. 1), are represented as having brought moral ruin upon the earth by teaching men the use of magic, astrology, and science (including the use of warlike weapons). A close parallel to our text exists in 1 Enoch ix. 6: “See what Azazel hath done, how he hath taught all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the secret things of the world which were wrought in the heavens.”

⁵ So Sammael, “the great prince in heaven,” is reproached by the Torah for rebellion against God (*Pirke de R. Eliezer* xiii.: “The Torah began to cry aloud saying: Why, O Sammael! now that the world is created, is it the time to rebel against the Omnipresent? Is it like a time when thou shouldest lift up thyself on high (Job xxxix. 18)?”). Thus the two chief sins of Azazel consist in “scattering the secrets of heaven upon the earth,” and in devising rebellion against the Most High.

⁶ = probably LXX. ὁ ισχυρός (Heb. *hā ’ēl*); see chap. viii. note¹. Kohler suggests Heb. *’abâr*, “Mighty One” (of Jacob), Gen. xlix. 24 (LXX, ὁ δυνάστης), Is. xlix. 26 (LXX, ισχύς).

⁷ Bracketed clause attested by A K, omitted by S.

⁸ Azazel is condemned to be in himself the fire of Hell; cf. xxxi. (“burnt with the fire of Azazel’s tongue”). Thus wherever he goes he, as it were, carries Hell with him—a conception that appears to be peculiar to our Apocalypse in early apocalyptic literature (cf. Volz, p. 291).

⁹ *i. e.* into those parts of the earth reserved for him till the final judgement. In 1 Enoch x. 4 Azazel is condemned to be bound and placed in Dudâêl, in the desert, and there to be imprisoned in darkness till the final judgement.

¹⁰ This expression is obscure. It apparently refers to the men who belong (? by birth) to Azazel, whose lot has been pre-determined (see next note).

¹¹ The wicked are Azazel’s “portion,” *i. e.* they have been assigned to him from the beginning. The idea seems to be predestinarian; cf. *Wisdom* ii. 24 (“by the envy of the devil death entered into the world, and they that are his portion make trial thereof”), *Ap. Bar.* xlii. 7 (“for corruption will take those that belong to it, and life those that belong to it”); 1 Enoch xli. 8. [Does the phrase in the previous clause, “being born with the stars and clouds,” mean those who by birth and creation belong to the sphere of night and darkness, as opposed to the righteous, who belong to the realm of light? See 1 Enoch xli. 8 and Charles’s note.]

I uttered the words which the angel had taught me. And he said: "Abraham!" And I said: "Here am I, thy servant."]¹

And the angel said to me: "Answer him not; for God hath given him power (lit. will) over those who do answer him."² [And the angel spake to me a second time and said: "Now rather, however much he speak to thee, answer him not, that his will may have no free course in thee, because the Eternal and Mighty One hath given him ³weight and will;³ answer him not." I did what was commanded me by the angel;]⁴ and however much he spake to me, I answered him ⁵nothing whatsoever.⁵

Abraham and the Angel ascend on the Wings of the Birds to Heaven (Chapters XV.-XVI.).

XV. And it came to pass *when the sun went down, and lo! a smoke as of a furnace*.⁶ And the angels who had the portions of the sacrifice⁷ ascended from the top of the smoking furnace. And the Angel took me with the⁸ right hand and set me on the right wing of the pigeon, and set himself on the left⁹ wing of the turtle dove, which (birds) had neither been slaughtered nor divided. And he bore me to the borders of the flaming fire [and we ascended as with many winds to the heaven which was fixed upon the surface.¹⁰ And I saw on the air]¹¹ on the height, to which we ascended a strong light, which it was impossible to describe,¹² and lo! in this light a fiercely burning fire for people, many people of male appearance,¹³ all (constantly) changing in aspect and form, running and being transformed, and worshipping and crying with a sound of words which I knew not.¹⁴

¹ The bracketed clause is attested by A K, but is absent from S. It may be a later interpolation (but see Introduction).

² A fine psychological touch.

³ The text may be corrupt. It might mean an over-powering will.

⁴ The bracketed clause is attested by A K, but is absent from S. It is obviously a parallel and alternative text to the preceding clause.

⁵ According to Sreznevsky's reading (*no se ni ti*, lit. "not this nor that").

⁶ Cf. Gen. xv. 17 (also xv. 12).

⁷ Cf. chap. xii. above.

⁸ A, *his*.

⁹ A omits.

¹⁰ *i. e.*? the heaven above the firmament.

¹¹ Omitted accidentally in S by homoiotelenon ("ascended . . . ascended").

¹² *i. e.* the uncreated light, which originally illuminated the earth, but was withdrawn when Adam sinned. See further notes on xvii. below.

¹³ K, *sex*.

¹⁴ The description refers to the host of angels who are born daily, sing their song of praise before God, and then disappear; cf. *Genesis rabba* lxxviii. 1: *Rabbi Helbo in the name of R. Samuel bar Nahman said: "One angel-host never repeats the song of praise, but every morning God creates a new angel-host and these cantillate a new song before Him and then disappear."* They are created daily out of the stream of fire that proceeds from the holy *hayyoth* (*ibid.*); cf. Ps. civ. 4. Cf. also 2 Enoch xxix. 3: "And from the fire I made the ranks of the spiritual hosts, ten thousand angels, and their weapons are fiery, and their garment is a burning flame"; see further Weber, p. 166 f.

XVI. And I said to the Angel: “Why¹ hast thou brought me up here now, because I² cannot now see, for I am already grown weak, and my spirit departeth from me?”³ And he said to me: “Remain by me; fear not! And He whom thou seest come straight towards us with great voice of holiness⁴—that is the Eternal One who Loveth thee; but Himself thou canst not see).⁵ But let not thy spirit grow faint [on account of the loud crying],⁶ for I am with thee, strengthening thee.”

**Abraham, taught by the Angel, utters the Celestial Song and prays for
Enlightenment (Chapter XVII.).**

XVII. And while he yet spake (and) lo! fire⁷ came against us⁸ round about,⁸ and a voice was in the fire *like a voice of many waters*,⁹ like the sound of the sea in its uproar.¹⁰ And the angel bent his head with me and worshipped.¹¹ And I desired to fall down upon the earth, and the high place, on which we stood, [at one moment rose upright,]¹² but at another rolled downwards.¹³

And he said: “Only worship, Abraham, and utter the song which I have taught thee;” because there was no¹⁴ earth to fall upon. And I worshipped only, and uttered the song which

¹ S, *where*.

² K, *mine eyes*.

³ The mortal man, conscious of his weakness, is blinded by the heavenly light. On the other hand, Adam, before he fell, was able to see by its aid “from one end of the world to the other” (T.B. Hag. 12a).

⁴ i. e. proclaiming His holiness, so A; in S the word is corrupt. K (which may preserve the right reading here) has: “[with a great voice] saying: *Holy, holy, holy is the Lord*.” In 1 Enoch xxxix. 12 the trisagion (Is. vi. 5) is the song of the angelic watchers.

⁵ God is Himself invisible.

⁶ Omitted by S.

⁷ The Divine Presence is revealed by fire (Ex. iii. 2, Deut. iv. 36, Ps. lxxviii. 14), and God Himself is spoken of as “a consuming fire” (Deut. iv. 24, ix. 3). But here the fiery chariot which bore the Divine Presence is probably thought of; cf. Ezek. i. 4 (“a great cloud with a fire infolding itself”).

⁸ A omits.

⁹ Cf. Rev. i. 15 (Dan. x. 6). This feature is part of the supernatural colouring so characteristic of Apocalyptic—the heavenly light is of dazzling brilliance, the divine voice is like thunder (cf. 2 Enoch xxxix. 7: “like great thunder with continual agitation of the clouds”); see Volz, *Der Geist Gottes*, p. 120 f.

¹⁰ Cf. Is. xvii. 12.

¹¹ A strongly Jewish touch—divine honour may be paid to God alone, and to none other, even the most exalted of heavenly beings; cf. Rev. xxii. 9.

¹² S omits.

¹³ This description is interesting. The seer has ascended “as with many winds” to heaven, and is standing “on the height” (chap. xv.). He experiences a strong feeling of desire to fall down upon the earth, because the high place on which he is standing with the angel, at one moment rose upright, at another plunged downward (cf. 4 Ezra vi. 29 and 13-16). The commotion is produced by the Divine Voice. In chap. xxx. the seer finds himself suddenly (while God is speaking) again upon the earth.

¹⁴ A omits *no*.

he had taught me.¹ And he said: “Recite without ceasing.” And I recited, and he ²also himself³ with me³ recited the song:⁴

Eternal, mighty, Holy, El,⁵

⁶God only—Supreme!

Thou who art self-originated,⁶ incorruptible, spotless,

Uncreate, immaculate, immortal,

Self-complete, self-illuminating;

⁷Without father, without mother, unbegotten,⁷

Exalted, fiery One!

Lover of men,⁸ benevolent,⁹ bountiful,¹⁰

jealous over me and very compassionate;¹¹

¹ Only the angels understand how to utter the divine song of praise, though the blessed among mortals may (as here) be taught to sing thus in a state of ecstasy. Each of the angelic spheres has its own “Voice” (cf. 1 Enoch xl. 3 ff.), and the angelic language is incomprehensible to mortals (cf. chap. xv. above, end), though the illuminated and inspired seer may be taught both to understand and utter such “words” (as here; cf. ἐν γλώσσαις λαλεῖν in N.T.). The exalted Enoch in heaven underwent a similar experience (cf. 1 Enoch lxxi. 11 f.: “I fell on my face and my whole body melted away, but my spirit was transfigured, and I cried with a loud voice,” etc.), as also did Isaiah (Asc. Is. viii. 17). According to Philo no beings can adequately express the praise due to God (*Life of Moses*, ii. xxxi. [§ 239]), contrast Ecclus. xxxix. 6. See further Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

² A omits.

³ S omits. In Asc. Is. viii. 17 the inspired seer joins with the angel in the celestial song of praise.

⁴ K, + *the first song of Abraham which I, the holy angel Jaoel, taught him (while) moving with him in the air.*

⁵ A K omit *El*.

⁶ Cf. the opening lines of the Jewish mediæval hymn, 'Adon 'ôlām “Lord of the world He reigned alone, while yet creation was unformed,” and for “self-originated” the phrase “beginningless” (*bēlî rē'shūth*) applied to God in the same context. The divine name *Shaddai* was traditionally explained as = “the self-sufficient” (*shē-dai hū lô*). This idea may underlie the text here.

⁷ Cf. Heb. vii. 3, ἀπάτωρ ἀμήτωρ ἀγενεαλόγητος, of Melchizedek (= Heb. *bē'en 'āb bē'en 'ēm be'en yahas*). As Westcott remarks (*ad loc.*), “The words (ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ) were used constantly in Greek mythology (e.g. of Athene and Hephæstus); and so passed into the loftier conceptions of the Deity, as in that of Trismegistus quoted by Lactantius (iv. 13): *ipse enim pater Deus et origo et principium rerum quoniam parentibus caret ἀπάτωρ atque ἀμήτωρ Trismegisto verissime nominatur, quod ex nullo sit procreatus.*”

⁸ = φιλόανθρωπον: cf. Wisdom i. 6 (“For Wisdom is a spirit that loveth men” [φιλόανθρωπον πνεῦμα]).

⁹ = ? χρησπός.

¹⁰ = χαριστικός.

¹¹ Cf. Deut. v. 9 f. The whole clause (from “lover of men” to “compassionate”) contains a short summary of the divine attributes based upon Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7, a passage much used in later literature (cf. e. g. *Wisdom* xv. 1), and especially in the Liturgy; cf. 4 Ezra vii. 132-viii. 3 and the writer's notes thereon. These attributes are predicable especially of the Tetragrammaton (*Jahveh*), which connotes more particularly the elements of mercy and compassion, while 'Elōhām denotes multiplied power (the Almighty), and is associated with the idea of justice and fixed law; 'El is part of 'Elōhām and denotes simply power.

Eli, that is, My God—
 Eternal, mighty holy Sabaoth,¹
 very glorious El, El, El, El, Jaoel!²
 Thou art He whom my soul hath loved!
 Eternal Protector, shining like fire,
 Whose voice is like the thunder,³
 Whose look is like the lightning, all-seeing,⁴
 Who receiveth the prayers of such as honour Thee!

[And turneth away from the requests of such as embarrass with the embarrassment of their provocations,

Who dissolveth the confusions of the world⁵ which arise from the ungodly and righteous⁶ in the corruptible age,⁷ renewing the age of the righteous!⁸]⁹

Thou, O Light, shinest¹⁰ before the light of the¹¹
 morning upon Thy creatures,

¹ The use of *Sabaoth* alone as a designation of God is unusual, but not unexampled; cf. *Ex. rabba* iii. 6 [in answer to Moses' question, *What is His name?* *Ex. iii. 13*]: "The Holy One, blessed be He, said: Dost thou seek to know my name? I am called according to my deeds. I am called at various times by the names 'El Shaddai, Sabaoth, Elohim, Jahveh. When I judge the creatures I am named Elohim, and when I wage war against the wicked I am called Sabaoth, and when I suspend (the punishment) of man's sins I am called 'El Shaddai, and when I compassionate my world I am called Jahveh, because Jahveh means nought else but the attribute of compassion, as it is said (*Ex. xxxiv. 6 f.*) *Jahveh, Jahveh a God full of compassion,*" etc.

² The fourfold *El* (attested only by S) looks like a substitution for the Tetragrammaton; *Jaoel* (here applied to God) is undoubtedly so. Elsewhere in this book it is the designation of the archangel.

³ Cf. Note³ at beginning of this chapter.

⁴ Cf. *Dan. x. 6* ("and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire") and *Ezek. i. 13, 14*.

⁵ Lit. "the all" (Heb. *ha-kōl*); the expression is sometimes so used in the later Hebrew Liturgy.

⁶ The mixture of good and evil, or rather of the righteous and ungodly, in this world, makes the present æon "corruptible" (cf. *4 Ezra iv. 26-30*); even the righteous themselves suffer from contact with the godless—their holiness is dimmed.

⁷ *i. e.* the present corruptible age (or "æon"); cf. *4 Ezra vii. 112, xiv. 13* ("the life that is corruptible").

⁸ The confusions of the present world will be overcome by the elimination of the godless; then the renovated world (*i. e.* the present world purified) will become the fit habitation of the righteous. This view harmonises with the Rabbinical, which contemplated a renovation of the present world; see further Volz, *Eschatologie*, p. 297, and cf. *Jubilees, passim*.

⁹ The bracketed clause is attested by A K, but omitted by S; it is probably an interpolation. The rhythm is much improved by its omission.

¹⁰ Or "Thou shinest as Light"; the original Semitic text should probably be rendered "Thou didst shine." Light is the most striking feature in the highest heaven (cf. *2 Enoch xx. i*, "I saw there a very great light," and *xxx. 2*); God is Light (cf. *1 John i. 5*). His majesty is surrounded with light to make Him invisible to all beings (*T. B. Megilla, 19b*). It is this heavenly light which is referred to here (cf. also *Wisdom vii. 26 f.*, where Wisdom is represented as the radiance of the everlasting light). The first act of creation was when God "robed Himself with light as with a garment" (*Ps. civ. 2*), while the "radiance of His glory" (Heb. *ziv hādārō*) illumined the earth from one end to the other (cf. *Gen. rabba iii.*, *Pirke de R.*

Eliezer iii.). This heavenly light was afterwards withdrawn; the luminaries receive their light from a spark of it. For light as a symbol of blessedness cf. Volz, *Eschatologie*, p. 328. Ps. xix. contrasts natural (created) and spiritual light.

¹¹ Perhaps, as Ginzberg suggests, “before the morning light” is a mistranslation of the Semitic original “before the primæval morning” (*’ôr rîshôn or nêhôrâ kadmōniyyā*). The meaning of the original line would be that God at first illumined the earth with the heavenly radiance.

[so that it becometh¹ day upon the earth,]²
And in Thy² heavenly dwelling places there is no
need of any other light
than (that) of the unspeakable splendour from the
lights of Thy countenance.³
Accept my prayer [and be well-pleased with it],⁴
likewise also the sacrifice which Thou hast prepared
Thee through me who sought Thee!
Accept me favourably, and shew me, and teach me,
And make known to Thy servant as thou hast
promised me!⁵

Abraham’s Vision of the Divine Throne (Chapter XVIII.).

XVIII. And⁶ while I still recited the song, the mouth of the fire which was on the surface rose up on high. And I heard a voice like the roaring of the sea; nor did it cease on account of⁷ the rich abundance⁷ of the fire.⁸ And as the fire raised itself up, ascending into the height, I saw under the fire a throne of fire,⁹ and, round about it

¹ Render *became*.

² S omits.

³ Cf. Rev. xxii. 5, xxi. 23, Is. lx. 19 f. [The theme is expanded in the Synagogue Liturgy in connexion with the Benediction over light which precedes the recitation of the *Shema*: “Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who formest light and createst darkness. . . . Yea, eternal light (Heb. *’ôr ’ôlām*) in the treasury of life; for He spake, and out of darkness there was light.”]

⁴ The bracketed clause is attested by A K; S omits.

⁵ Abraham prays that the sacrifice may be accepted, and as a result of this that the secrets of the future may be disclosed by revelation. The prayer seems to be a personal addition to the song of praise on the part of Abraham. The structure of the whole with its opening invocation, made up of clauses describing the divine attributes and transcendence, and followed by a prayer, is similar to that of 4 Ezra viii. 20 ff. (cf. especially verses 20-27), which is also poetical in form. Here it is to be noticed that the “song” proper appears to be a midrashic development of the divine attributes and character as deduced from the various names of God (*El Shaddai, Elohim, Jahveh, Sabaoth*).

⁶ S omits.

⁷ So A K; S is corrupt here.

⁸ *i.e.* ? the voice was still audible even through the crackling of the fire.

⁹ Cf. 2 Enoch xx. 3. The vision of God’s throne of glory was the central point of the mystical experience.

all-seeing ones,¹ reciting the song, and under the throne four fiery living creatures singing, and their appearance was one, *each one of them with four faces*.² And³ such was the appearance of their countenances, *of a lion, of a man, of an ox, of an eagle*:⁴ four heads [were upon their bodies]⁵ [so that the four creatures had sixteen faces];⁶ and each had six wings;⁷ from their shoulders, [and their sides]⁸ and their loins. And with the (two) wings from their shoulders they covered their faces, and with the (two) wings which (sprang) from their loins they covered their feet, while the (two) middle wings they spread out for flying straightforward.⁹ And when they had ended the singing, they looked at one another and threatened one another.¹⁰ And it came to pass when the angel who was with me saw that they were threatening each other, he left me and went running to them and turned the countenance of each living creature from the countenance immediately confronting him, in order that they might not see their countenances threatening each other.¹¹ And he taught them the song of peace which ¹²hath its origin [in the Eternal One].¹²

And as I stood alone and looked, I saw behind the living creatures a chariot with fiery wheels, each wheel full of eyes round about;¹³ and over the wheels was a throne;¹⁴ which I saw, and this was covered with fire, and fire encircled it round about,¹⁵ and lo! an indescribable fire environed a fiery host. And I heard its holy voice like the voice of a man.¹⁶

¹ "The watchfulness of many eyes" (2 Enoch xx. 1), cf. Ezek. i. 18, x. 12: the "Ophannim" ("Wheels") are so described, and are regarded as an order of heavenly beings (like the Cherubim). But here the Cherubim are probably meant.

² Cf. Ezek. i. 5, 6.

³ S K omit.

⁴ Cf. Ezek. i. 10 (Rev. iv. 7).

⁵ S omits.

⁶ The bracketed clause is attested by A K; S omits. It looks like a scribal gloss.

⁷ So Rev. iv. 8 (based on Is. vi. 2); in Ezek. i. 6 the four "living creatures" have each four wings. Here S reads *three* (i. e. ? three pairs of wings).

⁸ S omits.

⁹ Cf. Is. vi. 2, Ezek. i. 11, 12.

¹⁰ The underlying idea of this strange representation seems to be that of emulation and rivalry (in service). This may be illustrated from the Midrash *Tauhuma* on Gen. ii. 4 (ed. Buber, p. 10), where in a comment on the verse *Dominion and fear are with him, he maketh peace in his high places* (Job xxv. 2) it is said: "*Dominion, i. e. Michael, and fear, i. e. Gabriel; who maketh peace in his high places*, even the celestials (*hā'elyônîm*) need peace. The constellations rise: *Taurus* says, "I am first, and I see what is before him"; the *Gemini* say, "I am first, and I see what is before him"; and so every single one says, "I am first" (corrected text). It is to be noted that in the mystical Hebrew literature concerned with the theme of the Divine Chariot and Throne (*Merkaba*) the angels who guard the Chariot are represented as fierce and warlike in aspect—flames dart forth from their eyes, and they are armed with fiery weapons (cf. Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrash* iii. 94 f.). See further Additional Note II (p. 87).

¹¹ The relative position of the celestial beings about the divine throne is thus described in the Liturgy: "The *hayyoth* ['living creatures'] sing: the Cherubim glorify: the Seraphim exult, and the Arelim bless. The face of every *hayya*, Ophan, and Cherub is set toward the Seraphim, and thus confronting each the other, they utter praise and say, *Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His place*" (*Service of the Synagogue, Festival Prayers* (New Year), p. 87 (ed. Davis)).

¹² Lit. *which is in itself* [of the Eternal One]: S omits the bracketed words.

¹³ Cf. Ezek. i. 15, 18, x. 9, 12.

¹⁴ Cf. Ezek. i. 26.

¹⁵ Cf. Ezek. i. 27.

¹⁶ Cf. Ezek. i. 28 (end) combined with i. 26.

God discloses to Abraham the Powers of Heaven
(Chapter XIX.).

XIX. And a voice came to me out of the midst of the fire, saying: "Abraham, Abraham!" I said: "Here am I!"¹ And He said: "Consider the expanses which are under the firmament on which thou art (now) placed,² and see how on no single expanse is there any other but He whom thou hast sought, or who hath loved thee."³ And while He⁴ was yet speaking (and) lo! the expanses opened, and beneath me⁵ the heavens. And I saw upon the seventh firmament upon which I stood a fire widely extended, and light, and dew, and a multitude of angels, and a power of invisible glory over the living creatures which I saw; but no other being did I see there.⁶

And I looked from the mountain⁷ in which I stood⁷ [downwards]⁸ to the sixth firmament, and saw there a multitude of angels, of (pure) spirit, without bodies, who carried out the commands of the fiery angels who were upon the eighth⁹ firmament, as I was standing suspended over them. And behold, upon this firmament¹⁰ there were no other powers¹⁰ of (any) other form, but only angels of (pure) spirit, like the power which I saw on the seventh firmament.¹¹ And He commanded¹² that the sixth firmament¹³ should be taken away.¹² And I saw there, on the fifth firmament,¹³ the powers of the stars which carry out the commands laid upon them, and the elements of the earth obeyed them.¹⁴

¹ Cf. Ex. iii. 4, 4 Ezra xiv. 1 (K, + Lord).

² Abraham is now presumably "placed" in the seventh heaven, and surveys from above what is disclosed to him as existing in the various firmaments below him, and in the earth (the angels, celestial bodies, and everything that is moving on the earth).

³ ? God is the sole controller of all these, and in this sense is the only reality.

⁴ A K *this (voice)*.

⁵ A, *them*.

⁶ In Asc. Is. vii. 7 f. it is said that Isaiah saw in the seventh heaven "a wonderful light and angels innumerable," and "all the righteous from the time of Adam" (including Abel and Enoch); in T. B. Hag. 12b the seventh heaven (*Araboth*) contains judgement and righteousness, the treasures of life, peace, and blessing, the souls of the departed righteous, the spirits and souls yet unborn, the dew with which God will awake the dead, the Seraphim, Ophanim, *Hayyoth*, and other angels of service, and God Himself sitting on the Throne of Glory. No doubt the "dew" in our passage is the resurrection-dew. Fire and light are much dwelt upon in this connexion. Possibly this mystical literature was influenced by the cult of Mithra, who was especially the God of Light.

⁷ Lit. *of my standing*.

⁸ S omits.

⁹ *eighth* can hardly be right: read ? *seventh*.

¹⁰ So A; S, *their powers were not*.

¹¹ In 2 Enoch xix. the seer describes what he saw in the sixth heaven: legions of angels more resplendent than the sun, the archangels set over the sun, stars, seasons, rivers, vegetation, the living things and the souls of men, with six phoenixes, seven cherubim, and seven *hayyoth* in the midst, all singing with a voice indescribably beautiful; cf. also Asc. Is. viii. 1 ff, 6 ff., where the sixth heaven is described as full of hosts of angels uttering praise. In our passage apparently the angels of service (ministering angels) are located in this heaven.

¹² A K, *the sixth firmament and it went away*: S reads *third* for *sixth*.

¹³ Lit. *surface*.

¹⁴ In T. B. Hag. 12b the sun, moon, and stars are located in the second heaven; in 2 Enoch xi. 1-5 "the course of the sun" and the angels "which wait upon the sun" are located in the fourth heaven.

The Promise of a Seed (Chapter XX.).

XX. And the Eternal Mighty One said to me: "Abraham, Abraham!" And I said: "Here am I." [And He said:]¹ "Consider from above *the stars* which are beneath thee, and *number*,² them [for me],³ and make known [to me]³ their number." And I said: "When can I? For I am but a man [of dust and ashes].⁴ And he said to me: "As the number of the stars and their power, (so will) I make thy seed a nation⁵ and a people, set apart for me in my heritage with Azazel."⁶

And I said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! Let thy servant speak before Thee, and let not Thine anger kindle against Thy chosen one!⁷ Lo, before Thou leddest me up Azazel inveighed against me. How, then, while he is not now before Thee, hast Thou constituted Thyself with him?"

A Vision of Sin and Paradise: the Mirror of the World (Chapter XXI.).

XXI. And He said to me: "Look, now, beneath thy feet at the firmaments⁸ and understand⁹ the creation¹⁰ foreshadowed¹¹ in this expanse, the creatures existing on it, and the age¹² prepared according to it." And I saw beneath [the surfaces of the¹³ feet, and I saw beneath]¹⁴ the sixth heaven¹⁵ and what was therein,¹⁶ and then the earth and its fruits, and what moved upon it and its animate beings;¹⁷ and the power of its men, and the ungodliness of their souls, and their righteous deeds [and the beginnings of their works],¹⁸ and the lower regions¹⁹ and the perdition therein, the Abyss²⁰ and its torments. I saw there the sea and its

¹ S omits; K, + *to me*.

² Cf. Gen. xv. 5.

³ S omits.

⁴ Cf. Gen. xviii. 27, 4 Ezra iv. 5, 6. The bracketed clause is attested by A K, but omitted by S.

⁵ Cf. Gen. xv. 5 (the MSS. read for *thy seed* instead of *thy seed*). S adds (after *nation*) *of people* wrongly.

⁶ The underlying idea seems to be that God's heritage, the created world, is, under the conditions of sin, "shared" with Azazel (see further Introduction, p. xxxii), *i. e.* it is largely under the dominion of evil powers. This is one of the fundamental conceptions of Apocalyptic. On the other hand, the Chosen People—who are ideally identified with the righteous—redeem the world, and in themselves make it once again fit to be God's heritage. From another point of view the same question is discussed in 4 Ezra—the problem, why, if the world was created for Israel, is Israel disinherited? (cf. 4 Ezra vi. 38-59).

⁷ Cf. Gen. xviii. 32.

⁸ Lit. *surface*.

⁹ + *now*.

¹⁰ Slavonic text, *creature*.

¹¹ Or *represented*.

¹² So S; A K, *ages* ("won," "æons").

¹³ K, *my*.

¹⁴ S omits.

¹⁵ A K, the *likeness of heaven* (or for the *sixth heaven* render the *six heavens*).

¹⁶ A, *what was with it*.

¹⁷ = ? "its spirits" (Bonwetsch).

¹⁸ The bracketed clause is attested by A K; S omits.

¹⁹ Cf. *Ephesians* iv. 9 ("the lower parts of the earth").

²⁰ *i. e.* Tartarus; cf. 2 Enoch xxviii. 3, xxix. 5. The "Abyss" is described in 1 Enoch xviii. 11-16 (xxi. 1-6, xc. 25, 26), where it is the abode of the impure angels; cf. Luke viii. 31; Rev. ix. 1, xi. 7.

islands, and its monsters and its fishes, and Leviathan and his dominion,¹ and his camping-ground, and his caves, and the world which lay upon him,² and his movements, and the destructions of the world on his account.³ I saw there streams and the rising of their waters, and their windings. And I saw there the Garden of Eden and its fruits, the source⁴ of the stream issuing from it, and its trees and their bloom, and those who behaved righteously. And I saw therein their foods and blessedness.⁵ And I saw there a great multitude—men and women and children [half of them on the right side of the picture]⁶ and half of them on the left side of the picture.⁷

The Fall of Man and its Sequel (Chapters XXII-XXV.).

XXII. And I said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! What is this picture of the creatures?" And He said to me: "This is my will with regard to those who exist in the (divine) world-counsel,⁸ and it seemed well-pleasing before my sight, and then afterwards I gave commandment to them through my Word.⁹ And it came to pass whatever I had determined to be, was already planned beforehand in this (picture), and it stood before me ere it was created, as thou hast seen."¹⁰

¹ Or *possession*. Leviathan's dwelling is "in the lowest waters" (*Pirke de R. Eliezer* ix.). All the great sea-monsters in the sea are Leviathan's food, one being devoured every day (*ibid.*).

² "and between its [Leviathan's] fins rests the middle bar of the earth" (*op. cit., ibid.*).

³ When Leviathan is hungry, one haggadic saying runs, "it sends forth from its mouth a heat so great as to make all the waters of the deep boil." [The two great monsters in the original form of the legend were Behemoth (the male) and Leviathan (the female): cf. Job xl.-xli.; 1 Enoch lx. 7 f.; *Ap. Bar.* xxix. 4. In the Rabbinical form of the Haggada (cf. *T. B. Baba bathra* 74b) each monster was multiplied into a pair, male and female; but they were rendered incapable of producing any progeny, lest by so doing they should "destroy the world." The female leviathan was killed and reserved for the righteous in the world to come; the male leviathan will not be slain till the last; see further 4 Ezra vi. 49-52, and the writer's discussion in *E.A.*, pp. 90 ff., with references.

⁴ *A, sources.*

⁵ The heavenly Paradise is referred to which is to be the abode of the righteous ("those who behaved righteously"), whose fruits are "incorruptible" (4 Ezra vii. 123), wherein is "the tree of life" (*Rev.* ii. 7) whose "leaves are for the healing of the nations" (*Rev.* xxii. 2). In 2 Enoch viii. 2 the seer describes how he saw in Paradise "all the trees of beautiful colours and their fruits ripe and fragrant, and all kinds of food which they produced, springing up with delightful fragrance." Note that Paradise is here located on the earth, though the transcendental Paradise is meant: see *E.A.*, p. 196.

⁶ The bracketed clause is omitted (accidentally) in S.

⁷ The whole world is divided into two parts; the people of God on the right half, and the nations on the left. The latter (= the heathen) are Azazel's portion (cf. chap. xxxi.).

⁸ Emended text (Bonwetsch); MSS. read *in the light*.

⁹ Note this hypostasising use of *Word* developed from such passages as Ps. xxxii. 6; cf. Heb. xi. 3, 2 Pet. iii. 5, 4 Ezra vi. 38.

¹⁰ The whole conception is strongly predestinarian; the whole course of creation—the rise of evil, and the coming of the righteous—is predetermined; cf. 1 Enoch xciii., cvii. 19, cvii. 1, and Charles's note on 1 Enoch xlvii. 3. A strong expression of this idea occurs in 4 Ezra iv. 36, 37. For the "picture" of our passage we may perhaps compare the "pattern" (ὑποδείγμα) of Heb. viii. 5 (*Ex.* xxv. 40, xxvi. 30, *Acts* vii. 44). In the Rabbinical literature Israel's election is spoken of as predestined before the creation of the world, and this idea is applied to certain other things, such as the name of the Messiah, the Torah, and

repentance. In such connexions they often employ the figure of an architect and plans. One passage (*Gen. rabba* i.) runs: *When a man erects a building, at the time when the building is erected he enlarges it as it is erected, or otherwise he enlarges it below, and contracts it above: but the Holy One . . . does not act thus, but "the heavens" (which He created) were the heavens which had ascended in (His) thought, and "the earth" (which He created) was the earth which had ascended in His thought.* It was, however, the Essenes who insisted on an absolute predestination. The Rabbis, while allowing for a certain amount of predestination, emphasised man's moral freedom: "Everything is foreseen, but free will is given," as Akiba said.

And I said: "O Lord, mighty and eternal! Who are the people in this picture on this side and on that?" And He said to me: "These which are on the left side are the multitude of the peoples which have formerly been in existence and which are after thee destined,¹ some for judgement and restoration, and others for vengeance and destruction at the end of the world.² But these which are on the right side of the picture—they are the people set apart for me of the peoples with Azazel.³ These are they whom I have ordained to be born of thee and to be called My People.

XXIII. "Now look again in the picture, who it is who seduced Eve and what is the fruit of the tree, [and]⁴ thou wilt know what there shall be, and how it shall be to thy seed⁵ ⁶among the people at the end of the days of the age,⁶ and so far as thou canst not understand I will make known to thee, for thou art well-pleasing in my sight, and I will tell thee what is kept in my heart."

And I looked into the picture, and mine eyes ran to the side of the Garden of Eden. And I saw there a man very great in height and fearful in breadth, incomparable in aspect,⁷ embracing a woman, who likewise approximated to the aspect and shape of the man. And they were⁸ standing under a tree of (the Garden of) Eden, and the fruit of this tree⁹ was like the appearance of a bunch of grapes of the vine,¹⁰ and behind the tree was standing as it were a

¹ Lit. *prepared*.

² Of the peoples on the left side, who represent the heathen world as opposed to the Jews, some are to be spared at the final judgement, while the rest will be annihilated; cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxii, 2, where it is said of the Messiah that *he will summon all the nations, and some of them He will spare, and some of them He will slay*. Sometimes (as in 4 *Ezra* xiii. 37 ff.) the whole heathen world is doomed to annihilation, and this view is very prominent in later Judaism. The idea of our text accords with the older view based upon such passages as *Ps.* lxxii. 11, 17; *Is.* lxvi. 12, 19-21 (cf. *Psalms of Solomon*, xvii. 34). Notice that our passage says nothing about the Messiah in this connexion.

³ Cf. chap. xx. note ⁶

⁴ S omits.

⁵ So A K, reading *sēmeni*; S has *to thy name* (reading *imeni*).

⁶ So S; but A K omit.

⁷ Adam's great stature is often referred to in Rabbinical literature: "it reached" (when he was first created) "from one end of the world to the other," but when he sinned it was diminished (*T. B. Hag.* 12a); his manly beauty is also referred to *T. B. Baba mesia* 84a).

⁸ K, + *both*.

⁹ Cf. *Gen.* iii. 6.

¹⁰ Cf. *T. B. Berakoth* 40a, where it is recorded that R. Meir declared that the tree of which Adam ate was a vine, because the one thing that brings woe upon mankind is wine; cf. *Gen.* ix. 21 ("And he drank of the wine and was drunken"). So also the Greek, *Ap. Bar.* iv. 8 (cf. *Sanh.* 70a, *Bereshith rabba* xix. 8). The usual opinion was that the tree was a fig-tree; according to another view (*Gen. rabba* xi. 8) the fruit was barley; another (Samuel ben Isaac) a date. With this last agrees the *varia lectio* of A K here ("palm-tree").

serpent in form, having hands and feet like a man's,¹ and wings on its shoulders, six² on the right side and six² on the left,³ and they were holding the grapes of the tree ⁴in their hands,⁴ and both were eating it whom I had seen embracing.

And I said: "Who are these mutually embracing, or who is this who is between them, or what is the fruit which they are eating, O Mighty Eternal One?"

And He said: "This is ⁵the human world,⁵ this is Adam, and this is their desire upon the earth, this is Eve; but he who is between them representeth ungodliness, their beginning (on the way) to perdition, even Azazel."⁶

And I said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! Why hast Thou given to such power to destroy the generation of men in their works upon the earth?"

And He said to me: "They who will (to do) evil—and how much I hated (it) in those who do it!—over them I gave him power, and to be beloved of them."⁷

And I answered and said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! Wherefore hast Thou willed to effect that evil should be desired in the hearts of men, since Thou indeed art angered over that which was willed by Thee, at him who is doing what is unprofitable in thy counsel⁸?"

XXIV. And He said to me: "Being angered at the nations⁹ on thy account, and on account of the people of thy family who are (to be) separated after thee, as thou seest in the picture the burden (of destiny) that (is laid) upon them¹⁰—and I will tell thee what shall be, and how much shall be, in the last days. Look now at everything in the picture."

And I looked and saw there what was before me in creation; I saw Adam, and Eve existing with him, and with them the cunning Adversary,¹¹ and Cain who acted lawlessly through

¹ Cf. *Gen. rabba* xx. 8: "Upon thy belly shalt thou go: At the moment when the Holy One . . . said to the serpent *upon thy belly shalt thou go* the ministering angels descended and cut off its hands and its feet, and its cry went from one end of the world to the other." This legend was well known in antiquity. According to Syncellus (i. 14) the serpent had originally four feet; cf. also Josephus i. 1, 4, who declares that the serpent was deprived of both language and feet. For the punishment of the serpent see *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xiv. (ed. Friedlander, p. 99 and notes).

² v.l. *three*.

³ This description really applies to Sammael (or Azazel), who had twelve wings (*Pirke de R. Eliezer* xiii.), and who descended and, finding the serpent skilful to do evil, mounted and rode upon it. Before its punishment by God the serpent had the appearance of a camel, according to the same authority (*ibid.*).

⁴ A K omit.

⁵ Lit. "council of the world," so K; A S, "light of the world." Adam (whose body is compounded of the four primal elements) is the microcosm.

⁶ Azazel plays the part elsewhere assigned to Sammael; he uses the serpent as his instrument (cf. *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xiii.).

⁷ In chap. xiii. (end) the wicked (as distinguished from the righteous) are spoken of as those who "follow" Azazel, and "love" what he wills. They are Azazel's "portion." A striking feature of our book is the way in which the souls and bodies of men are represented as possessed by either good or evil powers.

⁸ A K, *world* (which may be right). The word in S rendered *counsel* is an unusual one in this meaning.

⁹ A, *men*.

¹⁰ This apparently is the answer to the question given at the end of the previous chapter. God allows men to desire evil (with its inevitable punishment later) because of the treatment meted out by the nations to the chosen seed (Abraham and his descendants).

¹¹ Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 3 ("the serpent beguiled Eve in his craftiness").

the Adversary,¹ and the slaughtered Abel, (and) the destruction brought and caused upon him through the lawless one.² I saw there also Impurity,³ and those who lust after it, and its pollution, and their jealousy, and the fire of their corruption in the lowest parts of the earth. I saw there Theft, and those who hasten after it, and the arrangement [of their retribution, the judgement of the Great Assize].⁴ I saw there⁵ naked men, the foreheads against each other, and their disgrace, and their passion which (they had) against each other, and their retribution. I saw there Desire, and in her hand the head of every kind of lawlessness [and her scorn and her waste assigned to perdition].⁶

XXV. I saw there the likeness of the idol of jealousy,⁷ having the likeness of woodwork such as my father was wont to make, and its statue⁸ was of glittering bronze; and before it a man, and he worshipped it; and in front of him an altar, and upon it a boy slain in the presence of the idol.

But I said to Him: "What is this idol, or what is the altar, or ⁹who are they that are sacrificed,⁹ or who is the sacrificer? Or what is the Temple which I see that is beautiful in art, and its beauty (being like) the glory that lieth beneath Thy¹⁰ throne?"

And He said: "Hear, Abraham. This which thou seest, the Temple and altar and beauty, is my idea of the priesthood of my glorious Name, in which dwelleth every single prayer of man, and the rise of kings and prophets, and whatever sacrifice I ordain to be offered to me among my people who are to come out of thy generation.¹¹ But the statue which thou sawest is mine anger¹² wherewith the people¹³ anger me who are to proceed for me from thee. But the man

¹ According to *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xxi. Cain was the offspring of Eve and Sammael.

² In *Ep. Barnabas* xv. 5 the Devil is called "the Lawless One" (ὁ ἄνομος): *when His Son shall come, and shall abolish the time of the Lawless One* (cf. also 2 Thess. ii. 8).

³ Notice that here and below certain evil tendencies are personified (Impurity, Theft, Desire; the catalogue seems to have been influenced by the Decalogue, Commandments vii., viii., x.) In later Kabbalistic books such tendencies are personified as demons; cf. e. g. *The Testament of Solomon*, § 34 (J.Q.R., xi. 24; 1899), where seven female demons appear before Solomon bearing such names as "Deception," "Strife," "Jealousy," "Power."

⁴ The bracketed clause is missing in S.

⁵ A, *also* (instead of *there*).

⁶ Omitted by S. Perhaps the clause is an interpolation; in any case the text appears to be corrupt. The word here rendered *scorn* (*moltshanie*, lit. "silence") is sometimes used in this sense, expressing "contempt," "scorn"; see D'yachenko's *Church Slavonic Dictionary*, s.v.

⁷ Cf. Ezek. viii. 3, 5.

⁸ Or *body*.

⁹ K, *who is the sacrificed one*.

¹⁰ S, *my* (a scribal mistake?).

¹¹ The whole sacrificial system and the Levitical cultus are of divine origin, and embody the divine ideal. The "rise of kings and prophets" is apparently involved in it as a subordinate development from it. The tone of the passage is reminiscent rather of *Jubilees*. In apocalyptic literature such allusions to the cultus are rare.

¹² "The image of jealousy" is correctly explained here as meaning the image which provokes God's jealousy or anger. Idolatrous practices in Israel are referred to.

¹³ K omits *the people*.

whom thou sawest slaughtering—that is he who inciteth murderous sacrifices,¹ of (sic) which are a witness² to me of the final judgement, even at the beginning of creation.”

Why Sin is permitted (Chapter XXVI.).

XXVI. And I said: “O Eternal, Mighty One! Wherefore hast Thou established³ that it should be so, and then proclaim the knowledge thereof?”

And He said to me: “Hear, Abraham; understand what I say to thee, and answer me as⁴ I question thee. Why did thy father Terah not listen to thy voice, and (why) did he not cease from the devilish idolatry until he perished [and]⁵ his whole household with him?”

And I said: “O Eternal, [Mighty One]!⁵ (It was) entirely because he did not choose to listen to me; but I, too, did not follow his works.”

And He said [to me]:⁶ “Hear, Abraham. As the counsel⁷ of thy father is in him, and as thy counsel is in thee, so also is the counsel of my will in me ready for the coming days, before thou hast knowledge of these,⁸ or (canst) see with thine eyes what is future in them. How those of thy seed will be, look in the picture.”

A Vision of Judgement and Salvation (Chapter XXVII.).

XXVII. And I looked and saw: lo! the picture swayed and [from it]⁹ emerged, on its left side,¹⁰ a heathen people, and they pillaged those who were on the right side, men and women and children: [some they slaughtered,]⁹ others they retained with themselves.¹¹ Lo! I saw them run towards them through four entrances,¹² and they burnt the Temple with

¹ i. e. sacrifices involving the slaughter of human beings, such as the offering (through fire) of children to Moloch. ² A, witnesses. ³ Or ordained. ⁴ Lit. what.

⁵ S omits. ⁶ S omits. ⁷ i. e. “will.”

⁸ God’s will is free, but so also is man’s. The argument is interesting. From the fact, proved by the two contrary instances of Terah and Abraham, that man’s will is free, the writer justifies God’s freedom to permit sin, hinting, however, that the future will still further justify the divine counsel. The vision that follows (chap. xxvii.) serves to illustrate this.

⁹ Omitted by S.

¹⁰ The use of “right” and “left” throughout these chapters is notable. The conception of the right side being the source of light and purity, while the left is the source of darkness and impurity, is Gnostic, and passed from the Gnostics into the Kabbalah; see further Introduction p. xix. f.

¹¹ Sc. in slavery.

¹² So A K; S (*schody*), *descents* (= ? “generations”). The four “entrances” or “descents” by which the heathen make inroads upon the chosen people apparently correspond to the four hundred years of slavery for Israel predicted by God to Abraham in the vision of Gen. xv. (cf. vs. 13). This was interpreted by our apocalypticist, in accordance with current tradition, to refer to Israel’s captivity and subjection by the four oppressive world-powers of the Book of Daniel, understood to be Babylon, Media, Greece, and Rome (cf. chap. ix. above, note¹¹): thus the Palestinian Targum to Gen. xv. 13 runs: *And behold, Abram saw four kingdoms which should arise to bring his sons into subjection*. It is important to remember that the fourth “entrance” here corresponds to the Roman Empire [cf. also *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xxviii.]. Possibly “descent” (S) is the right reading here, and means “generation,” a generation being roughly reckoned as equivalent to a hundred years: Heb. *דור*.

fire, and the holy things that were therein they plundered.¹

And I said: "O Eternal One! Lo! the people (that spring) from me, whom Thou hast accepted, the hordes of the heathen do plunder, and some they kill, while others they hold fast as aliens,² and the Temple they have burnt with fire, and the beautiful things therein they do rob [and destroy].³ O Eternal, Mighty One! If this be so, wherefore hast Thou now⁴ lacerated⁵ my heart, and why should this be so?"

And He said to me: "Hear, Abraham. What⁶ ⁷thou hast seen⁷ shall happen on account of thy seed who anger me by reason of the statue which thou sawest, and on account of the human slaughter in the picture, through zeal in the Temple;⁸ and as thou sawest ⁹so shall it be."⁹

And I said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! May the works of evil (wrought) in ungodliness now pass by, but¹⁰ (show me)¹¹ rather those who fulfilled the commandments, even the works of his (?)¹² righteousness. For thou canst do this."

And He said to me: "The time of the righteous meeteth [them]¹³ first through¹⁴ the holiness (flowing) from kings¹⁵ and righteous-dealing rulers whom I at first created in order from such to rule among them.¹⁵ But from these issue men who care for their interests,¹⁶ as I have made known to thee and thou hast seen."

How long? (Chapters XXVIII.-XXIX.).

XXVIII. And I answered and said: "O Mighty, [Eternal One],¹⁷ hallowed by Thy power! Be favourable to my petition, [for for this hast Thou brought me up here—and shew me].¹⁸ As Thou hast brought me up to Thy height, so make [this]¹⁷ known to me, Thy beloved one, as much as I ask—whether what I saw shall happen to them for long?"¹⁹

¹ The writer obviously has in mind the operations of the Romans under Titus, which ended in the destruction of the Temple by fire in A.D. 70. For the burning and pillaging of the Temple cf. Josephus, *War*, vi. 4, 5 f.; cf. also 4 Ezra x. 21 f.

² Of those who were not killed in the Roman war, some were reserved for the victor's triumph, some for the arena, and the rest were sold as slaves; cf. Josephus, *War*, vi. 9, 2 f.

³ Omitted by S.

⁴ A, *from now onward*.

⁵ K, *angered*.

⁶ Lit. *so much*.

⁷ A omits.

⁸ Israel's captivity and sufferings are due to lapse into idolatry.

⁹ So A K; but S omits.

¹⁰ A omits *but*.

¹¹ Something has fallen out of the text here.

¹² So A K; S, *this*. [The sentence *O Eternal Mighty One . . . his (?) righteousness* is rendered according to the text of A K; the text of S here is not in order.]

¹³ So K; A, *him*; S omits.

¹⁴ So S; A K, *the type (set) by*.

¹⁵ The "kings" and "righteous-dealing rulers" referred to are, presumably, such as David, Hezekiah, and Josiah, under whose rule the claims of righteousness were recognised and the sovereignty of God, to some extent, realised.

¹⁶ Lit. "for them" (= ? "for themselves")—from the righteous rulers spring sons who are faithless to their heritage (such as Manasseh). The sentence is obscure, and the meaning uncertain.

¹⁷ S omits.

¹⁸ Omitted accidentally in S (by homoioteleuton, "brought up . . . brought up").

¹⁹ Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 33 ff.

And He showed me a multitude of His people, and said to me: “On their account through four issues,¹ as thou sawest, I shall be provoked by them, and in these² my retribution for their deeds shall be (accomplished). But in the fourth outgoing³ of a hundred years⁴ and one hour of the age—the same is a hundred years⁵—it shall be in misfortune among the heathen [but one hour in mercy and contumely, as among the heathen].”⁶

XXIX. And I said: “O Eternal [Mighty One]!⁷ And how long a time is an hour of the Age?”⁸

And He said: “Twelve years⁹ have I ordained of this ungodly Age¹⁰ to rule among the heathen and in thy seed; and until the end of the times it shall be as thou sawest. ¹¹*And do thou reckon and understand and look into the picture.*”

¹ S K (*schody*) = *descents* (cf. chap. xxvii. note¹⁹ above); cf. Gen. xv. 13-16: “four descents” = “four generations.”

² Sc. four generations.

³ S, *descent* (as above).

⁴ *i. e.* in the fourth generation (cf. Gen. xv. 16).

⁵ In chap. xxx. the coming of the ten plagues on the heathen world is placed “at the passing over of the twelfth hour”; then follows (chap. xxxi.) the Messianic salvation. Apparently the present age is reckoned as enduring for twelve hours (each hour = 100 years), *i. e.* one day (cf. John xi. 9). The apocalyptic writer may possibly reckon this day as beginning with the founding of the Holy City by David (cf. 4 Ezra x. 46) and culminating in the destruction of the last Temple by Titus, which calamity was to be followed by the period of woes described in chap. xxx., these bringing the present age (or *æon*) to a close. Now according to Josephus (*War*, vi. 10) the period from David’s reign in Jerusalem to the destruction of the Temple by Titus amounted to 1179 years. If we suppose the seer to be writing at the close of the first or in the early years of the second century A.D. the period would include about 1200 years. Like all the apocalyptists he obviously supposes himself to be standing on the brink of the new age. Perhaps in the text above “and one hour of the Age” is intended to synchronise with the “fourth out-going of a hundred years.” [In *Pirke de R. Eliezer* xxviii. a dictum ascribed to R. Elazar ben Azariah runs: (from Gen. xv.) thou mayest learn that the rule of these four kingdoms will only last one day, according to the Day of the Lord (= 1000 years).]

⁶ The bracketed clause is attested by A K, but not by S. It may be an addition to the text. *Contumely* can hardly be right. Perhaps there was an error in the Greek text from which the Slavonic Version was made; ? τῆς ἰσχυρίας misread ἀτιμίας; read, then, “in mercy and honour.”

⁷ S omits.

⁸ This question has already been answered at the end of the previous chapter (one hour = 100 years); moreover, the reply that follows here does not really answer the question. There is probably something wrong in the text; “hours” and “years” seem to be confused. Perhaps the question originally ran somewhat as follows: *How much time is there (in) the hours of the age?*

⁹ ? Read *hours* for *years*. We may compare 4 Ezra xiv. 11 (“For the world-age is divided into twelve parts”), and the cloud and water vision in *Ap. Bar.* liii. f., where a similar division appears. If “years” be kept, each year will probably stand for a generation (reckoned at 100 years?); cf. 4 Ezra x. 45 (3000 years = 30 generations).

¹⁰ The present age is the age of ungodliness, where the organised forces of evil are dominant; cf. 1 Enoch xlvi. 7 (“the world of unrighteousness”), 4 Ezra iv. 29 f.

¹¹ The passage printed in italic type that follows can only be regarded as a Christian interpolation (probably a Jewish-Christian one).

And I [looked and]¹ saw a man going out from the left side of the heathen;² and there went out men and women and children, from the side of the heathen, many hosts, and worshipped him.³ And while I still looked there came out from the right side⁴ (many), and some insulted that man, while some struck him⁵; others, however, worshipped him. [And]¹ I saw how these worshipped him, and Azazel ran and worshipped him, and having kissed his face he turned and stood behind him.⁶

And I said: "O Eternal, Mighty One! Who is the man insulted and beaten, who is worshipped by the heathen with Azazel?"

And He answered and said: "Hear, Abraham! The man whom thou sawest insulted and beaten and again worshipped—that is the relief⁷ (granted) by the heathen to the people who proceed from thee, in the last days,⁸ in this twelfth hour⁹ of the Age of ungodliness. But in the twelfth year⁹ of my final Age¹⁰ I will set up this man from thy generation, whom thou sawest (issue) from my people; this one all will follow,¹¹ and such as are called by me¹² (will) join, (even)

¹ S omits.

² The man is clearly intended to be Jesus. His emerging "from the left side of the heathen" is curious. If the text is in order it must apparently refer to the emergence into prominence of the Early Christian Church in the Gentile world. It clearly cannot refer to racial origin, for it is stated further on in the chapter that "the man" sprang from Abraham's "generation" and God's people. But in view of the definite statement below—*this man from thy generation whom thou sawest (issue) from my people*—it is better to suppose that the text here is out of order: read? *from the right side* and omit *of the heathen* as an incorrect gloss.

³ i. e. His followers are to include large numbers from the Gentile world.

⁴ i. e. from the Jewish world.

⁵ Cf. Is. liii. 3.

⁶ The worship of Christ by the Devil (Azazel) is a striking feature in this representation. It is difficult to determine its exact significance here. Does it reflect the Jewish-Christian feeling that the access of so large a part of the heathen world to Christianity endangered the purity of the new faith by inevitably bringing in its train a large admixture of heathenism? It can hardly mean that Azazel had been truly converted. Indeed, his homage is significantly depicted as lip-homage ("kissed his face"; cf. the treacherous kiss of Judas). Perhaps the real meaning is that the kingdom of evil, and the Satanic powers, have been vanquished by Christ (cf. Luke x. 18, Phil. ii. 9, 10, Col. ii. 15, Ephes. i. 21 f.). The homage of Azazel—the head of the unredeemed heathen world—marked the triumph of Christ.

⁷ = ἄνεσις (= Heb. *mēnuhā*).

⁸ What is meant by *the relief (granted) by the heathen to the people who proceed from thee, in the last days*? The expression is difficult and obscure. Perhaps the "relief" spoken of means the mitigation of the process of "hardening" that has taken place in Israel (by its rejection of Jesus), which is brought about by the adhesion of some (a remnant) in Israel to the new faith, in conjunction with the great numbers who are streaming in from the Gentile world; cf. Rom. xi., especially xi. 25 ("a hardening in part hath befallen Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in and all Israel shall be saved," and vss. 29-30: "For as ye in time past were disobedient . . . but now have obtained mercy by their disobedience, even so have these also now been disobedient that by the mercy shewn to you they also may obtain mercy").

⁹ Omitted by A (homoioteleuton). For the confusion of "hour" and "year" see note⁸ at the beginning of this chapter.

¹⁰ Lit. *of the Age of mine end*.

¹¹ Or "imitate," "become like."

¹² Cf. 2 Tim. i. 9 ("God who hath called us with a holy calling"), Ephes. iv. 1, 4, and often.

those who change in their counsels.¹ And those whom thou sawest emerge from the left side of the picture—the meaning is:² There shall be many from the heathen who set their hopes upon him;³ and as for those whom thou sawest from thy seed on the right side, some insulting and striking, others worshipping him—many of them shall be offended at him.⁴ He, however, is testing⁵ those who have worshipped him of thy seed, in that twelfth hour of the End,⁶ with a view to shortening the Age of ungodliness.⁷

“Before the Age of the righteous beginneth to grow,⁸ my judgement shall come upon the lawless heathen through the people of thy seed⁹ who have been separated for me. In those days I will bring upon all creatures of the earth ten plagues,¹⁰ through misfortune and disease and sighing of the grief of their soul. Thus much will I bring upon the generations of men that be upon it on account of the provocation and the corruption of its creatures,¹¹ whereby they provoke me. And then shall righteous men of thy seed be left¹² in the number which is kept

¹ *those who change in their counsels*, i. e. repent (μετανοεῖν = “change one’s mind or will”).

² Lit. “that (is).”

³ Cf. Is. xi. 10 (“unto him shall the nations seek”), Matt. xii. 21, Rom. xv. 12.

⁴ Cf. Matt. xi. 6, John vi. 66, Rom. xi. 8, etc.

⁵ Cf. Rev. iii. 10 (“the season of trial that is coming upon the whole habitable earth”). The time of “trial” or “testing” referred to is, no doubt, the period of the Messianic woes which precedes the advent of the new age.

⁶ i. e. the time immediately preceding the End of the present Age.

⁷ Cf. Matt. xxiv. 22, *Ep. Barnabas* iv. 3, *Ap. Bar.* xx. 2 (“Therefore have I now taken away Sion in order that I may the more speedily visit the world in its season”). In the latter passage the fall of Jerusalem is regarded as hastening the End. Impatient longing for the End is characteristic of the Apocalyptists; see e. g. 4 Ezra iv. 33 ff.

⁸ The coming Age is the “Age of the righteous” (for the expression cf. also chap. xvii. of our Book); it has been “prepared” for them (4 Ezra viii. 52), and they will inherit it (4 Ezra vii. 17). For the metaphor of growth in this connexion cf. 4 Ezra iv. 29, 35; the community of the righteous has already been “sown” (1 Enoch lxii. 8; cf. also 1 Enoch x. 16, “the plant of righteousness will appear”), but its full growth will only become visible after the judgement.

⁹ Judgement on the heathen will be executed by the agency of Israel itself; cf. 1 Enoch xc. 19. In the Midrash *rabba* on Ruth ii. 19 a saying ascribed to R. Eliezer b. Jacob runs: “Vengeance on the nations of the world is in the hands of the Israelites (Ezek. xxv. 14).”

¹⁰ A saying handed down in the name of R. Eleazar b. Pedath runs: “Just as the Holy One . . . brought (plagues) upon Egypt He will bring (plagues) upon this (wicked) nation [i. e. Rome], as it is said [Is. xxiii. 5]: ‘As at the report from Egypt so shall they be pained at the report of Sov’” (read Sār “adversary,” which is to be understood as meaning “Rome”): see Midrash *Tanhuma*, ed. Buber, ii. 30; Bacher, *Pal. Amovæer* ii. 87. For a description of the plagues see the next chapter.

¹¹ On account of the sins of men God’s anger must be visited upon the earth in judgement; cf. *Jubilees* xxiii. 22, etc. The idea that a time of great calamity and suffering would immediately precede the Messianic Age is a standing feature in Apocalyptic; cf. e. g. Matt. xxiv. 8, Mark xiii. 8 (“the birth-pangs of the Messiah”).

¹² i. e. shall survive the Messianic “woes.” The term “survive,” “be left” (οἱ περιλειπόμενοι, *Vulg. qui residui sumus*, 1 Thess. iv. 15), became a technical one in Apocalyptic in this connexion; cf. 4 Ezra vi. 25, ix. 7, xiii. 16-24, 26, 48.

secret by me,¹ hastening² in³ the glory of My Name to the place prepared beforehand for them, which thou sawest devastated in the picture;⁴ and they shall live and be established through sacrifices and gifts of righteousness and truth⁵ in the Age of the righteous, and shall rejoice in Me continually;⁶ and they shall destroy those who have destroyed them, And shall insult those who have insulted them,⁷

“And of those who defamed them they shall spit in the face, scorned by Me, while they (the righteous) shall behold Me full of joy, rejoicing with My people, and receiving those who return to Me⁸ [in repentance].⁹

See, Abraham, what thou hast seen,
And [hear]⁹ what thou hast heard,
And [take full knowledge of]⁹ what thou hast come to know.
Go to thy heritage,¹⁰
And lo! I am with you for ever.”

The Punishment of the Heathen and the Ingathering of Israel (Chapters XXX.-XXXI.).

XXX. But while He was still speaking, I found myself upon the earth. And I said: “O Eternal, [Mighty One],¹¹ I am no longer in the glory in which I was (while) on high, and what my soul longed to understand in mine heart I do not understand.”

¹ The number of the elect righteous is pre-determined. This idea recurs in more than one form in Apocalyptic. Here apparently what is meant is that the number of elect righteous who shall survive the Messianic woes has been fixed beforehand, and is a secret known only to God. These living righteous shall enjoy the blessedness of the new Age upon the renovated earth (in Jerusalem). Nothing is said about the resurrection of the righteous dead to share in this felicity. In chap. xxi. the latter enjoy a blessed existence in the heavenly Paradise. Our Book apparently knows nothing of a resurrection. On the other hand, in Rev. vi. 11 it is the number of the righteous *dead* (the martyrs) that is predetermined. Another application of the same idea is to the whole number of mankind who are to be born, which is predetermined; cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxiii. 4. For those who survive the period of calamity, and share in the bliss of the new Age, see 4 *Ezra* vi. 25, vii. 27, ix. 7 f., *Ap. Bar.* xxix. 2; but in none of these passages is their *number* said to have been fixed beforehand.

² Cf. 4 *Ezra* vii. 98.

³ A K, *to*.

⁴ By the *place prepared beforehand* (cf. Rev. xii. 6) is here meant Jerusalem (*which thou sawest devastated in the picture*), presumably the renovated city on a renovated earth. The expression *place prepared beforehand* certainly suggests the heavenly Jerusalem (cf. *Ap. Bar.* iv. 2-6), which according to Rev. xxi. 2, 9 f. is to descend from heaven upon the renovated earth. But this is not certain. Our Book may contemplate nothing more than the earthly Jerusalem transformed and glorified.

⁵ The sacrificial cultus in a purified form will be revived in the new Jerusalem; cf. ? 1 *Enoch* xxv. 6 (“the fragrance thereof” = ? of the incense). Prayer for the restoration of the Temple and cultus is a central feature in the Jewish Liturgy.

⁶ With the restoration of the cultus the righteous will enjoy the privilege of seeing God’s glory continually.

⁷ Cf. *Jubilees* xxiii. 30 and see note⁹ p. 80.

⁸ ? Heathen who are converted.

⁹ S omits.

¹⁰ Cf. Gen. xv. 15 (*Thou shalt go to thy father in peace*); A K, *my*.

¹¹ S omits.

And He said to me: "What is desired in thine¹ heart I will tell thee, because thou hast sought to see the ten plagues which I have prepared for the heathen, and have prepared beforehand² at the passing over of the twelfth hour³ of the earth. Hear what I divulge to thee, so shall it come to pass:⁴ the first⁵ (is) pain of great distress;⁶ the second, conflagration of many cities;⁷ the third, destruction and pestilence of animals⁸; the fourth, hunger of the whole world and of its people⁹; the fifth by destruction among its rulers,¹⁰ destruction by earthquake¹¹ and the sword; the sixth, multiplication of hail and snow;¹² the seventh, the wild beasts will be their grave; the eighth, hunger and pestilence will alternate with their destruction; the ninth, punishment by the sword and flight¹³ in distress; the tenth, ¹⁴thunder and voices¹⁴ and destructive earthquake.¹⁵

¹ A K, *mine*.

² These also have been pre-determined.

³ *i.e.* the last hour of the present Age.

⁴ It is God's property to announce beforehand what is to occur and then to bring it to pass; cf. Justin Martyr, *Apology* i. 14 (end): *For this . . . is the work of God to declare a thing shall come to be long before it is in being, and then to bring about that thing to pass according to the same declaration.* Cf. also 4 Ezra ix. 6 (Gunkel's rendering of the "times of the Most High"): *their beginning is in word (i. e. the prophetic word) and portents, but their end in deeds and marvels.*

⁵ The ten "plagues" here enumerated mark the distressful period which precedes the advent of the new Age; they correspond to the "signs" which are a common feature in the traditional eschatology; cf. 4 Ezra iv. 52-v. 13, vi. 13-28, ix. 1-6, xiii. 16 ff., *Ap. Bar.* xxv.-xxvii., xlviii. 30-38, lxx., 1 Enoch xcix. 4 f., 7-10, c. 1-6 (*Dan.* xii.). The first of the Ezra passages just cited affords a good example of the contents of these descriptions. It depicts a time of commotions, and the general break-up of moral and religious forces; the heathen world-power (*i. e.* Rome) will be destroyed; there will be portents in nature, general chaos in society; monstrous and untimely births, the failure of the means of subsistence, and internecine strife; and wisdom and understanding will have perished from the earth. With our passage depicting ten plagues may be compared *T.B. Sanh.* 97a, which divides the period into seven years; in the first there will be rain on one city and no rain on another (*cf.* Amos iv. 7); in the second arrows of famine; in the third a great famine in which men, women, and children and pious will perish, and the Torah will be forgotten; in the fourth abundance and dearth; in the fifth great abundance, the people will eat and drink, and the Torah will return; in the sixth voices announcing the coming of the Messiah; in the seventh war, and at its end Messiah ben David will come. In the New Testament, besides the Apocalyptic passage in Matt. xxiv. 8-31 and parallels, there is a marked parallelism with the Apocalypse of the seven trumpets (*Rev.* viii. 6-ix. 21, x. 7, xi. 14-19), six of which mark partial judgements, while the seventh ushers in the final judgement. Several of the "trumpets" announce judgements like the Egyptian plagues.

⁶ *i. e.* distressful pain, sickness.

⁷ The fall of fire is one of the portents of the End in *Ap. Bar.* xxvii. 10; cf. the fiery hail of the seventh Egyptian plague (*Ex.* ix. 23 f.) and the "first trumpet" (*Rev.* viii. 6-7); cf. also *Rev.* xi. 19b ("great hail").

⁸ Cf. the fifth Egyptian plague (murrain among the cattle, *Ex.* ix. 1 ff.).

⁹ Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 22, *Ap. Bar.* xxvii. 5-6, Matt. xxiv. 7.

¹⁰ Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxvii. 3, 4 Ezra ix. 3.

¹¹ Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxvii. 7.

¹² Cf. *Ex.* ix. 23 f.

¹³ Cf. Matt. xxiv. 16.

¹⁴ K, "voices of thunder."

¹⁵ Cf. *Rev.* xi. 19b. [Perhaps the passage most closely parallel with our text is *Ap. Bar.* xxvii. 1-13.]

XXXI. “And then I will sound the trumpet¹ out of the air, and will send mine Elect One,² having in him all my power, one measure³; and this one shall summon⁴ my despised people from the nations,⁵ and I will burn with fire⁶ those⁷ who have insulted them and who have ruled among⁸ them in (this) Age.

“And I will give those who have covered me with mockery to the scorn of the coming Age;⁹ and I have prepared them to be food¹⁰ for the fire of Hades and for ceaseless flight to and fro through the air in the underworld beneath the earth¹¹ [the body filled with worms.¹² For on them shall they see the righteousness of the Creator—those, namely, who have chosen to do my will, and those who have openly kept my¹³ commandments,¹⁴ (and) they shall rejoice with joy over the

¹ The trumpet is blown to announce the Divine intervention and the coming of salvation; it is not a direct summons to the exiles to return (cf. Volz, p. 310); cf. Benediction X in the *Shēmōnē ‘Esrē* Prayer (Singer, p. 48): *Sound the great horn for our freedom; lift up the ensign to gather our exiles, and gather us from the four corners of the earth.*

² This title of the Messiah is a favourite one in the “Similitudes” of 1 Enoch; cf. 1 Enoch xlvi. 9, lv. 4, etc. It recurs as a Messianic title in Luke ix. 35, xxiii. 35, and goes back to Is. xlii. 1.

³ *i.e.* a measure of all the divine attributes—he reflects in little the totality of the divine character. This is an exalted conception, but does not seem to imply more than that the Messiah is a divinely endowed man, full of the power of the Holy Spirit (Is. xi. 1), which makes him free from sin (*Ps. Sol.* xvii. 36 f.). He is not depicted as a supernatural angelic being like Metatron. He is sent by God at the appointed time; cf. *Ps. Sol.* xvii. 23, Gal. iv. 4, John xvii. 3.

⁴ Note that it is the Messiah here who summons the outcast Israelites from the nations (so also *Ps. Sol.* xvii. 28, Matt. xxiv. 31, 4 Ezra xiii. 39). More usually this is performed by God Himself (cf. the prayer cited in note¹ above).

⁵ Cf. Is. lx. 4.

⁶ Punishment of the godless by fire at God’s hands is a common feature in the eschatology. It is the fire of the divine anger that is thought of, and is based upon Mal. iv. 1 (iii. 19); cf. the “fiery stream” and “flaming breath” which the Messiah emits from his mouth to destroy his enemies in 4 Ezra xiii. 10 (interpreted figuratively in verses 36 f.). A adds *through him* (after *I will*), *i. e.* through the Messiah; K, *through them.*

⁷ *i. e.* the heathen nations.

⁸ *i. e.* “over.” Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxii. 6 (“But all those who have ruled over you . . . shall be given to the sword”).

⁹ Those who have scorned shall be scorned; cf. *Wisdom* iv. 18, Dan. xii. 2, *Ps. Sol.* ii. 32 f. (“the coming Age” is the Age of the righteous). Possibly renegade Jews are referred to, and are the subject of the remaining part of this chapter.

¹⁰ Cf. Mal. iv. I (iii. 19).

¹¹ Here two conceptions seem to be mixed; there is (1) the idea of “the fire of Hades” (or Hell), which is located beneath the earth (for “Hades” = Hell in this sense: cf. *Ps. Sol.* xv. 11); this fire consumes their bodies; (2) combined with this is the idea of wandering (flying) restlessly about (properly in the air or outer darkness); cf. 4 Ezra vii. 80. In *T. B. Shabb.* 152b the souls of the wicked are said to be given no place of rest till the judgement. Here (at the word *earth*) S ends. The rest of the text (printed in small type) is found both in A and K.

¹² In Judith xvi. 17 “fire and worms” await the heathen enemies of Israel; cf. *Ecclus.* vii. 17, 1 Enoch xlvi. 6 (“darkness will be their dwelling and worms their bed”), Is. lxvi. 24. Here renegade Jews are probably meant.

¹³ A, *thy.*

¹⁴ Cf. Is. lxvi. 24, 4 Ezra vii. 93.

downfall of the men who still remain, who have followed the idols and their murders.¹ For they shall putrefy in the body of the evil worm Azazel,² and be burnt with the fire of Azazel's tongue;³ for I hoped that they would come to me,⁴ and not have loved and praised the strange (god),⁵ and not have adhered to him for whom they were not allotted,⁶ but (instead) they have forsaken the mighty Lord."

Conclusion (Chapter XXXII.)

XXXII. "Therefore hear, O Abraham, and see; lo! thy seventh generation ⁷ (shall) go with thee, and they shall go out into a strange land, and they shall enslave them, and evil-entreat them⁸ as it were an hour of the Age of ungodliness⁹ but the nation whom they shall serve I will judge."]¹⁰

ADDITIONAL NOTES

I

*I am he who hath been commanded to loosen Hades
to destroy him who stareth at the dead.*

This obscure clause, which occurs in Jaobel's speech in chap. x., is absent from S. The Slavonic text runs as follows—

*Az esm' povelěvy razreshiti ada,
istliti divyaščas mertvym.*

Dr. St. Clair Tisdall suggests the following rendering—

*I am commanded to loosen Hades,
to turn to corruption (by) gazing at the dead.*

¹ The renegade Jews here referred to are described as idolaters (cf. Ezek. xx. 16, Jer. vii. 9); and the righteous rejoice over their "downfall"; cf. 1 Enoch lvi. 8 ("Sheol will devour the sinners in the presence of the elect"), xciv. 10 ("Your creator will rejoice at your destruction"), xcvii. 2 ("the angels rejoice" over it), Is. lxvi. 24. Notice that idolatry and murder are here conjoined; cf. Acts xv. 29 (according to one view of the text).

² Cf. the Greek *Apocalypse of Baruch* iv. (the dragon of Hades, which devours the bodies of the ungodly). In 2 Enoch xlii. 1 the guardians of the gates of Hell are said to be "like great serpents."

³ Here the Evil Spirit is identified with Hell; his tongue devours the ungodly; and he himself is "the burning coal of the furnace of the earth" (chap. xiv.). Hell (Gehenna) is essentially a place of fire; cf. Is. xxx. 33 and *Mekilta* to Ex. xiv. 21.

⁴ ? in repentance.

⁵ i. e. probably Azazel.

⁶ This clearly indicates that renegade Jews are referred to. For a similar reference cf. 4 Ezra viii. 25-31. It would appear that large numbers of Jews had lapsed, after the fall of Jerusalem, into indifference, or even open apostasy; cf. the Rabbinical references to "the people of the land" (*am hā-'āres*).

⁷ Including Abraham, the seven generations may be reckoned thus: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses.

⁸ Cf. Gen. xv. 13.

⁹ i. e. ? 100 years; cf. chap. xxviii, end.

¹⁰ Cf. Gen. xv. 14. K concludes with the following words: *And this, too, said the Lord: Hast thou heard, Abraham, what I have announced to thee, what shall befall thy people in the latter days? And Abraham heard the words of the Lord, and received them into his heart.*

Dr. Tisdall explains the meaning thus: "The speaker has power given to him to 'deliver over to corruption' the bodies of the dead by gazing at them. The verb [rendered 'gazing'] strictly denotes *marvelling, admiring*."

Mr. Landsman writes as follows: "The verb *diviyati* is used in Slavonic, meaning 'to be ferocious,' 'to rage'; *divyaščas* means thus 'to stare at' somebody in such a way that he is frightened by the ferocity of the look. It can be translated as Dr. Tisdall translates it, but does this rendering and interpretation harmonise with the context?" Mr. Landsman goes on to suggest that the second line refers to Death personified; cf. Ps. xlix. 14 ("Death shall be their shepherd") and Rev. xx. 13, 14, where "Death and Hades" are "cast into the lake of fire." Then render—

*I am he who hath been commanded to loosen Hades,
to destroy him [i.e. Death] who terrifieth the dead.*

This yields an admirable sense, and is probably right. Jaol thus claims to be commissioned to abolish the terrors of Hades and Death.

II

And when they [the Cherubim] had ended the singing, they looked at one another and threatened one another. And it came to pass when the angel who was with me saw that they were threatening each other, he left me and went running to them, and turned the countenance of each living creature from the countenance immediately confronting him in order that they might not see their countenances threatening each other. And he taught them the song of peace which hath its origin in the Eternal One (chap. xviii.).

In addition to the illustration given in note¹⁰ (p. 40) on this passage, the following extract from *The Revelation of Moses (Gedulath Moshe)*, translated by Dr. Garter in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for July 1893, p. 576 ("Hebrew Visions of Hell and Paradise") may be quoted—

Moses went to the fifth heaven, and he saw there troops of angels, half of fire and half of snow; and the snow is above the fire without extinguishing it, for God maketh peace between them [as it is said: "He maketh peace in his high places," Job xxv. 2], and all praise the Almighty. Cf also the Midrash Debarim rabba (to Deut. xx. 10), where with reference to the same passage of Job (xxv. 2) it is said: Michael [who presides over the water] is altogether snow, Gabriel is altogether fire, and they stand next each other without being harmed on either side (so also Midrash rabba to Cant. iii. 11); cf. also 2 Enoch xxix. 2.

APPENDIX I

THE LEGEND OF ABRAM'S CONVERSION FROM IDOLATRY

(Cf. Chapters I.-VIII. of our Book.)

ABRAM'S emergence from the prevalent idolatry early became the theme of legend, which has assumed various forms and was widespread. These are collected, with full references, in Beer's *Leben Abrahams* (Leipzig, 1859), Chaps. I. and II., and are well summarised in J.E. I. 84-87 ("Abraham in apocryphal and Rabbinical Literature").

The earliest literary evidence appears to be some extracts from Jewish Alexandrine works cited by Josephus under the names of Hecataeus and Berosus, of the third and second centuries B.C., and summarised by him (*Ant.* I. 1, 7): [*Abraham*] *was a person of great sagacity both for understanding all things and persuading his hearers, and not mistaken in his opinions; for which reason he began to have higher notions of virtue than others had, and he determined to renew and to change the opinion all men happened then to have concerning God; for he was the first that ventured to publish this notion, that there was but one God, the Creator of the Universe; and that as to other [gods] if they contributed anything to the happiness of men, that each of them afforded it only according to his appointment, and not by their own power. This his opinion was derived from the irregular phenomena that were visible both on land and sea, as well as those that happen to the sun, and moon, and all the heavenly bodies, thus: "If [said he] these bodies had power of their own, they would certainly take care of their own regular motions; but since they do not preserve such regularity, they make it plain, that so far as they co-operate to our advantage, they do it not of their own abilities, but as they are subservient to him that commands them, to whom alone we ought justly to offer our honour and thanksgiving."* For which doctrines, when the Chaldæans and other peoples of Mesopotamia raised a tumult against him, he thought fit to leave that country; and at the command, and by the assistance of God, he came and lived in the land of Canaan.

Another early attestation of the legend occurs in *The Book of Jubilees*, probably dating from the close of the second century B. C. Here it is related (chap. xi. 16-xii) that Abraham as a child "began to understand the errors of the earth," and at the age of fourteen, in order not to be entangled in the idolatry, practised in connexion with astrology by the whole house of Nahor, separated from his father and family, and prayed to God to save him "from the errors of the children of men." He became an inventor of an improved method of sowing seed, by which it was preserved against the depredations of the ravens. He then made efforts to wean his father from idolatry, but Terah, though acknowledging that his son was right, was afraid to make a public renunciation, and told Abraham to keep silent. Being no more successful with his brothers, Abraham rose by night and set fire to the house of idols. His brother Haran in an attempt to save them perished in the fire, and was buried in Ur of the Chaldees.

Here we meet with a feature which provided a *motif* for various forms of the legend—viz. the fire which burnt the idols and their house. This is really derived from the etymological meaning of *Ur* = "fire;" thus "Ur of the Chaldees" is taken to mean "fire of the Chaldees." In our Book the fire descends from heaven and burns the house and all in it (including Terah), Abraham alone escaping. In other forms of the legend Abraham is cast into the fire (by Nimrod), and is miraculously preserved. Philo's account of Abraham's conversion (*de*

Abrahamo, § 15) is as follows:¹

The Chaldeans were, above all nations, addicted to the study of astronomy, and attributed all events to the motions of the stars by which they fancied that all the things in the world were regulated, and accordingly they magnified the visible essence by the powers which numbers and the analogies of numbers contain, taking no account of the invisible essence appreciable only by the intellect. But while they were busied in investigating the arrangement existing in them with reference to the periodical revolutions of the sun and moon and the other planets and fixed-stars, and the changes of the seasons of the year, and the sympathy of the heavenly bodies with the things of earth, they were led to imagine that the world itself was God, in their impious philosophy comparing the creature to the Creator.

The man [Abraham] who had been bred up in this doctrine, and who for a long time had studied the philosophy of the Chaldeans, as if suddenly awaking from a deep slumber and opening the eye of the soul, and beginning to perceive a pure ray of light instead of profound darkness, followed the light, and saw what he had never seen before, a certain governor and director of the world standing above it (κατεῖδεν . . . τοῦ κόσμου τινὰ ἡνιόχον καὶ κυβερνήτην ἐφεστῶτα), and guiding his own work in a salutary manner, and exerting his care and power in behalf of those parts of it which are worthy of divine superintendence.

The legend is cited or referred to in many places in the Rabbinical Literature. The following extract from *Bereshith rabba* xxxviii. 19 (on Gen. xi. 28) is a good example:

*And Haran died in the presence of his father Terah. R. Hiyya bar R. Idi of Joppa said: "Terah was a maker and seller of idols. On one occasion he went out somewhere, (and) set Abraham to sell in his place. A man came (and) wished to buy (an idol), and he (Abraham) said to him: 'How old art thou?' And he said: 'Fifty or sixty years.' [Abraham] said to him: 'Woe to the man who is sixty years old, and will worship (an image) a day old!' And (the buyer) was shamed and went his way. Another time there came a woman, carrying in her hand a dish of fine flour. 'Here thou art,' said she. 'Offer it (as an oblation) before them (i. e. before the gods).' [Abraham] arose, took a club in his hand, and smashed all the images, and placed the club in the hand of the largest of them. When his father came back, he said to him: 'Who has done this to them?' He [Abraham] said to him: 'Why should I hide (the matter) from thee? A woman came carrying a dish of fine flour. And she said to me: "Here thou art: offer it (as an oblation) before them." I offered (it) before them. Then one said: "I will eat first," and another said: "I will eat first." The one who was greatest among them rose up, took a club, and smashed them.' And [Terah] said to him: 'Why wilt thou fool me? How should they understand (anything)?' [Abraham] said to him: 'Let not thy ears hear what thy mouth says!' [Terah] took him and delivered him to Nimrod. The latter said to him: 'We will worship the fire.' Abraham said to him: 'But we should (rather) worship water.' Nimrod said to him: 'We will worship the water.' [Abraham] said to him: 'If so, we ought to worship the cloud that bears the water.' Nimrod said to him: 'We will worship] the cloud.' He replied to him: 'If so, we ought to worship the wind: it scatters the cloud.' [Nimrod] said to him: 'We should worship] the wind.' He replied: 'We should worship man, who endures, (defies) the wind.' He replied: 'You are bandying words with me: I worship the fire only, (and) lo, I will cast thee into the midst of it; then, let the God whom thou worshipping come and deliver thee from it.' Haran was standing there in doubt. He said: 'At all events if Abraham is victorious I will say I am of Abraham's opinion; but if Nimrod is victorious I will say I am of Nimrod's opinion.' When Abraham descended into the fiery furnace and was delivered, they said to him: 'On whose side art thou?' He said to them: 'Abraham's.' They seized him and threw him into the fire. And his bowels were scorched, and it fell out that he died in the presence of his father. That is the meaning of the verse, *and Haran died in the presence of Terah his father.*"*

¹ Yonge's translation, vol. ii. p. 417.

Another version of the same legend (cf. *Tanna debe Eliyaha* ii. 25, and see J.E. i. 86) runs as follows:

Terah was a manufacturer of idols and had them for sale. One day when Abraham was left in charge of the shop, an old man came to buy an idol. Abraham handed him one on the top, and he paid the price asked. "How old art thou?" Abraham asked. "Seventy years," he replied. "Thou fool," said Abraham; "how canst thou adore a god so much younger than thyself? Thou wert born seventy years ago, and this god was made yesterday." The buyer threw away the idol and received his money back. The other sons of Terah complained to their father that Abraham did not know how to sell the idols, and it was arranged that he should act as priest to the latter. One day a woman brought a meal-offering for the idols, and as they would not eat he exclaimed: *A mouth have they but speak not, eyes have they but see not, ears but hear not, hands but handle not. May their makers be like them, and all who trust in them* (Ps. cxv. 5-8); and he broke them in pieces, and burned them. Abraham was thereupon brought before Nimrod, who said: "Knowest thou not that I am god, and ruler of the world? Why hast thou destroyed my images?" Abraham replied: "If thou art god and ruler of the world, why dost thou not cause the sun to rise in the west and set in the east? If thou art god and ruler of the world, tell me all that I have now at heart, and what I shall do in the future?" Nimrod was dumbfounded, and Abraham continued: "Thou art the son of Cush, a mortal man. Thou couldst not save thy father from death, nor wilt thou thyself escape it."

Another form of the legend, after narrating the wonderful nature of Abraham's birth, Nimrod's alarm at the report of the astrologers and magicians in connexion therewith, and his attempt to bribe Terah to give up the child, who, under the charge of a nurse, was hidden by his father in a cave, where he remained for some years, proceeds (cf. *Midrash hagadol* on Genesis. ed. Schechter p. 189 f.):

When Abraham came forth from the cave, his mind was inquiring into the creation of the world, and he was intent upon all the luminaries of the world, to bow down to them and serve them, in order that he might know which of them was God. He saw the moon, whose light shone in the night from one end of the world to the other, and whose retinue [of shining stars] was so numerous. Said he: "This is God!" (and) he worshipped her all the night. But when at day-break he saw the sun-rise, and at its rising the moon become dark and her strength wane, he said: "The light of the moon only proceeds from the light of the sun, and the world is only sustained by the light of the sun," and so he worshipped the sun all day. At evening the sun set, and its power waned, and the moon and the stars and the constellations emerged (once more). Said [Abraham]: "Verily there is a Lord and a God over these."

A peculiar form of the legend occurs in the *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo vi. 5-18.¹

According to this Midrashic account, Abram with eleven other men whose names are given, refused to bake bricks for the building of the Tower of Babel. In consequence, they were seized by the people of the land, and brought before the princes, and on their persistent refusal to take any part in the building of the Tower, were condemned to be burnt. A respite of seven days is given them at the intercession of Jectan, "the first prince of the captains," but at the end of this time, if they have not already changed their mind, they are to be handed over for execution. Jectan, a secret friend, contrives their escape to the mountains, and eleven of the men do escape, but Abram refuses to flee, and remains behind. At the end of the seven days, the "people of the land" demand that the imprisoned men shall be produced. Jectan explains that eleven of them "have broken prison and fled by night," but Abram is produced, is cast into

¹ Edited for the first time in English by Dr. M. R. James, and published in this Series.

the fire, but is miraculously delivered by God,¹ who causes an earthquake which breaks up the furnace and scatters the fire, which “consumed all them that stood round about in the sight of the furnace; and all they that were burned in that day were 83,500. But upon Abram was there not any the least hurt by the burning of the fire.”

It is obvious from what has been adduced that the legend assumed different forms. The narrative just cited is quite independent of the rest, except for the episode of the fiery furnace. The form also given in our Book is largely independent. Nowhere else do we meet with the details about the idol-gods *Merumath* and *Barisat*. The fiery furnace also is absent, and the burning of the idols is effected by fire from heaven. At the same time in chap. vii. of our Book in the speech of Abraham to Terah about the claims to divinity of fire, water, earth, sun, moon, and stars, there is a marked parallelism with the Rabbinical accounts. It is clear that the form of the legend in our Book is due to an independent and free handling of the legendary material, many new features having been introduced in the process.

The legend also occurs in various forms in the Patristic and Mohammedan literature. For the former cf. *Clem. Recognitions*, i. 32 f., Augustine, *De Civitate* xvi. 15; and for the latter cf. *J.E.*, i. 87 f. (“Abraham in Mohammedan Legend”). See further Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus Vet. Test.* (2nd ed., Hamburg, 1722, pp. 335-428), Bonwetsch, pp. 41-55. The later Jewish forms of the legend (as preserved in late Midrashim) have been collected and translated into German by Wünsche, *Aus Israels Lehrhallen* (1907), i. pp. 14-48 (the original Hebrew texts are printed mainly in Jellinek’s *Beth ha-Midrash*); cf. also G. Friedlander, *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics* (1912), pp. 47 ff.

APPENDIX II²

All the Palæas begin the story of Abraham as follows:

“But Terah begat Abraham:” and Terah began to do the same work which he saw (being done) in the case of his father Nahor, and worshipped the gods, and offered sacrifices before them, calves, and heifers, and performed everything well-pleasing to the Devil. When Abraham, however, had seen this, and on account of it fell into much reflexion, he said within himself: “These gods are wood, through which my father Terah is deceived, and these gods have no soul in themselves; and possessing eyes they see not, and having ears they hear not, and possessing hands they handle not, and having feet they go not, and possessing noses they smell not, and there is no voice in their mouth. Therefore I am of opinion that in truth my father Terah is deceived. But Abraham having thought thus. . . .

Then some of the MSS. proceed:

Abraham (or I.), however, one day planed the gods, etc. (as in chap. i.); but the rest continue with chap. vii.: [*Having thought thus, Abraham*] came to his father, etc.

APPENDIX III³

A portion of our Apocalypse is contained in an abbreviated form in the Kukulevic MS. which is described by V. Jagić in his *Contributions to the History of the Literature of the Croat and Serbian People* (*Prilozi k historiji književnosti naroda hrvatskoga i srbskoga*), Agram 1868.

¹ According to R. Eliezer b. Jacob it was Michael who delivered Abraham from the fire; but the prevailing view was that it was God Himself; cf. *Bereshith rabba* xlv. 16.

² See Bonwetsch, p. 9.

³ See Bonwetsch, pp. 9-11.

The MS. dates from the year 1520, and includes on pp. 37^v foll. parts of *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, in a much abbreviated, dislocated and altered form as compared with the tradition represented by the Russian MSS. This apparently represents an independent South Slavonic Recension of our Book. It runs as follows:¹

A word of righteous Abraham, as God loved Abraham. He was born; in sixty years [i. e. at the age of 60] He [God] had given him (Terah) a son, (even to Terah) who believed in the idols, and manufactured idols, and gave them names. Abraham went and sold the idols. When on a certain day Abraham had lain down in the field, and saw the stars of heaven and everything (made) by God, he surveyed it all in his heart, and said: "O great marvel! These idols have not made it: heaven and earth and everything hath God made, we, however, are senseless men not believing in the Creator of heaven and earth, but we believe in stones and wood, and in vain things, but I see and understand that God is great, who hath created heaven and earth and the whole world."

On a certain day his father carved idols, and told Abraham to prepare (their) food. And Abraham took a god and stood him at the fire behind the pot, and said to him: If thou art a god, pay heed to the pot and to thyself. And then the pot boiled over, and burnt the god's head. And Abraham approached, and saw it, and laughed about it much, and said to his father: "Father, these idols are no good, they cannot protect themselves, how should they protect us?" And his father was angry, and said: "Ills have befallen us, my son, I am not offended." And then Abraham arose and took the idols, and loaded them on an ass, and brought them into the street to sell. And he saw a great marsh, and said to the idols: "If you are gods, take heed to the ass that it do not drown you." And the ass went into the marsh and sank in the mire. And Abraham said to them: "If you were good gods, (then) you would protect . . . and also protect yourselves; but since you are evil gods, you must suffer evil." And he took them and shattered them.

And he returned to his father, and said: "Father, I tell thee the truth; these gods are no good, and you are wrong to believe in them." Thereupon his father flung a knife against him, and Abraham stood aside, and was perplexed in his mind. And he went into the land of Mesopotamia Chaldaea and did not know the way by which to go. Then the angel Uriel came to him, having made himself (in appearance) like a traveller. And Abraham said to the angel: "Tell me, Brother, whence art thou, and whither goest thou?" The angel said to him: "I go to the land of Chaldaea." And Abraham said: "I also go with thee." And the angel said to him: "Come, Brother!" And Abraham saw a large (and) very black eagle sitting and nodding its head at Abraham; and Abraham passing by it was seized with great fear, and said nothing.

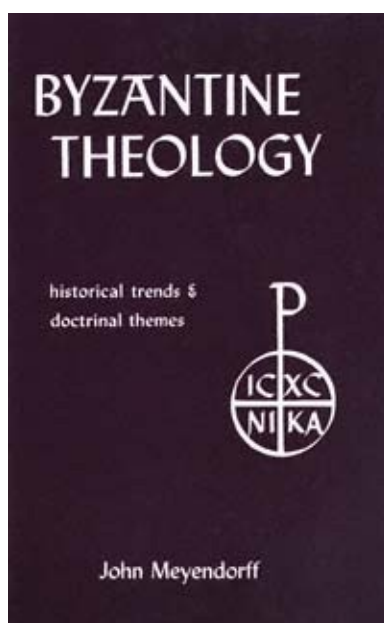
And the angel said to him: "Talk, Brother, of nothing but God." And the angel taught him all the time to talk of nothing but godly things. And the angel said to him: "Yonder eagle was indeed the Devil himself, and desired to make thee turn back."

And in that land Abraham abode fifteen years; there he dwelt, (and) thither his father came to him, and his brother Lot, and there Abraham took his wife Sarah.

And the angel came to Abraham, and told him to depart from this land, and to go into the land of Chaldaea (sic), "for there the Lord hath commanded thee to live." Abraham did accordingly. The narrative then proceeds on the basis of the account given in Gen. xx.

It is obvious that this is largely an independent reshaping of the old material. But it contains clear reminiscences both of the legendary and apocalyptic parts of our Book.

¹ As given in a German translation by Dr. L. Masing of Dorpat (in Bonwetsch, pp. 10 f.).



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John Meyendorff



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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The publication of a new edition of this book has given the author an opportunity to correct minor inaccuracies and to add several bibliographical references. It is clear, however, that in a field which is constantly being enriched with new publications, a general survey like this one cannot be fully comprehensive, even if the author feels himself greatly indebted to the findings of many of his colleagues, whose names do not appear in the Bibliography.

The largely positive response which met *Byzantine Theology* seems to indicate that the attempt at combining the historical and the systematic methods of approach to the subject was basically justified. There was, however, a risk of misunderstanding the use of any adjective in the title, and particularly the adjective "Byzantine," to define "theology." The adjective appears today in a variety of different contexts, and the limit of what is properly "Byzantine" is difficult to determine. On the other hand, the Byzantine theologians themselves did not conceive of their own religious tradition as being culturally or doctrinally limited. They used Scripture and the early Christian Fathers as a constant reference, and, at the same time, claimed to be the spokesmen of true Christian doctrine, as distinct from the non-Chalcedonian East and the Latin West. Furthermore, the modern Orthodox Church identifies herself, in a very particular way, with that "Byzantine" tradition (without excluding the potentiality of other expressions or developments of the same Christian truth), because she sees it as having been historically consistent with the Apostolic faith itself. Under such conditions, an historical survey and, particularly, an attempt at a systematic account of Byzantine theology could easily be interpreted either as confessionally biased or, on the contrary, as

deliberately rejecting the claim of the Byzantines themselves and of modern Orthodox theology, in the name of historical objectivity.

The author can certainly understand the critics who, in expressing their views about the book, have reflected one or the other of these mutually exclusive interpretations. He is firmly convinced that it is both possible and necessary to study Byzantium and Byzantine theol-

ogy, not only as carriers of religious orthodoxy, but also as historical phenomena of mixed cultural content. Theological orthodoxy itself cannot be fully defined and conceptually expressed without careful and critical historical research, which serves to overthrow idols and to avoid misconceptions. On the other hand, this same research, if it is really objective, shows the existence of a remarkable and theologically consistent tradition, which includes the Greek Fathers of the fourth century, the christology of Cyril of Alexandria, and the synthesis of Maximus the Confessor and of Gregory Palamas. In the author's opinion, this consistent tradition represents the *mainstream* of theological thought in Byzantium and coincides with the very content of Orthodox religious experience.

I fully realize that the existence of the "mainstream" is challenged by some historians. Some would claim, for example, that the group of anti-Palamite theologians of the fourteenth century were, in fact, the true representatives of the earlier patristic thought, which was being betrayed by Palamas. The debate on this point was started earlier in this century by Martin Jugie and was recently resumed by several authors, including particularly Gerhard Podskalsky. The issue has a number of historical, philosophical, and, certainly, confessional implications; it must be pursued further.

The debate itself shows that Byzantine theology involved crucial issues of Christian thinking and experience, which continue to be at the center of theological thinking today. Thus, a purely historical approach inevitably leads to a debate on substance.

The author would like to repeat here his acknowledgments from the original edition of this work. He is particularly indebted to the late Edwin A. Quain, S.J., formerly Editorial Associate of Fordham University Press, who was not sparing of his time, energy, and

extraordinary competence in improving the text, and also to the Rev. Walter J. Burghardt, S.J., Editor of *Theological Studies*, for reading the manuscript and making several useful suggestions. He also owes thanks to Professor Jaroslav Pelikan, Dean of the Graduate School, Yale University, for allowing him pre-publication access to and use of his monumental *The Christian Tradition*.

J.M.

INTRODUCTION

THE CHARACTER AND THE SOURCES OF THEOLOGY IN BYZANTIUM

Centuries of struggle and super-human effort will be required to go beyond Hellenism, by liberating it from its natural attachments and its ethnic and cultural limitations, before it will finally become a universal form of Christian truth.

VLADIMIR LOSSKY, *Vision of God*, 58.

Ancient culture proved to be plastic enough to admit of an inner "transfiguration." . . . Christians proved that it was possible to re-orient the cultural process, without lapsing into a pre-cultural state, to reshape the cultural fabric in a new spirit. The same process which has been variously described as a "Hellenization of Christianity" can be construed rather as a "Christianization of Hellenism."

GEORGES FLOROVSKY, "Faith and Culture," *St. Vladimir's Quarterly*, 4, 1-2 [1955-1956], 40.

Emperor Constantine (324-337) ended the period of confrontation between Christianity and the Roman Empire. He also abandoned the ancient capital, and moved the center of political and cultural life of what was then seen as the "civilized world" to the site of an ancient Greek city on the rivers of the BosphorusByzantium. It was officially called Constantinople, the "New Rome," and remained the capital of an Empire still called "Roman" for over eleven centuries, until its fall to the Turks in 1453.

Especially after the disappearance of the ancient Christian centers in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, Constantinople became the unquestionable center of Eastern Christianity. Its bishop assumed the title of "ecumenical patriarch." In the Balkans, in the great Eastern

European plain, in the Caucasus, its missionaries converted immense territories to the Christian faith. In fact, the "New Rome" became the cradle of civilization for the Middle East and Eastern Europe, just as the "old Rome" has been for the Latin West.

The aim of this book is to describe the categories of theological thought

as they were shaped in the framework of Byzantine Christian civilization, its philosophy of life, its liturgy, and its art, and as they persist in contemporary Eastern Orthodoxy. The central theme, or intuition, of Byzantine theology is that man's nature is not a static, "closed," autonomous entity, but a dynamic reality, determined in its very existence by its relationship to God. This relationship is seen as a process of ascent and as communionman, created in the image of God, is called to achieve freely a "divine similitude"; his relationship to God is both a givenness and a task, an immediate experience and an expectation of even greater vision to be accomplished in a free effort of love. The dynamism of Byzantine anthropology can easily be contrasted with the static categories of "nature" and "grace" which dominated the thought of post-Augustinian Western Christianity; it can prove itself to be an essential frame of reference in the contemporary theological search for a new understanding of man.

As a culture and civilization, Byzantium died long ago; yet the quality of its impact on the historical development of human society is still open to question. Since the time of Gibbon, historians have cited social immobilism, lack of creativity in the fields of science and technology, and a sacralized view of the state as its major defects. But it is the contention of this book that Byzantium made its real and *permanent* contribution to the history of mankind in the field of religious thought. The continuous attraction of Byzantine art and the remarkable survival of Eastern Christianity throughout the most dramatic of social changes are the best available signs that Byzantium did indeed discover something fundamentally *true* about man's nature and its relationship to God.

To express this "theocentric" view of man so akin to the contemporary attempts to build a "theocentric anthropology" Byzantine theologians used the concepts of Greek philosophy, particularly the notion of

theosis, or "deification." In the last century, Adolf Harnack passed severe judgments on the "Hellenized Christianity" of the Greek Fathers, but he is unlikely to be followed by many today. The unavoidable necessity of reformulating and rethinking the Christian faith in the light of changing cultural patterns is widely recognized, and the effort of the Greek Fathers to formulate Christianity in the categories of Hellenism can only be viewed as legitimate. Actually, Byzantine theology, as Lossky realized, was nothing but a continuous effort and struggle to express the tradition of the Church in the living categories of Greek thought, so that Hellenism might be converted to Christ.

It is legitimate to ask whether this effort was successful, but it is impossible to deny that it was justified in its basic intent. This book attempts to describe the major historical trends of Byzantine theology, always relating them to its main theme, and, in a second part, to show, in a more systematic form, that the results of Byzantine theological thought can also be envisaged as a synthesis. It is not our intention simply to describe the

idea of "deification" and its development in Greek patristic thought (numerous technical studies are available on that subject), but to analyze the entire historical development of theological ideas in Byzantium concerning God-man relationships. Whether one deals with Trinitarian or Christological dogma, or whether one examines ecclesiology and sacramental doctrine, the main stream of Byzantine theology uncovers the same vision of man, called to "know" God, to "participate" in His life, to be "saved," not simply through an extrinsic action of God's, or through the rational cognition of propositional truths, but by "becoming God." And this *theosis* of man is radically different in Byzantine theology from the Neoplatonic return to an impersonal One: it is a new expression of the neo-testamental life "in Christ" and in the "communion of the Holy Spirit."

1. Chronological Limits

There are decisive reasons for viewing as specifically Byzantine the period which followed the Council of Chalcedon (451) and the barbarian invasion of Italy. The council resulted in the Monophysite schism, which severed Constantinople from Alexandria and Antioch (the ancient Eastern centers of theological creativity) and from the entire non-Greek East. Latins and Greeks, meanwhile, although they still belonged to the same Catholic imperial Church, began to develop an increasing sense of estrangement from one another, as divergent trends in Christology, ecclesiology, and pneumatology appear very clearly in the context of the unparalleled cultural and intellectual superiority of Constantinople.

Historical circumstances thus placed Byzantium in an exclusive, preeminent, and, to some degree, self-sufficient, position, from which it was to develop a theological tradition, both synthetic and creative.

For several centuries, Byzantium would be vitally concerned with

pulling together the parts of a disintegrating Christian world: by maintaining its Christological commitment to the Council of Chalcedon and to the Tome of Leo, it would keep bridges toward the West intact, in spite of all the tensions; and by remaining rigidly faithful to the Alexandrian Christology of Athanasius and Cyril, it would also tryunfortunately without successto keep all doors open to the Monophysites.

These Christological commitments and debates imply a concept of the relationship between God and man, a theology of "participation" which would, through the creative synthesis of Maximus the Confessor, serve as a framework for the entire development of Byzantine Christian thought until the fall of Constantinople to the Turks. Thus, between the patristic age and later-Byzantine theology, there exists an essential continuityas the present study will attempt to showspanning almost exactly a millennium of Christian history in the East, from the Council of Chalcedon to the fall of Constantinople.

This continuity does not express itself, however, in any formal authority or pattern which would have been acceptable during that entire period. It lies rather in a consistent theological way of thought, in a consistent understanding of man's destiny in relation to God and to the world. "God became man," Athanasius writes, "so that man may become God." This fundamental statement of Alexandrian theology, which was to dominate the entire theological discussion about "deification," prompted many problems. Pantheism, escapism from history, and Platonizing spiritualism are the obvious dangers, and, though orthodox Chalcedonian theology generally remains aware of them, it implies the positive concept of man as a being called to overcome constantly his own created limitations. Man's real nature is considered not as "autonomous" but as destined to share divine life which had been made accessible in Christ. In this concept, man's role in the created world can be fulfilled only if he keeps intact the "image" of God which was part of his very humanity from the beginning.

From the Christological controversies of the fifth century to the debates on the "essence" and "energy" of God in the fourteenth, all the major crises of Byzantine theological thought can be reduced to one or the other aspect of this basic Christian issue. Authors as different as Leontius of Jerusalem and Gregory Palamas, Maximus the Confessor and Symeon the New Theologian, Photius and Nicholas Cabasilas, can here be found in basic agreement. It is this consensus which distinguishes Byzantine theology, taken as a whole, from the post-Augustinian and Scholastic West, and makes possible the attempt, which we undertake in the second part of our study, at a systematic presentation of Byzantine Christian thought.

2. A Living Tradition

This presentation is rendered difficult, however, by the very character of Byzantine church life, as it is reflected in the theological literature. In the Byzantine period, as in the patristic, neither the councils nor the theologians show particular interest in positive theological systems. With a few exceptions, such as the Chalcedonian definition, the conciliar statements themselves assume a negative form; they condemn distortions of the Christian Truth, rather than elaborate its positive content which is taken for granted as the living Tradition and as a wholesome Truth standing beyond and above doctrinal formulae. By far the greatest part of the theological literature is either exegetical or polemical, and in both cases the Christian faith is assumed as a given reality, upon which one comments, or which one defends, but which one does not try to formulate exhaustively. Even John of Damascus, sometimes referred to as the "Aquinas of the East" because he composed a systematic *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* (*De fide orthodoxa*), produced only a short textbook, not a theological system;

if his thought lacks anything, it is precisely that original philosophic creativity which a new system would presuppose.

The lack of concern for systematization, however, does not mean a lack of interest in the true content of the faith or an inability to produce exact theological definitions. On the contrary. No civilization has ever lived through more discussions on the adequacy, or inadequacy, of words reflecting religious truths. The *homoousion* as distinct from the *homoiousion*, "of two natures" or "in two natures"; two wills or one will; *latreia* of icons or *proskynesis* of images; the created or uncreated character of the divine "energies"; procession "from the Son" or "through the Son" these were issues debated by Byzantine Christians for centuries. It would seem, then, that the Greek Christian spirit consisted precisely in optimistically believing that human language is fundamentally adequate to express religious truth and that salvation depends upon the exact expression used to convey the meaning of the Gospel. Yet these same Greek Christians firmly confessed the incapacity of conceptual language to express the *whole* truth, and the incapability of the human mind to attain the essence of God. There was in Byzantium, therefore, an antinomy in the very approach to theology: God has really revealed Himself in Christ Jesus, and the knowledge of His Truth is essential to salvation, but God is also above the human intellect and cannot be fully expressed in human words.

In Byzantium, theology was never a monopoly of professionals or of a "teaching church." During the entire Byzantine period, no church council went unchallenged, and attempts by several emperors to regulate their subjects' consciences by decree were checked not so much by a consistently independent hierarchy as by the tacit opposition of the entire body of the Church. This lack of a clearly and juridically defined criterion of orthodoxy implied that the

responsibility for the truth was shared by all. The majority of the laity, of course, followed the most pre-eminent bishops, whose magisterial responsibility was never denied, or monastic leaders, who often played a central role in doctrinal disputes; but the simple faithful also knew how to decide for themselves, especially when the episcopate was divided. It is sufficient to recall here the witness of Gregory of Nazianzus, complaining about salesmen discussing the concept of "consubstantial" in the market place.

Yet imperial interventions in theological debates, which today appear as intolerable intrusions of the secular power into the sacred precincts of the Church, were considered quite normal at a time when the emperor was required by law to be "glorified in his divine zeal and versed in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity." 1 Though no one was ready to grant the emperor the privilege of infallibility, still no one objected to the principle of his expressing theological views which *de facto* acquired greater, and sometimes decisive, weight because they were pronounced by the *Autokrator*.

Caesaropapism, however, never became an accepted principle in Byzantium. Innumerable heroes of the faith were constantly exalted precisely because they had opposed heretical emperors; hymns sung in church praised Basil for having disobeyed Valens, Maximus for his martyrdom under Constans, and numerous monks for having opposed the iconoclastic emperors of the eighth century. These liturgical praises alone were sufficient to safeguard the principle that the emperor was to preserve, not to define, the Christian faith.

Throughout Byzantine history, it was actually the monks who were the real witnesses of the Church's internal independence. That the Byzantine Church was primarily monastic is reflected in the character of Greek theology. It is no wonder that emperors who endeavored to strengthen iconoclasm had first to sponsor an anti-monastic movement in the Church, for monasticism was, of necessity, hostile to the caesaropapistic system for which some emperors showed a predisposition.

Numbering thousands in Constantinople itself, in the major cities, and in practically every corner of the Byzantine world, the monks consistently opposed doctrinal compromises; they defended a rigorous orthodoxy, but at times they could also place their zeal at the service of Monophysitism or of Origenism. From the sixth century on, candidates for the episcopacy were chosen almost exclusively from the ranks of the monks; thus Byzantine spirituality and much of the Byzantine liturgy were shaped by monks. That Byzantine Christianity lacked what today would be called a "theology of the secular" is largely the result of the predominant position of monasticism. Yet this very predominance prevented the Christian Church from becoming totally identified with the empire, which constantly tended to sacralize itself and to assimilate the divine plan of salvation to its own temporal interests. The numerical, spiritual, and intellectual strength of

Byzantine monasticism was the decisive factor which preserved in the Church the fundamental eschatological dimension of the Christian faith.

The last major preliminary observation to be made concerning the specific character of Byzantine theology is the importance of the liturgy in the Byzantine religious outlook. In Eastern Christendom, the Eucharistic liturgy, more than anything else, is identified with the reality of the Church itself, for it manifests both the humiliation of God in assuming mortal flesh, and the mysterious presence among men of the eschatological kingdom. It points at these central realities of the faith not through concepts but through symbols and signs intelligible to the entire worshipping congregation. This centrality of the Eucharist is actually the real key to the Byzantine understanding of the Church, both hierarchical and corporate; the Church is universal, but truly realized only in the local Eucharistic assembly, at which a group of sinful men and women becomes fully the "people of God." This Eucharist-centered concept of the Church led the Byzantines to embellish and adorn the sacrament with an elaborate and sometimes cumbersome

ceremonial, and with an extremely rich hymnography, in daily, weekly, paschal, and yearly cycles. Besides the sacramental ecclesiology implied by the Eucharist itself, these hymnographical cycles constitute a real source of theology. For centuries the Byzantines not only heard theological lessons and wrote and read theological treatises; they also sang and contemplated daily the Christian mystery in a liturgy, whose wealth of expression cannot be found elsewhere in the Christian world. Even after the fall of Byzantium, when Eastern Christians were deprived of schools, books, and all intellectual leadership, the liturgy remained the chief teacher and guide of Orthodoxy. Translated into the various vernacular languages of the Byzantine world—Slavic, Georgian, Arabic, and dozens of others—the liturgy was also a powerful expression of unity in faith and sacramental life.

3. Scripture, Exegesis, Criteria

The Christian East took a longer time than the West in settling on an agreed canon of Scripture. The principal hesitations concerned the books of the Old Testament which are not contained in the Hebrew Canon ("shorter" canon) and the Book of Revelation in the New Testament. Fourth-century conciliar and patristic authorities in the East differ in their attitude concerning the exact authority of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Esther, Judith, and Tobit. Athanasius in his famous *Paschal Letter* 39 excludes them from Scripture proper, but considers them useful for catechumens, an opinion which he shares with Cyril of Jerusalem. Canon 60 of the Council of Laodicea—whether authentic or not—also reflects the tradition of a "shorter" canon. But the Quinisext Council (692) endorses the authority of Apostolic Canon 85, which admits some books of the "longer" canon, including even 3 Maccabees, but omits Wisdom, Tobit, and Judith. John of Damascus (ca. 753), however, considers Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus as

"admirable," yet fails to include them in the canon.² Therefore, in spite of the fact that Byzantine patristic and ecclesiastical tradition almost exclusively uses the Septuagint as the standard Biblical text, and that parts of the "longer" canon especially Wisdom are of frequent liturgical use, Byzantine theologians remain faithful to a "Hebrew" criterion for Old Testament literature, which excludes texts originally composed in Greek. Modern Orthodox theology is consistent with this unresolved polarity when it distinguishes between "canonical" and "deuterocanonical" literature of the Old Testament, applying the first term only to the books of the "shorter" canon.

Among the writings of the New Testament, the Book of Revelation was accepted into the canon only with reluctance. It is omitted from the canon in the lists of the Council of Laodicea (canon 60), in Apostolic Canon 85, and by Cyril of Jerusalem.³ The commentators of the School of Antioch also ignore it, reflecting the view prevailing in the Church of Syria. In the

Byzantine liturgical rite, which was dependent upon Syria and Palestine, Revelation is the only book of the New Testament which is never used for liturgical reading. The position of the School of Alexandria, however, expressed in particular by Athanasius and followed, in the eighth century, by John of Damascus, was finally endorsed by the Byzantine Church. After the sixth century, no one expressed any doubt about the canonicity of Revelation.

The written form of the apostolic message was always understood by the Byzantines in the framework of "apostolic tradition" the wider, living, and uninterrupted continuity of the apostolic Church. The famous sentence of Basil of Caesarea (379) on Scripture and Tradition can be considered to reflect the consensus of later Byzantine theologians: "We do not content ourselves with what was reported in *Acts* and in the *Epistles* [the term *ho apostolos*, translated here as "Acts and Epistles," designates the liturgical book containing all the New Testament writings, except the four Gospels and Revelation] and in the Gospels; but, both before and after reading them, we add other doctrines, received from oral teaching, and carrying much weight in the mystery [of the faith]." 4 The "other doctrines" which Basil mentions are, essentially, the liturgical and sacramental traditions which, together with the more conceptual consensus found in the continuity of Greek patristic theology, always served in Byzantium as a living framework for the understanding of Scripture.

In exegetical methods as in their theory of knowledge, the Byzantines accepted the patristic criterion set in the fourth and fifth centuries. By harmonizing the fundamental ideas of the Cappadocian Fathers on the Trinity with the Christological thought of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, John of Damascus could compose his *De fide orthodoxa*, which would serve as a theological textbook during the following period. Other, less imaginative authors composed even more simple

florilegia of patristic quotations, or "panoplies" refuting all heresies. Much of Byzantine theological literature is of a strictly anthological nature. Still, a living theology also developed, especially in monastic circles.

In any attempt to review the major doctrinal themes of Byzantine theology, constant reference to the Fathers of the classical period is unavoidable, for they served as the major traditional authorities for the Byzantines. Yet in acknowledging that in the Church every Christian, and the saint in particular, possesses the privilege and opportunity of seeing and experiencing the truth, the same Byzantines presupposed a concept of Revelation which was substantially different from that held in the West. Because the concept of *theologia* in Byzantium, as with the Cappadocian Fathers, was inseparable from *theoria* ("contemplation"), theology could not be as it was in the West a rational deduction from "revealed" premisses, i.e., from Scripture or from the statements of an ecclesiastical magisterium; rather,

it was a vision experienced by the saints, whose authenticity was, of course, to be checked against the witness of Scripture and Tradition. Not that a rational deductive process was completely eliminated from theological thought; but it represented for the Byzantines the lowest and least reliable level of theology. The true theologian was the one who saw and experienced the content of his theology; and this experience was considered to belong not to the intellect alone (although the intellect was not excluded from its perception), but to the "eyes of the Spirit," which place the whole man in intellect, emotions, and even senses in contact with divine existence. This was the initial content of the debate between Gregory Palamas and Barlaam the Calabrian, which started the theological controversies of the fourteenth century (1337-1340).

Revelation, therefore, was limited neither to the written documents of Scripture nor to conciliar definitions, but was directly accessible, as a living truth, to a human experience of God's presence in His Church. This possibility of an immediate contact with God has been seen by some historians of Eastern Christian thought as a form of Messalianism, a term which, since the fourth century, has designated an anti-hierarchical and anti-sacramental monastic sect repeatedly condemned by the councils. But the mainstream of Eastern Christian gnosiology, which indeed affirms the possibility of direct experience of God, is precisely founded upon a sacramental, and therefore hierarchically structured, ecclesiology, which gives a Christological and pneumatological basis to personal experience and presupposes that Christian theology must always be consistent with the apostolic and patristic witness.

This experiential character of revelation has a direct bearing on the notion of "development": Byzantine theologians generally took it for granted that new revelations could never be added to the unique

witness of the apostles. Precisely because their understanding of the Truth was not conceptual, the theologians could not admit either that Truth was expressed by the New Testament writings in a verbally and conceptually exhaustive manner, or that the experience of the Fathers and of the saints could enrich the *content* of the apostolic faith.

Nothing new could be learned about Christ and salvation beyond what the apostles "have heard, have seen with their eyes, have looked upon and touched with their hands, concerning the word of life" (1 Jn 1:1). The experience of the saints would be fundamentally identical with that of the apostles: the notions of "development" or "growth" could be applied only to the human appropriation of divine Truth, not to Truth itself, and, of course, to the conceptual elaboration of Church doctrine, or to the refutation of heresies.

In Jesus Christ, therefore, the fullness of Truth was revealed once and for all. To this revelation the apostolic message bears witness, through written word or oral tradition; but, in their God-given freedom, men can

experience it to various degrees and in various forms. The world to which this witness is announced continually raises new challenges and new problems. The very complexity of the human being; the reluctance of the Byzantine Christian mind to reduce theology to one particular form of human appropriation the intellectual; the character of the New Testament message, concerned not with abstract truths, but with a Person; the absence in the Byzantine Church of a permanent, infallible criterion of truth: all these elements contributed, in Byzantium, to an understanding of Christianity as a living experience, for whose integrity and authenticity the sacramental structure of the Church is certainly responsible, but whose living content is carried on, from generation to generation, by the entire community of the Church.

These same elements also determined that the evolution of theology in the Byzantine Church could only have been a slow and organic process, requiring a tacit agreement of the entire body of the hierarchy and the faithful. No significant changes of theology or of Church polity could ever be imposed by Church authority alone; and when such attempts were made, they resulted either in failure or in prolonged resistance or even in schism.

Thus, the experiential nature of theology produced a theological conservatism (not a subjectivism, as one might expect if one misunderstands experience for individualistic mysticism) because the experience of the saints and all Christians are called to be saints was always understood as necessarily identical with that of the apostles and the Fathers. Actually, the unity of the Church in time and in space was conceived as experiential unity in the one Christ, to whom the apostles witnessed in the past and whom all generations will contemplate again when He comes in power on the last day.

But if there is no development in the *content* of the faith, i.e., in the person of Christ, always identical with Himself but only in its formulations and in its relatedness to the changing world, what was the significance for the Byzantines of doctrinal definitions and conciliar statements? Their very text gives the answer: all the ecumenical councils, beginning with Ephesus (431) the first whose minutes are preserved emphasize explicitly that doctrinal definitions are not ends in themselves, and that the council fathers reluctantly proceed to define issues of doctrine only to exclude the wrong interpretations proposed by heretics. The most famous of the conciliar definitions, that of the Council of Chalcedon, is also most explicit in this regard. The conciliar decree begins with a solemn reaffirmation of the creeds of Nicaea and of Nicaea-Constantinople, and proceeds to declare, in reference to the latter:

This wise and salutary formula of divine grace *sufficed for the perfect knowledge and confirmation of religion*; for it teaches the perfect doctrine

concerning Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and sets forth the Incarnation of the Lord to those who faithfully receive it. But, *inasmuch as persons undertaking to nullify the preaching of the truth* have through their individual heresies given rise to empty babblings . . . this present holy, great, and ecumenical council, desiring to exclude every device against the Truth, and *teaching that which is unchanged from the beginning*, has at the very outset decreed that the faith of the 318 fathers [of Nicaea] shall be preserved inviolate. 5

The definition on the two natures of Christ, which follows that preamble, is thus considered simply as a means to protect what had already been said at Nicaea. It actually starts again with the standard formula "Following the holy fathers. . . ." Identical formulae are used by all the Byzantine councils in the succeeding period.

The really important implication of this attitude concerns the very notion of Truth, which is conceived, by the Byzantines, not as a concept which can be expressed adequately in words or developed rationally, but as God Himself personally present and met in the Church in His very personal identity. Not Scripture, not conciliar definitions, not theology can express Him fully; each can only point to some aspects of His existence, or exclude wrong interpretations of His being or acts. No human language, however, is *fully* adequate to Truth itself, nor can it exhaust it. Consequently, Scripture and the Church's magisterium cannot be considered as the only "sources" of theology. Orthodox theology cannot fail to check its consistency with them, of course, but the true theologian is free to express his own immediate encounter with the Truth. This is the authentic message maintained most explicitly by the Byzantine "mystical" tradition of Maximus the Confessor, Symeon the New Theologian, and Gregory Palamas.

4. Theology, Positive and Negative

The whole of Byzantine theology and particularly its "experiential"

character would be completely misunderstood if one forgets its other pole of reference: apophatic, or negative, theology.

Usually associated with the name of the mysterious sixth-century author of the *Areopagitica*, the form of apophaticism which will dominate Byzantine thought is, in fact, already fully developed in the fourth century in the writings of the Cappadocian Fathers against Eunomios. Rejecting the Eunomian view that the human mind can reach the very essence of God, they affirm the absolute transcendence of God and exclude any possibility of identifying Him with any human concept. By saying what God *is not*, the theologian is really speaking the Truth, for no human word or thought

is capable of comprehending what God *is*. The ascent of the human soul to God is thus described by Gregory of Nyssa as a process of elimination which, however, never truly reaches a positive end:

[The soul] rises afresh and in the spirit passes through the intelligible and hypercosmic world . . . ; it passes through the assembly of celestial beings, looking to see if its Beloved is among them. In its quest it passes through the whole angelic world and when it does not find the One it seeks among the blessed ones it encounters, it says to itself: "Can any of these at least comprehend the One whom I love?" But they hold their tongues at this question, and by their silence make him realize that the One whom he seeks is inaccessible even to them. Then, having by the action of the Spirit passed through the whole of the hypercosmic city, having failed to recognize the One he desires among intelligible and incorporeal beings, and abandoning all that he finds, he recognizes the One he is seeking as the only One he does not comprehend. 6

The process of elimination is, therefore, a necessary stage in the knowledge of God. It is an intellectual process, but also a spiritual purification (*katharsis*) which discards all forms of identifying God with that which is not God i.e., all idolatry. But the paradox is that, by itself, the process does not allow man to know God, except as the Unknowable and Incomprehensible, even if the experience of this transcendence is itself a positive Christian experience. On this point, orthodox patristic tradition is clearly distinct from both the Gnostic and the Neoplatonic traditions, represented in Christianity by Clement of Alexandria and by Origen. Neoplatonic thought had affirmed the inaccessibility of God to the human mind, but viewed this inaccessibility as the result of the fallen character of the soul and, in particular, of its union with a material body. When the mind returns to its original and natural state where God wants it to be it is indeed united, according to Origen, with the divine essence itself: its ascent reaches a definite end in perfection, knowledge, and blessedness. But

at this point Origen's God ceases to be the absolute Other, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, and becomes the god of the philosophers. And for this reason Gregory of Nyssa, who otherwise tasted so much of the charms of Origenism, affirms that God is inaccessible even to celestial beings.

The Greek Fathers affirm in their apophatic theology, not only that God is above human language and reason because of man's fallen inadequacy, but that He is inaccessible *in Himself*. Human knowledge concerns only "beings," i.e., the level of created existence. On this level, therefore, it can be said that "God does not exist." For the pseudo-Dionysius, God is "non-being" (*me on*). This is the theme of the famous Chapter 5 of Dionysius' *Mystical Theology*.⁷ The Plotinian concepts of the "monad" which Origen had applied to God⁸ are for pseudo-Dionysius quite irrelevant to a description of God's existence. God, he writes, is "neither the One, nor Unity."⁹

Byzantine theologians were fully aware of the fact that "negative" theology was known to Neoplatonic thought as an intellectual method of approaching the mystery of God, and that it did not necessarily imply that God was absolutely unknowable in Himself. Barlaam the Calabrian made the point clear when he wrote:

If you want to know whether the Greeks understood that the superessential and anonymous Good transcends intelligence, science, and all other achievement, read the works of the PythagoreansPantaenetus, Brotinos, Philolaos, Charmidas, and Philoxenoswhich are devoted to that subject; there you will find the same expressions as the great Dionysius employs in his *Mystical Theology*. . . . Plato too understood divine transcendence. 10

And Gregory Palamas in fact agrees with Barlaam when he recognizes that monotheism and the concept of God as a philosophical Absolute were accepted by the pagans, and that "apophatic theology necessarily follows from this."¹¹ But the formal, intellectual "apophatism" of the Greek philosophers differs from the Biblical notion of transcendence, for transcendence leads to a positive meeting with the Unknown, as the Living God, to a "contemplation greater than knowledge."¹² Christian theology is based on this notion.

A possibility of experiencing God through means other than intellectual knowledge, emotion, or the senses stands behind the Greek patristic understanding of the Christian faith and theology. This means simply an opening of God, His existence outside of His own nature, His actions or "energies" through which He *voluntarily* reveals Himself to man, as well as a peculiar property of man, which permits him to reach outside of the created level. The meeting of God's love and "energy" and of man's capability of transcending himself is what makes an encounter possible, a "contemplation greater than knowledge" to which the Fathers refer as the "eyes of faith," "the Spirit," or, eventually, "deification."

Theology, therefore, may and should be based on Scripture, on the doctrinal decisions of the Church's magisterium, or on the witness of the saints. But to be a true theology, it must be able to reach beyond the letter of Scripture, beyond the formulae used in definitions, beyond the language employed by the saints to communicate their experience. For only then will it be able to discern the unity of Revelation, a unity which is not simply an intellectual coherence and consistency, but a living reality experienced in the continuity of the one Church throughout the ages: the Holy Spirit is the only guarantor and guardian of this continuity; no external criterion which would be required for man's created perception or intellection would be sufficient.

Thus Byzantium never knew any conflict, not even a polarization between theology and what the West calls "mysticism." Indeed, the whole of

Eastern Christian theology has often been called "mystical." The term is truly correct, provided one remember that in Byzantium "mystical" knowledge does not imply emotional individualism, but quite the opposite: a continuous communion with the Spirit who dwells in the whole Church. It implies as well the constant recognition of the inadequacies of the human intellect and of human language to express the fullness of truth, and the constant balancing of positive theological affirmations about God with the corrective of apophatic theology. Finally, it presupposes an "I-Thou" relationship with God i.e., not knowledge only, but love.

Commenting upon Ecclesiastes 3:7 "a time to keep silence, and a time to speak" Gregory of Nyssa suggests to the theologian that

In speaking of God, when there is question of His essence, then is *the time to keep silence*. When, however, it is a question of His operation, a knowledge of which can come down even to us, that is *the time to speak* of His omnipotence by telling of His works and explaining His deeds, and to use words to this extent. In matters which go beyond this, however, the creature must not exceed the bounds of its nature, but must be content to know itself. For, indeed, in my view, if the creature never comes to know itself, never understands the essence of the soul or the nature of the body, the cause of being . . . , if the creature does not know itself, how can it ever explain things which are beyond it? Of such things it is *the time to keep silence*; here silence is surely better. There is, however, a *time to speak* of those things by which we can in our lives make progress in virtue. 13

The character and method of Byzantine theology are determined, therefore, by the problem of the relationship between God and the world, between creator and creation, and involve an anthropology, which finds its ultimate key in Christology. This unavoidable sequence will determine the subjects of the following chapters.

Notes

1. *Epanagoge tou nomou*, 9th C., III, 8, ed. C. E. Zachariae von Lingenthal, in J. Zepos, P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, 2 (Athens, 1931), p. 242.
2. John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*, IV, 17; PG 94:1180_{BC}.
3. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Horn. cat.*, 4, 36; PG 33:500_{BC}.
4. Basil of Caesarea, *On the Holy Spirit*, 27; ed. B. Pruche, *Sources Chrétiennes* 17 (Paris, 1945), p. 234.
5. Chalcedon, *Definitio fidei, Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta* (Bologna: Istituto per le Scienze Religiose, 1973), p. 84.
6. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Cant. or. VI*; ed. W. Jaeger (Leiden: Brill, 1960), 6:182; PG 44:893_B.
7. PG 3:1045_D-1048_B.
8. Origen, *De princ.*, I, 1, 6. Ed. B. Koetschau, GCS, 22.
9. Pseudo-Dionysius, *Mystical Theology*; PG 3:1048_A.

10. Barlaam the Calabrian, *Second Letter to Palamas*, ed. G. Schiro, *Barlaam Calabro: epistole* (Palermo, 1954), pp. 298-299.
11. Gregory Palamas, *Triads*, II, 3, 67; ed. J. Meyendorff (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1959), p. 527.
12. *Ibid.*, 53; p. 493.
13. Gregory of Nyssa, *Commentary on Ec.*, sermon 7; PG 44:732_D; ed. W. Jaeger (Leiden: Brill, 1962) 5:415-416; trans. H. Musurillo in *From Glory to Glory: Texts from Gregory of Nyssa's Mystical Writings* (New York: Scribner, 1961), p. 129.

I HISTORICAL TRENDS

1

Byzantine Theology After Chalcedon

Constantinople, the great cultural melting pot, the "New Rome" and capital of the empire, did not produce any really outstanding theologian in the fifth and sixth centuries; but the city witnessed the great theological debates of the day, since their conclusion often depended upon imperial sanction. Bishops, monks, exegetes, and philosophers, coming to the capital to seek favor and support, created around the episcopal see of the imperial city from which the government's theological advisers were usually drawn a convergence of ideas and a predisposition to syncretic, compromise solutions. The bishops of Constantinople and their staffs, however, were still able to defend explicit theological convictions, even against the imperial will, as the lonely pro-Chalcedonian stand adopted by the patriarchs Euphemius (489-495) and Macedonius II (495-511), under the reign of the Monophysite emperor Anastasius, bears witness. Thus, a theology which can be termed specifically "Byzantine," in contrast to the earlier currents of Eastern Christian thought centered mainly in Egypt and Syria, comes into being during the post-Chalcedonian period. It would receive official sanction under Justinian (527-565) and expression in the balanced synthesis of Maximus the Confessor (662).

It would seem that no individual figure played a decisive role in the formation of this theology, and one is equally hard-pressed to locate any school or other intellectual center in the capital where theological thought was creatively elaborated. Though it seems reasonable to assume that a theological school for the training of higher ecclesiastical personnel was connected with the patriarchate, sources about its character or the level of its teaching are wanting. A center of

theological learning is attested at the famous monastery of the *Akoimetai* (the "Non-Sleepers"), and others certainly existed elsewhere, but very little is specifically known about them. Theologians who were active during the fifth and sixth centuries often received their training in distant parts of the empire, such as Syria or Palestine. The Lavra of St. Sabbas near Jerusalem, for example, was the scene of violent debates between competing Origenist factions.

The imperial, secular University of Constantinople, founded by Constantine and reorganized by a decree of Theodosius II (408-450), did not include theology among its subjects; yet it certainly served as a channel for the perpetuation of ancient Greek philosophical ideas. The university remained bilingual (Greek and Latin) until the seventh century and, until the reign of Justinian, included pagans among its professors. But the drastic measures taken by Justinian, in excluding both pagans and non-Orthodox Christians from the teaching profession and in dosing the pagan University of Athens, must have emphasized that the role of secular studies in Christian Byzantium was purely ancillary. Even if a small circle of intellectuals perpetuated the philosophical traditions of the ancient Greeks, the official position of both Church and state now considered philosophy as at best a tool for expressing Revelation, but it never admitted that philosophy was entitled to shape the very content of theological ideas. In practice, one might readily admit that Aristotelian logic be taught in the schools, but one would be consistently distrustful of Platonism because of its metaphysical implications. Yet Platonism would subsist, mainly through patristic literature, and especially through the Origenist tradition; but it would never be formally acknowledged as a valid expression of religious ideas.

Conservative in form and intent, Byzantine theology in the age of Justinian continually referred to tradition as its main source. The Christological debates of the period, in particular, consisted chiefly of a battle between exegetes of Scripture, about philosophical terms adopted by Christian theology in the third and fourth centuries, and about patristic texts making use of these terms. Liturgical hymnology, which began to flourish at this time, incorporated the results of the controversies and often became a form of credal confession. The various elements of Byzantine theological traditionalism dominant in

the fifth and sixth centuries constituted the basis of further creativity in the later periods, and require very special attention.

1. Exegetical Traditions

It is necessary for those who preside over the churches . . . to teach all the clergy and the people . . . , collecting out of divine Scripture the thoughts and judgments of truth, but not exceeding the limits now fixed, nor varying from the tradition of the God-fearing Fathers. But if any issue arises concerning Scripture, it should not be interpreted other than as the luminaries and teachers of the Church have expounded it in their writings; let them [the bishops] become distinguished for their knowledge of patristic writings rather than for composing treatises out of their own heads.

This text of Canon 19 of the Council *in Trullo* (692) reflects the traditionalist and conservative character of the Byzantine approach to theology

and to exegesis in particular, and explains the presence, in all monastic and private libraries of Byzantium, of innumerable copies of patristic *catenae*, "chains" of authoritative interpretations of particular Biblical texts, expressing, or claiming to express, the continuity of exegetical tradition.

Even though the *consensus patrum* reached by this method was in some instances partial and artificial, the standard Church teaching came to rely on it, especially when it was sanctified by liturgical and hymnographical usage. The Bible was always understood not simply as a source of revealed doctrinal propositions, or as a description of historical facts, but as a witness to a living Truth which had become dynamically present in the sacramental community of the New Testament Church. The veneration of the Virgin, Mother of God, for example, was associated once and for all with a typo-logical interpretation of the Old Testament temple cult: the one who carried God in her womb was the true "temple," the true "tabernacle," the "candlestick," and God's final "abode." Thus, a Byzantine who, on the eve of a Marian feast, listened in church to a reading from the Book of Proverbs about "Wisdom building her house" (Pr 9:1ff.) naturally, and almost exclusively, thought of the "Word becoming flesh" i.e., finding His abode in the Virgin. The identification of the Old Testament Wisdom with the Johannine Logos had been taken for granted since the time of Origen, and no one would have thought of challenging it. As early as the fourth century, when much of the Arian debate centered on the famous text "The Lord created me at the beginning of his works" (Pr 8:22), it was quite naturally interpreted by the Arians in favor of their position. Athanasius, and other members of the Nicæan party, declined to challenge the identification between Logos and Wisdom, preferring to find references to other texts supporting the uncreated character of the Logos-Wisdom. No one questioned the

established exegetical consensus on the identification itself.

Much of the accepted Byzantine exegetical method had its origin in Alexandrian tradition and its allegorism. St. Paul, in describing the story of Abraham's two sons as an allegory of the two covenants (Ga 4:23), gave Christian sanction to a non-literal method of interpreting Scripture, known as *midrash*, which had developed among Palestinian rabbis in pre-Christian times. Thus, in pushing the allegorical method of interpreting Scripture to its very extremes, the Alexandrian Hellenistic milieu, common to Philo, Clement, and Origen, could refer to the illustrious precedent of St. Paul himself. Allegory was, first of all, consonant with the Hellenic, and especially the Platonic, concern for eternal things as opposed to historical facts. The Greek intellectual's main difficulty in accepting Christianity often lay in the absence of direct speculation on the Unchangeable, since his philosophical training had led him to associate changeability with unreality. The allegorical method, however, allowed the possibility of interpreting all concrete, changeable facts as symbols of unchangeable realities. History itself was thus losing its centrality and, in extreme cases, was simply denied.

But consonance with Hellenism was not the only element which contributed to the widespread use of allegory in exegesis. The method provided an easy weapon against Gnosticism, the main challenge to Christianity in the second century. The major Gnostic systems especially those of Valentinus and Marcion opposed the Demiurge, the Yahweh of Judaism, to the true God manifested in the New Testament. Christian apologists used allegory to "redeem" the Old Testament and counteracted the Gnostic dualism with the idea that the Old and the New Testaments have one and the same "spiritual" meaning and reflect a continuous Revelation of the same true God.

Origen also made use of this concept of the "spiritual meaning" in his notion of Tradition. The Spirit which had inspired the Biblical writers was also present in the "spiritual men" of the Christian Church. The saint alone, therefore, could decipher the authentic meaning of Scripture.

The Scriptures [Origen writes] were composed through the Spirit of God and they have not only that meaning which is obvious, but also another which is hidden from the majority of readers. For the contents of Scripture are the outward forms of certain mysteries and the images of divine things. On this point the entire Church is unanimous, that while the whole Law is spiritual, the inspired meaning is not recognized by all, but only by those who are gifted with the grace of the Holy Spirit in the word of wisdom and knowledge. 1

Although it raises the important problem of authority in exegesis, this passage certainly expresses a view largely taken for granted in medieval Byzantine Christendom, and explains the concern for a *consensus patrum*, expressed in a formal way in the canon of the Council in Trullo quoted at the beginning of this section.

In addition to Alexandrian allegorism, the Byzantine tradition of

exegesis incorporated the more sober influence of the School of Antioch. The opposition between Alexandria and Antioch which found a well-known and violent expression in the Christological debates of the fifth century should not be exaggerated on the level of exegesis. The chief minds of the Antiochian school Diodore of Tarsus (*ca.* 330-*ca.* 390), Theodore of Mopsuestia (*ca.* 350-428), and Theodoret of Cyrus (*ca.* 393-*ca.* 466) did not deny the possibility of a spiritual meaning in Biblical texts; yet they reacted strongly against the elimination of the literal, historical meaning and against an arbitrary allegorism based on Platonic philosophical presuppositions foreign to the Bible. Thus, the notion of *theoria* ("contemplation"), which implies the possibility of discovering a spiritual meaning behind the letter of the text, was not rejected, but the emphasis was placed upon what actually happened or was said historically, as well as upon the moral or theological implications of the text.

The theological authority of the School of Antioch was shattered by the condemnation of Nestorius, a pupil of Theodore of Mopsuestia, at Ephesus in 431, and by the anathemas against the Three Chapters (Theodore of Mopsuestia, and the anti-Cyrrillian writings of Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa) pronounced by the Second Council of Constantinople in 553. After 553, the scriptural commentaries of Theodore, one of the greatest exegetes of early Christianity, could be preserved only clandestinely in Syriac or Armenian translations, while the Greek original survived only in fragments scattered in the *catenae*. But the tradition of Antiochian exegesis survived in the exegetical works of Theodoret, which were never prohibited, and even more so in the writings of Theodore's friend John Chrysostom, by far the most popular of all Greek ecclesiastical writers. His definition of typology, as opposed to allegory, as "a prophecy expressed in terms of facts" ² and his concern for history served as safeguards against the spiritualizing excesses of the Alexandrian tradition in late-Byzantine exegetical literature, while still leaving room for *theoria*, i.e., fundamentally a Christ-oriented typological interpretation of the Old Testament.

2. Philosophical Trends

The philosophical trends in post-Chalcedonian Byzantium were determined by three major factors: (1) the patristic tradition and its implications—the transfer, for example, of the Cappadocian Trinitarian terminology to the problem of the hypostatic union of the two natures in Christ; (2) the ever-reviving Origenism with its implied challenge to the Biblical doctrine of creation and to Biblical anthropology; (3) the continuing influence of non-Christian Neoplatonism upon intellectuals (Justinian's closing of the University of Athens put a physical end to a center of thought and learning, only recently adorned by the last major figure of pagan Greek philosophy, Proclus [410-

485]). In all three cases the basic issue implied was the relation between ancient Greek thought and Christian Revelation.

Some modern historians continue to pass very divergent judgments on the philosophy of the Greek Fathers. In his well-known *Histoire de la philosophie*, Emile Bréhier writes: "In the first five centuries of Christianity, there was nothing which could properly be called Christian philosophy and which would imply a scale of intellectual values either original or different from that of the pagan thinkers."³ According to Bréhier, Christianity and Hellenic philosophy are not opposed to each other as two intellectual systems, for Christianity is based on revealed facts, not on philosophical ideas. The Greek Fathers, in accepting these facts, adopted everything in Greek philosophy which was compatible with Christian Revelation. No new philosophy could result from such an artificial juxtaposition. A seemingly opposite view, more in line with the classical appraisal of Adolf Harnack, has been expressed by H. A. Wolfson whose book on *The Philosophy of the*

Church Fathers presents the thought of the Fathers as "a recasting of Christian beliefs in the form of a philosophy [which] thereby produc[ed] also a Christian version of Greek philosophy." ⁴ Finally, the monumental work of Claude Tresmontant *La Métaphysique du Christianisme et la naissance de la philosophie chrétienne* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1961) strongly maintains the historical existence of a Christian philosophy which the Fathers consistently defended against the Hellenic synthesis. This philosophy implies basic affirmations on creation, on unity and multiplicity, on knowledge, freedom, and so on, incompatible with Hellenism, and is fundamentally Biblical. "From the point of view of metaphysics," he writes, "Christian orthodoxy is defined by its fidelity to the metaphysical principles found in Biblical theology."⁵ Therefore, if the Greek Fathers were orthodox, they were not, properly speaking, "Greek." Actually, in modern historical and theological writing, there is no term more ambiguous than "Hellenism." Thus, Georges Florovsky makes a persistent plea for "Christian Hellenism," meaning by the term the tradition of the Eastern Fathers as opposed to Western medieval thought,⁶ but he agrees fundamentally with Tresmontant on the total incompatibility between Greek philosophical thought and the Bible, especially on such basic issues as creation and freedom.⁷

Therefore, Tresmontant's and Florovsky's conclusions appear to be fundamentally correct, and the usual slogans and clichés which too often serve to characterize patristic and Byzantine thought as exalted "Christian Hellenism," or as the "Hellenization of Christianity," or as Eastern "Platonism" as opposed to Western "Aristotelianism" should be avoided.

A more constructive method of approaching the issue and of establishing a balanced judgment consists in a preliminary distinction between the *systems* of ancient Greek philosophy the Platonic, the

Aristotelian, or the Neoplatonic and individual concepts or terms. The use of Greek concepts and terminology was an unavoidable means of communication and a necessary step in making the Christian Gospel relevant to the world in which it appeared and in which it had to expand. But the Trinitarian terminology of the Cappadocian Fathers, and its later application to Christology in the Chalcedonian and post-Chalcedonian periods, clearly show that such concepts as *ousia*, *hypostasis*, or *physis* acquire an entirely new meaning when used out of the context of the Platonic or Aristotelian systems in which they were born. Three *hypostases* united in one "essence" (*ousia*), or two "natures" (*physeis*) united in one *hypostasis*, cannot be a part of either the Platonic or Aristotelian systems of thought, and imply new personalistic (and therefore non-Hellenic) metaphysical presuppositions. Still the Trinitarian and Christological synthesis of the Cappadocian Fathers would have dealt with a different set of problems and would have resulted in different concepts if the background of the Cappadocians and the audience to which they addressed themselves had not been Greek. Thus, Greek patristic

thought remained open to Greek philosophical problematics, but avoided being imprisoned in Hellenic philosophical *systems*. From Gregory of Nazianzus in the fourth century to Gregory Palamas in the fourteenth, the representatives of the Orthodox tradition all express their conviction that heresies are based upon the uncritical absorption of pagan Greek philosophy into Christian thought.

Among the major figures of early Christian literature, only Origen, Nemesis of Emesa, and pseudo-Dionysius present systems of thought which can truly be defined as Christian versions of Greek philosophy. Others, including even such system-builders as Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus the Confessor, in spite of their obvious philosophical mentality, stand too fundamentally in opposition to pagan Hellenism on the basic issues of creation and freedom to qualify as Greek philosophers. Origen and pseudo-Dionysius suffered quite a distinct posthumous fate which will be discussed later, but the influence of Nemesis and of his Platonic anthropological "system" was so limited in Byzantium, in contrast to its widespread impact on Western medieval thought, that the Latin translation of his work *Peri physeos anthropou* (*De natura hominis*) was attributed to Gregory of Nyssa. 8

Thus, as most historians of Byzantine theology will admit, the problem of the relationship between philosophy and the facts of Christian experience remained at the center of the theological thought of Byzantium, and no safe and permanent balance between them has ever been found. But is such a balance really possible if "this world" and its "wisdom" are really in permanent tension with the realities of the kingdom of God?

3. The Problem of Origenism

Recent research has cast a completely new light on the history of

Origenism in the fifth and sixth centuries. The publication of the works of Evagrius Ponticus, in particular, has clarified the issues which divided rival monastic parties in Egypt, in Palestine, and in other areas of Eastern Christendom.

While the Trinitarian problematics of Origen served as one of the starting points for the Arian controversies of the fourth century, his views on creation, the Fall, man, and God-man relations fascinated the first Greek intellectuals to the point of inducing them to join the monastic movement. In his system, monastic asceticism and spirituality find a justification, but contradict the basic presuppositions of Biblical Christianity. As a result, Origen and his disciple Evagrius were condemned in 400 by Theophilus of Alexandria and in 553 at Constantinople II. But even these condemnations did not preclude the lasting influence of their systems, which served as background for the integrated Christian philosophy of Maximus the Confessor. Origenism thus remained at the center of the theological thought of

post-Chalcedonian Eastern Christianity, and its influence on spirituality and theological terminology did not end with the condemnation of the Origenistic *system* in 553, but continued at least until the iconoclastic crisis of the eighth century.

Origen was undoubtedly the most successful of the early apologists of Christianity. His system made the Christian religion acceptable to Neoplatonists, but the acceptance of Christianity on Origenistic terms does not necessarily imply the rejection of the basic Neoplatonic concepts of God and of the world. If the Cappadocian Fathers, for example, after reading Origen in their student years, were finally led to orthodox Christianity, others, such as their friend and contemporary Evagrius Ponticus, developed Origenism in quite a different direction.

In his famous *De principiis*, Origen first postulates creation as an *eternal* act of God. God has always been the all-powerful Creator, and "we cannot even call God almighty if there are none over whom He can exercise His power." ⁹ But since Origen is very careful to refute the Aristotelian doctrine of the eternity of matter, he maintains that the ever-existing created world is a world of "intellects," not of matter. The basic Platonizing spiritualism implied here will always appeal to monastic circles looking for a metaphysical justification of asceticism. The next step in Origen's thought is to consider that the "intellectual" world, which includes "all rational natures" that is, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the Angels, the Powers, the Dominions, and other Virtues, as well as man himself in the dignity of his soul are one unique substance." ¹⁰ Later patristic tradition will oppose to this idea the notion of the absolute transcendence of God expressed in apophatic theology, but for Origen the monistic structure encompassing God and the "intellects" in one single substance is broken only by the Fall. Misusing their "freedom," the intellects committed the sin of revolting against God. Some sinned heavily, and

became demons; others sinned less, and became angels; others still less, and became archangels. Thus each received a condition proportionate to its own sin. The remaining souls committed sins neither heavy enough to rank with the demons nor light enough to become angels, and so it was that God created the present world, linking the soul with a body as a punishment.¹¹ The present visible world, which includes man understood as an intellect transformed through sin into a body is the result of the Fall; man's ultimate destiny is dematerialization and a return to a union with God's substance.

Evagrius Ponticus significantly developed this Origenistic system by applying it to Christology. According to Evagrius, Jesus Christ was not the Logos taking flesh, but only an "intellect" who had not committed the original sin and, thus, was not involved in the catastrophe of materialization. He assumed a body in order to show the way toward a restoration of

man's original union with God. 12 Around this teaching of Evagrius', serious conflicts, which lasted until the reign of Justinian, arose between feuding monastic parties. At the center of these disturbances, the Lavra of St. Sabbas in Palestine, some monks claimed to be "equal to Christ" (*isochristoi*), since in them, through prayer and contemplation, the original relationship with God, which also existed in Christ, had been restored. This extreme and obviously heretical form of Origenism was condemned first by imperial decree, then by the ecumenical council of 553. The writings of Origen and Evagrius were destroyed, to be preserved only partially in Latin or Syriac translations, or protected by pseudonyms. Ancient Hellenism had to give way once again to the basic principles of Biblical Christianity.

4. Pseudo-Dionysius

The condemnation of Origen and Evagrius did not mean, however, the total disappearance of the Platonic world-view from Byzantine Christianity. The Hellenic concept of the world as "order" and "hierarchy," the strict Platonic division between the "intelligible" and the "sensible" worlds, and the Neoplatonic grouping of beings into "triads" reappear in the famous writings of a mysterious early-sixth-century author who wrote under the pseudonym of Dionysius the Areopagite. The quasi-apostolic authority of this unknown author went unchallenged in both East and West throughout the Middle Ages.

Historians of Eastern Christian thought usually emphasize the role of Dionysius together with that of Gregory of Nyssa and of Maximus the Confessor in expounding apophatic theology. According to Vladimir Lossky, Dionysius, far from being "a Platonist with a tinge of Christianity," is the very opposite: "a Christian thinker disguised as a Neoplatonist, a theologian very much aware of his task, which was to

conquer the ground held by Neoplatonism by becoming a master of its philosophical method."¹³ And, indeed, several elements of Dionysius' thought appear as successful Christian counterparts both to Neoplatonic and to Origenistic positions. Dionysius specifically rejects Origen's notion of the knowledge of God "by essence," since there cannot be "knowledge" of God. For knowledge can apply only to "beings," and God is above being and superior to all opposition between being and non-being. With God, there can be a "union," however: the supreme end of human existence; but this union is "ignorance" rather than knowledge, for it presupposes detachment from all activity of the senses or of the intellect, since the intellect is applicable only to created existence. God, therefore, is absolutely transcendent and above existence, and as long as one remains in the categories of existence can be described only in negative terms.¹⁴ God does, however, make Himself known outside of His transcendent nature: "God is manifested by His 'powers' in all be-

ings, is multiplied without abandoning His unity." 15 Thus, the concepts of beauty, being, goodness, and the like, reflect God, but not His essence, only His "powers" and "energies"¹⁶ which are not, however, a diminished form of deity, or mere emanations, but themselves fully God, in whom created beings can participate in the proportion and analogy proper to each. Thus, the God of Dionysius is again the living God of the Bible and not the One of Plotinus, and, in this respect, Dionysius will provide the basis for further positive developments of Christian thought.

One must remember, however, that Dionysius' theology proper i.e., his doctrine of God and of the relationship between God and the world is not wholly original (in fact, its essential elements appear in the writings of the Cappadocian Fathers), and that, through his hierarchical view of the universe, Dionysius exercised a highly ambiguous influence, especially in the fields of ecclesiology and sacramental theology.

If, for Origen, the hierarchy of created beings—angels, men, demons—is the result of the Fall, for Dionysius it is an immovable and divine order through which one reaches "assimilation and union with God."¹⁷ The three "triads" or nine orders of the celestial hierarchy and the two "triads" of the ecclesiastical hierarchy are essentially a system of mediations. Each order participates in God "according to its capacity," but this participation is granted through the order immediately superior.¹⁸ The most obvious consequences of that system occur in the field of ecclesiology; for Dionysius, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which includes the triads "bishops (hierarchs)-priests-deacons" and "monks-laymen-catechumens (sinners)," is nothing but an earthly reflection of the celestial orders; each ecclesiastical order, therefore, is a *personal state*, not a function in the community. "A hierarch," Dionysius writes, "is a deified and

divine man, instructed in holy knowledge."¹⁹ And since the hierarchy is primarily a gnostic, or an initiator, there is fundamentally no difference between his role and that of a charismatic. The same applies, of course, to the other orders.²⁰

And, since Dionysius also holds very strictly to the Platonic divisions between the intellectual and material orders, the material being only a reflection and a symbol of the intellectual, his doctrine of the sacraments is both purely symbolic and individualistic; the function of the Eucharist, for example, is only to symbolize the union of the intellect with God and Christ.²¹

Our conclusion to these brief comments on Dionysius must be, therefore, that in areas where he transcends Neoplatonism the area of the *theologia* he is a real Christian, without, however, being truly original; but that his doctrine of the hierarchies, even if it represents a genuine attempt to integrate the Neoplatonic world-view into the Christian framework, is an obvious failure, the consequences of which have led to much confusion, especially in the fields of liturgy and of ecclesiological formulations. One wonders, too, if the Western Scholastic doctrine of the sacerdotal "character" and, to a lesser extent, the confusion, frequent in the Byzantine East,

between the role of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and that of "holy men" do not go back ultimately to Dionysius.

5. Liturgy

The appearance of the Dionysian writings coincides chronologically with a turning point in the history of Christian liturgy. When Justinian closed the last pagan temples and schools, Christianity became unquestionably the religion of the masses of the empire. The Christian liturgy, originally conceived as the cult of small persecuted communities, now came to be celebrated in immense cathedrals such as the magnificent "Great Church," Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, one of the glories of Justinian's reign with thousands of worshippers in attendance. This completely new situation could not help but influence both the practice and the theology of the liturgy. The Eucharist, for example, could no longer really retain the external character of a community meal. The great mass of the people in attendance consisted of nominal Christians who could hardly meet the standard required of regular communicants. Starting with John Chrysostom, the clergy began to preach that preparation, fasting, and self-examination were the necessary prerequisites of communion, and emphasized the mysterious, eschatological elements of the sacrament. The eighth and ninth centuries witnessed such additions as the iconostasis-screen between the sanctuary and the congregation, and the use of the communion spoon, a means to avoid putting the sacramental elements into the hands of laymen. All these developments were aimed at protecting the mystery, but they resulted in separating the clergy from the faithful and in giving to the liturgy the aspect of a performance, rather than of a common action of the entire people of God.

The writings of pseudo-Dionysius contributed to the same trend. The

author's ideas about God's grace descending upon the lower ranks of the hierarchy through the personal mediation of the hierarchs did much to shape new Byzantine liturgical forms, which he considered only as symbols revealing the mysteries to the eyes of the faithful. Appearances and disappearances of the celebrant, veiling and unveiling of the elements, opening and closing of the doors, and various gestures connected with the sacraments often originated in the rigid system of the hierarchical activity as described by Dionysius, and found ready acceptance in a Church otherwise concerned with preserving the mysterious character of the cult from profanation by the masses now filling the temples.

Fortunately Dionysian theology has had practically no effect upon such central texts as the baptismal prayer and the Eucharistic canons. It served principally to develop and explain the extremely rich fringes with which Byzantium now adorned the central sacramental actions of the Christian faith, without modifying its very heart, and thus leaving the door open to

authentic liturgical and sacramental theology which would still inspire the mainstream of Byzantine spirituality.

Another very important liturgical development of the fifth and sixth centuries was the large-scale adoption of hymnography of a Hellenistic nature. In the early Christian communities, the Church hymnal was comprised of the psalter and some other poetic excerpts from Scripture, with relatively few newer hymns. In the fifth and sixth centuries, however, with the insistence on more liturgical solemnity (often copied from court ceremonial) in the great urban churches, and the unavoidable Hellenization of the Church, the influx of new poetry was inevitable.

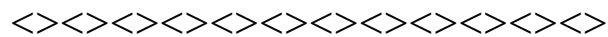
This influx met strong opposition in monastic circles, which considered it improper to replace Biblical texts of the liturgy with human poetic compositions, but the resistance was not a lasting one. In fact, in the eighth and ninth centuries, the monks took the lead in hymnographical creativity.

But as early as the sixth century, the religious poetry of Romanos the Melode was regarded as revolutionary in Constantinople. The models of his poetry and music were generally localized in Syria where poetic religious compositions had already been popularized by Ephraem (373).

Born in Emesus, Romanos came to Constantinople under Anastasius (491-518) and soon attained great fame by composing his *kontakia*. Generally based upon a Biblical theme, or exalting a Biblical personality, the *kontakion* is essentially a metrical homily, recited or chanted by a cantor and accompanied by the entire congregation singing a simple refrain. It follows a uniform pattern beginning with a short prelude and followed by a series of poetic strophae.

Romanos' poetry generally relies on imagery and drama, and contains little or no theology; the Christological debates of the period, for example, are not at all reflected in his *kontakia*. Written in simple popular Greek, they must have played a tremendous role in bringing the themes of Biblical history to the masses; they undoubtedly strengthened profoundly that understanding of Christianity centered on the liturgy which became so characteristic of the Byzantines.

Some of Romanos' *kontakia* remain in the liturgical books in an abridged form, and the pattern which he established was reproduced, almost exactly, in the famous *Akathistos hymnos*, one of the most popular pieces of Byzantine hymnography. Although, as we shall see later, subsequent hymnographical patterns, formed in the monasteries, were quite different from those of Romanos, the work of the great melode of the sixth century played a central role in shaping Byzantine Christianity, as distinct from the Latin, the Syrian, the Egyptian, and the Armenian.



The cultural framework of Byzantine theology after Chalcedon was increasingly limited to the Greek-speaking world. The wealth of the various

non-Greek traditions of early Christianity especially the Syrian and the Latin was less and less taken into account by the theologians of the imperial capital. One should remember, however, that, until the emergence of the twelfth-century revival of theology in the West, Constantinople remained the unquestioned intellectual center of Christendom, with very little competition. One understands therefore that it developed a sense of increasing, though regrettable, self-sufficiency.

Notes

1. Origen, *De principiis*, Praefatio 8; ed. B. Koetschau, GCS 22 (1913), 14.6-13; trans. G. W. Butterworth, *On the First Principles* (London: SPCK, 1936), p. 5.
2. John Chrysostom, *De paenitentia*, hom. 6, 4; PG 49:320.
3. Émile Bréhier, *Histoire de la philosophie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1931), II, 494.
4. H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), I, vi.
5. Claude Tresmontant, *La Métaphysique du christianisme et la naissance de la philosophie chrétienne* (Paris: du Scull, 1961), p. 23.
6. Georges Florovsky, "The Eastern Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Movement," *Theology Today* 7 (April 1950), 74-76.
7. Georges Florovsky, "The Idea of Creation in Christian Philosophy," *Eastern Church Quarterly* 8 (1949), 53-77.
8. See Étienne Gilson, *La philosophie au Moyen-Âge* (2nd ed., Paris: Payot, 1952), pp. 72-77.
9. Origen, *De principiis*, I, 2, 10; ed. Koetschau, p. 42; trans.

Butterworth, p. 23.

10. Quoted by Jerome in *Ep. 124, ad Avit.*, 15.

11. See anathemas of the Council of Constantinople (553) as given in F. Diekamp, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten im sechsten Jahrhundert und das fünfte allgemeine Concil* (Münster, 1898), pp. 90-96.

12. The essential texts are found in A. Guillaumont, *Les "Kephalaia Gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'origénisme chez les Grecs et les Syriens* (Paris: du Seuil, 1962), esp. pp. 156-160.

13. Vladimir Lossky, *Vision of God* (London: Faith Press, 1963), pp. 99-100.

14. Pseudo-Dionysius, *Mystical Theology*, V; PG 3:1045_D1048_A.

15. Lossky, *Vision*, p. 102.

16. See, chiefly, pseudo-Dionysius, *On the Divine Names*, II; PG 3:636ff.

17. Pseudo-Dionysius, *On the Celestial Hierarchy*, III, 2; PG 3:165_A.

18. See R. Roques, *L'univers dionysien: Structure hiérarchique du monde selon le pseudo-Denys* (Paris: Aubier, 1954), p. 98ff.

19. Pseudo-Dionysius, *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, I, 3; PG 3:373_C.

20. See the analysis of Roques, *L'univers dionysien*, pp. 172ff.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 267, 269.

2

The Christological Issue

Throughout the millennium between the Council of Chalcedon and the fall of Constantinople, Byzantine theological thought was dominated by the Christological problem as it was defined in the dispute between Cyril and Nestorius and in the subsequent discussions and conciliar decrees. It must be remembered, however, that the central issue in these debates was the ultimate fate of *man*.

Western Christological thought, since the early Middle Ages, has been dominated by the Anselmian idea of redemption through "satisfaction"; the idea that Jesus offered to the Father a perfect and sufficient sacrifice, propitiatory for the sins of mankind, has been at the center of Christological speculation, playing a prominent role in modern historical research on the patristic age. The result is that Christology has been conceived as a topic in itself, clearly distinct from pneumatology and anthropology. But if one keeps in mind the Greek patristic notion that the true nature of man means life in God, realized once and for all, through the Holy Spirit, in the hypostatic union of the man Jesus with the Logos and made accessible to all men, through the same Holy Spirit, in the humanity of Christ, in His body, the Church, Christology acquires a new and universal dimension. It cannot be isolated any longer from either the doctrine of the Holy Spirit or the doctrine of man, and it becomes a key for the understanding of the Gospel as a whole.

The issue of "participation in God's life" and of "deification" stands as a necessary background to the clash between Alexandrian and Antiochian Christology in the fifth century. When the great exegetes of AntiochDiodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius, and

even Theodoret of Cyrusemphasize the full humanity of the historical Jesus, they understand this humanity not merely as distinct from the divinity, but as "autonomous" and personalized. If "deified," Jesus could no longer be truly man; he must simply be the son of Mary if he is to be ignorant, to suffer, and to die. It is precisely this understanding of humanity as autonomous which has attracted the sympathies of modern Western theologians toward

the Antiochians, but which provoked the emergence of Nestorianism and the clash with Alexandria. For the concept of "deification" was the very argument with which Athanasius had countered Arius: "God became man, so that man may become God." The great Cappadocian Fathers also shared this argument, and by it they were convinced, as were the vast majority of the Eastern episcopate, of the truth of the Nicaean faith, in spite of their original doubts concerning the term "consubstantial."

Thus, the essential "good news" about the coming of new lifehuman because it is also divinewas expressed by Cyril of Alexandria and not by the more rational scheme defended by Nestorius. Cyril lacked the vocabulary, however, and the flexibility to satisfy those who feared the Monophysite temptation of seeing in Jesus a God who ceased to be also man. Cyril's formula of "one nature [or, hypostasis] incarnated," in leaving the door open to the Orthodox distinction between the divine nature *per se* and the "divine nature incarnated" and, therefore, recognizing the reality of the "flesh," was still a polemical, anti-Nestorian formula, not a balanced and positive definition of who Christ is. The Chalcedonian definition of 451two natures united in one hypostasis, yet retaining in full their respective characteristicswas therefore a necessary correction of Cyril's vocabulary. Permanent credit should be given to the Antiochiansespecially to Theodoretand to Leo of Rome for having shown the necessity of this correction, without which Cyrillian Christology could easily be, and actually was, interpreted in a Monophysite sense by Eutyches and his followers.

But the Chalcedonian definition, balanced and positive as it was, lacked the soteriological, charismatic impact which had made the positions of Athanasius and Cyril so appealing. Political and ecclesiastical rivalries, personal ambitions, imperial pressures aimed

at imposing Chalcedon by force, abusive interpretations of Cyril in the Monophysite sense, as well as misinterpretations of the council by some Nestorianizing Antiochians who saw in it a disavowal of the great Cyrilall provoked the first major and lasting schism in Christendom.

Understandably, the Byzantine emperors tried to restore the religious unity of the empire. In the second half of the fifth century they made several unhappy attempts to heal the schism by avoiding the issue. But the issue proved to be real, and the passions high. Thus Justinian I (527-565), the last great Roman emperor, after several attempts to achieve unity by imperial decree again turned to conciliar procedure.

In the age of Justinian, four major theological positions can be easily discerned:

1. The Monophysites

Although most of the Monophysites were ready to anathematize Eutyches, as well as the idea that Christ's humanity was "confused" with His divinity,

they held steadfastly to the theology and terminology of Cyril of Alexandria. Just as the "old Nicaeans" in the fourth century had refused to accept the formula of the three hypostaseis introduced by the Cappadocian Fathers because Athanasius had not used it, so the leaders of fifth- and sixth-century Monophysitism—Dioscoros of Alexandria, Philoxenus of Mabbugh, and the great Severus of Antioch—rejected the Council of Chalcedon and the Christological formula of "one hypostasis in two natures" because Cyril had never used it, and because they interpreted it as a return to Nestorianism. The danger of Eutychianism, they claimed, was not serious enough to justify the Chalcedonian departure from Cyril's terminology. They objected most violently, and this objection may be the really serious difference between their Christology and Chalcedonian orthodoxy to the idea that the two natures, after the union, "retain in full their proper characteristics."

2. The Strict Dyophysites

The strict Dyophysites were Chalcedonians who still rigidly maintained the Antiochian Christology, and who objected to some of Cyril's propositions, such as the Theopaschite formula: "One of the Holy Trinity suffered in the flesh." For them, the subject of suffering is Jesus, the son of Mary, not the divine Logos. But, one may ask, is there not then in Christ a duality of subjects? The existence of this party in the Chalcedonian camp and the influence exercised by its representatives—Theodoret of Cyrus until his death around 466, Gennadios of Constantinople (458-471), his successor Macedonios (495-511), and others—provided the Monophysites with their main arguments for rejecting Chalcedon as a Nestorian council and as a disavowal of Cyril.

3. The Cyrillian Chalcedonians

The Cyrillian Chalcedonians, who were obviously the majority at the council itself, never admitted that there was a contradiction between Cyril and Chalcedon. Neither terminology was considered an end in itself, but only the appropriate way of opposing Nestorianism and Eutychianism respectively. The position of the Cyrillian Chalcedonians, as distinct from the strict Dyophysite position, is symbolized by the acceptance of the Theopaschite Cyrillian formula. The representatives of this tendencythe "Scythian monk" John Maxentios, John the Grammarian, Ephraem of Antioch, Leontius of Jerusalem, Anastasius of Antioch, Eulogius of Alexandria, Theodore of Raithudominated Byzantine theology in the sixth century and won the support of Justinian I. Recent historians (among them, Joseph Lebon and Charles Moeller) often designate this tendency as "neo-Chalcedonian," implying that the strict Dyophysite understanding of Chalcedon

is the only correct one and that Antiochian Christology is preferable to Cyrillian. The implications of the debate on this point are very broad, in both Christological and anthropological fields, for it questions the very notion of "deification."

4. The Origenists

The Origenists, involved in violent controversies but influential at the court in the beginning of Justinian's reign, offered their own solution based upon the quite heretical Christology of Evagrius Ponticus. For them Jesus is not the Logos, but an "intellect" not involved in the original Fall, and thus united hypostatically and essentially with the Logos. The writings of Leontius of Byzantium, the chief representative of Origenist Christology in Constantinople, were included in the pro-Chalcedonian polemical arsenal, however, and his notion of the *enhypostaton* was adopted by Maximus the Confessor and John of Damascus, who, of course, rejected the crypto-Origenistic context in which it originally appeared.

The Fifth Ecumenical Council (553), convoked by Justinian in order to give formal ecclesiastical approval to his attempts at making Chalcedon acceptable to the Monophysites, was a triumph of Cyrillian Chalcedonianism. It approved Justinian's earlier posthumous condemnation of the Three Chapters, and, though Theodore was personally condemned as a heretic and the teacher of Nestorius, Ibas and Theodoret, whom the Council of Chalcedon had officially accepted as orthodox, were spared as persons; their writings directed against Cyril, however, fell under the anathemas of 553. Thus, the authority of Chalcedon was formally preserved, but the strict Dyophysite interpretation of its decisions was formally rejected. The council very strongly reaffirmed the unity of *subject* in Christ (anathemas 2, 3, 4, 5) and, hence, formally legitimized the

Theopaschite formula (anathema 10). This formula was henceforth chanted at every liturgy in the hymn "The Only-Begotten Son of God," which has been attributed to Justinian himself. Though anathema 13 gave formal approval to the Twelve Chapters of Cyril against Nestorius, anathema 8 specified that if one should use the Cyrillian formula "one nature incarnated," the word "nature" would stand for hypostasis. Thus, in joining the Orthodox Church, the Monophysites were not required to reject anything of Cyrillian theology, but only to admit that Chalcedon was not a Nestorian council.

Unfortunately, by 553 the schism was too deeply rooted in Egypt and Syria, and the conciliar decision had no practical effect. The decision represents, however, a necessary pre-condition for any future attempts at reunion and an interesting precedent of a reformulation of an article of faith, already defined by a council, for the sake of "separated" brethren who misunderstand the previous formulation.

The Council of 553 also adopted a series of anathemas against Origen and Evagrius Ponticus. The *Gnostic Chapters* of Evagrius help greatly in understanding the meaning of these decisions, which were directed, not as was previously thought against non-existent heresies attributed to Origen, but against an active group of Evagrians, closely connected with the Christological debates of the day. Despite these condemnations, however, some aspects of the thought of Origen, Evagrius, and Leontius of Byzantium continued to exercise an influence on the development of theological thought and of spirituality.

The condemnation of Origenism in 553 was, therefore, a decisive step in Eastern Christian theology, which then committed itself to a Biblical view of creation, of an anthropocentric universe, of man as a coherent psychosomatic whole, of history as a linear orientation toward an ultimate *eschaton*, of God as a personal and living being independent of all metaphysical necessity.

The decision of 553, however, did not close the Christological debate. Actually, each doctrinal definition at Ephesus, Chalcedon, Constantinople — by solving some issues had raised new ones. The schism of the Monophysites remained a political nuisance to the empire and a threat to the Church, which in the East would soon be faced with the Persian Zoroastrian and the Moslem challenges. The reaffirmation of Cyrillian orthodoxy in 553 raised the permanent issue of the two stages in Cyril's personal attitude: his proclamation, against Nestorius, of Christ's unity (especially the Twelve Anathemas), and his later stand, more appreciative of Antiochian fears. Thus, in 430 Cyril did not admit that a distinction could be drawn in Christ's actions between those which were divine and those which were only human, but in his famous letter to John of Antioch in 433, he admits that such a distinction is inevitable.

Monophysites, after Chalcedon, generally preferred the "first Cyril" to the "second." Severus, their great theologian, admitted duality in Christ's being, but for him this duality was a duality "in imagination," while "in actuality" there was only one nature, or being. This position leads directly to Monoenergism: "one is the agent," writes Severus, "and one is the activity." ¹ For terminological reasons, however, the Monophysites were generally reluctant to speak of "one will" in Christ because of the possible Nestorian associations. In Antiochian Christology it was possible to say that the two natures were united by one common "will."

The Persian wars of Emperor Heraclius (610-641) again deeply involved the Byzantine government in unionist policies with the Monophysites, especially with the Armenians. Patriarch Sergius (610-638), Heraclius' friend and theological adviser, devised a formula of union, according to which the Monophysites would accept the Chalcedonian formula of the "two natures" with the specification that they were united into one "energy" and one will. The policy reached a measure of success both in Armenia and in Egypt,

and local unions were concluded. Monoenergism and Monotheletism, however, met with staunch opposition on the part of some Chalcedonians, led by Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and by Maximus the Confessor. In spite of the support given to it by Heraclius and his successors, Monotheletism was finally condemned by the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 680, which restated the Chalcedonian affirmation that in Christ each nature keeps the entirety of its characteristics, and, therefore, there are two "energies" or wills, the divine and the human, in Christ.

Maximus the Confessor (*ca.* 580-662) the architect of this decision, dominates the period intellectually, and, in many respects, may be regarded as the real Father of Byzantine theology. For in his system one finds a Christian philosophical counterpart to Origen's myth of creation, and, as the real foundation of Christian spiritual life, a doctrine of "deification" based on Cyril's soteriology and on Chalcedonian Christology.

Maximus never tried, or had the opportunity, to compose an ordered analysis of his system. His writings include only a large collection of *Ambigua*, a most unsystematic compilation of commentaries on obscure passages from Gregory of Nazianzus or from pseudo-Dionysius, a collection of "Answers to Questions" by Thalassius, several series of Chapters (short sayings on spiritual or theological matters), and a few polemical treatises against the Monothelites. In these *membra disjecta*, however, one discovers a most coherent view of the Christian faith as a whole, formed quite independently of the Monothelite controversy. His attitude against the Monothelites thus acquires even greater strength, precisely because its roots go much deeper than the casual historical circumstances in which it had to be expressed and which led Maximus himself to torture and a martyr's death.

In Origen's system immobility is one of the essential characteristics of true being; it belongs to God, but also to creatures as long as they remain in conformity with God's will. Diversity and movement come from the Fall. For Maximus, however, "movement," or "action," is a fundamental quality of nature. Each creature possesses its own meaning and purpose, which reflect the eternal and divine Logos "through whom all things were made." The logos of every creature is given to it not only as a static element but also as the eternal goal and purpose which it is called to achieve.

At this point Maximus' thought uses the Aristotelian concept of each nature's having its own "energy," or existential manifestation. The Cappadocian Fathers had applied the same principle to their doctrine of the three hypostaseis in God. Gregory of Nyssa, in particular, had to defend himself against the accusation of tritheism; the three hypostaseis are not three Gods because they have one nature, as is evident from the fact that there is only one "energy" of God. Already, then, in Cappadocian thought, the concept of "energy" is linked with that of nature. Maximus could therefore refer to tradition in opposing the Monothelite contention that

"energy" reflects the one hypostasis or person or actor, and that therefore Christ could have only one "energy."

In Maximian thought, man occupies quite an exceptional position among the other creatures. He not only carries in himself a logos; he is the *image* of the divine Logos, and the purpose of his nature is to acquire *similitude* with God. In creation as a whole, man's role is to unify all things in God, and thus to overcome the evil powers of separation, division, disintegration, and death. The "natural," God-established "movement," "energy" or will, of man is therefore directed toward communion with God, or "deification," not in isolation from the entire creation, but leading it back to its original state.

One understands at this point why Maximus felt so strongly that both Monoenergism and Monothelitism betray the Chalcedonian affirmation that Christ was fully man. There cannot be a true humanity where there is no natural, authentic human will or "movement."

But if the human will is nothing but a movement of nature, is there a place for human freedom? And how can the Fall and man's revolt against God be explained? These questions, to which Origen gave such great importance, find in Maximus a new answer. Already in Gregory of Nyssa, true human freedom does not consist in autonomous human life, but in the situation which is truly natural to man's communion with God. When man is isolated from God, he finds himself enslaved to his passions, to himself, and, ultimately, to Satan. Therefore, for Maximus, when man follows his natural will, which presupposes life in God, God's cooperation and communion, he is truly free. But man also possesses another potential, determined not by his nature, but by each human person, or hypostasis, the freedom of choice, of revolt, of movement against nature, and, therefore, of

self-destruction. This personal freedom was used by Adam and Eve and, after the Fall, in separation from God, from true knowledge, from all the assurance secured by "natural" existence. It implies hesitation, wandering, and suffering; this is the gnostic will (*gnome*, opinion), a function of the hypostatic, or personal, life, not of nature.

In Christ, human nature is united with the hypostasis of the Logos and, while remaining fully itself, is liberated from sin, the source of which is the gnostic will. Because it is "en-hypostasized" in the Logos Himself, Christ's humanity is perfect humanity. In the mysterious process which started with His conception in the Virgin's womb, Jesus passed through natural growth, ignorance, suffering, and even death all of them experiences of the fallen humanity which He had come to save and He fulfilled through the resurrection the ultimate human destiny. Christ could thus be truly the savior of humanity because in Him there could never be any contradiction between natural will and gnostic will. Through the hypostatic union, His human will, precisely because it always conforms itself to the divine, also performs the "natural movement" of human nature.

The doctrine of "deification" in Maximus is based upon the fundamental

patristic presupposition that communion with God does not diminish or destroy humanity, but makes it fully human. In Christ the hypostatic union implies the communication of idioms (*perichoresis ton idiomaton*). The characteristics of divinity and humanity express themselves "in communion with each other" (Chalcedonian definition), and human actions, or "energies," have God Himself as their personal agent. It can be said, therefore, that "God was born," that Mary is the *Theotokos*, and that the "Logos was crucified" while birth and death remain purely *human* realities. But it can and must also be said that a man rose from the dead and sits at the right hand of the Father, having acquired characteristics which "naturally" belong to God alone: immortality and glory. Through Christ's humanity, deified according to its hypostatic union with the Logos, all members of the Body of Christ have access to "deification" by grace through the operation of the Spirit in Christ's Church.

The essential elements of Maximian Christology provided the permanent terminological and philosophical framework for Byzantine thought and spirituality. They were adopted, together with the Trinitarian doctrine of the great Cappadocian Fathers, in the *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* of John of Damascus (first half of the eighth century), which served as a standard doctrinal textbook in Byzantium. They also provided the most authoritative frame of reference in most of the doctrinal controversies which arose in the East during the Middle Ages.

The following chapter, which is concerned with iconoclasm, will show that the Christological issue recurred indirectly in the eighth and ninth centuries. But even later, Christological debate was reopened, quite specifically, especially in the Comnenian period, and conciliar decisions on the matter were included in the *Synodikon*.

Around 1087, a Constantinopolitan monk named Nilus, who was involved in theological discussions with the Armenians, was condemned for holding that the humanity of Christ was united with God "by adoption" (*thesei*) only. 2 The Monophysite Armenians were, of course, maintaining the concept of a union "by nature" (*physei*). In opposing them, Nilus had apparently weakened the Orthodox doctrine of "hypostatic" union to the point of making it sound Nestorian. In 1117, the Synod of Constantinople dealt with the similar case of Eustratius, Metropolitan of Nicaea, who, like Nilus, had engaged in polemics with Armenians and had expressed orthodox Christology in terms very similar to those of Theodore of Mopsuestia. The humanity assumed by Christ not only was distinct from His divinity but found itself in a position of "servitude"; it was in a position of "worshipping God," of being "purified," and to it alone belongs the human title of high-priest, a term unsuitable to God. In condemning the opinions of Eustratius, the synod reiterated the decisions of the Fifth Council against the Christology of the Three Chapters.³

The very Cyrillian conclusion of the council against Eustratius led to further Christological debates, which this time centered on the meaning of

the Eucharistic sacrifice. The deacon Soterichos Panteugenos, Patriarch-Elect of Antioch, affirmed that the sacrifice could not be offered to the Holy Trinity, for this would imply that the one Christ performs two opposing actions, the human action of offering and the divine action of receiving, and would mean a Nestorian separation and personalization of the two natures. Nicholas, Bishop of Methone in the Peloponnese, a major Byzantine theologian of the twelfth century, responded to Soterichos with an elaboration of the notion of hypostasis based on the ideas of Leontius of Byzantium and Maximus the Confessor. The hypostatic union is precisely what permits one to consider God as performing humanly in the act of offering, while remaining God by nature and, therefore, receiving the sacrifice. To Soterichos, Nicholas opposed the conclusion of the prayer of the *Cheroubikon*, whose author, as modern research shows, is none other than Cyril of Alexandria himself, but which is a part of both Byzantine liturgies (attributed respectively to Basil and to John Chrysostom): "For it is Thou who offerest and art offered, who receivest and art Thyself received." Nicholas, whose views were endorsed by the Council of 1156-1157, shows that neither the Eucharist nor the work of Christ in general can be reduced to a juridical notion of sacrifice conceived as an exchange. God does not have to receive anything from us: "We did not go to Him [to make an offering]; rather He condescended toward us and assumed our nature, not as a condition of reconciliation, but in order to meet us openly in the flesh." 4

This "open meeting in the flesh" received further emphasis in 1170 in connection with the condemnation of Constantine of Kerkyra and his supporter John Eirenikos as crypto-Monophysites. Their point was to refuse to apply John 14:18 ("My Father is greater than I") to the distinction between the divinity and the humanity of Christ. The text,

they said, concerned the hypostatic characteristics in the Holy Trinity, fatherhood being by definition "greater" than sonship, while the humanity of Christ, which according to the Council of 553 is distinguishable from the divinity only "in our mind," is deified and wholly "one" with the divinity. It cannot, therefore, be "smaller" than the divinity in any sense. By rejecting this view, the Council of 1170 reaffirmed once again the decisions of Chalcedon and Constantinople¹¹ about the divinity of Christ, hypostatically united to a real and active humanity, "created, depictable, and mortal." Than such humanity, divinity is certainly "greater."

The very technical Christological discussions of the twelfth century, in fact, reconsidered all the major issues which had been debated in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. The Byzantine Church remained fundamentally faithful to the notion of what Georges Florovsky once called an "asymmetrical union" of God and man in Christ: while the hypostatic source of life the goal and pattern remains divine, man is not diminished or swallowed by the union; he becomes again fully human. This notion is also expressed in the Eucharistic sacrifice, a unique act in which no single action of Christ's

is represented in isolation, or reduced to purely human concepts, such as an "exchange," or a "satisfaction." Christ, as the *Synodikon* proclaims every year on the Sunday of Orthodoxy, "reconciled us to Himself by means of *the whole mystery of the economy*, and by Himself and in Himself, reconciled us also to His God and Father, and, of course, to the most holy and life-giving Spirit." 5

Notes

1. Quoted by J. Lebon, *Le Monophysitisme sévérien, étude historique, littéraire et théologique sur la résistance monophysite au Concile de Chalcédoine jusqu'à la constitution de l'Église jacobite* (Louvain dissertation, 1909), pp. 445-446.
2. Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, X, 1; ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1943), II, 187-188; *Synodikon*, ed. J. Gouillard, *Travaux et mémoires* 2 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), pp. 202-206. On possible connections between several Byzantine theological trends and Paulician dualism, see N. G. Gersoyan, "Byzantine Heresy: A Reinterpretation," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1971), 87-113.
3. See P. Joannou, "Der Nominalismus und die menschliche Psychologie Christi: das Semeioma gegen Eustratios von Nikaia (1117)," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 47 (1954), 374-378.
4. Nicholas of Methone, *Treatise Against Soterichos*, ed. A. Demetrakopoulos, *Bibliothek Ekklesiastike* (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), pp. 337-338.
5. *Filth Anathema Against Soterichos in Synodikon* ed. Gouillard, p. 75.

3

The Iconoclastic Crisis

The long iconoclastic struggle, which recurred frequently in Byzantine theology, was intimately connected with the Christological issue which had divided Eastern Christianity in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries.

1. Appearance of the Movement

The emperors of the eighth and ninth centuries initiated and supported the iconoclastic movement, and from the start issues of both a theological and a non-theological nature were inseparably involved in this imperial policy.

From contemporary sources and modern historical research, three elements within the movement seem to emerge:

A. *A Problem of Religious Culture.* From their pagan past, Greek-speaking Christians had inherited a taste for religious imagery. When the early Church condemned such art as idolatrous, the tridimensional form practically disappeared, only to reappear in a new, Christian two-dimensional version. Other Eastern Christians, particularly the Syrians and the Armenians, were much less inclined by their cultural past to the use of images. It is significant, therefore, that the emperors who sponsored iconoclasm were of Armenian or Isaurian origins. Moreover, the non-Greek-speaking East was almost entirely Monophysite by the eighth century and, as we shall see, Monophysitism tacitly or explicitly provided the iconoclasts with the essence of their theological arguments.

B. *Confrontation with Islam.* After the Arab conquest of Palestine,

Syria, and Egypt, the Byzantine Empire found itself in constant confrontation militarily and ideologically with Islam. Both Christianity and Islam claimed to be world religions, of which the Byzantine emperor and the Arab caliph were, respectively, the heads. But in the accompanying psychological warfare, Islam constantly claimed to be the latest, and therefore the highest and

purest, revelation of the God of Abraham, and repeatedly leveled the accusations of polytheism and idolatry, against the Christian doctrine of the Trinity and the use of icons. It was to the charge of idolatry that the Eastern-born emperors of the eighth century responded. They decided to purify Christianity to enable it better to withstand the challenge of Islam. Thus, there was a measure of Islamic influence on the iconoclastic movement, but the influence was part of the cold war against Islam, not the conscious imitation of it.

c. *The Heritage of Hellenic Spiritualism.* The controversy begun by Emperors Leo III (717-741) and Constantine V (741-775) seems to have been determined initially by the non-theological factors described above. But the iconoclasts easily found in the Greek Christian tradition itself new arguments not directly connected with condemned Monophysitism or with foreign cultural influences. An iconoclastic trend of thought, which could be traced back to early Christianity, was later connected with Origenism. The early apologists of Christianity took the Old Testament prohibitions against any representation of God just as literally as the Jews had. But in their polemics against Christianity, Neoplatonic writers minimized the importance of idols in Greek paganism and developed a *relative* doctrine of the image as a means of access to the divine prototype and not as a dwelling of the divine himself, and used this argument to show the religious inferiority of Christianity. Porphyry, for example, writes:

If some Hellenes are light-headed enough to believe that the gods live inside idols, their thought remains much purer than that [of the Christians] who believe that the divinity entered the Virgin Mary's womb, became a foetus, was engendered, and wrapped in clothes, was full of blood, membranes, gall, and even viler things. 1

Porphyry obviously understood that the belief in an historical incarnation of God was inconsistent with total iconoclasm, for an

historical Christ was necessarily visible and depictable. And, indeed, Christian iconography began to flourish as early as the third century. In Origenistic circles, however, influenced as they were by Platonic spiritualism which denied to matter a permanent, God-created existence and for whom the only true reality was "intellectual," iconoclastic tendencies survived. When Constantia, sister of the Emperor Constantine, visited Jerusalem and requested an image of Christ from Eusebius of Caesarea, she received the answer that "the form of a servant," assumed by the Logos in Jesus Christ, was no longer in the realm of reality and that her concern for a material image of Jesus was unworthy of true religion; after His glorification, Christ could be contemplated only "in the mind."² There is evidence that the theological advisers of Leo III, the first iconoclastic emperor, were also Origenists with

views most certainly identical to those of Eusebius. Thus a purely "Greek" iconoclasm, philosophically quite different from the Oriental and the Islamic ones, contributed to the success of the movement.

2. Iconoclastic Theology

It seems that no articulate theology of iconoclasm developed in a written form before the reign of Constantine v Copronymos (741-775). The emperor himself published theological treatises attacking the veneration of icons and gathered in Hieria a council claiming ecumenicity (754). The Acts of this assembly are preserved in the minutes of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, the Second of Nicaea, which formally rejected iconoclasm (787).

It is remarkable that Constantine, in order to justify his position, formally referred to the authority of the first six councils; for him iconoclasm was not a new doctrine, but the logical outcome of the Christological debates of the previous centuries. The painter, the Council of Hieria affirmed, when he makes an image of Christ can paint either His humanity alone, thus separating it from the divinity, or both His humanity and His divinity. In the first case he is a Nestorian; in the second case he assumes that divinity is circumscribed by humanity, which is absurd; or that both are confused, in which case, he is a Monophysite. 3

These arguments do not lack strength and must have impressed his contemporaries, but they fail to account for the Chalcedonian affirmation that "each nature preserves its own manner of being." Obviously, even if they formally rejected Monophysitism, the iconoclasts supposed that the deification of Christ's humanity suppressed its properly human individual character. They also seem to have ignored the true meaning of the hypostatic union, which implies a real distinction between nature and hypostasis. In being assumed by

the hypostasis of the Logos, human nature does not merge with divinity; it retains its full identity.

Another aspect of the iconoclasts' position was their notion of the image, which they always considered to be identical or "consubstantial" with the prototype. The consequence of this approach was that a material image could never achieve this identity and was always inadequate. The only true "image" of Christ which they would admit is the sacramental one of the Eucharist as the "image" and "symbol" of Christ, a notion which was drawn from pseudo-Dionysius.⁴

3. Orthodox Theology of Images: John of Damascus and the Seventh Council

Some discussion about images must have taken place in Byzantium as early as the late-seventh century and is reflected in Canon 82 of the Council

in Trullo. The importance of this text lies in the fact that it locates the issue of religious representation in the Christological context:

In certain reproductions of venerable images, the precursor is pictured indicating the lamb with his finger. This representation was adopted as a symbol of grace. It was a hidden figure of that true lamb who is Christ our God, shown to us according to the Law. Having thus welcomed these ancient figures and shadows as symbols of the truth transmitted to the Church, *we prefer today grace and truth themselves* as a fulfillment of this law. Therefore, in order to expose to the sight of all, at least with the help of painting, that which is perfect, we decree that henceforth Christ our God must be represented *in His human form*, and not in the form of the ancient lamb. 5

Thus the image of Christ already implied for the fathers of the Council *in Trullo* a confession of faith in the historical Incarnation, which could not be properly expressed in the symbolic figure of a lamb and which needed an image of Jesus "in His human form."

Before Leo III had issued his formal decrees against the images, Germanus I (715-730) the Patriarch of Constantinople, used the same Christological argument against the incipient iconoclasm of the court:

In eternal memory of the life in the flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, of His passion, His saving death, and the redemption of the world which results from them, we have received the tradition of representing Him in His human form. i.e., in His visible theophany understanding that in this way we exalt the humiliation of God the Word. 6

Germanus thus became the first witness of Orthodoxy against iconoclasm in Byzantium. After his resignation under imperial pressure, the defense of images was taken over by the lonely and geographically remote voice of John of Damascus.

Living and writing in the relative security assured to the Christian ghettos of the Middle East by the Arab conquerors, this humble

monk of the Monastery of St. Sabbas in Palestine succeeded, by his famous three treatises for the defense of the images, in uniting Orthodox opinion in the Byzantine world. His first treatise begins with the reaffirmation of the Christological argument: "I represent God, the Invisible One, not as invisible, but insofar as He has become visible for us by participation in flesh and blood."⁷ John's main emphasis is on the *change* which occurred in the relationship between God and the visible world when He became man. By His own will, God became visible by assuming a material existence and giving to matter a new function and dignity.

In former times, God, without body or form, could in no way be represented. But today, since God has appeared in the flesh and lived among

men, I can represent what is visible in God [*to horaton tou theou*]. I do not venerate matter, but I venerate the creator of matter, who became matter for my sake, who assumed life in the flesh, and who, through matter, accomplished my salvation. 8

In addition to this central argument, John insists on secondary and less decisive issues. The Old Testament, for example, was not totally iconoclastic, but used images, especially in temple worship, which Christians are entitled to interpret as prefigurations of Christ. John also denounced the iconoclasts' identification of the image with the prototype, the idea that an icon "is God." On this point the Neoplatonic and Origenist traditions, which were also used by the iconoclasts, supported the side of the Orthodox; only the Son and the Spirit are "natural images" of the Father, and therefore consubstantial with Him, but other images of God are essentially different from their model, and therefore not "idols."

It is this discussion on the nature of the image which provided the basis for the very important definition of the cult of images adopted by the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787. The image, or icon, since it is distinct from the divine model, can be the object only of a relative veneration or honor, not of worship which is reserved for God alone.⁹ This authoritative statement by an ecumenical council clearly excludes the worship of images often attributed to Byzantine Christianity.

The misunderstanding on this point is a very old one and is partly the result of difficulties in translation. The Greek *proskynesis* ("veneration") was already translated as *adoratio* in the Latin version of the Conciliar Acts used by Charlemagne in his famous *Libri Carolini* which rejected the council. And, later, even Thomas Aquinas who, of course, accepted Nicaea "admitted a "relative adoration" (*latria*) of the images, a position which gave the Greeks the

opportunity of accusing the Latins of idolatry at the Council of Hagia Sophia in 1450.¹⁰

In spite of its very great terminological accuracy in describing the veneration of icons, Nicaea II did not elaborate on the technical points of Christology raised by the iconoclastic Council of Hieria. The task of refuting this council and of developing the rather general Christological affirmations of Germanus and John of Damascus belongs to the two major theological figures of the second iconoclastic period: the reigns of Leo V (813-820), Michael II (820-829), and Theophilus (829-842). Theodore the Studite and Patriarch Nicephorus.

4. Orthodox Theology of Images: Theodore the Studite and Nicephorus

Theodore the Studite (759-826) was one of the major reformers of the Eastern Christian monastic movement. In 798 he found himself at the head

of the Constantinopolitan monastery of Studios (the name of the founder), which by then had fallen into decay. Under Theodore's leadership the community there rapidly grew to several hundred monks and became the main monastic center of the capital. The Studite Rule (*Hypotyposis*) in its final form is the work of Theodore's disciples, but it applied his principles of monastic life and became the pattern for large cenobitic communities in the Byzantine and Slavic worlds. Theodore himself is the author of two collections of instructions addressed to his monks (the "small" and the "large" *Catecheses*) in which he develops his concept of monasticism based upon obedience to the abbot, liturgical life, constant work, and personal poverty. These principles were quite different from the eremitical, or "hesychast," tradition and were derived from the rules of Pachomius and Basil. The influence of Theodore upon later developments of Byzantine Christianity is also expressed in his contribution to hymnography; many of the ascetical parts of the *Triodion* (proper for Great Lent) and of the *Parakletike*, or *Oktoechos* (the book of the "eight tones"), are his work or the work of his immediate disciples. His role in conflicts between Church and state will be mentioned in the next chapter.

In numerous letters to contemporaries, in his three *Antirrhetics* against the iconoclasts, and in several minor treatises on the subject, Theodore actively participated in the defense of images.

As we have seen, the principal argument of the Orthodox against the iconoclasts was the reality of Christ's manhood; the debate thus gave Byzantine theologians an opportunity to reaffirm the Antiochian contribution to Chalcedonian Christology, and signaled a welcome return to the historical facts of the New Testament. From the age of Justinian, the humanity of Christ had often been expressed in terms of "human nature," assumed as one whole by the New Adam. Obviously,

this Platonizing view of humanity in general was insufficient to justify an image of Jesus Christ as a concrete, historical, human individual. The fear of Nestorianism prevented many Byzantine theologians from seeing a man in Christ, for "a man," implying individual human consciousness, seemed for them to mean a separate human hypostasis. In Theodore's anti-iconoclastic writings this difficulty is overcome by a partial return to Aristotelian categories.

Christ was certainly not a mere man; neither is it orthodox to say that He assumed *an individual among men* [*ton tina anthropon*] but the whole, the totality of the nature. It must be said, however, that this total nature was contemplated in an individual manner for otherwise how could it have been *seen*? in a way which made it visible and describable . . . , which allowed it to eat and drink. . . . 11

Humanity for Theodore "exists only in Peter and Paul," i.e., in concrete human beings, and Jesus was such a being. Otherwise, Thomas' experience

of placing his finger into Jesus' wounds would have been impossible. 12 The iconoclasts claimed that Christ, in virtue of the union between divinity and humanity, was indescribable, and therefore that no image of Him was possible; but, for Theodore, "an indescribable Christ would be an incorporeal Christ; . . . Isaiah [8:3] described him as a male being, and only the forms of the body can make man and woman distinct from one another."¹³

The firm stand on Christ's individuality as a man again raised the issue of the hypostatic union, for in Chalcedonian Christology the unique hypo-stasis or person of Christ is that of the Logos. Obviously, then, the notion of hypostasis cannot be identified with either the divine or the human characteristics; neither can it be identical with the idea of human consciousness. The hypostasis is the ultimate source of individual, personal existence, which, in Christ, is both divine and human.

For Theodore, an image can be the image only of an hypostasis, for the image of a nature is inconceivable.¹⁴ On the icons of Christ, the only proper inscription is that of the *personal* God "He who is," the Greek equivalent of the sacred tetragrammaton YHWH (Yahweh) of the Old Testament, never such impersonal terms as "divinity" or "kingship" which belong to the Trinity as such and thus cannot be represented.¹⁵ This principle, rigidly followed in classical Byzantine iconography, shows that the icon of Christ is for Theodore not only an image of "the man Jesus," but also of the incarnate Logos. The meaning of the Christian Gospel lies precisely in the fact that the Logos assumed all the characteristics of a man, including describability, and His icon is a permanent witness of this fact.

The humanity of Christ, which makes the icons possible, is a "new humanity," having been fully restored to communion with God,

deified in virtue of the communication of idioms, bearing fully again the image of God. This fact is to be reflected in iconography as a form of art: the artist thus receives a quasi-sacramental function. Theodore compares the Christian artist to God Himself, making man in His own image: "The fact that God made man in His image and likeness shows that iconography is a divine action."¹⁶ In the beginning God created man in His image. By making an icon of Christ the iconographer also makes an "image of God," for this is what the deified humanity of Jesus truly is.

By position, temperament, and style, Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople (806-815), was the opposite of Theodore. He belongs to the series of Byzantine patriarchs, between Tarasius and Photius, who were elevated to the supreme ecclesiastical position after a successful civil career. As patriarch he followed a policy of *oikonomia* and suspended the canonical penalties previously imposed upon the priest Joseph who had performed the "adulterous" marriage of Constantine VI. This action brought him into

violent conflict with Theodore and the monastic zealots. Later deposed by Leo v (in 815) for his defense of icons, he died in 828 after having composed a *Refutation* of the iconoclastic council of 815, three *Antirrhetics*, one *Long Apology*, and an interesting treatise *Against Eusebius and Epiphanius*, the main patristic references of the iconoclasts.

Nicephorus' thought is altogether directed against the Origenist notion, found in Eusebius' letter to Constantia, that deification of humanity implies dematerialization and absorption into a purely intellectual mode of existence. The patriarch constantly insists on the New Testament evidence that Jesus experienced weariness, hunger, and thirst, like any other man. 17 In dealing with the issue of Jesus' ignorance, Nicephorus also tries to reconcile the relevant scriptural passages with the doctrine of the hypostatic union in a way which, for different reasons, was not common in Eastern theology. In Evagrian Origenism, ignorance was considered as coextensive with, if not identical to, sinfulness. The original state of the created intellects before the Fall was that of divine gnosis. Jesus was precisely the non-fallen intellect and, therefore, eminently and necessarily preserved the "knowledge of God" and, of course, any other form of inferior gnosis. The authors of the age of Justinian, followed by both Maximus and John of Damascus, denied any ignorance in Christ in virtue of the hypostatic union, but, probably also under the influence of a latent Evagrianism, they interpreted the Gospel passages speaking of ignorance on the part of Jesus as examples of his *oikonomia*, or pastoral desire, to be seen as a mere man, and not as expressions of real ignorance. Nicephorus stands in opposition to that tradition on this point, although he admits that the hypostatic union *could* suppress all human ignorance in Jesus, in virtue of the communication of idioms, the divine knowledge being communicated to the human

nature. He maintains that divine economy in fact required that Christ assume all aspects of human existence, including ignorance: "He willingly acted, desired, was ignorant, and suffered as man."¹⁸ In becoming incarnate the Logos assumed not an abstract, ideal humanity, but the concrete humanity which existed in history after the Fall, in order to save it. "He did not possess a flesh other than our own, that which fell as a consequence of sin; He did not transform it [in assuming it], . . . He was made of the same nature as we, but without sin, and through that nature He condemned sin and death."¹⁹

This fullness of humanity implied, of course, describability, for if Christ were undescrivable, His Mother, with whom He shared the same human nature, would have to be considered as undescrivable as well. "Too much honor given to the Mother," Nicephorus writes, "amounts to dishonoring her, for one would have to attribute to her incorruptibility, immortality, and impassibility, if what by nature belongs to the Logos must also by grace be attributed to her who gave Him birth."²⁰

The same logic applies to the Eucharist which, as we have seen, the

iconoclasts considered as the only admissible image or symbol of Christ. For Nicephorus and the other Orthodox defenders of images, this concept was unacceptable because they understood the Eucharist as the very reality of the Body and Blood of Christ, and precisely not as an "image," for an image is made to be *seen*, while the Eucharist remains fundamentally *food* to be eaten. By being assumed into Christ the Eucharistic elements do not lose their connection with this world, just as the Virgin Mary did not cease to be part of humanity by becoming the Mother of God. "We confess," writes Nicephorus, "that by the priest's invocation, by the coming of the Most Holy Spirit, the Body and Blood of Christ are mystically and invisibly made present . . ."; and they are saving food for us "not because the Body ceases to be a body, but because it remains so and is preserved as body." 21

Nicephorus' insistence upon the authenticity of Christ's humanity at times leads him away from classical Cyrillian Christology. He evades Theopaschism by refusing to admit either that "the Logos suffered the passion, or that the flesh produced miracles. . . . One must attribute to each nature what is proper to it,"²² and minimizes the value of the communication of idioms which, according to him, manipulates "words."²³ Obviously Theodore the Studite was more immune to the risk of Nestorianizing than was Nicephorus. In any case, the necessity of reaffirming the humanity of Christ and, thus, of defending His describability, led Byzantine theologians to a revival of elements of the Antiochian tradition and, thus, to a proof of their faithfulness to Chalcedon.

5. Lasting Significance of the Issue

The iconoclastic controversy had a lasting influence upon the intellectual life of Byzantium. Four aspects of this influence seem particularly relevant to theological development.

A. At the time of the Persian wars of Emperor Heraclius in the seventh century, Byzantium turned away culturally from its Roman past and toward the East. The great confrontation with Islam, which was reflected in the origins and character of iconoclasm, made this trend even more definite. Deprived of political protection by the Byzantine emperors, with whom they were in doctrinal conflict, the popes turned to the Franks and thus affiliated themselves with the emerging new Latin Middle Ages. As a result the social, cultural, and political background of this separation became more evident; the two halves of the Christian world began to speak different languages, and their frames of reference in theology began to diverge more sharply than before.

Byzantium's turn to the East, even if it expressed itself in a certain cultural osmosis with the Arab world, especially during the reign of Theophilus, did not mean a greater understanding between Byzantine Christianity and

Islam; the confrontation remained fundamentally hostile, and this hostility prevented real dialogue. John of Damascus, who himself lived in Arab-dominated Palestine, spoke of Mohammed as the "forerunner of the Anti-Christ." 24 Giving second-hand quotations from the Koran, he presented the new religion as nothing more than gross superstition and immorality. Later-Byzantine literature on Islam rarely transcended this level of pure polemics.

However, even if this orientation eastward was not in itself an enrichment, Byzantium remained for several centuries the real capital of the Christian world. Culturally surpassing the Carolingian West and militarily strong in resisting Islam, Byzantine Christianity kept its universalist missionary vision, which expressed itself in a successful evangelization of the Slavs and other Eastern nations. But its later theological development took place in an exclusively Greek setting. Still bearing the title of "Great Church of Constantinople-New Rome," it became known to both its Latin competitors and its Slavic disciples as the "Greek" Church.

B. Whatever role was played in the Orthodox victory over the iconoclasts by high ecclesiastical dignitaries and such theologians as Patriarch Nicephorus, the real credit belonged to the Byzantine monks who resisted the emperors in overwhelming numbers. The emperors, especially Leo III and Constantine V, expressed more clearly than any of their predecessors a claim to caesaropapism. Thus the iconoclastic controversy was largely a confrontation between the state and a non-conformist, staunchly independent monasticism, which assumed the prophetic role of standing for the independence of the Gospel from the "world." The fact that this role was assumed by the monks, and not by the highest canonical authority of the Church, underlines the fact that the issue was the defense, not of the Church as an institution, but of the Christian faith as the way to eternal salvation.

The monks, of course, took their role very seriously and preserved, even after their victory, a peculiar sense of responsibility for the faith, as we saw in the case of Theodore the Studite. Theologically they maintained a tradition of faithfulness to the past, as well as a sense of the existential relevance of theology as such. Their role in later-Byzantine theological development remained decisive for centuries.

c. The theological issue between the Orthodox and the iconoclasts was fundamentally concerned with the icon of Christ, for belief in the divinity of Christ implied a stand on the crucial point of God's essential indescribability and on the Incarnation, which made Him visible. Thus the icon of Christ is the icon *par excellence* and implies a confession of faith in the Incarnation.

The iconoclasts, however, objected on theological grounds, not only to this icon, but also to the use of any religious pictures, except the cross, because, as their Council of 754 proclaims, they opposed "all paganism."

Any veneration of images was equated with idolatry. If the goal pursued by Constantine v to "purify" Byzantine Christianity, not only of the image cult, but also of monasticism, had been achieved, the entire character of Eastern Christian piety and its ethos would have evolved differently. The victory of Orthodoxy meant, for example, that religious faith could be expressed, not only in propositions, in books, or in personal experience, but also through man's power over matter, through aesthetic experience, and through gestures and bodily attitudes before holy images. All this implied a philosophy of religion and an anthropology; worship, the liturgy, religious consciousness involved the whole man, without despising any functions of the soul or of the body, and without leaving any of them to the realm of the secular.

D. Of all the cultural families of Christianity the Latin, the Syrian, the Egyptian, or the Armenian the Byzantine was the only one in which art became inseparable from theology. The debates of the eighth and ninth centuries have shown that in the light of the Incarnation art could not retain a "neutral" function, that it could and even must express the faith. Thus through their style, through symbolic compositions, through the elaborate artistic programs covering the walls of Byzantine churches, through the permanent system which presided over the composition of the Byzantine iconostasis, icons became an expression and a source of divine knowledge. The good news about God's becoming man; about the presence among men of a glorified and deified humanity, first in Christ, but also through Him and the Holy Spirit in the Virgin Mary and in the saints all this "adornment of the Church" was expressed in Byzantine Christian art. Eugene Trubetskoi, a Russian philosopher of the early-twentieth century, called this expression "contemplation in colors." 25

Notes

1. Porphyry, *Against the Christians*, fragment 77; ed. A. Harnack, *AbhBerlAk* (1916), 93.
2. Text of Eusebius' letter in Nicephorus, *Contra Eusebium*, ed. J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense* (Paris, 1852; repr. Graz, 1962), I, 383-386.
3. Mansi, XIII, 252_{AB}, 256_{AB}.
4. *Ibid.*, 261_D-264_C. See pseudo-Dionysius, *Celestial Hierarchy*; PG 3:124_A.
5. Mansi, XI, 977-980.
6. Germanus I, *De haeresibus et synodis*; PG 98:80_A.
7. John of Damascus, *Or.* I; PG 94:1236_C.
8. *Ibid.*; PG 94:1245_A.
9. Mansi, XIII, 377_D.
10. *Ibid.*, XXXII, 103.
11. Theodore the Studite, *Antirrhetic* 1; PG 99:332_D-333_A.
12. *Ibid.*, III; PG 99:396_C-397_A.
13. *Ibid.*, 409_C.

14. *Ibid.*, 405_A.
15. Theodore the Studite, *Letter to Naucrati*, II, 67; PG 99:1296_{AB}; see also *Antirrh.*, III; PG 99:420_D.
16. *Antirrh.*, III; PG 99:420_A.
17. Nicephorus, *Antirrh.*, I; PG 100:272_B.
18. *Ibid.*, 328_{BD}.
19. Nicephorus, *Contra Eusebium*, ed. Pitra, I, 401.
20. *Antirrh.*; PG 100:268_B.
21. *Ibid.*, 440, 447.
22. *Ibid.*, 252_B.
23. *Ibid.*, 317_B.
24. John of Damascus, *De Haer.*; PG 94:764_A.
25. E. Trubetskoi, *Umozrenie v Kraskakh* (Moscow, 1915-1916; repr. Paris: YMCA Press, 1965); trans. *Icons: Theology in Color* (New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1973).

4

Monks and Humanists

In 843 the Byzantine Church celebrated the "triumph of orthodoxy" over iconoclasm, a triumph which was interpreted as a victory over all the heresies which until that time had divided Christendom. The document composed for the occasion, the famous *Synodikon*, commemorates the champions of the true faith, condemns the heretics, and implicitly presupposes that Byzantine society had reached an internal stability which would never allow further division. In fact, new conflicts and crises did occur, and the *Synodikon* would have to be expanded. But the tendency to freeze history, to consider their empire and Church as expressing the eternal and unchangeable form of God's revelation, would be a permanent and mythological feature of Byzantine civilization, even though it was constantly challenged by historical realities. In the ninth century itself, Byzantine society was, in fact, a divided society divided politically, intellectually, and theologically.

During the entire iconoclastic period, Byzantium had been culturally cut off from the West and fascinated with the military and intellectual challenge of Islam. When, in 787 and in 843, communion was finally re-established with the Church of Rome, the hostile emergence of the Carolingian Empire prevented the restoration of the old *orbis Christianorum*. Moreover, the resumption of the veneration of icons was a victory of *Greek* traditions, as distinct from the Oriental, non-Greek cultural iconoclasm of the Isaurians. The result of these historical developments was the emergence of the Byzantine Church from the iconoclastic crisis as more than ever a "Greek" church. It might even have become a purely national church, such as the

Armenian, if the empire had not expanded again in the ninth and tenth centuries under the great emperors of the Macedonian dynasty, and if the evangelization of the Slavs and the subsequent expansion of Byzantine Christianity into Eastern Europe, one of the major missionary events of Christian history, had not taken place. Unlike the West, however, where the papacy "passed to the barbarians" after their

conversions, Constantinople, the "New Rome," remained the unquestionable and unique intellectual center of the Christian East until 1453. This "Rome" was culturally and intellectually *Greek*, so much so that Emperor Michael III, in a letter to Pope Nicholas I, could even designate Latin as a "barbarian" and "Scythian" tongue.

The Hellenic character of Byzantine civilization brought into theology the perennial problem of the relationship between the ancient Greek "mind" and the Christian Gospel. Although the issue was implicit in much of the theological literature in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, it had not been raised explicitly since the closing of the pagan universities by Justinian. In the ninth century, following the intellectual renewal which had taken place under Theophilus (829-842), the last iconoclastic emperor, Byzantine scholars undertook more vigorously the study of ancient pagan authors. The University of Constantinople, endowed and protected by the Caesar Bardas and distinguished by the teaching of the great Photius, became the center of this first renaissance. Scholars such as Photius, Arethas, and Michael Psellos promoted encyclopedic curiosity and encouraged the copying of ancient manuscripts. Much of our knowledge of Greek antiquity is the direct result of their labors. On the whole, their interest in ancient philosophy remained rather academic, and coexisted easily with the equally academic and conservative theology which predominated in the official circles of the Church. When John Italos, in the eleventh century, attempted a new synthesis between Platonism and Christianity, he immediately incurred canonical sanction. Thus Byzantine humanism always lacked the coherence and dynamism of both Western Scholasticism and the Western Renaissance, and was unable to break the widespread conviction of many Byzantines that Athens and Jerusalem were incompatible. The watchdogs in this respect were the leading representatives of a monasticism which

persisted in a staunch opposition to "secular wisdom."

This polarity between the humanists and the monks not only appeared on the intellectual level; it manifested itself in ecclesiastical politics. The monks consistently opposed the ecclesiastical "realists" who were ready to practice toleration toward former iconoclasts and imperial sinners, and toward unavoidable political compromises and, at a later period, state-sponsored doctrinal compromises with the Latin West. Conflicts of this sort occurred when Patriarchs Tarasius (784-806) and Methodius I (843-847) accepted into the episcopate former supporters of official iconoclasm, when the same Tarasius and Nicephorus I (806-815) condoned the remarriage of Emperor Constantine VI, who had divorced his first wife, and when in 857 Patriarch Ignatius was forced to resign and was replaced by Photius. These conflicts, though not formally theological, involved the issue of the Christian witness in the world, and, as such, greatly influenced Byzantine ecclesiology and social ethics.

Theodore the Studite

Theodore was, in the ninth century, both the model and the ideologist of the rigorist monastic party which played a decisive role in the entire life of Byzantine Christendom.

In the preceding chapter Theodore's contribution to the theology of images as an aspect of Chalcedonian Christological orthodoxy was discussed. His impact on the history of monasticism is equally important. Severely challenged by iconoclastic persecutions, Byzantine monasticism had acquired the prestige of martyrdom, and its authority in Orthodox circles was often greater than that of the compromise-minded hierarchy. Under Theodore's leadership it became an organized and articulate bulwark of canonical and moral rigorism.

For Theodore, monastic life was, in fact, synonymous with authentic Christianity:

Certain people ask, whence arose the tradition of renouncing the world and of becoming monks? But their question is the same as asking, whence the tradition of becoming Christians? For the One who first laid down the apostolic tradition also ordained six mysteries: first, illumination; second, the assembly or communion; third, the perfection of the chrism; fourth, the perfections of priesthood; fifth, the monastic perfection; sixth, the service for those who fall asleep in holiness. 1

This passage is important not only because monasticism is counted among the sacraments of the Church in a list strikingly different from the post-Tridentine "seven sacraments" but also, and chiefly, because the monastic state is considered one of the essential forms of Christian perfection and witness. Through detachment, through the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, through a life projected into the already-given reality of the kingdom of God, monasticism becomes an

"angelic life." The monks, according to Theodore, formed an eschatological community which realizes more fully and more perfectly what the entire Church is supposed to be. The Studite monks brought this eschatological witness into the very midst of the imperial capital, the center of the "world," and considered it normal to be in almost constant conflict with the "world" and with whatever it represented. They constituted a well-organized group. Their abbot abhorred the spiritual individualism of the early Christian hermits, and built Studios into a regimented, liturgical, working community, in accordance with the best cenobitic traditions stemming from Basil and Pachomius.

For Theodore and his disciples, "otherworldliness" never meant that Christian action was not needed in the world. Quite to the contrary. The monks practiced and preached active involvement in the affairs of the city

so that it might conform itself as far as possible to the rigorous criteria of the kingdom of God as they understood it. The iconoclastic emperors persecuted the monks for their defense of the icons, of course, but also for their attempts to submit the earthly Christian empire to the imperatives and requirements of a transcendent Gospel. Their Orthodox successors, obliged to recognize the moral victory of the monks and to solicit their support, also found it difficult to comply with all their demands. The conflict over the second marriage of Constantine _{VI} (795) which Patriarchs Tarasius and Nicephorus tolerated, but which Theodore and the Studites considered "adulterous" ("moechian schism"), provoked decades of discussion over the nature of *oikonomiai*.e., the possibility of circumventing the letter of the law for the ultimate good of the Church and of the individual's salvation. This principle, invoked by the council of 809, and discussed at greater length in the next chapter, was challenged by Theodore not so much in itself as in the concrete case of Constantine _{VI} "Either the emperor is God, for divinity alone is not subject to the law, or there is anarchy and revolution. For how can there be peace if there is no law valid for all, if the emperor can fulfill his desires commit adultery, or accept heresies, for example while his subjects are forbidden to communicate with the adulterer or the heretic?" 2

Theodore was certainly not an innovator in his attitude toward the state. For his was the attitude of Athanasius, of John Chrysostom, of Maximus the Confessor, and of John of Damascus, and it would be that of a large segment of Byzantine churchmen in later centuries; it merely illustrates the fact that Byzantine society was far from having found the "harmony" between the two powers about which Justinian spoke in his *Novella* 6. The action and witness of the monks was always present in Byzantium to demonstrate that true harmony

between the kingdom of God and the "world" was possible only in the *parousia*.

Theodore's ideology and commitments normally led him away from the Constantinian parallelism between the political structure of the empire and the structure of the Church, a parallelism endorsed in Nicaea and best exemplified in the gradual elevation of the bishop of Constantinople to "ecumenical patriarch." Theodore, of course, never formally denied the canonical texts which reflected it but, in practice, often referred to the principle of apostolicity as a criterion of authority in the Church, rather than to the political pre-eminence of certain cities. The support given to the Orthodox party during the iconoclastic period by the Church of Rome, the friendly correspondence which Theodore was able to establish with Popes Leo III (795-816) and Paschal I (817-824), contrasted with the internal conflicts which existed with his own patriarchs, both iconoclastic and Orthodox. These factors explain the very high regard he repeatedly expressed toward the "apostolic throne" of old Rome. For example, he addressed Pope Paschal as "the rock of faith upon which the Catholic

Church is built." "You are Peter," he writes, "adorning the throne of Peter." 3 The numerous passages of this kind carefully collected by modern apologists of the papacy⁴ are, however, not entirely sufficient to prove that Theodore's view of Rome is identical to that of Vatican I. In his letters, side by side with references to Peter and to the pope as leaders of the Church, one can also find him speaking of the "five-headed body of the Church,"⁵ with reference to the Byzantine concept of a "pentarchy" of patriarchs. Also, addressing himself to the patriarch of Jerusalem, he calls him "first among the patriarchs" for the place where the Lord suffered presupposes "the dignity highest of all."⁶

Independence of the categories of "this world," and therefore of the state, was the only real concern of the great Studite. The apostolic claim of Rome, but also the no less real, but much less effective, claims of the other Eastern patriarchs, provided him with arguments in his fight against the Byzantine state and Church hierarchies. Still, there is no reason to doubt that his view of the unity of the Church, which he never systematically developed, was not radically different from that of his contemporaries, including Patriarch Photius, who, as we shall see, was always ready to acknowledge the prominent position of Peter among the apostles, but also considered that the authority of Peter's Roman successors was dependent upon, not the foundation of, their orthodoxy. In Rome, Theodore the Studite saw that foremost support of the true faith, and expressed his vision and his hope in the best tradition of the Byzantine superlative style.

The ancient monastic opposition to secular philosophy does not appear in Theodore's writings. Theodore himself seemed even to have liked exercises in dialectics, as his early correspondence with John the Grammarian, a humanist and later an iconoclastic patriarch, seems to show. But the anti-humanist tendency would clearly appear among his

immediate disciples, the anti-Photians of the ninth century.

Photius (ca. 820-ca. 891)

The dominant figure in Byzantine religious, social, and political life in the ninth century, Photius is also the father of what is generally called Byzantine "humanism." In his famous *Library*, an original and tremendously important compilation of literary criticism, he covers Christian writers of the early centuries, as well as a number of secular authors; similarly, in his *Responses to Amphilochius*, a collection of theological and philosophical essays, he displays a wide secular knowledge and an extensive training in patristic theology.

In all his writings Photius remains essentially a university professor. In philosophy his main interest is logic and dialectics; hence, his very clear predisposition to Aristotle, rather than to Plato. In theology he remains

faithful to the positions and problematics of the early councils and Fathers. His love for ancient philosophy does not lead him to any tolerance toward a man like Origen, whose condemnation by the Fifth Council he accepts without reservation, 7 or like Clement of Alexandria, in whose main writing, the *Hypotyposeis*, Photius found the "impious myths" of Platonism .8

His extensive erudition often provides us with detailed critical analysis of, and exact quotations from, authors about whom, without his notes, we should know nothing. The Christological controversies of the fifth and sixth centuries in particular attracted Photius' attention. Despite his predilection for Antiochian exegesis and for theologians of the Antiochian school,⁹ he remains rigorously faithful to the Cyrillian exegesis of the Council of Chalcedon, which prevailed in Byzantium under Justinian, and devotes long and, for us, precious attention to some of its important spokesmen.¹⁰

On other theological issues, Photius remains in very formal agreement with traditional patristic and conciliar positions. But he does not seem to have accepted fully or to have understood the implications of the absolute apophaticism of a Gregory of Nyssa, and his doctrine of God in relation to creation seems to approach the Latin Scholastic concept of the *actus purus*.¹¹ But careful analysis of Photius' thought would be required to assert his exact position on this point. In any case, his authority was invoked by the Byzantine anti-Palamites of the fourteenth century against the real distinction between essence and "energy" in God maintained by Palamas and endorsed by the councils of the period.¹² In addition, his devotion to secular learning and his liberal use of *oikonomia* made him, during his lifetime and after, rather unpopular in monastic circles.

In one aspect, Photius obviously dominated his contemporaries and

the Middle Ages as a whole: his sense of history, of historical development, and of tradition. This sense is apparent in every codex (chapter) of the *Library*. Thus, in analyzing the book of a priest Theodore, who defended the authenticity of the Dionysian writings, Photius carefully lists the arguments against authenticity and concludes with the simple statement that the author "tries to refute these objections and affirms that *in his opinion* the book of the great Dionysius is genuine."¹³ Even if, on other occasions, Photius takes Dionysian authenticity for granted, the passage just cited clearly shows Photius' intellectual honesty in acknowledging the impossibility of explaining the way in which Dionysius can foretell "traditions which grew old only gradually in the Church and took a long time to develop."¹⁴

This acknowledgment of the development of tradition and also of a possible and legitimate variety in ecclesiastical practices and rules plays a significant role in Photius' attitude toward Pope Nicholas I and toward

the Church of Rome. Accused by the pope of having been elevated from the lay state to the patriarchate in six days, a practice forbidden in Western tradition but never formally opposed in the East, Photius writes: "Everyone must preserve what is defined by common ecumenical decisions, but a particular opinion of a Church Father or a definition issued by a local council can be followed by some and ignored by others. . . ." He then refers to such issues as shaving, fasting on Saturdays, and a celibate priesthood, and continues: "When faith remains inviolate, the common and catholic decisions are also safe; a sensible man respects the practices and laws of others; he considers that it is neither wrong to observe them nor illegal to violate them." 15

Photius' concern for the "common faith" and "ecumenical decisions" is illustrated in the *Filioque* issue. Since modern historical research has clearly shown that he was not systematically anti-Latin, his position in the dispute can be explained only by the fact that he took the theological issue itself seriously. Not only did he place the main emphasis on the *Filioque* in his encyclical of 866, but even after ecclesiastical peace had been restored with Pope John VIII in 879-880, and after his retirement from the patriarchate, Photius still devoted many of his last days to writing the *Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*, the first detailed Greek refutation of the Latin interpolation of *Filioque* into the Creed.

As the *Mystagogy* clearly shows, Photius was equally concerned with this unilateral interpolation into a text which had won universal approval, and with the content of the interpolation itself. He made no distinction between the canonical and theological aspects of the issue and referred to the popes, especially to Leo III and to John VIII, who had opposed the interpolation, as opponents of the *doctrine* of the "double procession." The weakness of Photius' treatment of the issue lies in

the fact that he had no access to the sources of Latin theology. He knew, however, that the Latin Fathers favored the *Filioque*, and refers specifically to Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome (although the first and the last can hardly be regarded as proponents of the *Filioque*); but he obviously had not read their writings. His refutation of the Latin position is therefore based on oral information alone.

Whatever its shortcomings and its difficult and sharply dialectical style, the *Mystagogy* makes clear the basic Byzantine objection to the Latin doctrine of the Trinity: that it understands God as a single and philosophically simple essence, in which personal or hypostatic existence is reduced to the concept of mutual relations between the three Persons. If the idea of consubstantiality requires that the Father and the Son together be the one origin of the Spirit, essence in God necessarily precedes His personal existence as three hypostases. For Photius, however, "the Father is the origin [of the Son and of the Holy Spirit] not by nature, but in virtue

of His hypostatic character." 16 To confuse the hypostatic characters of the Father and the Son by attributing to them the procession of the Spirit is to fall into Sabellianism, a modalist heresy of the third century, or rather into semi-Sabellianism. For Sabellius had confused the three Persons into one, while the Latins limit themselves to the Father and the Son, but then fall into the danger of excluding the Spirit from the Godhead altogether.¹⁷

Thus, Photius clearly demonstrates that behind the dispute on the *Filioque* lie two concepts of the Trinity: the Greek personalistic concept, which considers the personal revelation of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit as the starting point of Trinitarian theology; and the Latin, Augustinian approach to God as a simple essence, within which a Trinity of persons can be understood only in terms of internal relations.

In opposing the Latin view of the Trinity, Photius does not deny the *sending* of the Spirit through the Son to the world, in the "economy" of salvation, as the link between the deified humanity of Jesus and the entire body of the Church and of creation.¹⁸ He would not be opposed, therefore, to speaking of a procession of the Spirit through, or from, the Son in this last sense. Neither does he oppose the West as such. He repeatedly acknowledges the authority of the Latin Fathers and of the Church of Rome where the interpolated creed was not yet used at the time. He claims and there is no reason to doubt his sincerity to be concerned only with the unity of the East and West in the one, catholic faith defined by the ancient councils. Unfortunately, after him history would drive the two halves of Christendom even further apart, and Photius' fundamental broadmindedness and sense of history would be sorely lacking on both sides.

Michael Psellos (1018-1078)

After the age of Photius, Byzantine intellectuals found a freer and fuller access to the sources of ancient Greek philosophy. With Michael Psellos we discover a personality who is, to a large extent, the product of this early-medieval Byzantine renaissance. Psellos' contribution to theology is actually very limited and only indirect. Since in the accepted Byzantine world-view, religion and philosophy were in fact inseparable, he can and must be mentioned as a major phenomenon in the history of Byzantine Christianity.

"I want you to know," he writes, "that Hellenic wisdom, while it fails to render glory to the divine and is not unfailing in theology, *knows nature as the Creator made it.*"¹⁹ This acknowledgment of the ancients' competence in understanding nature implies a basis for natural theology, a knowledge of the Creator through the creatures. Elements of this approach existed, of course, among the Apologists of the second and third centuries

and were developed by Origen and by the Cappadocian Fathers. But, first and foremost, responsible churchmen, they emphasized the religious gap between Christianity and ancient Hellenism. For them Hellenic wisdom was a tool for apologetics, not an end in itself. Occasionally, Psellos himself recognizes this incompatibility; for example, he refutes Plato's concept of a world of ideas subsistent in themselves, and not only in the divine intellect.²⁰ But these reservations come to his mind from explicit and formal definitions of the Church, rather than from any deep conviction. He certainly expresses the true state of his mind more accurately when he writes: "To be born to knowledge I am satisfied with the throes of Plato and Aristotle: they give me birth and form me."²¹

In fact, the rather formal theological conservatism which prevailed in official circles of the Church made possible, in men like Psellos, the resurgence of a Neoplatonism approximately identical to what it had been in the sixth century. In him and his contemporaries there was, in fact, very little true encounter between theology and philosophy. Psellos certainly remained a Christian, but if there is any emotional thrust to his thought, it consists in finding agreement, and not opposition, between Platonism and Christianity, and it is of little concern to him if the agreement is artificial. Psellos is quite happy, for example, to discover the Trinity, as well as the Biblical world of angels and saints, in Homer.²²

This example of formal and artificial adaptation of Hellenism to the Gospel shows the limitations of what has been called Byzantine humanism. It obviously lacked the living stamina which made Western Scholasticism possible after the rediscovery of Aristotle or the Italian Renaissance after the decline of medieval civilization. Even if he knew Plato and Aristotle better than those in the West ever did, Psellos remained a medieval Byzantine i.e., a man committed to

tradition, and loyal, at least formally, to the rigid norms of official theology. He was not a great theologian, and his loyalty to official theology prevented him from becoming a really great philosopher. Fundamentally, his thought remains eclectic. The principles of Neoplatonism—fidelity to Aristotle in logic and natural philosophy, coupled with Platonic metaphysics—were precisely appropriate to his frame of mind. "As far as I am concerned," he confesses, "I collected the virtue and the potential of everyone; my reasoning is varied and is a melding of every single idea into one. And I myself am one out of many. If one reads my books, one discovers that they are many out of one."²³

No brilliancy of expression, no exquisite sophistication of style was sufficient to transform this eclecticism into an original and creative system of philosophy. Real creativity and living thought continued in the circles which Psellos considered infested with unhealthy and irrational mysticism. It is doubtful, however, whether Psellos at any time even met or read the most authentic representatives of monastic spirituality, his contempo-

aries, such as Symeon the New Theologian. If he had, they would have been unlikely to understand each other at all.

The Trials of John Italos (1076-1077, 1082)

A disciple of Psellos' and his successor as *hypatos ton philosophon*, i.e., as head of the university, John Italos ("the Italian," probably an Italo-Greek) was formally brought to trial on charges of heresy and condemned for his exaggerated use of ancient philosophy in general and, in particular, for holding Platonic views on the origin and nature of the world. The importance of his two successive trials is emphasized by the fact that, for the first time since 843, new extensive doctrinal paragraphs were added to the *Synodikon* to be read yearly on the Sunday of Orthodoxy. By condemning Italos, the Byzantine Church thus created a pattern which could be, and indeed was, used in later times.

The published writings of John Italos do not contain all the teachings of which he was accused, but it cannot be excluded *a priori* that he actually held them in his oral teaching. In any case, the decisions of the synod concerning him have an importance beyond his personality, as a position taken officially by the Church.

In the eleven anathemas referring to the case of Italos in the *Synodikon*, the first ten are purely doctrinal and were issued in 1076-1077; the final one is a formal personal condemnation published in 1082.²⁴ The doctrinal position taken by the synod concerns two major issues:

- 1) Ancient Greek philosophers were the first heresiarchs; in other words, all the major Christian heresies resulted from their influence and, therefore, the seven councils, by condemning the heretics, also implicitly condemned the philosophers (Anath. 5). Actually, after

Tertullian, patristic literature frequently ascribed to philosophy the responsibility for all heresies. The position of the synod, therefore, was not entirely new, but its restatement in the eleventh century was of very great importance for medieval Byzantium. A distinction was admitted, however, between those who accept the "foolish opinions" of the philosophers and those who pursue "Hellenic studies" for instruction only (Anath. 7). The second attitude was not considered automatically wrong. The synodal decision corresponds somewhat to the positive attitude, accepted in conservative circles and present even in Psellos, toward the study of Aristotle's *Organon* as opposed to the study of Plato. Though Aristotle was generally considered to be a teacher of logic and physics, subjects useful "for instruction," Plato implied a metaphysical stand incompatible with Christianity.

2) The anathemas condemn a series of Platonizing positions attributed to Italos and almost identical with the Origenistic theses rejected by Justinian and the Council of 553: pre-existence and the transmigration of

souls, denial of bodily resurrection, eternity of matter, self-subsistent world of ideas, and so forth.

Even after the condemnation of Italos, learned Byzantines continued, of course, to read, to copy, and to study ancient Greek authors, but any attempt to follow the ancients' "foolish opinions" was now automatically a crime against the true faith. No doubt, the decisions of 1076-1077, while clearly encouraging the traditional monastic abhorrence of "Hellenism," constituted a serious new handicap for the development of humanism.

Greek in its language and culture, Byzantium thus took a much more negative stand toward Greek philosophy than the West ever did. On the eve of the period when the West would commit its mind to the philosophy of the ancients and enter the great epoch of Scholasticism, the Byzantine Church solemnly refused any new synthesis between the Greek mind and Christianity, remaining committed only to the synthesis reached in the patristic period. It assigned to the West the task of becoming more Greek than it was. Obviously, this was an option of the greatest importance for the future of theology and for relations between East and West.

Notes

1. Theodore the Studite, *Ep.* II, 165 (to Gregory); PG 99:1524_B.
2. Theodore the Studite, *Ep.* I, 36 (to Euprepianus); PG 99:1032_{CD}.
3. Theodore the Studite, *Ep.* II, 12; PG 99:1152_C.
4. See, for example, S. Salaville, "La primauté de Saint Pierre et du pape d'après Saint Théodore Studite (759-826)," *Échos d'Orient* 17 (1914), 23-42; and A. Marin, *Saint Théodore* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1906), p. 1, who calls Theodore "the last Catholic of Byzantium." Similarly,

in his letter to Leo Sacellarius (PG 99:1417_c) he wrote: "And who are their [the Apostles'] successors? he who occupies the throne of Rome and is the first; the one who sits upon the throne of Constantinople and is the second; after them, those of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. That is the Pentarchic authority in the Church. It is to them that all decision belongs in divine dogmas" (quoted in F. Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* [New York: Fordham University Press, 1966], p. 101).

5. Theodore the Studite, *Ep.* II, 63 (to Naucratus); PG 99:1281_B.

6. Theodore the Studite, *Ep.* II, 15; PG 99:1161_{AB}.

7. Photius, *Library*, codex 8, 18, etc.

8. *Ibid.*, codex 109.

9. See the long article on Diodore of Tarsus, *Library*, codex 223, and his appreciation of Theodoret of Cyrus, *ibid.*, codex 46.

10. See codices on Eulogius of Alexandria, 182, 208, 225-227, which, in fact, are detailed monographs on this author. On Ephrem of Antioch, see *Library*, codex 228.

11. "The divine is in the universe both by essence and by energy." *Amphil.*, 75; PG 101:465_{BC}.

12. See Akindynos, *Against Palamas*, in Codex Monacensis graecus 223, foll. 283_v, 293_v, 298_v, 305, 311_v, etc.

13. *Library*, codex 1.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ep.* 2 to Pope Nicholas; PG 102:604_d-605_d.

16. *Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*, 15; PG 102:293_A.

17. *Ibid.*, 9, 23; PG 102:289_B, 313_{BC}.

18. *Ibid.*, 94.

19. Michael Psellos, *Address to His Negligent Disciples*, ed. J. F. Boissonade (Nuremberg, 1838; repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1964), p. 151.

20. Ed. C. Sathas, *Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi* (Venice, 1872), V, 442.

21. *Address to His Negligent Disciples*, p. 146.

22. See B. Tatakis, *La philosophic byzantine* (Paris: Alcan, 1949), p. 199.

23. Michael Psellos, *On the Character of Some Writings*, ed. J. F. Boissonade, p. 52.

24. See J. Gouillard, *Synodikon*, pp. 56-60, 188-202.

5

Monastic Theology

The role of the monks in the triumph of Orthodoxy over iconoclasm illustrates their traditional involvement in theological debates in Byzantium; Byzantine monasticism thus appears not only as a school of spiritual perfection, but also as a body which feels responsibility for the content of the faith and for the fate of the Church as a whole. At the same time, the particularity of the monastic polity and ideology, its foundation upon the notion that "the Kingdom of God is not of this world," and its opposition to all compromises with "this world's" requirements, gave rise in Byzantium to a theology which can properly be called "monastic." In contrast with the formal conservatism of official ecclesiastical circles and in opposition to the traditions of secular Hellenism, this theology happened also to be the most dynamic and creative current in Byzantine thought as a whole.

It is well known that, very early in its development, monasticism became a diversified movement. Between the extreme eremitism of Antony of Egypt and the absolute and organized cenobitism of Pachomius, there was a whole scale of intermediary forms of monastic life practiced everywhere in Eastern Christendom and gradually spreading to the West. Between the hermits also frequently called "hesychasts" and the cenobites there was often competition and, at times, conflict; but the entire Eastern monastic movement remained united in its basic "other-worldliness" and in the conviction that prayer, whatever its form, was the fundamental and permanent content of monastic life. Some monastic centers such as the monastery of Studios may have been relatively "activist," developing social work, learning, manuscript copying, and other practical concerns; but, even

then, the liturgical cycle of the monastic office remained the absolute center of the community's life and, generally, comprised at least half of the monk's daily schedule.

As a whole, the monastic community taught the Byzantines how to pray. The cenobites developed a liturgical system (which was gradually adopted by the whole Church until today the Eastern Church knows no

ordo but the monastic one), while the hesychasts created a tradition of personal prayer and continuous contemplation. In both cases, prayer was understood as a way to reach the goal of Christian life as such: participation in God, *theosis* through communion with the deified humanity of Christ in the Holy Spirit. The cenobites generally emphasized the sacramental or liturgical nature of this communion, while the hesychasts taught that experience was to be reached through personal effort. In post-iconoclastic Byzantium, the two traditions generally interpenetrated to a greater extent, and we find, for example, that the prophet of personal mysticism, Symeon the New Theologian, spent most of his life in cenobitic communities located in the city of Constantinople. Since theologically and spiritually there was no opposition between the hermits and the cenobites, it is, therefore, possible to speak of a single monastic theology.

1. The Origins of Monastic Thought: Evagrius and Macarius

The role of Evagrius Ponticus (399) in the shaping of early monastic spirituality was recognized by historians early in this century. The authentic text of his *Gnostic Centuries*, with their quite heretical Christology, explains his condemnation by the Council of 553. Seen as an expression of his metaphysical systema developed Origenism Evagrius' spiritual doctrine itself becomes somehow suspect. But, in the Byzantine tradition taken as a whole, it will be used for centuries out of its original and heretical context; and its extraordinary psychological relevance will be exploited fully. We will mention here two major aspects of Evagrian thought because of their permanence in later tradition: the doctrine of the passions and the doctrine of prayer.

According to Evagrius, the true nature of the "mind" is to be fixed in God, and anything which detaches it from God is evil. Thus, since the

Fall, the human mind is captured with self-love, which generates "thoughts"; "thoughts," a definitely pejorative term in Evagrius, imply interest in sensible things and distraction from God. Acting upon the passible part of the soul, they can lead it to *passions*. These passions form a very definite hierarchy, beginning with the casual attachment to the most inevitable of all human sensible needs, food, and ending with demonic possession, with love for oneself. The eight steps which constitute this hierarchy are: gluttony, fornication, avarice, grief, wrath, weariness, vainglory, and pride. 1 With very slight variations, this classification of the passions and the psychological structure of the human mind which it presupposes will be retained by John Cassian, John Climacus, Maximus the Confessor, and almost all the Eastern ascetical writers. The first goal of monastic "practice" is to subdue the passions and reach a state of "passionlessness" a detachment from senses and "thoughts" which makes a restoration of the

true original relationship between the mind and God possible. Beginning with the elementary monastic virtues, fasting and celibacy, the life of the monk can gradually subdue the other passions and reach true detachment.

Union then becomes possible through prayer. It is Evagrius who first coins the term "prayer of the mind" which will become standard in Byzantine hesychasm. Prayer is "the proper activity of the mind,"² "an impassible state,"³ and the "highest possible intellection."⁴ In this "state" of prayer, the mind is totally liberated from every "multiplicity"; it is "deaf and dumb" to every perception of the senses.⁵ According to Evagrius, as we know now, prayer also means that the mind is in an "essential union" with the deity; thus Evagrian monks of the sixth century could boast that they were "equal to Christ." But Evagrius' teaching on prayer will be understood in a much more orthodox way by generations of Byzantine monks, and the credit for this reinterpretation of Evagrian spirituality belongs, in a large degree, to the writings attributed to Macarius of Egypt.

Macarius of Egypt was a contemporary and teacher of Evagrius' in the desert of Scete. Fifty *Homilies* and several other writings of an unknown author of the early-fifth century have been attributed to Macarius, who, it is now certain, was never a writer. The influence of this anonymous writer, conventionally called "Macarius," was enormous.

While Evagrius identifies man with the "intellect" and conceives Christian spirituality as a dematerialization, Macarius understands man as a psychosomatic whole, destined to "deification." To the Origenistic and Platonic anthropology of Evagrius, he opposes a Biblical idea of man, which makes it inconceivable for the "mind" or the "soul" to have its final destiny in separation from the body. From

this anthropology follows a spirituality based upon the reality of Baptism and the Eucharist as ways of union with Christ and of "deification" of the entire human existence in all its aspects, including the corporeal. "The fire which lives inside, in the heart, appears then [on the last day] openly and realizes the resurrection of the bodies."⁶

In Macarius, the Evagrian "prayer of the mind" thus becomes the "prayer of the heart"; the center of man's psychosomatic life, the heart, is the "table where the grace of God engraves the laws of the Spirit";⁷ but it also can be a "sepulcher," where "the prince of evil and his angels find refuge."⁸ The human heart is thus the battlefield between God and Satan, life and death. And the monk devoting his entire existence to prayer chooses, in fact, to be at the forefront of this battle, in a direct and conscious way. For the presence of God is a real fact which the "inner man" perceives "as an experience and with assurance."⁹ In Macarius, just as in some books of the Old Testament, and especially in the Psalms, the role played by the heart is undeniably connected with a physiology which sees in this particular organ the center of the psychosomatic life of man. This means, in practice, that whenever the "heart" is mentioned, the author

simply means man's inner personality, the "I" at its very depth. In any case, the "heart" *never* designates the emotional side of man alone, as it sometimes will in the West.

The notion of the coexistence of God and Satan in the heart of man, and the call for a conscious experience of grace, have led some modern historians to identify the *Homilies* of Macarius with the writings of a Messalian leader. If this accusation were true, it would involve Macarius, as well as much of the later monastic spirituality of Byzantium, where Macarius enjoyed unquestionable authority and where his ideas, especially the notion of the conscious experience of God, remained dominant. But the exact definition of what Messalianism really means, and the absence in Macarius of some basic Messalian positions such as anti-sacramentalism makes the hypothesis highly improbable. Even if the unknown author of the Macarian *Homilies* belonged to a tradition which eventually bifurcated between sectarian and orthodox spiritualities, his anthropology and his concept of human destiny were certainly closer to the New Testament than was that of the Evagrian Origenists; and his influence, acting as a Biblical counterpart, contributed indirectly to salvaging for posterity the tradition of pure prayer which, in Evagrius, had a rather dubious context.

2. The Great Spiritual Fathers

An Origenistic spiritualism and Messalian pseudo-prophetism in which prayer and visions are supposed to replace the sacraments were the two main temptations of Eastern Christian monasticism. The examples of Evagrius and Macarius show that in the fourth and fifth centuries it may not have been easy to draw a line in the monastic milieu between the orthodox and the sectarians. After several conciliar decrees against Messalianism (at Side in 390, at Constantinople in 426, and at

Ephesus in 431), and the condemnation of Evagrius in 553, confusion became impossible; but clarification had begun to emerge in the monastic milieu itself at the very time when the councils were legislating on the issue. We will mention here briefly three authors of major importance who, after assimilating the major contributions of both the Evagrian and the Macarian traditions, gave to Eastern Christian spirituality its classical forms.

Diadochus, a bishop of Photice in Epirus, in the fifth century, and a participant at the Council of Chalcedon (451), is the author of *Gnostic Chapters* and of a few minor spiritual works. The title of his principal work betrays his relation to Evagrius; still, the major inspiration of Diadochus' doctrine of prayer approximates Macarius', though at a greater distance from Messalianism than that of the author of the *Spiritual Homilies*.

Baptism, for Diadochus, is the only foundation of spiritual life:
"Grace

is hidden in the depth of our mind from the very moment in which we were baptized, and gives purification both to the soul and to the body." 10 This concern for the wholeness of man is expressed by a mysticism of the "heart," as opposed to the Evagrian insistence on the "mind." Actually, Diadochus, just like Macarius, locates the mind, or soul, "in the heart":

Grace hides its presence in the baptized, waiting for the initiative of the soul; but when the whole man turns toward the Lord, then grace reveals its presence to the heart through an ineffable experience. . . . And if man begins his progress by keeping the commandments and ceaselessly invoking the Lord Jesus, then the fire of holy grace penetrates even the external senses of the heart. . . .11

Diadochus, on several occasions in his *Chapters*, clarifies the ambiguity of the Macarian tradition on the issue of the coexistence of God and Satan in the heart; but he is fully in agreement with Macarius in affirming that Christians do, and even must, experience consciously and even "externally" (i.e., not only "intellectually" in the Evagrian sense) the presence of the Spirit in their hearts. His definition of the Christian faith as a personal experience will be appropriated by Symeon the New Theologian and other Byzantine spiritual writers. In the writings of Diadochus, the teaching on incessant prayer, adopted from Evagrius and Macarius, presupposes a constant invocation of the name of Jesus;¹² an essential orientation of spirituality toward the Person of the Incarnate Logos, with a resurgence of the role played in Biblical theology by the concept of the "name" of God, thus replaces in Diadochus the much more abstract and spiritualistic understanding of prayer in Evagrius.

Better known in the West since the Middle Ages and more exalted in the East (where a special celebration in its honor takes place on the Fifth Sunday of Lent), the personality of John Climacus "the author of

The Ladder" abbot of the monastery on Mount Sinai, is another great witness of monastic spirituality based upon invocation of the "name of Jesus." Very little is known of his life, and even the date of his death is not solidly established (it is generally believed to have taken place some time around 649).

His famous book, *The Ladder of Paradise*, has more definite leanings toward Evagrianism than has the *Chapters* of Diadochus, as can be seen from its detailed classification of the passions and from the extreme forms of asceticism which John required from his monks and which certainly denote Origenist spiritualism. This extremism pleased the French Jansenists of the seventeenth century, who contributed to the popularity of *The Ladder* in the West. But John's positive teaching about prayer, like that of Macarius and Diadochus, is centered on the person and the name of Jesus: it thus denotes a purely Christian incarnational foundation, and involves the whole man, not just the "mind."

"Let the memory of Jesus be united to your breathing: then you will understand the usefulness of hesychia." 13 In John, the terms "hesychia" ("silence," "quietude") and "hesychasts" designate quite specifically the eremitic, contemplative life of the solitary monk practicing the "Jesus prayer." "The hesychast is the one who says 'My heart is firm' [Ps 57:8]; the hesychast is the one who says 'I sleep, but my heart is awake' [Sg 5:2]. Hesychia is an uninterrupted worship and service to God. The hesychast is the one who aspires to circumscribe the Incorporeal in a fleshly dwelling. . . ."14

The terminology which John uses will gain particular popularity among the later Byzantine hesychasts, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with their practice of connecting mental prayer with breathing; it is not *a priori* impossible that the practice was known in Sinai in the time of John. In any case, he understands "deification" as a communion of the whole man with the transfigured Christ. The "memory of Jesus" meant precisely this, and not a simple "meditation" on the historical Jesus or on any particular episode in His life. Warnings against any evoking, through imagination, of figures external to the "heart" is constant in Eastern Christian spiritual tradition. The monk is always called to realize in himself (his "heart") the objective reality of the transfigured Christ, which is neither an image nor a symbol, but the very reality of God's presence through the sacraments, independent of any form of imagination.

At this point one should understand the necessary and unavoidable link which exists in this tradition between spirituality and theology. If any single author succeeded in formulating this link, he is Maximus the Confessor.

We have already seen the heroic and lonely role of Maximus in the Christological controversy, and his ability to integrate into a

consistent Christological and anthropological system the issues which were at stake between the orthodox and the Monothelites. His ability to view the problems of the spiritual life as they arose in his time in the light of the Evagrian and Macarian heritages on one side, and of orthodox Christology on the other, is similarly remarkable.

Origen and Evagrius certainly occupied the first place in Maximus' readings and intellectual formation. In his doctrine of the spiritual life he adopts the Evagrian hierarchy of passions, as well as the concept of "passionlessness," as the goal of ascetic *praxis*. In Evagrius the detachment from "passions" is a *negative* achievement, through which a total emptiness from any sensation of the soul or of the body is supposed to be achieved, in order for the mind to realize its divine nature and recover its essential union with God through knowledge; this concept obviously implies an Origenistic anthropology in which any connection of the "mind" with either a "soul" or a "body" is a consequence of the Fall. As a result, in Evagrius, true de-

tachment is also detachment from virtues; and active love itself is superseded by knowledge. In Maximus, however, love is understood, not only as the highest virtue, but as the only true result of detachment. Because of "passionlessness," love can be perfectly equal for all, since human preferences are the result of imperfection. 15 Ultimately, human love, which necessarily includes an element of desire (*eros*), must be transformed, by a gift of God, and thus become *agape*.¹⁶

This transformation of the Evagrian spirituality parallels in Maximus a basic modification of Origenism in the doctrine of creation and implies a *positive* view of man, whose ultimate destiny does not consist of an absorption into God's essence, but in a "natural activity" made possible through a God-given active love. The total transcendence and inaccessibility of the essence of God becomes, in Maximus, before him in Gregory of Nyssa, and after him in later Byzantine theology a matter of Christian faith fundamental for spiritual life.¹⁷ If love, and not "essential gnosis," is the highest goal of spiritual life, man, while united with God, remains totally himself in his nature and activity; but he also enjoys communion with the activity of God, which alone can guarantee his total liberation from "passion" and transform his *eros* into *agape*. In Byzantine monastic spirituality, to "follow the commandments," i.e., active love, will therefore remain both a condition and a necessary aspect of the vision of God.

To achieve his balanced understanding of spiritual life, Maximus did not rely only on the monastic spiritual tradition. He was first of all a consistent Chalcedonian, and thus he approached the problem with a fundamental conviction that each nature of Christ keeps, as nature, its characteristics and activity. "Deification" does not suppress humanity, but makes it more authentically human.

3. Opposition to Secular Philosophy

The traditional unpopularity of Byzantium in the Western Middle Ages and in modern times has been somewhat moderated by the recent recognition that it was Byzantine scholars who preserved the treasures of Hellenic antiquity and transmitted them to the Italian Renaissance. If the transmission is, indeed, a fact (all the available manuscripts of the authors of Greek classical antiquity are Byzantine, and often monastic, in origin), it remains that, throughout Byzantine intellectual history, the positive interest in pagan philosophy, which kept reappearing in intellectual circles, was always staunchly opposed, often by the official Church and always by the monks. The official conciliar statements against the "Hellenic myths" the term implies essentially Platonic metaphysics appeared in 553, under Justinian, and later at the condemnation of Italos and at the Palamite councils of the fourteenth century. More subtly, but no less decisively, the

gradual abandonment of Origenistic concepts was also a victory of the Bible over the Academy.

In spite of a widespread view that Eastern Christian thought is Platonic, in contrast to Western Aristotelianism, an important corrective must be found in the fact that the above-mentioned condemnations of various forms of Platonism were repeated yearly, as part of the *Synodikon* of Orthodoxy, in all churches on the First Sunday of Lent. The universities taught Aristotle's logic as part of the "general curriculum" required from students under the age of eighteen; but the pious families prevented their children from continuing their education on a higher level, where students were required to read Plato. This generally explains the ever-recurring remark by hagiographers that saints, especially monks, stopped their education at eighteen to enter monasteries.

In monastic circles, denunciations of "secular philosophy" are constant; and the polarization which occurs in the ninth century between the party of the monastic "zealots" (often followers of Theodore the Studite) on the one hand, and that of the higher secular clergy on the other, is intellectual as well as political. The monks oppose compromises with the state, but they also reject the renaissance of secular humanism. Patriarch Ignatius, Photius' great competitor, supported by the monastic party, is known to have snubbed the promoters of secular philosophy;¹⁸ Symeon the New Theologian writes virulent verses against them;¹⁹ and Gregory Palamas (1359) orients his entire polemic against Barlaam the Calabrian on the issue of the "Hellenic wisdom" which he considers to be the main source of Barlaam's errors. Perhaps it is precisely because Byzantium was "Greek-speaking" and "Greek-thinking" that the issue of Greek philosophy, in its relation to Christianity, remained alive among the Byzantines. In any case, monastic thought continued to

remind them of their conversion to the faith preached by a Jewish Messiah and their becoming a "new Jerusalem."

4. Christian Faith as Experience: Symeon the New Theologian

In Macarius and in Diadochus, we noted the identification of the Christian faith itself with *a conscious-experience* of God. Symeon the New Theologian (949-1022) will be the prophet of that idea in medieval Byzantium. Disciple of a Studite monk, the "New Theologian" a title given to him by his later admirers in order to identify him with John the Evangelist and Gregory of Nazianzus, both often called "Theologians" in Byzantine literature started his monastic life as a novice at the Studion. But the strict regimentation of the big monastery was obviously foreign to his temperament, and he withdrew to the small community of St. Mamas, also in

Constantinople, where he was soon elected abbot and ordained priest. His leadership at St. Mamas lasted more than twenty-five years, but ended in a conflict when a monastic party in his community complained to the ecclesiastical authorities about the demands he imposed on his monks. Exiled, then rehabilitated, Symeon spent his last years composing spiritual writings quite unique in their mystical originality, their poetic quality, and their influence on later Byzantine thought. His works include *Catechetical Discourses* addressed to the monks of St. Mamas, *Theological and Ethical Treatises*, fifty-eight hymns, and several minor writings.

Symeon has often been classified as a major representative of the hesychast tradition in Byzantium, following in the line of Evagrius and Macarius, and anticipating Gregory Palamas. This classification should be accepted only with reservations, however, since Symeon neither makes any specific mention of "prayer of the mind" nor insists on any clearly formulated theological distinction between "essence" and "energy" in God. But it is clear that Symeon stands for the basic understanding of Christianity as personal communion with, and vision of, God, a position which he shares with hesychasm and with the patristic tradition as a whole. Like all prophets, he expresses the Christian experience without definite concern for precise terminology. It is, therefore, easy to find him at variance with any established tradition, or with any theological system. In the midst of the tradition-minded Byzantine society, Symeon stands as a unique case of personal mysticism, but also as an important witness of the inevitable tension in Christianity between all forms of "establishment" and the freedom of the Spirit.

Often autobiographical, Symeon's writings are centered on the reality of a conscious encounter with Christ; and here, obviously, he follows Macarius. "Yes, I beg you," he addresses his monks, "let us try, in this

life, to see and contemplate Him. For if we are deemed worthy to see Him *sensibly*, we shall not see death; death will have no dominion over us [Rm 6:9]." 20 The notion of "sensible" vision makes Symeon, as well as Macarius, border on Messalianism; but it is generally recognized today²¹ that Symeon's intent differs fundamentally from that of the sectarians who defined "experience" in opposition to the sacramental structure of the Church. What Symeon wants to make clear is that the Kingdom of God has indeed become an attainable reality, that it does not belong only to the "future life," and that, in this life, it is not restricted to the "spiritual" or "intellectual" part of man alone, but involves his entire existence. "Through the Holy Spirit," he writes, "the resurrection of all of us occurs. And I do not speak only of the final resurrection of the body. . . . [Christ] through His Holy Spirit grants, even now, the Kingdom of heaven."²² And in order to affirm that this experience of the Kingdom is not, in any sense, a human "merit," a simple and due reward for ascetic practice, Symeon insists on its "sudden" and unexpected character. In passages where

he recalls his own conversion, he likes to emphasize that he was not aware of *who* was pulling him out of the "mud" of the world to show him finally the beatitude of the Kingdom. 23

Symeon's prophetic insistence that the Christian faith is an experience of the living Christ met with resistance; the legalistic and minimalistic view of Christianity, limiting the faith to the performance of "obligations," seemed much more realistic to monks and laymen alike. For Symeon, these minimalists were modern heretics:

Here are those whom I call heretics [he proclaims in a homily addressed to his community]: those who say that there is no one in our time in our midst who would observe the commandments of the Gospel and become like the holy Fathers . . . [and] those who pretend that this is impossible. These people have not fallen into some particular heresy, but into all the heresies at once, since this one is worse than all in its impiety. . . . Whoever speaks in this way destroys all the divine scriptures. These anti-Christ's affirm: "This is impossible, impossible!"²⁴

Symeon was involved, at the end of his life, in violent conflict with Stephen, a former metropolitan of Nicomedia who had become a syncellus, or administrative official, of the patriarchate, on the issue of the canonization of his spiritual father, Symeon the Pious, which he had performed in his community without the proper hierarchical sanction. The New Theologian was given an opportunity to raise the question of authority in the Church, by opposing the charismatic personality of the saint to that of the institution. His statements on this problem can be very easily interpreted as anti-hierarchical in principle: according to Symeon, if one accepts the episcopate without having received the vision, one is nothing but an intruder.²⁵ On this point, Symeon reflects a frame of mind which had existed in both ancient and Byzantine Christianity, in pseudo-Dionysius, and in the Macarian tradition of monasticism; but the subjectivism, which may

be involved in such an interpretation, is an ecclesiological problem in itself.

Here, as always, Symeon is not directly concerned with rationalization; his purpose is to formulate the tension between the Kingdom and "this world," to affirm that the tension between the "institution" and the "event" is built into the very existence of the Church in history. The New Theologian's realistic sacramentalism shows clearly that this tension, not the denial of the sacramental nature of the Church, is his true concern. The Byzantine Church canonized Symeon the New Theologian, and generations of Eastern Christians have seen in him the greatest mystic of the Middle Ages. By so doing, Byzantine Christianity has recognized that, in the Church, the Spirit alone is the ultimate criterion of truth and the only final authority.

5. Theology of Hesychasm: Gregory Palamas

The debates which took place in fourteenth-century Byzantium involved a series of issues, including forms of monastic spirituality. The discussion, however, was fundamentally a theological one: the hesychast method of prayer was debated in the light of earlier tradition concerning knowledge of God, Christology, and anthropology. The endorsement given by the Byzantine Church to the hesychast theologians implied a stand on these basic issues of the Christian faith as well. The debate originated in a confrontation between an Athonite monk, Gregory Palamas (1296-1359), and a Calabrian Italo-Greek "philosopher," Barlaam. At the beginning, the issue was the doctrine of man's knowledge of God and the nature of theology. For Palamas, immediate knowledge of God, in Christ, is available to all the baptized and, therefore, is the real basis and criterion of true theology; Barlaam insisted, however, on the unknowability of God, except through indirect, created means revealed Scripture, induction from creation, or exceptional mystical revelations. In fact, the issue was not radically different from the one which Symeon the New Theologian had debated with certain of his monks, who denied the possibility of a direct vision of God. At a second stage of the debate, Barlaam also attacked, as a form of Messalian materialism, the psychosomatic method of prayer practiced by Byzantine hesychasts.

Although this method is held by some as a return to the origins of monasticism, it appears only in explicit, written documents of the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. It is described in particular by Nicephorus the Hesychast, an anonymous author whose *Method of Holy Prayer and Attention* is attributed, by some manuscripts, to Symeon the New Theologian, and to Gregory of Sinai (1255-1346), who became widely known in Slavic countries. Undoubtedly, the

method was widely known, for Gregory Palamas quotes, among its adepts, such major figures of the Church as Patriarch Athanasius I (1289-1293, 1303-1310) and Theoleptus, Metropolitan of Philadelphia (1250-1321/26).²⁶ The method consisted in obtaining "attention" (*prosoche*) the first condition of authentic prayer by concentrating one's mind "in the heart," retaining each breath, and reciting mentally the short prayer: "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me." Parallelisms in non-Christian Eastern spiritual practices are easy to find, and "materialistic" abuses may have occurred among Byzantine monks. But the major representatives of fourteenth-century hesychasm are unanimous in saying that the psychosomatic method is not an end in itself, but only a useful tool for placing a man literally "in attention," ready to receive the grace of God provided, of course, he deserve it by "observing the commandments." Barlaam objected to this method with a Platonic view of man: any somatic participation in prayer

can only be an obstacle to a true "intellectual" encounter. The Council of 1341 condemned Barlaam for his attacks on the monks. Still, several Byzantine theologians Gregory Akindynos, Nicephorus Gregoras, and, later, the Thomist Prochoros Cydones continued to protest against the theological positions of Palamas. Palamas, however, received final conciliar endorsement of his theology successively in 1347, 1351, and, posthumously, in 1368, when he was also canonized.

The theological positions of Gregory Palamas may be summarized in the three following points:

1) Knowledge of God is an experience given to all Christians through Baptism and through their continuous participation in the life of the Body of Christ in the Eucharist. It requires the involvement of the whole man in prayer and service, through love for God and neighbor; and then it becomes recognizable not only as an "intellectual" experience of the mind alone, but as a "spiritual sense," which conveys a perception neither purely "intellectual" nor purely material. In Christ, God assumed the whole of man, soul and body; and man as such was deified. In prayer for example, in the "method" in the sacraments, in the entire life of the Church as a community, man is called to *participation* in divine life: this participation is also the true knowledge of God.

2) God is totally inaccessible in His essence, both in this life and in the future; for only the three divine hypostases are "God by essence." Man, in "deification," can become God only "by grace," or "by energy." The inaccessibility of the essence of God was one of the basic affirmations of the Cappadocian Fathers against Eunomius and also, in a different context, against Origen. Affirming the absolute transcendence of God is only another way of saying that He is the

Creator *ex nihilo*: anything which exists outside of God exists only through His "will" or "energy," and can participate in His life only as a result of His will or "grace."

3) The full force with which Palamas affirms God's inaccessibility and the equally strong affirmation of deification and of participation in God's life, as the original purpose and the goal of human existence, also give full reality to the Palamite distinction between "essence" and "energy" in God. Palamas does not try to justify the distinction philosophically: his God is a living God, both transcendent and willingly immanent, who does not enter into preconceived philosophical categories. However, Palamas considers his teaching to be a development of the Sixth Council decisions that Christ has two natures, or "essences," and two natural wills, or "energies." 27 Fox Christ's humanity itself, enhypostasized as it is in the Logos and thus having become truly God's humanity, did not become "God by essence"; it was penetrated with the divine energy through the *circumincessio idiomatum* and, in it, our own humanity finds access to God in His energies. The energies, therefore, are never considered as divine emanations, or as a diminished God. They are divine life, as given by God to

His creatures; and they are God, for in His Son He truly gave Himself for our salvation.

The victory of Palamism in the fourteenth century was therefore the victory of a specifically Christian, God-centered humanism for which the Greek patristic tradition always stood, in opposition to all concepts of man which considered him as an autonomous or "secular" being. Its essential intuition that "deification" does not suppress humanity, but makes man truly human, is, of course, greatly relevant for our own contemporary concerns: man can be fully "human" only if he restores his lost communion with God.

Notes

1. Evagrius Ponticus, *Praktikos*; PG 40:1272-1276.
2. Pseudo-Nilus (Evagrius), *De Oratione*, 84; PG 79:1185_B.
3. *Ibid.*, 52.
4. *Ibid.*, 34_A.
5. *Ibid.*, 11.
6. Macarius of Egypt, *Hom.*, 11, 1; ed, Dörries, pp. 96-97.
7. *Ibid.*, 15, 20; p. 139.
8. *Ibid.*, 11, 11; p. 103.
9. *Ibid.*, 1, 12; p. 12.
10. Diadochus, *Cap.* 77, 78; ed. E. des Places, SC, 5 bis (Paris: Cerf, 1955), pp. 135-136.
11. *Ibid.*, 85; pp. 144-145.
12. See *ibid.*, 31, 32, 61, 88.

13. John Climacus, *The Ladder of Paradise*, Degree 28; PG 88:1112_C.
14. *Ibid.*, Degree 27; PG 88:1097_{AB}.
15. On Evagrius and Maximus, see Lars Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator: The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor* (Lund: Gleerup, 1965), pp. 317-325.
16. See P. Sherwood, in Maximus the Confessor, *The Ascetic Life*, ACW 21 (Westminster: Newman, 1955), p. 83.
17. See Lossky, *Vision of God*, pp. 9-10.
18. Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Preface to the Eighth Council*, Mansi XVI, 6.
19. I. Hausherr, ed., in *OrientChr* 12 (1928), 45.
20. Symeon the New Theologian, *Cat.* II; ed. B. Krivochéine, *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, Catéchèses*, SC 96 (Paris: Cerf, 1963), pp. 421-424.
21. See J. Darrouzès, SC 122, Introduction, p. 26.
22. Symeon the New Theologian, *Cat.* VI, ed. Krivochéine, pp. 358-368.
23. Symeon the New Theologian, *Euch.* 2; ed. Krivochéine, pp. 47-73.
24. *Cat.* 29; ed. Krivochéine, pp. 166-190.
25. *Cap. Eth.*, 6; ed. J. Darrouzès, pp. 406-454.
26. Gregory Palamas, *Triads*, I, 2; ed. J. Meyendorff, *Défense des saints hésychastes*, Specilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 30 (Louvain, 1959), p. 99.
27. Synodal Tome of 1351; PG 151:722_B.

6

Ecclesiology: Canonical Sources

In Greek Patristic literature, accepted throughout the entire Byzantine period as the ultimate expression of Church tradition, there was, generally speaking, no systematic treatment of "ecclesiology." This does not mean, however, that such factors of Christian life as Church order, the sacraments, and tradition were not central for the Byzantines. A major source of our knowledge of Byzantine ecclesiological ideas is constituted by ancient canonical texts: conciliar decrees, commentaries, and later synodal legislation. Even imperial laws concerning the Church, inasmuch as they were accepted as guiding principles of ecclesiastical polity, often witness to ecclesiastical consciousness essentially identical to that of the conciliar canons.

Viewed from a juridical point of view, the entire body of Byzantine canonical sources hardly constitutes a coherent whole. The attempts at codification, which we shall mention later, are far from exhaustive and do not eliminate important contradictions. They were never intended to provide the Byzantine Church with a complete *corpus juris*. Many Western polemicists have pointed to this state of affairs as an essential weakness of Eastern Christianity, which has failed to provide itself with an independent and consistent canon law, and, thus, has surrendered to the power of the state. These judgments, however, have generally taken for granted that the Church is a divine "institution" whose internal existence could be adequately defined in juridical terms, a presupposition which Byzantine Christians did not consider. For them the Church was, first of all, a sacramental communion with God in Christ and the Spirit, whose membership the

entire Body of Christ is not limited to the earthly *oikoumene* ("inhabited earth") where law governs society, but includes the host of angels and saints, as well as the divine head. The management of the earthly Church was certainly recognized as a necessary task, and there the use of juridical terms and concepts was unavoidable; but these concepts never exhausted the ultimate reality of the Church of God, and

could be determined occasionally by the councils, or even left to the benevolent and, in principle, Christian care of the emperors.

This attitude did not mean, however, that the Byzantines were either indifferent toward the canons or juridically incompetent. Quite the contrary. They were generally aware that at least certain canons reflected the eternal and divine nature of the Church, and that it was a Christian and absolute duty to obey them. Yet, Roman traditions were always strong enough in Byzantium to maintain almost permanently a series of highly competent ecclesiastical lawyers who advised the emperors on decrees concerning the Church, and also introduced principles of Roman Law into ecclesiastical legislation and jurisprudence. But again, they always understood their role as subordinate to the more fundamental and divine nature of the Church, expressed in a sacramental and doctrinal communion, uniting heaven and earth. And they recognized that there was no canonical legislation in heaven (for if "justification comes by law, then Christ died in vain" [Ga 2:21]), and that their task was a limited one.

1. The Councils and the Fathers

The standard Byzantine canonical collection which will also form the basis of canon law in Slavic countries and in the modern Orthodox Church the so-called *Nomocanon in XIV Titles* (its origin and development will be mentioned later) contains the following canonical texts of purely ecclesiastical origin:

- i. The Apostolic Canons, an early collection of eighty-five disciplinary rules, which served, in the first half of the fourth century, as a standard canonical text in Syria. Its content, in many ways, reflects the practices of the pre-Nicaean period, but is certainly not of genuinely apostolic origin. A shorter collection (fifty canons) was translated into Latin by Dionysius Exiguus (late-fifth century), and was widely

accepted in the West. The introduction of the full series of eighty-five canons into the canon law of the Church of Constantinople was the work of Patriarch John ^{III}, Scholasticus (565-577) and was endorsed by the Quinisext Council (692). The difference between the shorter and the longer collections will play a role in Greco-Latin polemics.

II. The Canons of the Ecumenical Councils:

1. Nicaea (325)20 canons.
2. Constantinople ^I (381)7 canons.
3. Ephesus (431)8 canons.
4. Chalcedon (451)30 canons.
5. The Quinisext (or "Fifth-Sixth") Council; also known as the Council *in Trullo* and often referred to in Byzantine texts as the

"Sixth Council" (692), because its entire canonical *corpus* was given *post factum* an "ecumenical" status in being procedurally attributed to the ecumenical councils of 553 and 680102 canons.

6. Nicaea II (787)22 canons.

III. The Canons of Local Councils:

1. Ancyra (314)25 canons.

2. Neocaesarea (314-325)15 canons.

3. Antioch (341)25 canons.

4. Sardica (343)20 canons.

5. Gangra (first half of fourth century)21 canons.

6. Laodicea (fourth century?)60 canons.

7. Constantinople (394)1 canon.

8. Carthage (419)133 (sometimes 147) canons; also known as *Codex canonum ecclesiae Africanae*, this collection of canons resulted from the continuous legislation by African councils, which was compiled in 419.

9. Constantinople (859-861); also known as "First-Second," because the two councils of 859 and 861 were, for reasons of convenience, considered as a single assembly17 canons.

10. Constantinople (879-880), sometimes referred to as "Eighth Ecumenical"3 canons.

IV. The Canons of the Holy Fathers: The patristic texts gathered in this category were, for the most part, occasional letters or authoritative answers written to individuals. In collections they are often divided, or classified, in "canons." The following authors appear in the

Nomocanon:

1. Dionysius of Alexandria (265).
2. Gregory of Neocaesarea (270).
3. Peter of Alexandria (311)
4. Athanasius of Alexandria (373).
5. Basil of Caesarea (379) [a very authoritative collection of 92 "canons"].
6. Gregory of Nyssa (395).
7. Gregory of Nazianzus (389).
8. Amphilochius of Iconium (395).
9. Timothy of Alexandria (355).
10. Theophilus of Alexandria (412).
11. Cyril of Alexandria (444).
12. Gennadius, ₁ of Constantinople (471).

Later Byzantine collections also include texts by the patriarchs of Constantinople, Tarasius (809), John the Faster (595), Nicephorus (818),

and Nicholas III (1084-1111), which also entered the Slavonic *Kormchaya Kniga*. Obviously, this entire series of authoritative canonical texts is conceived, first of all, as a frame of references and standards, different in kind and in importance. The most important collection of canons is probably that of the Council in Trullo (692), conceived by its convener, Emperor Justinian II, as a first attempt to codify earlier conciliar legislation. Actually, most of these texts including the Apostolic Canons and the Canons of the Fathers receive their authority from the Trullan Council. It must be noted, however, that although the Quinisext is invested with "ecumenical" authority in the Byzantine Church tradition, it has never been received as such in the West. Actually, since it explicitly condemns several Latin liturgical and canonical practices, it already clearly implies an understanding of Church tradition and authority differing from that of the Latin Church.

2. Imperial Legislation

The principle stated earlier about the transitory and relative significance of law in Church polity can serve now as a key for the understanding of the easy and practically unchallenged acceptance in the East of imperial legislation in the field of Church administration, once the emperor himself became a member of the Church and had agreed to protect the basic sacramental and doctrinal principles upon which the Church is built. No text ever gave the emperor the power to define or formulate these principles; but it was universally accepted that he had a responsibility for relating them to the empirical realities of history, and thus to manage, where necessary, the practical affairs of the visible Church. This is the meaning of the famous words attributed to Constantine "I have been established by God as the supervisor of the external affairs of the Church" ¹ and consistently applied in the legislation of Justinian. The *Codex* and the *Novellae*

contain a set of laws concerning the Church which cover a much wider range of ecclesiastical functions and activities than does the entire conciliar legislation before and after Justinian, A fine example of Justinian's style is his edict of 528 concerning the mode of selecting candidates for the episcopacy:

Taking ever every forethought for the most holy churches and for both honor and glory of the Holy Immaculate and Consubstantial Trinity, through which we have believed that both we ourselves and the common polity will be saved, and also following the holy apostles' teaching . . . , by the present law we ordain that, as often as in any city whatever it should happen that the episcopal see is vacant, a vote by the persons inhabiting the said city should be taken concerning three persons who have borne a character for correct faith and holiness of life and the other virtues, so that from these the most suitable should be selected for the episcopates. . . .2

The famous *Novella* 6 contains, on the other hand, a full set of bylaws for the Church's existence in the framework of the Roman imperial system.

It was self-evident that, in principle, there could be no contradiction between ecclesiastical canons and imperial laws. Justinian himself ordered that canons had "force of law" 3 (*legum vicem*, Nov. 131, 1), but later Byzantine commentators admitted the possibility of a contradiction between canons and imperial laws; in that case the canons were to be preferred.⁴ Actually, it is always important to remember that, in spite of all the power which was accorded them in ecclesiastical affairs, the emperors were above neither the dogmas nor the canons of the Church. The explicit denial of doctrinal authority to the emperors by anti-iconoclastic writers like John of Damascus and Theodore the Studite, and the opposition of Patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos (901-907, 912-925) to the uncanonical fourth marriage of Emperor Leo VI (886-912), are among the many examples available. The above reservations in no way exclude the fact that it is impossible to understand Byzantine ecclesiastical polity and consciousness without taking imperial legislation into consideration. After the *Code* of Justinian, the greatest body of important texts is found among the *Leges Novellae*, which were promulgated by Justinian and by his successors, especially Leo VI (886-912), as complements to the *Code*.

Other important collections of laws relevant for the Church are the *Ecloga* of the Isaurians, issued between 739 and 741, which includes modifications of Justinian's legislation, especially in marriage and divorce laws. Basil I (867-886) published major legislative texts, partly codifying, partly modifying, earlier legislation: the *Procheiron*, which appeared between 870 and 878, was a handbook for lawyers which, like the *Ecloga*, contains laws on marriage and on ecclesiastical affairs. A Title VII on forbidden marriages, a Title XI on

divorce, a Title ^{xxviii} on qualifications and procedure for clergy appointments. The so-called *Basilics*, which appeared partly under Basil ⁱ and partly under his successor Leo ^{vi}, reproduced some of Justinian's laws, but omitted others, thus making a selection important for medieval Byzantine and Slavic ecclesiastical practices. The exact character of another text, which also appeared under the Macedonians and was probably drafted by Patriarch Photius, is not so clear: the *Epanagoge* ("Recapitulation of the Law") is well known for its description of the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople as "the most exalted and the most necessary members of society"; it also contains legislation on matters of clerical discipline (Titles ^{viii} and ^{ix}), on the legal status of Church property (Title ^x), and on marital law (Titles ^{xvii} and ^{xxi}). It is not quite clear whether the *Epanagoge* was ever formally promulgated and acquired force of law, but it is often quoted and reproduced in later legal collections. Its scheme of a God-established dyarchy of the emperor and of the patriarch in line with Justinian's theory of "symphony" between Church and state, but exalting in particular the unique

position of the "ecumenical patriarch" of Constantinople as a high official of the empire is close to the ideology which prevailed in Byzantium in the ninth century after the victory over imperial iconoclasm. Later, this scheme became a standard program in Slavic countries, where national "patriarchs" shared the dyarchy with various local rulers.

3. Codifications of Ecclesiastical Law

Besides the famous *Codex*, the era of Justinian naturally saw the appearance of codified ecclesiastical legislation, although various forms of chronological and systematic collections had existed earlier. Both during the reign of Justinian and in the years which followed his death, John III Scholasticus, Patriarch of Constantinople (565-577), a lawyer by formation, contributed most to this codification. He is credited with having composed a *Collection of Fifty Titles* which divided the conciliar canons according to subjects, as well as a parallel collection of imperial laws, divided into eighty-seven chapters (*Collectio LXXXVII capitulorum*). The end of the sixth century was marked by the appearance of another, anonymous collection similar to that of John Scholasticus', but subdivided into fourteen Titles, with a parallel collection of imperial laws under the same headings. The anonymous author was familiar with the work of a Western contemporary and colleague, the monk Dionysius Exiguus (555), the author of the first Latin collection of conciliar canons, and adopted from him the "African canonical code," which, as "the canons of the Council of Carthage," enjoyed great authority in Byzantium. The entire work of John Scholasticus, as well as that of the anonymous author, was re-edited and completed in the following centuries in the form of *Nomocanons*. The principle of this new form of canonical handbook obviously reflects the need of a Byzantine lawyer, canonist, or ecclesiastical official to have under systematically arranged

headings the entire active legislation on problems arising in the life of the Church.

The *Nomocanon in Fourteen Titles*, the final form of which took shape in 883 probably under the supervision of Photius, covered a much greater number of texts, and, in general, gave greater satisfaction to generations of canonists. Moreover, it often served as a basis for later canonical commentaries. Both *Nomocanons* were translated into Slavic. The *Nomocanon in Fourteen Titles* served as the basis for the standard Slavic canonical collection in its various versions, the so-called *Kormchaya Kniga*. Together with the *Nomocanons*, several canonical reference books circulated in the Byzantine world. A *Canonical Synopsis* by Stephen of Ephesus, dating probably from the sixth century, later revised and completed, included a commentary by Aristenos. In the fourteenth century, two prominent lawyers of Thessalonica published systematic collections in which canons were clearly separated from imperial laws: Constantine Harmenopoulos, well

known by historians of Roman Law for his *Hexabiblon*, also compiled an *Epitome* of canons, which served as the appendix to his compendium of civil law; and Matthew Blastares, a priest and monk, produced a canonical "collection," accompanied by several more-recent documents and critical articles on canonical issues.

4. Authoritative Commentaries and Criticism

Under the reign of John II Comnenos (1118-1143), John Zonaras, an encyclopedic Byzantine scholar and historian, composed a commentary on the anonymous canonical collection in fourteen titles. A systematic mind, Zonaras clarifies the canonical texts in order of importance. In doing so, he adopts a logically coherent, but historically artificial, scheme which considers the so-called Apostolic Canons to be of greater authority than conciliar texts, and the decisions of ecumenical councils of greater weight than those of local councils; he attributes the least value to the canons of individual "fathers." The difficulty in applying this logical principle consistently (for ecumenical councils often issued decrees of passing and casual significance, while important doctrinal and ecclesiological points are made in texts which Zonaras would consider "secondary") was undoubtedly felt by Zonaras' contemporary, Alexios Aristenos, the author of a more literal and brief commentary based upon a shortened collection, or *epitome*, of canons. His aim is mainly to explain the meaning of the texts in their historical setting, rather than to judge their relation to each other and their respective importance.

The third great commentator of the twelfth century, Theodore Balsamon, in his major work based on Photius' *Nomocanon* in its entirety, pursued a specific task, entrusted to him by Emperor Manuel I Comnenos (1143-1180) and ecumenical Patriarch Michael of Anchialos (1170-1178): a coordination between ecclesiastical and

imperial legislation. The task implied, in fact, a codification of the imperial laws, some of which contained contradictions in their stipulations concerning the Church. Balsamon's concrete task involved those instances when a law of Justinian included in the *Nomocanon* was either omitted or contradicted in the *Basilics*. As a principle, he gives preference to the *Basilics* over Justinian and, consequently, in some cases, over Photius' *Nomocanon*. Balsamon's greater emphasis on imperial legislation in its more recent form does not prevent him from affirming explicitly the precedence of ecclesiastical canons over laws, 5 though in practice he does, at times, overrule clear conciliar definitions by referring to imperial laws.⁶ This emphasis on the role of the emperor prompts Balsamon also to stress the authority of the ecumenical patriarch in general Church affairs; he always visualizes the Church as centralized in the framework of an ideally universal Christian empire.

An abundant canonical literature, whose authors it would be impossible

to enumerate here, discussed issues arising from the canons, from imperial legislation, and from the commentaries: this literature, mostly polemical in nature, constitutes one of the major sources for our understanding of Byzantine medieval ecclesiology, which otherwise was not expounded in any systematic way.

One of the major issues arising in this literature is the canonical relationship between the patriarch and the provincial primates, or metropolitans. Actually, the controversies on this issue touched implicitly upon the role of the emperor in Church affairs; for it was an agreed fact that the ecumenical patriarch was not only an ecclesiastical, but a *state*, official. His secular function was expressed in the right to crown the emperor (a privilege which dated from the tenth century), and through the custom of his assuming the regency in case of need. The patriarch's appointment as a state official formally depended upon an "investiture" by the emperor, which followed an election of three candidates by the synod.⁷ Meanwhile, the texts foresaw no official intervention of the emperor in the election of local metropolitans, and several canons even severely condemned it. Thus, dependence or independence of the metropolitans upon the patriarch as civil servants involved their relation to the emperor as well.

In the tenth century, a discussion arose between Euthymios, Metropolitan of Sardis, who defended the right of the patriarch to choose metropolitans from among the three candidates presented by the synod, and an anonymous author who interpreted the canons as attributing to the patriarch the right of the ordination of the metropolitans, but not that of election. Nicetas, Metropolitan of Amaseia, then wrote a treatise in favor of patriarchal rights.⁸

It seems that the debate ended in favor of imperial and patriarchal centralization, an idea which had also been expressed in Balsamon's

commentaries (particularly on Canon 28 of Chalcedon). But, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as the imperial power weakened, the patriarchate acquired greater prestige independent of the empire. A series of patriarchs of the Paleologan period simultaneously asserted a greater independence from the state and a wider authority over the metropolitans. Patriarch Athanasius I (1289-1293, 1303-1310) even dismissed the synod altogether. His unedited correspondence and encyclicals offer a considerable canonical and ecclesiological interest.⁹ The example of Athanasius will be followed by the patriarchs of the fourteenth century, especially Callistos and Philotheos, with their concept of "universal leadership" (*kēdemonia panton*), which they attribute to the patriarch of Constantinople, and which is reflected in the patriarchal Acts of their time.

5. Synodal and Patriarchal Decrees

During the entire Byzantine period, the patriarch of Constantinople was the *de facto* head of the Eastern Church as a whole. His authority was

first described as a "privilege of honor after the Bishop of Rome" (Second Ecumenical Council, Canon 3); the Fourth Council in its famous Canon 28 spoke of privileges "equal" to those of Rome and gave to the bishop of the capital a wide patriarchal jurisdiction, as well as a right to receive appeals against the judgments of regional primates. These privileges and rights were based only on the prestige of the "imperial city" and never led to any notion of patriarchal infallibility. It was inevitable, however, that major doctrinal issues were solved in Constantinople by the patriarch and the bishops who, around him, constituted a permanent synod. More representative assemblies, sometimes presided over by the emperor and including the other Eastern patriarchs or their delegates, met on exceptional occasions to solve the more important issues. Major decisions of this permanent magisterium are included in the *Synodikon* of Orthodoxy, a lengthy liturgical text which, since 843, has been read in all churches on the First Sunday of Lent and commemorates the end of iconoclasm. The *Synodikon* in its various versions and the documents issued by the patriarchal synod are primary sources for our knowledge of Byzantine ecclesiological self-understanding.

Beginning with a solemn thanksgiving for the triumph of Orthodoxy over "all heresies," the text of the *Synodikon* contains a particular commemoration of the defenders of the true faith during the iconoclastic period; it adds praises for the orthodox patriarchs of the subsequent period and, finally, anathemas against various heretics. Since the end of the ninth century, the document has received some additions as a result of several later doctrinal disputes, which were solved by synodal decrees in Constantinople.

The listing of the patriarchs for the period between 715 and 1416 is, in itself, an important witness to the ways in which various internal and external problems were solved. The successive mention of Ignatius,

Photius, Stephen, Anthony, Nicholas, and Euthymius as "orthodox patriarchs of eternal memory" 10 shows that the famous schisms which occurred in the ninth and tenth centuries between Ignatius and Photius, and between Nicholas and Euthymius, and the mutual excommunications which ensued, were simply considered as not having taken place. But the omission among the names of the patriarchs of the late-thirteenth century of the names of Nicephorus II (1260-1261), Germanus III (1265-1267), John XI Beccos (1275-1282), Gregory II of Cyprus (1283-1289), and John XII Cosmas (1294-1303) reflects the rejection of the Union of Lyons (1274) and the terms of the reconciliation of the "Arsenites" with the official Church in 1310. The Arsenites had refused to recognize the deposition of Patriarch Arsenius Autoreianus in 1260, and obtained in 1310 his full rehabilitation, as well as a partial *damnatio memoriae* for several of his successors.¹¹

The *Synodikon* also portrays the Byzantine magisterium in action against the Platonism of John Italos (1076-1077, 1082), as well as the Christo-

logical deviations of John's contemporary, Nilus the Calabrian, those of Eustratius of Nicaea (1117), Soterichos Panteugenos (1155-1156), Constantine of Corfu, and John Eirenikos (1169-1170), and, finally, the solution given to the great doctrinal disputes on "deification" and the "energies" in the fourteenth century. The *Acts* of the patriarchal synod, unfortunately, are not preserved for the entire period, but only for the last two centuries of the Byzantine Empire. They represent an inexhaustible source of information on Church-state relations, canonical procedures, and the practice of *oikonomia*, one of the important illustrations of the manner in which the Byzantines understood the relationship of law and grace in the Christian Church.

6. Oikonomia

In both historical and theological literature, the principle of *oikonomia* is often referred to to illustrate the particularly Byzantine ability to interpret the law arbitrarily to suit political or personal purposes. Such a use betrays an obvious misunderstanding of the term, and is an injustice both to the principle itself and to its proper application. The term *oikonomia* does not belong originally to legal vocabulary; meaning "household management," it designates in the New Testament the divine *plan of salvation*: "He has made known to us in all wisdom and insight the mystery of his will, according to his purpose which he set forth in Christ as a *plan* [*oikonomia*] for the fullness of time, to recapitulate all things in him, things in heaven and things on earth" (Ep 1:9-10; v. also 3:2-3). But this divine plan for the management of history and of the world has been entrusted to men. For Paul, preaching of the word is an *oikonomia*, entrusted by God (1 Co 9:17), and, therefore, we should be regarded as "servants of Christ and stewards [*oikonomoi*] of the mysteries of God" (1 Co 4:1). More specifically, the "management" or "stewardship" belongs to those who fulfill the ministry of leading the Church: "The Church, of which I

became a minister according to the divine office [*oikonomia*] which was given to me for you" (Col 1:24-25). In the Pastorals, the *oikonomia* belongs particularly to the *episkopos*: "For a bishop, as God's steward [*oikonomos*], must be blameless" (Tt 1:7).

Among the Greek Fathers, *oikonomia* has the standard meaning of "incarnation history," especially during the Christological controversies of the fifth century. In a subsidiary way it is also used in canonical texts, and then, obviously, places the pastoral "management" entrusted to the Church in the context of God's plan for the salvation of mankind. Thus, in his famous *Letter to Amphilochius*, which became an authoritative part of the Byzantine canonical collections, Basil of Caesarea, after reaffirming the Cyprianic principle about the invalidity of baptism by heretics, continues: "If, however, this becomes an obstacle to [God's] general *oikonomia*,

one should again refer to custom and follow the Fathers who have managed [the Church]." The "custom" to which Basil refers was current "in Asia," where "the management of the multitude" had accredited the practice of accepting baptism by heretics. In any case, Basil justifies "economy" by the fear that too much austerity will be an obstacle to the salvation of some.¹² In the Latin versions of the New Testament, and in later ecclesiastical vocabulary, the term *oikonomia* is very consistently translated by *dispensatio*. In Western canon law, however, the term *dispensatio* acquired a very definite meaning of "exception to the law granted by the proper authority." The text of Basil quoted above, and innumerable references to *oikonomia* in Byzantine canonical literature, clearly interpret it in a much wider sense. What is at stake is not only an exception to the law, but an obligation to decide individual issues in the general context of God's plan for the salvation of the world. Canonical strictures may sometimes be inadequate to the full reality and universality of the Gospel, and, by themselves, do not provide the assurance that, in applying them, one is obedient to the will of God. For the Byzantines to use an expression of Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos (901-907, 912-925) *oikonomia* is "an imitation of God's love for man"¹³ and not simply an "exception to the rule."

Occasionally, *oikonomia* whether the word itself is used or not becomes part of the rule itself. Canon 8 of Nicaea, for example, specifies that Novatian bishops be received as bishops whenever the local episcopal see is vacant, but that they be accepted as priests, or *chorepiskopoi*, when a Catholic bishop already occupies the local see. In this case, the unity and welfare of the Church are concepts which supersede any possible notion of the "validity" of ordination outside the canonical boundaries of the Church, and *oikonomia* i.e., God's plan for the Church represents a living flexibility extending beyond a

legalistic interpretation of sacramental validity.

Oikonomia, on the other hand, plays an important role in Byzantine marriage law. This law, as we shall see later, aims fundamentally at expressing and protecting the notion that the unique Christian marriage, a sacramental reality, is projected "in reference to Christ and the Church" (Ep 5:32) into the eternal Kingdom of God. Marriage, therefore, is not simply a contract, which is indissoluble only while both parties remain in this world, but an eternal relationship not broken by death. In accordance with St. Paul (1 Co 7:89), second marriage is tolerated, but not considered "legitimate" in itself, whether it is concluded after the death of one partner or after a divorce. In both cases, it is tolerated twice only "by economy," as a lesser evil, while a fourth marriage is excluded.

Of its nature, *oikonomia* cannot be defined as a legal norm, and practical misuses and abuses of it have frequently occurred. Throughout its entire history, the Byzantine Church has known a polarization between a party of "rigorists," recruited mainly in monastic circles, and the gener-

ally more lenient group of Church officials supporting a wider use of *oikonomia*, especially in relation to the state. In fact, *oikonomia*, since it permits various possible ways of implementing the Christian Gospel practically, implies conciliation, discussion, and, often, unavoidably, tension. By admitting representatives of the two groups in the catalogue of its saints Theodore the Studite, as well as the patriarchs Tarasius, Nicephorus, and Methodius; Ignatius, as well as Photius the Church has given credit to them all, as long as it recognized that the preservation of the orthodox faith was their common concern. In fact, no one in Byzantium ever denied the principle of *oikonomia*; rather everyone agreed with Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria (581-607), when he wrote: "One rightly can practice *oikonomia* whenever pious doctrine remains unharmed." 14 In other words, *oikonomia* concerns the practical implications of Christian belief, but it never compromises with the truth itself.

Notes

1. *De Vita Constantini*, 4, 24; PG 20:1172_{AB}.
2. *Codex Justinianus* I, 3, 41; English text in P. R. Coleman-Norton, *Roman State and Christian Church*, III (London: SPCK, 1966), no. 579, p. 1017.
3. *Novella* 131, 1.
4. Balsamon, *Commentary on Nomocanon*, I, 2; PG 104:981_C.
5. *Ibid*.
6. See his commentary on Laodicea 58 and Quinisext 59 forbidding celebration of sacraments in private homes, but overruled by *Novella* 4 of Leo VI; *ed. cit.*, II, 440; See *Les nouvelles de Léon VI*, edd. P. Noailles and A. Dain (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1944), pp. 20-21.

7. Constantine Porphyrogenctos, *De ceremoniis*, II, 14; PG 112:1044_A; Symeon of Thessalonica, *De sacris ordinibus*; PG 155:440_D.
8. All texts and French translation in J. Darrouzès, *Documents inédits d'écclesiologie byzantine* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1966).
9. R. Guiland, "Correspondance inédite d'Athanase, patriarche de Constantinople," *Mélanges Diehl* 1 (Paris, 1930), pp. 131-140; M. Banescu, "Le patriarche Athanase I et Andronic II," *Académie roumaine, Bulletin de la section historique* 23 (1942), 1-28.
10. *Synodikon*, ed. J. Gouillard, II, 103.
11. On the Arsenites, see I. Troitsky, *Arseny i Arsenity* (St. Petersburg, 1874; repr. London: Variorum, 1973 [with introduction and bibliographical updating by J. Meyendorff]).
12. Basil of Caesarea, *Ep. ad Amphiloichium*; PG 32:669_B.
13. Nicholas Mystikos, *Ep.* 32 (to the pope), ed. A. Mai, *Spieilegium Romanum* 10 (1844), 300; PG 111:213_A.
14. Eulogius, quoted by Photius in *Library*, 227; ed. R. Henry (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1965), 4:112.

7

The Schism Between East and West

The christological controversies of the fifth century, as we have seen, provoked a final break between Byzantine Christendom and the other ancient spiritual families of the East: Syriac, Egyptian, and Armenian. The Greeks and the Latins remained alone, in their common faithfulness to Chalcedon, as the two main cultural expressions of Christianity inside the Roman world. The schism which finally separated them cannot be identified with any particular event or even be dated precisely. Political opposition between Byzantium and the Frankish Empire, gradual estrangement in thought and practice, divergent developments in both theology and ecclesiology, played their respective parts in this process. But in spite of the historical factors which pushed the two halves of Christendom further and further apart, there were political forces working in favor of union: the Byzantine emperors, for example, systematically tried from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries to re-establish ecclesiastical communion with Rome and thus gain Western support against the Turks.

In fact, neither the schism, nor the failure of the attempts at reunion can be explained exclusively by socio-political or cultural factors. The difficulties created by history could have been resolved if there had been a common ecclesiological criterion to settle the theological, canonical, or liturgical issues keeping the East and the West apart. But the medieval development of the Roman primacy as the ultimate reference in doctrinal matters stood in obvious contrast with the concept of the Church prevailing in the East. Thus, there could not be agreement on the issues themselves, or on the manner of solving

them, as long as there was divergence on the notion of authority in the Church.

1. The *Filioque*

The Byzantines considered the *Filioque* issue as the central point of disagreement. In their eyes, the Latin Church, by accepting an interpolated creed, was both opposing a text adopted by the ecumenical councils as the

expression of the universal Christian faith, and giving dogmatic authority to an incorrect concept of the Trinity. Among the Byzantines, even the moderates, like Peter, Patriarch of Antioch, who objected to the systematic anti-Latinism of his colleague in Constantinople, Michael Cerularius, considered the interpolation as an "evil, and even the worst of evils." 1

Generally, the Byzantines lacked a full knowledge of the complicated historical circumstances which led to the acceptance of the *Filioque* in the West: the interpolation of the creed in Spain in the sixth century as a means of strengthening the anti-Arian position of the Spanish Church; the spreading of the interpolated creed in the Frankish Empire; Charlemagne's use of it in his anti-Greek polemic; the *post factum* reference by Frankish theologians to Augustine's *De Trinitate* to justify the interpolation (which Augustine never envisaged), and, finally, the acceptance of the *Filioque* in Rome, probably in 1014. Photius offered the first open Greek refutation in 866, when he saw in the interpolated creed not only an alteration by some Frankish "barbarians" in the distant West, but also a weapon of anti-Byzantine propaganda among the nearby Bulgarians, who had recently been converted to Christianity by the Greeks and for whom the Byzantine patriarch considered himself directly responsible.

In his encyclical to the Eastern patriarchs (866), Photius considers the *Filioque* as the "crown of evils" introduced by the Frankish missionaries in Bulgaria.² We have already seen that his major theological objection to the interpolation was that it presupposed a confusion of the hypostatic characters of the Persons of the Trinity and was, therefore, a new form of modalism, or "semi-Sabellianism." After the Council of 879-880, which solemnly confirmed the original text of the creed and formally anathematized anyone who would either "compose another confession of faith" or corrupt the creed with

"illegitimate words, or additions, or subtractions,"³ Photius considered himself fully satisfied. To celebrate what he considered a final victory of Orthodoxy, he composed a detailed refutation of the doctrine of the "double procession" in his famous *Mystagogy* in which he also praised Pope John VIII for having made the triumph possible.⁴

After the final adoption of the *Filioque* in Rome and throughout the West, the issue was bound to be raised at every encounter, polemical or friendly, between Greeks and Latins. Byzantine literature on the subject is extremely voluminous and has been reviewed in reference works by Martin Jugie, Hans-Georg Beck, and others. The arguments raised by Photius "the *Filioque* is an illegitimate interpolation," "it destroys the *monarchy* of the Father" and "relativizes the reality of personal, or *hypostatic* existence, in the Trinity" remained at the center of the discussion. But often, the controversy was reduced to an interminable enumeration by both sides of patristic texts collected in favor of the respective positions of the Greeks and of the Latins.

The battles around ancient authorities often concentrated on texts by

those Fathers especially Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, and Epiphanius of Cyprus whose main concern was anti-Arian or anti-Nestorian polemics, i.e., the establishment of Christ's identity as the eternal and pre-existing divine Logos. In reference to the Holy Spirit, they unavoidably used expressions similar to those also adopted in sixth-century Spain where the interpolation first appeared. Biblical texts, such as John 20:22 ("He breathed on them and said: Receive the Holy Spirit"), were seen as proofs of the divinity of Christ: if the "Spirit of God" is also the "Spirit of Christ" (cf. Rm 8:9), Christ is certainly "consubstantial" with God. Thus it is also possible to say that the Spirit is the "proper" Spirit of the Son, ⁵ and even that the Spirit "proceeds substantially from both" the Father and the Son.⁶ Commenting upon these texts and acknowledging their correspondence with Latin patristic thought, Maximus the Confessor rightly interprets them as meaning not that "the Son is the origin of the Spirit," because "the Father alone is the origin of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," but that "the Spirit proceeds through the Son, expressing thus the unity of nature."⁷ In other words, from the activity of the Spirit in the world after the Incarnation, one can infer the consubstantiality of the three Persons of the Trinity, but one cannot infer any causality in the eternal personal relationships of the Spirit with the Son.

However, those whom the Byzantines called *Latinophrones* the "Latin-minded" and especially John Beccos (1275-1282), enthroned as patriarch by Emperor Michael VIII Paleologus with the explicit task of promoting in Byzantium the Union of Lyons (1274), made a significant effort to use Greek patristic texts on the Spirit's procession "through the Son" in favor of the Latin *Filioque*. According to the *Latinophrones*, both "through the Son" and "from the Son" were legitimate expressions of the same Trinitarian faith.

The usual counter-argument of the Orthodox side was that in Biblical or patristic theology procession "from" or "through" the Son designates the *charismata* of the Spirit, and not His hypostatic existence.⁸ For indeed *pneuma* can designate the giver and the gift; and, in the latter case, a procession of the "Spirit" from or through the Son i.e., through the Incarnate, historical Christ happens *in time*, and thus does not coincide with the eternal procession of the Spirit from the hypostasis of the Father, the only "source of divinity."

This counter-argument was recognized as insufficient, however, by the major Orthodox Byzantine theologians of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. Gregory of Cyprus, a successor of Beccos' on the patriarchal throne (1283-1289) and chairman of the council (1285) which officially rejected the Union of Lyons, had this assembly approve a text which, while condemning the *Filioque*, recognized an "eternal manifestation" of the Spirit through the Son.⁹ What served as a background to the council's position is the notion that the *charismata* of the Spirit are not

temporal, created realities, but the eternal, uncreated grace or "energy" of God. To this uncreated divine life, man has access in the body of the Incarnate Logos. Therefore, the grace of the Spirit does indeed come to us "through" or "from" the Son; but what is being given to us is neither the very hypostasis of the Spirit nor a created, temporal grace, but the external "manifestation" of God, distinct from both His persons and His essence. The argument was also taken over and developed by Gregory Palamas, the great Byzantine theologian of the fourteenth century, who, like Gregory of Cyprus, formally recognizes that as *energy*, "the Spirit is the Spirit of Christ, and comes from Him, being breathed and sent and manifested by Him, but in His very being and His existence, He is the Spirit *of* Christ, but is not *from* Christ, but from the Father." 10

As time went on, it became increasingly clear that the *Filioque* dispute was not a discussion on words for there was a sense in which both sides would agree to say that the Spirit proceeds "from the Son" but on the issue of whether the hypostatic existence of the Persons of the Trinity could be reduced to their internal relations, as the post-Augustinian West would admit, or whether the primary Christian experience was that of a Trinity of Persons, whose personal existence was irreducible to their common essence. The question was whether tri-personality or consubstantiality was the first and basic content of Christian religious experience. But to place the debate on that level and to enter into a true dialogue on the very substance of the matter, each side needed to understand the other's position. This unfortunately never occurred. Even at the Council of Florence, where interminable confrontations on the *Filioque* issue took place, the discussion still dealt mainly with attempts at accommodating Greek and Latin formulations. The council finally adopted a basically Augustinian definition of the Trinity, while affirming that the Greek *formulations*

were not in contradiction with it. This, however, was not a solution of the fundamental issue.

2. Other Controversies

Photius, in his encyclical of 867, also had criticized several liturgical and canonical practices introduced by Frankish missionaries in Bulgaria (opposition to a married priesthood, confirmation performed only by bishops, fasting on Saturdays), but his criticism was directed at the fact that the missionaries were requiring from the newly-baptized Bulgarians complete abandonment of Greek usages. He did not yet consider diversity in practice and discipline as an obstacle to Church unity. The Latin interpolation of the creed and the doctrine which it reflected were the only doctrinal issues which, according to Photius, were leading to schism.

This attitude will generally predominate among the best theologians of Byzantium. Peter of Antioch (*ca.* 1050) and Theophylact of Bulgaria (*ca.*

1100) explicitly state that the *Filioque* is the only issue dividing East and West. And even at a later period, when the separate development of the two theologies was bound to create new problems, one finds many prominent Byzantines failing to raise any issue in their anti-Latin treatises other than that of the procession of the Holy Spirit.

On the less enlightened level of popular piety, however, polemics took a sharper tone and were often oriented toward peripheral issues. When well-intentioned, but ill-informed, Frankish reformers in Bulgaria under Photius, or in Italy under Michael Cerularius, attacked the practices of the Greek Church, the Church often answered with a counterattack on Latin discipline and rites. Thus, the schism of the eleventh century was almost exclusively a dispute about ritual practices. In addition to the issues quoted by Photius, Michael Cerularius mentions among "Latin heresies" the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, the leniency of the Latin fast, baptism by one and not three immersions, and other similar issues. 11

Cerularius' list of heresies was frequently repeated, and often expanded, by later polemicists. Of the problems mentioned in the list, however, the only one to be viewed consistently by the Greeks as a theological issue and even sometimes placed on a level of importance comparable to that of the *Filioque* is that of the azymes, the use of unleavened bread in the Latin Eucharistic celebration. Thus, in the late Middle Ages, Greek and Slavic peoples often characterized the Latins as azymites.

The arguments brought against the Latin practice by Cerularius' friends and contemporaries Leo of Ohrid and Nicetas Stethatos and repeated by their successors can be reduced to three: (1) the use of unleavened bread is Judaic; (2) it contradicts the historic evidence as recorded in the Synoptics (Jesus took "bread"); and (3) its symbolic

value is that of "death," not of "life," for yeast in the dough is like the soul in the body. The weakness of these arguments requires no demonstration. The second point in particular implies the solution of several exegetical and historical problems: Was the Last Supper a paschal meal? In that case unleavened bread would have been used. Or did Jesus deliberately violate the law in order to institute a "new" covenant? Can the word *artos*, which normally designates ordinary bread, also mean "unleavened bread"?

The third argument was also raised by Greek polemicists in the Christological context of anti-Armenian polemics. Nicetas Stethatos himself was involved in arguments against the Armenians, who, after the conquests of the Macedonian emperors of the tenth century, were in close contact with Byzantium. The Armenians were using unleavened bread in the Eucharist, and the Greeks drew a parallel between this practice and the Monophysite, more precisely, Apollinarian Christology of the Armenians: bread, symbolizing Christ's humanity, in order to reflect Chalcedonian orthodoxy, must be "animated" and dynamic, in full possession of the living energies of humanity. By imitating the Monophysite Armenians in their use of the

"dead" azymes, the Latins themselves were falling into Apollinarianism, and denying that Christ, as man, had a soul. Thus, during the Middle Ages and afterward, in Greek and Slavic countries, Latins were considered as having fallen into the "Apollinarian heresy": the charge appears, for example, in the writings of the monk Philotheus, the famous Russian sixteenth-century ideologist of "Moscow, the third Rome."

After the late-thirteenth century, the growing Scholastic precisions, which appeared in contemporary Latin theology, concerning the fate of the souls after death and purgatory fire, were reflected in the various encounters between Latin and Greek theologians. The unionist Profession of Faith, which had to be signed by Emperor Michael ^{VIII} Paleologus (1259-1282), included a long clause alarming that the souls, before enjoying the fruits of repentance in heaven, "were purified after death through the fire of Purgatory" and that prayer for the departed was able to alleviate their "pains." ¹² Although the Byzantine tradition had always acknowledged that prayers for the dead were both licit and necessary, that the solidarity of all the members of the Body of Christ was not broken by death, and that, through the intercession of the Church, the departed could get closer to God, it ignored the notion of redemption through "satisfaction," of which the legalistic concept of "purgatory pains" was an expression. On this point most Byzantine theologians were more puzzled than impressed by the Latins, and they never succeeded in placing the issue in the wider context of the doctrine of salvation, the only level on which a successful refutation and alternative could be found. Even in Florence, where, for the first time, a prolonged dialogue on the issue took place, the discussion was limited to particulars and was never concerned with the notion of redemption as such.¹³ It ended with the weary acceptance, by the Greek majority, of a detailed and purely

Latin definition of the issue.

In the decades preceding the Council of Florence, the growing knowledge among Byzantines of the Latin liturgical practices led to the emergence of another issue between the churches, that of the relationship in the Eucharist canon between the words of institution and the invocation of the Spirit, or epiclesis. Reproaching the Latins for the absence of an epiclesis in the Roman canon of the Mass, Byzantine polemicists pointed out the fact that all sacramental acts are effected through the Holy Spirit. Nicholas Cabasilas (before 1391), the famous spiritual writer, in his *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*,¹⁴ invokes in favor of this point the authority of the Latin rite itself, whose Christian authenticity he thus explicitly recognizes. He recalls that an invocation of the Spirit is part of the Latin rite of ordination and that the Roman Mass includes in the oration *supplices te rogamus* a prayer *for the gifts*, which follows the words of institution, a fact which, according to Cabasilas, means that the words of institution are not consecratory in themselves. Whatever the strength of this last argument, it is clear that the Greek insistence on an explicit invocation of the

Spirit is very much in line with the traditional patristic theology of the sacraments, especially when it considers the epiclesis not as a "formula" of consecration, opposed to the Latin one, but as the normal and necessary fulfillment of the Eucharistic prayer, of which the words of institution also constitute a fundamental part.

3. Authority in the Church

Most of the controversy which set Greek against Latin in the Middle Ages could have been solved easily if both churches had recognized a common authority able to solve the unavoidable differences created by divergent cultures and historical situations. Unfortunately, behind the various doctrinal, disciplinary, and liturgical disputes stood an ecclesiological dichotomy. Any historian today would recognize that the medieval papacy was the result of a long doctrinal and institutional development in which the Eastern Church had either no opportunity or no desire to participate. Orthodox and Roman Catholics still argue whether this development was legitimate from the point of view of Christian revelation.

The reformed papacy of the eleventh century used a long-standing Western tradition of exegesis when it applied systematically and legalistically the passages on the role of Peter (especially Mt 16:18, Lk 22:32, and Jn 21:15-17) to the bishop of Rome. This tradition was not shared by the East, yet it was not totally ignored by the Byzantines, some of whom used it occasionally, especially in documents addressed to Rome and intended to win the popes' sympathy. But it was never given an ultimate theological significance. The personal role of Peter as the "rock" upon which the Church was built was readily recognized by Byzantine ecclesiastical writers. Only late polemicists, systematically anti-Latin, tended to diminish it; but this was not the case among the most enlightened of the Byzantine

theologians. Thus, according to Photius, Peter is "the chief of the apostolic choir, and has been established as the rock of the Church and is proclaimed by the Truth to be keybearer of the Kingdom of Heaven." 15 Numerous passages, similar to that of Photius, can be found in Byzantine ecclesiastical literature and hymnography. Their true significance, however, cannot be understood apart from more general presuppositions on the nature of the Christian faith and the manner of its preservation and continuity in the Church.

Origen, the common source of patristic exegetical tradition, commenting on Matthew 16:18, interprets the famous *logion* as Jesus' answer to Peter's confession: Simon became the "rock" on which the Church is founded because he expressed the true belief in the divinity of Christ. Origen continues: "If we also say 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,' then we also become Peter . . . for whoever assimilates to Christ, becomes rock. Does Christ give the keys of the kingdom to Peter alone, whereas

other blessed people cannot receive them?" 16 According to Origen, therefore, Peter is no more than the first "believer," and the keys he received opened the gates of heaven to him alone: if others want to follow, they can "imitate" Peter and receive the same keys. Thus the words of Christ have a soteriological, but not an institutional, significance. They only affirm that the Christian faith is the faith expressed by Peter on the road to Caesarea Philippi. In the whole body of patristic exegesis, this is the prevailing understanding of the "Petrine" *logia*, and it remains valid in Byzantine literature. In the twelfth-century Italo-Greek homilies attributed to Theophanes Kerameus, one can still read: "The Lord gives the keys to Peter and to all those who resemble him, so that the gates of the Kingdom of heaven remain closed for the heretics, yet are easily accessible to the faithful."17 Thus, when he spoke to Peter, Jesus was underlining the *meaning of the faith* as the foundation of the Church, rather than organizing the Church as guardian of the faith. The whole ecclesiological debate between East and West is thus reducible to the issue of whether the faith depends on Peter, or Peter on the faith. The issue becomes clear when one compares the two concepts of the *succession* of Peter.

If many Byzantine ecclesiastical writers follow Origen in recognizing this succession in *each believer*, others have a less individualistic view of Christianity; they understand that the faith can be fully realized only in the sacramental community, where the bishop fulfills, in a very particular way, Christ's ministry of teaching and, thus, preserves the faith. In this sense, there is a definite relationship between Peter, called by Christ to "strengthen his brethren" (Lk 22:32), and the bishop, as guardian of the faith in his local church. The early Christian concept, best expressed in the third century by Cyprian of Carthage,18 according to which the "see of Peter" belongs,

in each local church, to the bishop, remains the longstanding and obvious pattern for the Byzantines. Gregory of Nyssa, for example, can write that Jesus "through Peter gave to the bishops the keys of heavenly honors."¹⁹ Pseudo-Dionysius, when he mentions the "hierarchs" i.e., the bishops of the earthly Church refers immediately to the image of Peter.²⁰ Examples taken from the later period, and quite independent of anti-Latin polemics, can easily be multiplied. Peter's succession is seen wherever the right faith is preserved, and, as such, it cannot be localized geographically or monopolized by a single church or individual. It is only natural, therefore, that the Byzantine will fail to understand the developed medieval concept of Roman primacy. Thus, in the thirteenth century, shortly after the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders (1204), we can read Nicholas Mesarites, addressing the Latins:

You try to present Peter as the teacher of Rome alone. While the divine Fathers spoke of the promise made to him by the Savior as having a *catholic* meaning and as referring to all those who believed and believe, you

force yourself into a narrow and false interpretation, ascribing it to Rome alone. If this were true, it would be impossible for every church of the faithful, and not only that of Rome, to possess the Savior properly, and for each church to be founded on the rock, i.e., on the doctrine of Peter, in conformity with the promise. 21

Obviously, this text of Mesarites' implies a concept of the Church which recognizes the fullness of catholicity in each *local* church, in the sense in which the Apostolic Fathers could speak, for example, of the "catholic church sojourning in Corinth." Catholicity, and therefore also truth and apostolicity, thus become God-given attributes belonging to each sacramental, Eucharist-centered community possessing a true episcopate, a true Eucharist, and, therefore, an authentic presence of Christ. The idea that one particular church would have, in a full theological sense, more capacity than another to preserve the faith of Peter was foreign to the Byzantines. Consensus of bishops, and not the authority of one particular bishop, was for them the highest possible sign of truth. Hence their constant insistence on the authority of the councils and their inability to understand the Roman concept of the papacy. It is not, however, that the very idea of primacy was foreign to the Byzantines; but they generally understood it as a matter for conciliar legislation, not as a God-given function of a particular church.

4. Two Ideas of Primacy

One important difference between eastern and western attitudes deserves particular emphasis. . . . The idea of apostolicity played a very limited role in the development of the Church in the eastern provinces, but . . . Rome owed its prestige in Italy and in other western provinces . . . to the veneration in which young Christian communities of the West held St. Peter . . . whose successors the Roman bishops claimed to be.²²

Historians have often cited the fact that Rome was the only local

church of the West which could claim "apostolic" foundation and attract pilgrimages *ad limina apostolorum*. In the East, innumerable cities, or lesser localities, could authentically attribute their foundation to Peter, Paul, John, Andrew, or other Apostles. These various "apostolicities" did not entail any jurisdictional claims: the bishop of Jerusalem was still, in the fourth century, only a suffragan of the metropolitan of Caesarea, the civil capital of Palestine.

When the Council of Nicaea, in its famous Canon 6, vaguely mentioned the "ancient customs" which recognized an exceptional prestige to the churches of Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome, the selection of these particular churches was determined not by their apostolic foundation, but by the fact that they were located in the most important cities of the empire.

For if apostolicity were the criterion, as later Western interpretations insist, the position of Alexandria, purported to have been founded by a minor apostolic figure, Mark, could not be greater than Antioch's, where Peter's presence is attested by the New Testament.

The East remained pragmatic in its definition of universal or local primacies among the churches, and this attitude made conflict inevitable as soon as Rome recognized an absolute and dogmatic significance to the "apostolic" criterion of primacy. Actually, in the Byzantine Empire, "pragmatism" meant adjustment to the structure of the state, and this adjustment explains the text of Canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon:

The Fathers rightly granted privileges to the throne of old Rome, because it was the imperial city. And one hundred and fifty most religious bishops [of Constantinople, 381], actuated by the same considerations, gave equal privileges to the most holy throne of new Rome, justly judging that the city, which is honored with the presence of the emperor and the senate and enjoys equal privileges with the old imperial Rome, should, in ecclesiastical matters also, be magnified as she is and rank next after her.

This text was in no way meant to suppress the prestige of Rome (it was directed against the pretensions of Dioscorus of Alexandria, whom the Council of Chalcedon deposed); but it certainly excluded the "Petrine" interpretation of Roman primacy, and

was in conformity with the logical development of ecclesiastical organisms in the Byzantine period which, since the era of Constantine, had admitted the principle that ecclesiastical administration coincided with the secular structure of the Empire. 23

As we have seen above, the succession of Peter was considered to be involved in the episcopal office present in every church, and was envisaged as a responsibility in which any "successor of Peter," including the bishop of Rome, could fail. A theologian of the fifteenth

century, Symeon of Thessalonica, could thus write:

One should not contradict the Latins when they say that the bishop of Rome is the first. This primacy is not harmful to the Church. Let them only prove his faithfulness to the faith of Peter and to that of the successors of Peter. If it is so, let him enjoy all the privileges of Peter. . . .24

5. The Meaning of the Schism

Cultural and historical differences may easily lead to theological divergences; but such divergences need not become contradictions and incompatibilities.

There were differences and even violent conflicts between the East and West as early as the fourth century, but in spite of ever-recurring tension, there existed, until the eleventh century, a mutually recognized procedure for solving difficulties: the council. Joint councils, meeting generally in the East, convened by the emperor, and at which Roman legates were given a place of honor, served as the ultimate tribunals to solve the standing issues. Thus the crisis which set Photius against Pope Nicholas I was finally ended at the last council (879-880) to follow that procedure and one which still ranks, according to the Orthodox Church, on almost the same level as the earlier ecumenical councils.

The German-oriented reformed papacy of the eleventh century was definitely no longer attuned to this type of conciliarity. The Crusades did much to antagonize the two culturally distinct civilizations of the East and of the West. And when the papacy, shaken by the Great Western Schism, and Byzantium, threatened by the Turks, finally agreed to hold a union council at Florence, it was too late to create the atmosphere of mutual respect and trust which alone would have permitted an authentic theological dialogue.

Notes

1. Peter of Antioch, *Letter to Michael*; ed. Cornelius Will, *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae graecae et latinae extant* (Leipzig, 1856), p. 196.
2. Photius, *Encyclical*, 8; PG 102:725_C.
3. Mansi, XVII, 520_E.
4. Photius, *Mystagogy*, 89; PG 102:380-381.
5. Athanasius, *To Serapion*, III, 1; PG 26:625_B.

6. Cyril, *Thesaurus*; PG 68:148_A.
7. Maximus the Confessor, *Letter to Marinus*; PG 91:136_{AD}.
8. The argument is found in Photius, *Mystagogy*, 59; PG 102:337.
9. Gregory of Cyprus, *Tome of 1285*; PG 142:240_C.
10. Gregory Palamas, *Apodictic Treatise*, I, 9; ed. B. Bobrinskoy, in P. Chrestou, *Palama Syngrammata* (Thessaloniki, 1962), I, 37.
11. Michael Cerularius, *Letter to Peter of Antioch*; ed. Will, *Acta et Scripta*, pp. 179-183.
12. Mansi, XXIV, 70_A.
13. See the major documents on this discussion published by L. Petit in *PatrOr*, 15 (Paris, 1903), pp. 1-168.
14. Nicholas Cabasilas, *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*, chs. 29-30; ed. Perichon, SC 4 bis (Paris: Cerf, 1967), pp. 179-199; trans. J. M. Hussey and P. A. McNulty (London: SPCK, 1960), pp. 71-79.
15. Photius, *Hom.*, 1; trans. in C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 50.
16. Origen, *Hom. in Matt.*, XII, 10; ed. Klostermann GCS 40 (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 85-89.
17. Theophanes Kerameus, *Hom.*, 55; PG 142:965_A. For a more general view of patristic exegesis on Matthew 16:18, see particularly J. Ludwig, *Die Primatworte Mt. 16, 18, 19 in der altkirchlichen Exegese* (Münster, 1952); and J. Meyendorff, "St. Peter in

Byzantine Theology," *The Primacy of Peter in the Orthodox Church*, ed. J. Meyendorff (London: Faith Press, 1963), pp. 7-29.

18. On Cyprian, see, for example, A. d'Alès, *La théologie de St. Cyprien* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1922); P.-Th. Camelot, "St. Cyprien et la primauté," *Istina* 4 (1957), 421-434; cf. also M. Bévenot's introduction and notes for Cyprian *De catholicae ecclesiae unitate* in ACW 25. (Westminster: Newman, 1957.)

19. Gregory of Nyssa, *De castigatione*; PG 46:312c.

20. Pseudo-Dionysius, *Eccl. hier.*, VII, 7; PG 3:561-564.

21. Nicholas Mesarites, in A. Heisenberg, ed., *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion*, II. *Die Unionverhandlungen von 30. Aug. 1206*, in *AbhMünchAk*, phil. Klasse (1923) II, 34-35.

22. Francis Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 39.

23. J. Meyendorff, *Orthodoxy and Catholicity* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1956), p. 74.

24. Symeon of Thessalonica, *Dialogus contra haereses*, 23; PG 155:120_{AB}.

8

Encounter with the West

With the exception of Barlaam the Calabrian, no major participant of the great theological controversies, which ended in 1351, had anything but a casual knowledge of Western theology. Discussions between Greeks and Latins revolved around formulae which were used by both sides, each in a totally different context. And Barlaam himself, in spite of his double theological formation, was hardly a prominent representative of Western theological thought; he was, rather, a manipulator of ideas, and probably influenced by Nominalism.

Meanwhile, the formal conciliar decisions of 1341 and 1351, endorsing a theology of real "participation" of man in God and, therefore, of a real distinction between "essence" and "energy" in God, were clearly incompatible with the prevailing Latin theology of the time. A significant dialogue on the content of these decisions, as well as on their true relation to patristic tradition on the one hand and Latin Scholasticism on the other, would have required much time, wide historical knowledge, and true openness of mind. These conditions were obviously lacking on both sides but and this will be the main point of this chapter they were in the process of being realized in Byzantium during the last century of the empire.

1. The Circle of Cantacuzenos

Father-in-law of the legitimate emperor John v Paleologos, and himself emperor between 1347 and 1354, John Cantacuzenos exercised a decisive influence in assuring the triumph of Palamism in Byzantium, and, after his abdication, remained for almost forty years

a powerful political and intellectual force in Byzantine society. Having accepted monastic tonsure in 1354, he nonetheless kept at his personal disposal enough funds and influence to act as a generous Maecenas for Byzantine intellectuals. Traveling between Constantinople and Mistra in the Peloponnese, he sponsored, in both his main residences, the copying of manuscripts and the development of scholarly projects.

A theologian himself, he is the author of learned apologies of Palamism and of a lengthy refutation of Islam. During his entire life, however, he never lost sight of Western Christianity and, several times, participated in debates with papal envoys. Ecclesiastical union with Rome was consistently on the diplomatic agenda of the time as a condition for a Western crusade against the menacing Turks. Many Byzantines, including Emperor John v Paleologus, who succeeded Cantacuzenos, were ready to accept hastily all papal conditions in order to achieve immediate military relief. Supported by a majority in Church circles especially by the disciples of Palamas who were occupying major positions in the hierarchy Cantacuzenos defended the idea that union could be achieved only through a solution, at a joint council, of the theological issues dividing East and West. He was probably, and justifiably, skeptical that Western help could be decisive in any case, and, together with a majority of the Byzantine population, envisaged Turkish conquest as a possibility preferable to a betrayal of Orthodoxy.

He was never opposed to contacts with the West, however, repeatedly proposed a serious theological dialogue, and actively supported careful preparation on the Byzantine side for this eventual encounter. Knowledge of Latin theological thought was a necessary precondition, of course, and it is in the circle of Cantacuzenos that Latin theological sources were systematically translated into Greek. The emperor himself used some of them in his polemics against Islam, but his secretary and friend Demetrios Cydones devoted his entire life, with Cantacuzenos' approval and support, to the translation and study of Thomism. Meanwhile, another friend, Nicholas Cabasilas, was reviving sacramental mysticism in the best tradition of the Greek Fathers. Speaking to the legate Paul in 1367, Cantacuzenos develops his conviction that union will never be achieved by imperial decree:

"This is impossible in our Church," he said, "since faith can never be forced." ¹ His view of the situation was all the more realistic since the greater part of the Orthodox world was then out of the reach of the Byzantine emperor. The greater mass of the Greeks were already under Turkish occupation, the Balkan Slavs were politically and ecclesiastically independent, and the Russians were unlikely to accept lightly any union schemes drafted without their participation. Byzantium could not hope to legislate in Church matters as it had in the time of Photius, but could hope only to provide intellectual leadership in the forthcoming dialogue. Cantacuzenos did what he could to give Byzantium the necessary intellectual tools to produce, as a condition for Church union, what he and his contemporaries considered a real possibility: a theological victory of the East over the West at a union council.

Out of the groundwork laid by the circle of Cantacuzenos grew two or three generations of intellectuals who often adopted radically divergent attitudes toward the main theological options of the day. Investigation of their writings and thought has only recently begun but, at the present stage

of our knowledge, it is already clear that, in spite of several individual casualties and major mistakes, an "in depth" encounter with Western theology was in the making.

2. Humanists and Thomists

The encyclopedic interests of Cantacuzenos led him to grant support to all forms of knowledge, including the study of secular philosophy tradition at all times alive in a small group of Byzantine aristocrats and intellectuals. Synodal decrees of the eleventh and twelfth centuries had warned the humanists against the dangers of considering Greek philosophy as a criterion of theological thought, but Barlaam of Calabria originally a protégé of Cantacuzenos went beyond the permissible by reducing theology to the level of intellectual wisdom and discursive knowledge. The Council of 1341 signaled his defeat and condemnation. The capture of imperial power by Cantacuzenos in 1347 coincided with the total victory of Palamas and the Hesychasts, and was seen as a disaster by the humanists, among whom the Antipalamite party recruited most of its members. Clearly, the Byzantine Church was rejecting Platonizing humanism and refusing to accept the very patterns of humanistic civilization which the West was in the process of adopting. ² It is precisely at this time that several prominent humanists, whose intellectual forefathers Photius, Michael Psellos, Theodore Metochites had despised the Latins as "barbarians," discovered in the Latin West, and particularly in Italy, the last refuge of true Hellenism.

Demetrios Cydones (*ca.* 1324-*ca.* 1398), a close political associate of Cantacuzenos', certainly belongs to this category. Staunchly Orthodox in his youth, he sometimes worried that the protocol requirements for an imperial ambassador to the pope, which would force him to address the Roman pontiff as "beatitude," "holiness," "common pastor,"

"Father," and "Vicar of Christ," might be harmful to his faith.³ But then, suddenly, he discovered Thomism. When his diplomatic functions led him to learn Latin from a Dominican of Pera, he used the *Summa contra Gentiles* as an exercise book, and the effect on this friend of Barlaam, disappointed by the recent victory (in 1347) of the Hesychasts, was astounding. The Latins, whom the Byzantines considered incapable of rising above the military or merchant professions,⁴ knew Greek philosophy! "Because the Byzantines did not care for their own [Greek] wisdom, they considered Latin reasonings to be Latin inventions." In fact, if only one took the time to unveil the meaning of Latin books, hidden by a foreign tongue, one would find that "they show great thirst for walking in those labyrinths of Aristotle and Plato, for which our people never showed interest."⁵

With the approval and support of Cantacuzenos, Demetrios continued his work of translation. The entire *Summa contra Gentiles*, most of *Summa*

theologica, as well as important texts of Augustine and Anselm, were made accessible, in Greek versions, to Demetrios' contemporaries and to the following generations of Byzantine theologians. Cantacuzenos himself used Demetrios' translation of the *Refutation of the Koran* by the Dominican Ricoldo da Montecroce as a source book for his writings against Islam.

Translation work, contacts with Latins, travels to Italy, confirmed Demetrios Cydones in his conviction that Thomism was actually more "Greek" than Palamism. And in that he was certainly right. His enthusiasm for the intellectual possibilities of both Scholasticism and the Italian Renaissance finally led him to become the main adviser of Emperor John v in his union policies. Around 1363 he, unofficially, joined the Roman Catholic Church. He published several treatises in defense of the *Filioque*, written from the Thomist point of view which he had adopted; but after the synodal condemnation of his brother Prochoros (also a translator of Thomas and convinced Antipalamite) in 1368 by the reigning patriarch, Philotheos, he could have no further hope about the future of secular Hellenism in Byzantium. He continued, however, with conviction and obvious sincerity to play a political role as a promoter of union until his death. But in order to understand the true significance of his conversion, we should remember that it is ancient Greece and not Rome or Constantinople which for him is the ultimate criterion of wisdom. In 1365-1369, for example, in a letter to the philosopher George, his preference for St. Thomas is determined by Thomas' superiority over Plato; 6 and his charming little treatise *De contemnenda morte*⁷ discusses immortality in purely Platonic terms, without a single reference to the Christian faith. Of course, Demetrios simultaneously wrote technical theological treatises and sermons without direct philosophical overtones. This double intellectual life was

characteristic of Byzantine humanists before and after Cydones. The religious evolution of many *Latinophrones* of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries followed the same pattern.

Whatever the case of the brothers Cydones, the effect exercised by their translations was much wider than their personal options and convictions, and led some Greeks to adopt straightforwardly the Roman Catholic faith and even to join the Dominican order. Such is the case of Manuel Calecas (1410) and of Maximus Chrysoberges (*ca.* 1430), in whose conversions Greek humanism seems to have played a lesser role than in Demetrios'. Others, like the scholar Manuel Chrysoloras (1415) found in St. Thomas not so much theological "truth" as a proof of Latin intellectual respectability. Manuel accepted an offer to teach Greek in Florence and later played a leading role at the Council of Constance, where he was even a candidate for the papacy. In the next generation, the famous Cardinal Bessarion followed a very similar intellectual and personal career, without personally becoming a Thomist. For all these intellectuals imbued with "Greek wisdom," Palamism symbolized a rejection of secular humanism. It was Prochoros

Cydones who, for the first time, wrote refutations of Palamism using Thomist arguments: Thomism and *Latinophroney* thus became the obvious solution for the small group of intellectuals who opposed Palamite thought.

But Palamite theologians also profited from the translations. Some of them even tried to overcome the dilemma between Palamism and Thomism. Nilus Cabasilas, who succeeded Gregory Palamas as Archbishop of Thessalonica (1363), but who earlier had been the teacher of Demetrios Cydones, is described by Demetrios as "passionately enthusiastic about the books of Thomas." ⁸ He was the first among the Greeks with a full knowledge of Latin theology to write in favor of Palamism and against the *Filioque*. To a lesser extent, the same is true of Joseph Bryennios (1439), a learned "teacher," knowledgeable in Latin, ambassador to the Council of Constance, who nevertheless remained fiercely opposed to any doctrinal compromise with the Latins. Another Thomist-Palamite, George-Gennadios Scholarios, was active in Florence before becoming the first patriarch under Turkish occupation.

3. Palamite Theologians: Nicholas Cabasilas

The persistence of opposition against Palamism by isolated but influential intellectuals and the implications of the controversy for East-West relations explain the very great number of Byzantine Palamite writings during the period. Together with those of Nilus Cabasilas and Joseph Bryennios, the names of John Cantacuzenos and of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (1353-1354, 1364-1376) are particularly important.

Also found among the members of the close circle of Cantacuzenos is the remarkable lay theologian Nicholas Cabasilas (*ca.* 1320-*ca.* 1390). A nephew of Nilus Cabasilas, Nicholas was an intimate friend and

correspondent of Demetrios Cydones. His background was very similar to Demetrios', and he pursued a like political career in the shadow of Cantacuzenos. But after Cantacuzenos' abdication (1354), Cydones committed himself totally to the cause of union with the Latins, and Cabasilas became an original exponent of traditional and patristic sacramental theology.

The main theological writings of Nicholas Cabasilas are *The Life in Christ*, a vast spiritual and theological commentary on the sacraments, an *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*, and three Mariological sermons. Occasionally, important theological thought is also to be found in his *Encomia* ("laudations") of various saints. Although some authors have seen little rapport between his theology and Palamas',⁹ between them there is, in fact, total unity of inspiration and purpose: to affirm that communion with God in Christ through the Spirit is the only true meaning of human life. Cabasilas actually did write a brief but violent pamphlet against the Antipalamite Nicephoros Gregoras and clearly took sides in the controversy. His major theological writings are also conceived as an implicit manifesto

against the ideology of the humanists, many of them his personal friends. His thought represents anything but a mystical escape from the issues of the day. He did not explicitly quote Palamas, but many passages of *The Life in Christ* are paraphrases of Palamas' *Triads*. Similarly, he practically never quotes the Fathers of the Church, but parallels with the sacramental passages of John Chrysostom or Cyril of Alexandria can be found on almost every page of *The Life in Christ*. The greatness of Cabasilas is that he succeeded in defending a theology of communion with God in a challenging age without being either scholastic, or polemical. What Palamas rendered in terms of concepts, Cabasilas expressed as an existential reality not only for Hesychast monks but also for every Christian. To understand the theological achievement of fourteenth-century Byzantium, it is essential to read Palamas and Cabasilas together.

In his *Interpretation of the Divine Liturgy*, Cabasilas still sometimes seems derivative of pseudo-Dionysius and his symbolism. But when he is compared with Dionysius himself and with other medieval liturgical writers, it becomes clear that Cabasilas represents a step toward a sacramental realism more congenial with the early Christian understanding of the sacraments. This realism permeates *The Life in Christ*, where the author is more concerned with sacramental theology and spirituality than with explaining individual details of the rites. In the first chapter, Cabasilas takes pains to show that the divine life, which will be "perfected" in the *eschaton*, is, nonetheless, a living experience, accessible in the present age. 10 Baptism is a new birth to this life. As in the earlier Greek Fathers, the positive notion of "new birth," rather than the negative concept of a "remission of sin," dominates Cabasilas' theology of baptism. In the new life, which he enters by baptism, man receives an "experience": "He becomes eye to see the light."¹¹

If baptism gives new being, chrismation the gift of the Spirit bestows "energy" and "movement," i.e., the *free* personal enjoyment of baptismal grace.¹² In the Eucharist, Christ gives man not "something of Himself, but Himself"; "this is the most-praised wedding, to which the Bridegroom leads the Church as a Virgin Bride . . . , when we become flesh of His flesh and bone of His bone."¹³ The paradox of the Church's existence is that "as children, we remain free, but we also depend on Him as His members."¹⁴ Sanctification comes only from Christ,¹⁵ but sanctity consists in conforming our *wills* to His divine will. Cabasilas makes this last point clear when he discusses the concept of "sainthood" in the Church: miracles are unmerited gifts of God and do not constitute sanctity a free human achievement.¹⁶

Side by side with the Pauline image of Christ as Head of the Church, Cabasilas will speak of Jesus as the "heart" of the Body: "As the risen Christ does not know death, so the members of Christ will never taste

death. How can death touch members in communion with a living heart?" This passage and its parallels lead us to an understanding of the very personal manner in which Cabasilas describes the Christian mystery, 17 and show his indebtedness to the anthropology of Macarius, which was predominant in Hesychast circles, and which locates the center of the psycho-somatic human complex precisely in the heart.

An ecclesiology understood through the Eucharist which, for Cabasilas, is the "completion" of all sacraments, not simply one of them;¹⁸ a spirituality founded on a living experience of Christ; and a theocentric anthropology: these legacies of Cabasilas are clearly in contrast with the ideology of the humanists. This contrast does not mean, however, that Cabasilas expressed, at any time, even in his polemics, any systematic prejudice against the Latin West. We have already seen that even when he accuses the Latins of having dropped the epiclesis from the Eucharistic canon, he involves the authority of the Latin rite itself, whose legitimacy he thus recognizes. Obviously, his attitude toward the Western Church is similar to that of his friend Cantacuzenos, who took some pains to explain Palamite theology to the legate Paul and sought a free dialogue at a joint council; or even to that of Patriarch Philotheos who endorsed the project and invited the other patriarchs to take part, expressing the wish, however, that "at the council, our doctrine may be shown better than that of the Latins, so that they may join us in a common confession."¹⁹ In the following century, when the conciliar project was finally accepted by the pope, the Palamite Mark of Ephesus will take the boat for Ferrara with the same aspirations and hopes.

4. Florenge

In spite of the numerous non-theological factors which contributed to

the circumstances in which the Council of Ferrara-Florence was held, the event itself is of great theological significance. Its convocation represented a major concession on Rome's part a concession which the popes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had systematically refused to make, in spite of numerous Byzantine requests. The holding of a union council where all differences would be freely discussed including those to which Rome had already agreed would in fact put Western doctrinal developments somehow on trial. This papal concession was possible only because of the "conciliarist" challenge by the Councils of Constance and Basel. In order to show that there could not be a council without a pope, Eugene IV conceded that the pope also needed a council.

But if a small group of "Latin-minded" humanists among the Byzantines were ready for union through the simple acceptance of papal teachings, the vast majority including the conservative Palamites considered the coun-

cil as the normal way to union on the basis of Orthodoxy. Yet the impressive and formally very representative Byzantine delegation which came to Ferrara was hampered by serious handicaps. First, it was internally divided on the issue of knowledge: although they had formally ascribed to Palamism at their episcopal consecrations, several important members actually were Barlaamites, and therefore skeptical on the issue of whether true knowledge of divine truths is actually attainable. Secondly, in spite of prolonged contacts with the West in the previous decades, the Byzantines (perhaps under the influence of their theory of "pentarchy" which recognized the pope as patriarch of the whole West) seemed not to have understood the deep implications of the ecclesiological problems which were dividing the West, and they failed to capitalize on the division. They chose to negotiate with the pope, under the impression that he was able to speak for all Latins and to raise immediate military help against the Turks. And, finally, the representative character of the Byzantine delegation was only formalthe delegation, in fact, had been selected from among the tiny élite of Constantinople, which by then was a moribund city of fewer than 50,000 inhabitants, 20 and of a few scattered possessions in the Aegean. The millions of Eastern Christiansbishops, clergy, laityin the Middle East, Asia Minor, and the Balkans were already under Turkish occupation, adapting themselves to the new situation and generally skeptical of eventual Latin Crusades. Muscovite Russia, meanwhile, was suspicious of the West anyhow.

Still, these handicaps did not prevent the Council of Ferrara-Florence from providing an occasion for useful, dramatic, and fundamentally free theological dialogue.

The decree *Laetentur caeli*, finally signed on July 6, 1439, was the result, and it was quite different from the theological "victory"

expected by the circle of Cantacuzenos. The decree eliminates one point of contention between Greeks and Latins: the problem of the Eucharistic bread, by declaring that both leavened and unleavened bread may be used in the sacrament; and includes three doctrinal definitions: on the procession of the Holy Spirit, on purgatory, and on the Roman primacy.

Concerning the *Filioque*, the decree affirms the presupposition that no substantial difference exists between the Greek and Latin Fathers in their theology of the Trinity and defines the procession in traditional Latin, Augustinian terms (*ex utroque aeternaliter tanquam ab uno principio et unica spiratione procedit*). Furthermore, it explicitly reaffirms that the word *Filioque* was legitimately (*licite ac rationabiliter*) added to the creed. It was understood, however, that the Greeks would not be required to modify the text of the creed in their own use of it.

The definition on purgatory as long and as detailed as the text dealing with the procession was equally out of line with the generally accepted

Eastern thinking on the soul's fate after death. It formulated the Latin medieval doctrine on purification after death, which was required whenever no sufficient "fruits of repentance" were manifested before death. The definition included the formal statement that unbaptized souls "descend immediately to hell" (*mox in infernum descendere*).

The definition on the primacy affirmed that the Roman pontiff, "true vicar of Christ," is "the head of the whole Church, the Father and Teacher of all Christians," and that to him, in the blessed Peter, "was given full power to feed, to rule, and to govern the universal Church." The definition was manifestly directed at the Western conciliarists, even more than at the Greeks, and, in this particular respect, it achieved the desired result actually the only major result of the Council of Florence. 21 The Byzantines relieved their consciences by securing an insertion, which in their minds was a limitation of papal power: it was to be exercised "in accordance with the acts of the ecumenical councils and the holy canons."

Orthodox apologetics has frequently maintained that the Greeks were under physical and mental strain when they signed this text, but this position is difficult to support since Mark of Ephesus refused to sign and left for home unharmed. One must therefore presume that the others, at the moment of signing, thought themselves right either theologically or, at least, politically. Most of them soon changed their minds, and those who remained faithful to their signature integrated themselves fully into the world of the Italian Renaissance and papal politics and had no further theological influence upon their compatriots.

Four personalities of the Greek delegation played a leading intellectual role in Ferrara, in Florence, and in the years immediately following the council: Mark, Metropolitan of Ephesus; Bessarion,

Metropolitan of Nicaea; and two lay Archontes, George Scholarios and Gemisthos Pletho. Bessarion led the majority of Greeks who finally signed the decree of union; the others represent three rather different forms of opposition to union.

Mark Eugenikos (1392-1444) was made Metropolitan of Ephesus in the year before the council (1437). In theology, he had studied with Joseph Bryennios, and in philosophy, with Gemistos Pletho; under Pletho, he had received a much more elaborate philosophical training than was customary in monastic circles. Mark's view of the Latin West coincided with that of the circle of Cantacuzenos in the preceding century; and he had been willing to recognize the council as ecumenical until he lost hope that what he considered to be the truth would prevail at the assembly. At the beginning of the sessions in Ferrara, prompted by Cardinal Cesarini, Mark delivered to Pope Eugenius a preliminary address in which he called upon the "most holy Father" to receive "his children coming from the East" and "seeking his embrace." But he also stressed the minimum condition for true unity: the removal of the interpolation introduced unilaterally

by the Latins into the common creed. 22 As discussions progressed in quite an opposite direction, his attitude, understandably, grew bitter. In the discussions, he and Bessarion were usually the main Greek spokesmen. His weakest point was a certain inability to go beyond the formal points under discussion: purgatory, *Filioque*, epiclesis and to reach real issues, such as the juridical Anselmian concept of "justification," or the difference between the Cappadocian and Augustinian Trinitarian theologies. A lack of historical perspective on both sides and the conviction that all the Fathers must always agree with one another created an impasse: there were no alternatives but to accept or reject the Latin view. When Mark refused to sign, the pope is said to have declared: "We have accomplished nothing." 23 Obviously, Eugenius IV was aware by then of the real situation in the East and knew that Mark represented much better the prevailing mentality of the East than did the other members of the Greek delegation. Until his death, Mark remained the head of the anti-unionists in Constantinople. He is a saint of the Orthodox Church.

A lifelong admirer of Thomism and a Thomist theologian in his own right, George Scholarios is an intellectual enigma awaiting modern scholarly investigation. "O excellent Thomas," he writes in a preamble to some of his treatises, "why did heaven give you birth in the West? [If you had been born in the East,] you would not have defended the deviations of the Western Church on the procession of the Holy Spirit and on the distinction between the essence of God and His energy, and you would be our impeccable master in doctrine, just as you still are in the field of ethics." 24 With this attitude, similar to that of Nilus Cabasilas' acceptance of Thomism, except on the points of the procession and of Palamism he went to Florence and acted there in full support of union until shortly before the council's conclusion. He then left for Constantinople but avoided an explicit stand until, in

1444, Mark of Ephesus, on his deathbed, entrusted him with the leadership of the Orthodox party. He accepted, assumed the monastic garb under the name of Gennadios, and was affirmed patriarch by Mohammed II in 1453, after the fall of Constantinople. It is quite possible that men like Scholarios if Byzantine theology had not died a violent death in 1453 would have been able to prepare the dialogue in depth which failed in Florence but which alone could have led to true union.

George Gemistos (*ca.* 1360-1452), a layman like Scholarios and better known by his surname "Pletho" consonant with "Plato" was among the orators chosen by the Greeks as their spokesmen at the Council of Ferrara-Florence. He did not make great use of the privilege in the public sessions but was quite active in the behind-the-scenes discussions of the Greeks. What was probably unknown to many and discovered only later, especially by Scholarlos, is that Pletho had dropped his essential commitment to the Christian religion and had replaced it, for himself and for a group of dis-

ciples, with a Platonizing paganism. According to the best available study on Pletho, his involvement in Christian theological discussions was therefore "perfectly hypocritical."²⁵ In Florence, he supported Mark Eugenikos, but left with Scholarios before the proclamation of union; still he seems to have accepted the union later. In any case, none of these gestures could have an ultimate significance for him. A convinced determinist in his philosophy of history,²⁶ he could not believe that either Western help or faithfulness to Orthodoxy could do anything to change the predetermined fate of the Hellenes. In Pletho, therefore, "secular humanism" reached its greatest extent, and seems to have amounted almost to an escape from the realities of history.

Pletho's defeatism was certainly not acceptable, as such, to all Byzantine humanists: the case of one of his pupils and close friends, Bessarion of Nicaea (1402-1472), is the best example. Already a monk in 1429, Bessarion was chosen metropolitan in 1436 when the council was in the making; his ecclesiastical career, however, did not prevent him from maintaining close humanist sympathies and concerns. His obviously sincere religious evolution in Florence (which followed a path directly opposite to that of Scholarios: originally a staunch proponent of Orthodoxy, Bessarion eventually became a leader of the unionist party) can best be explained by his fundamental attitude toward theological knowledge, which was similar to that of Barlaam of Calabria. Since no fundamental and experiential knowledge could be obtained on the main issue dividing Greeks and Latins, the *Filioque*, there was no reason why the Latin West could not play the role of savior, or at least become the refuge for the eternal values of Hellenism. It is significant that the entire literary legacy of Bessarion, with the exception of the few theological orations immediately required by the debates in Ferrara and Florence, deals with Greek philosophy. His monumental *Refutations of the*

Blasphemies Directed Against Plato represents a manifesto of the principles which constitute the philosophy of his master, Pletho. The letter of totally pagan inspiration which he addressed to the son of Pletho after Pletho's death seems even to indicate that he was a secret member of Pletho's pagan sect.²⁷ The presence, in Bessarion's library, of Pletho's autograph with the sacred *ordo* of the sect seems to confirm the fact, which can certainly not be disproved by Bessarion's long, honorable diplomatic service in the curia of the humanist popes of the second half of the fifteenth century. Greek in spirit he indeed remained, much more successfully than his compatriots in the East; but how much of a Christian theologian?

The personality and intellectual evolution of Bessarion is the best possible illustration of the fact that if "the definition of Florence about the primacy of the papacy had dealt a death-blow to Conciliarism"²⁸ and thus changed the course of Western Church history by making the Reformation inevitable, it actually bypassed the issues dividing East and West and, stiffening

the positions of both sides, made the schism a much deeper reality than it had been.

Notes

1. See J. Meyendorff, "Projets de Concile oecuménique en 1367: un dialogue inédit entre Jean Cantacuzène et légat Paul," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 (1960), 174.
2. See J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris: du Scull, 1959), p. 194.
3. Demetrios Cydonès, Letter I in *Demetrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, ed. G. Camelli (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1930), p. 2.
4. Demetrios Cydonès, *Apology I*. in G. Mercati, "Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone . . .," *Studi e Testi* 56 (1931), 365.
5. *Ibid.*, 366.
6. Demetrios Cydonès, *Letter 33*; ed. R. J. Loenertz, *SeT* 186 (1956), 66.
7. Demetrios Cydonès, *De contemnenda morte*; PG 154:1169-1212.
8. Demetrios Cydonès, *Apology III*; in Mercati, "Notizie," 391.
9. See, for example, H.-G. Beck, *KTLBR*, p. 781.
10. Nicholas Cabasilas, *Life in Christ*; PG 150:496_D.
11. *Ibid.*; PG 150:560_C-561_A.
12. *Ibid.*; PG 150:569_A, -580_C.
13. *Ibid.*; PG 150:593_D.
14. *Ibid.*; PG 150:600_A.

15. For this see Cabasilas' commentary on the exclamation "The holy things to the holy" in the liturgy; see also *Life in Christ*, PG 150:613_A.
16. Cabasilas, "On St. Theodora," PG 150:753-772.
17. A good discussion of this can be found in M. Lot-Borodine, *Nicholas Cabasilas* (Paris: l'Orante, 1958), pp. 114-116.
18. Cabasilas, *Life in Christ*; PG 150:585_B.
19. Patriarch Philotheos, *Letter to the Patriarch of Bulgaria*; PG 152:1412_B.
20. See A. M. Schneider, "Die Bevölkerung Konstantinopels im XV. Jahrhundert," Göttingen Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Nachrichten phil.-hist. Klasse* (Göttingen, 1949), 235-237.
21. J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 411.
22. *Ferrariae gesta*, ed. I. Gill (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1952), Vol. 5, fasc. 1, pp. 28-34.
23. Syropoulos, *Mémoire*, X, 15; *Les "Mémoires" du Grand Ecclesiarque de l'Eglise de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1971), p. 496.
24. G. Scholarios, *Oeuvres complètes*, edd. L. Petit and M. Jugie (Paris: Bonne Presse, 1928-1936), VI, 1.
25. F. Masai, *Pléthon et le Platonisme de Mistra* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1956), p. 321.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
27. *Kardinal Bessarion*, ed. L. Mohler (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1942), III, 468-469; see the comments and French translation in Masai, *Pléthon*, pp. 306-307.
28. Gill, *Council of Florence*, p. vii.

9

Lex Orandi

Byzantine' Christianity is known for the wealth of its liturgy, a wealth which reflects indeed a theological or, rather, an ecclesiological position. Through the liturgy a Byzantine recognized and experienced his membership in the Body of Christ. While a Western Christian generally checked his faith against external authority (the magisterium or the Bible), the Byzantine Christian considered the liturgy both a source and an expression of his theology; hence, the very great conservatism which often prevailed both in Byzantium itself and in post-Byzantine times in matters of liturgical tradition and practice. The liturgy maintained the Church's identity and continuity in the midst of a changing world.

This conservatism does not mean, however, that the liturgical structures of the Byzantine Church did not undergo substantial evolution. Since neither theology nor liturgical piety could remain completely aloof from the issues arising from history, by studying them together we can follow the evolution of the religious mind of Byzantium. In spite of its conservatism as a living Christian tradition, Byzantine liturgy responded creatively to the changes of history. The interplay of continuity and change, unity and diversity, faithfulness to a central prototype and local initiative, is unavoidable in the *lex orandi* of the Church. The study of this interplay in Byzantium is a prerequisite for an understanding of its *lex credendi*.

1. The "Great Church" of Constantinople

The famous temple built by Justinian and dedicated to Christ, "the Wisdom of God," or "Hagia Sophia," remained for centuries the

greatest religious edifice in Christendom. Serving as a cathedral for the "archbishop of New Rome," the "ecumenical" patriarch, it provoked amazement in the whole world and had a great aesthetic and, therefore, missionary impact. When the ambassadors of the Russian prince Vladimir of Kiev visited it in 988, they confessed that they wondered whether "they were still on earth, or in heaven," and the Russian Chronicle interprets

the adoption of Byzantine Christianity by the Russians as an effect of their report. 1 But the influence of the "Great Church" was felt not only by the "barbarians"; other Christian communities, possessing a tradition of their own, accepted it as well. During the Byzantine occupation of Italy (sixth-seventh centuries), the Roman Church adopted a great number of Byzantine hymns.² The Syrian Jacobites, in spite of their separation from Orthodoxy on the Christological issue, translated and adopted much of Byzantine hymnography, mostly during the Byzantine reconquest of the Middle East under the Macedonian dynasty (867-1056).³ A similar influence on Armenia is well known.

This prestige accorded Constantinople is particularly remarkable since there is no evidence of any ecclesiastical or imperial policy of imposing its usages by law or by administrative measures. In the Orthodox world itself, which was directly in the orbit of Constantinople and which became even more liturgically centralized than the Roman world, liturgical diversity persisted until the fifteenth century (cf. Symeon of Thessalonica). But this liturgical centralization resulted, not from the deliberate policy of a central power, but from the extraordinary cultural prestige of Constantinople, the imperial capital. The adoption of a liturgical practice or tradition by the "Great Church" meant a final sanction and, ultimately, a quasi-guarantee of universal acceptance.

With the exception of the few, rather superficial, elements which were borrowed from imperial court ceremonial, the liturgy of the "Great Church" was a synthesis of disparate elements, rather than an original creation.⁴ This synthetic and "catholic" character reflects faithfully the role of Byzantium in politics and in theology. As an empire, Byzantium had to integrate the various cultural traditions which composed it, and as the center of the imperial Church, it continually

attempted to maintain a balance between the various local theological trends which divided Christendom after the fourth century.

The form of the Byzantine liturgy and hence its theology was determined by the following main elements:

A. The early Christian, pre-Constantinian nucleus, to which the Byzantine Church (as well as all the other major traditions of the Christian East) remained very closely faithful in the celebration of the two mysteries which "recapitulate" all the others: baptism and the Eucharist.⁵ In spite of the totally different conditions of Christian life and of the adoption of infant baptism as a universal pattern, the rite of baptism retained the wording and the essential forms shaped in the second and third centuries. Performed by full immersion, it remained an elaborate and solemn representation of the paschal mystery, and of the "passage" from the old life to the new, of the renunciation of Satan, and the union with Christ. The rite remained virtually free of later forms of symbolism and unaffected by

extra-sacramental theological developments. Confirmation, performed by a priest with "holy chrism" blessed by a bishop, was never separated from baptism; the neophyte, even if only a child, was then admitted immediately to the Eucharist.

The pre-Constantinian nucleus is less in evidence in the developed Byzantine Eucharist, whose peripheral parts have been embellished with symbolism and interpreted as a sacramental re-enactment of the life of Christ. Its central part, i.e., the Eucharistic canon itself, retains very faithfully, however, the original form and the Jewish root of the Eucharist. This is true of both Eucharistic liturgies which replaced, in the Byzantine world, the more ancient Palestinian liturgy of "St. James": the liturgies of Basil and of John Chrysostom. Both date essentially from the fourth or fifth century, with the direct authorship by Basil of Caesarea (379) almost certain in the case of the canon bearing his name. But Basil used a more ancient tradition which he attributed to the apostles themselves. His Eucharistic prayer "is assuredly one of the most beautiful and most harmonious formulas of this type bequeathed to us by Christian antiquity. . . , very close to the most ancient wording of the Christian prayer, with expressions that are still very near to the Jewish prayer itself."⁷

According to the medieval Byzantine *ordo* reflected by the twelfth-century canonist Balsamon,⁸ the liturgy of John Chrysostom is the usual Eucharistic form celebrated throughout the year, except during Lent; Basil's is used only on ten solemn occasions. The ancient liturgy of "St. James," however, was not entirely forgotten in Jerusalem and a few other local communities. Of ecclesiological importance is the fact that the Eucharist remained a solemn, festal celebration in Byzantium, and presupposed, in principle, the gathering around the Lord's table by the entire local Christian community. The contrast with Western medieval developments is, in this respect, quite striking. Not only

does the Byzantine Church ignore "low Masses," or Masses of intention; it does not consider the daily celebration of the Eucharist as a norm, except in monasteries. Moreover, a priest is not allowed to celebrate more than once on the same day; nor can a single altar serve each day for more than one Eucharist. These rules place the ecclesiological reality of the one Church, realized in the one Eucharist, above all pastoral conveniences or practical considerations. As in the early Church, the Eucharist is never the action of a particular group of faithful, nor does it serve any partial or accidental purpose; it is always offered "on behalf of all and for all" by the entire Church.

B. The liturgical evolution of the so-called "cathedral" rite, a designation applied by A. Baumstark to the practice of the major city-churches, as distinct from the monastic communities.⁹ A manuscript preserves a description of this rite as it was practiced at Hagia Sophia from 802 to 806,¹⁰ and Symeon of Thessalonica (1429) describes a "chanted vigil" belonging

to the same tradition, although he recognizes that, in his times, it was no longer practiced in its pure form even at Hagia Sophia. 11

Devoting comparatively little time to scriptural reading, or psalmody, this rite had favored the mushrooming of hymnography and the development of the liturgy as a "mystery," or "drama." It was indeed difficult to preserve the communal concept of Christian worship, or the notion that the Eucharist is a communion *meal*, when the liturgy began to be celebrated in huge basilicas holding several thousand worshippers. But since the early Christian community was now transformed into a crowd of nominal Christians (a transformation described as a real tragedy by Chrysostom in his famous sermons at Constantinople), it was necessary for the Church to emphasize the *sacred* character of the Christian sacraments, to protect them from secular profanation, and to surround them with veils and barriers, thus practically excluding the mass of the laity from active participation in their celebration, except through the singing of hymns.

This evolution, which could have been a purely practical and pastoral, and thus justifiable, development, acquired a not altogether healthy theological expression, of which the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of pseudo-Dionysius is the most explicit witness. We described earlier the way in which the "earthly" liturgy was explained by Dionysius as a symbolic and only symbolic representation of an unchangeable hierarchy of beings who stand between the individual Christian and his God. After Dionysius, the liturgy began to play the role of a Gnostic initiation, and the notion of common life in Christ was often lost. But sacramental realism and a more traditional view of the liturgy were preserved in the rite itself, and theologians like Nicholas Cabasilas, in their writings about the liturgy, were able to overcome the ambiguous tradition of individualism and Gnostic symbolism which Dionysius had introduced in the sixth century.

c. Monasticism: From the beginning of the Constantinian era, a monastic type of worship existed concurrently with the emerging "cathedral" type and soon entered into competition with it. It was characterized by a number of autonomous units of common worship (vespers, compline, midnight prayer, matins, and the four canonical hours, completed in Jerusalem with "mid-hours"), by its almost exclusive use of psalmody, and by its original opposition to hymnography.¹² A monastic office could be practically continuous through day and night as it was, for example, in the monastery of the "Non-sleepers" in Constantinople. The monastic communities also developed the penitential aspects of the later Byzantine synthesis: Lenten cycle, prostrations, fasting.

The earliest available descriptions of the *Typikon* of the monastery of Studion in Constantinople and of the Palestinian *Typikon* of St. Sabbas preserve the liturgical orders of these two major monastic centers around the tenth century. At that time both had already lost the original sobriety

of monastic worship: not only had they dropped opposition to hymnography; both had become major centers of hymn-writing (Theodore at the Studion, John of Damascus at St. Sabbas). On the other hand, the symbolic Gnosticism of pseudo-Dionysius had by then widely influenced monastic circles: if the goal of the earthly Church was to imitate the "celestial hierarchies," the monks considered themselves as fulfilling *a fortiori* the purpose of the "angelic life." Actually, a common acceptance of the Dionysian understanding of the liturgy must have brought the "monastic" and the "cathedral" type closer together.

But their initial integration did not occur in Constantinople. There the *Typikon* of the "Great Church" and that of the Studion were still clearly distinct in the tenth century (when the Studite rule, as modified by Patriarch Alexis, was brought to Kiev and adopted by Theodosius of the Caves). Integration occurred in Jerusalem, where monastic practices were accepted within the original "cathedral" rite around the eleventh century. The Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204-1261) and the subsequent decadence of the Studion may have contributed to the adoption of the integrated *Typikon* of Jerusalem by the "Great Church" of Constantinople and its generalization in the Byzantine world.¹³ The great Hesychast patriarchs of the fourteenth century, especially Philotheos Kokkinos, were the main agents of this liturgical unification.

The adoption of a single system of liturgy for both secular and monastic churches facilitated liturgical unification throughout the Church. Byzantine dominance in the Christian East led, in fact, to an even greater liturgical centralization than Rome could ever achieve in the West. The difference, however, was that no particular ecclesiological significance was attached to this centralization, which was due only to the inimitable cultural prestige of the "Great Church."

Actually, the Byzantine rite was not Constantinopolitan by origin, but Syrian in its first version and Palestinian in the second. Yet the opportunity presented to newly converted peoples to translate the liturgy into their respective tongues counterbalanced the disadvantages of centralization and constituted a powerful tool for missionary activity. In any case, the liturgy remained, in the Orthodox Church, a major expression of unity.

Equally important was the adoption, by the Byzantine Church, of a monastic *Typikon* to regulate the liturgical life of the entire Christian community. Actually, on this point, the other Eastern Christian spiritual families—the Copts, the Jacobites, the Armenians—were in the same predicament. By accepting monastic spirituality as a general pattern for its worship, the Christian East as a whole expressed the eschatological meaning of the Christian message. The very magnitude of the liturgical requirements described in the *Typikon*, the impossibility for an average community to fulfill them integrally, and the severity of penitential discipline implied in the liturgical books always served as a safe-

guard against any attempt to identify the Church too closely with the present *aion*, and as a signpost of the Kingdom to come. If properly understood, the Eastern liturgy places the Church in a state of permanent eschatological tension.

2. The Liturgical Cycles

In its fully developed form, reached in the fourteenth century, the Byzantine rite is still essentially dominated by the *paschal* theme of the early Christian message: in Christ, man *passes* from slavery to freedom, from darkness to light, from death to life. Byzantine liturgy may frequently use conceptual definitions, formal doctrinal confessions, or romantic poetry as we shall see in our discussion of hymnography but it is impossible to understand its structure and the internal logic of its cycles without grasping the dynamic suggestion of a *passage* from the "old" to the "new," which is the central theme of almost every liturgical unit. Variations on this theme appear everywhere. The misery of man's existence in the "old Adam" is given more or less emphasis, just as the bliss of new life is considered either as an already present reality or as a goal still to be achieved.

Each cycle normally corresponds to a particular liturgical book. The daily cycle, found in the *Expanded Psalter*, or its abbreviated form, the *Horologion*, uses the paschal theme in connection with the daily alternation of light and darkness. Following, in its permanent, unchangeable structure, the ancient monastic patterns, which used to shun hymnography, Byzantine vespers and matins select almost exclusively scriptural texts to connect the coming of night with man's fall and separation from God and sunrise with the advent of Christ, the "true light." Vespers begin with an evocation of creation (Ps 104) and a suggestion of man's helplessness after the Fall (Pss 140, 141, 129, 116), and end with the prayer of Simeon (Lk 2:29-32), the hope of

salvation, the idea that night and death can also become blessed repose for those who hope in the coming of the Messiah. Alternating the themes of repentance and hope, matins represent an ascension toward the meeting of light: the ten Biblical canticles including the eminently paschal Canticles of Moses (Ex 15:1-18; Dt 32:1-43) and of the Three Youths in Babylon (Dn 3:26-56, 67-88) are part of a psalmodic ensemble, called a canon, which culminates in the *Magnificat* (Lk 1:46-55) and the *Benedictus* (Lk 1:68-79) combined. At sunrise the triumphant Psalms 148, 149, 150 (the Latin lauds), the exclamation "Glory to Thee, who has shown us the light," and the doxology reflect the Christian joy and assurance of God-given salvation.

Vespers obviously aim at suggesting the "old" situation of man, and thus the developed Byzantine rite includes Old Testament readings only at vespers. Matins, by contrast, are highlighted on certain appointed days

by readings from the Gospels. The weekly cycle also uses the theme of the "old" and the "new," centering it on Sunday, the "eighth day," 14 the "day of the Lord" and of His second coming (Rv 1:10), the day of His resurrection and of His presence in the Eucharist. Still, the "old" Jewish Sabbath is not simply discarded: it is the day of awaiting, of commemoration of the dead, who expect resurrection, and also the day when Christ, in the tomb, descended into Hell to assure the dead of the forthcoming liberation. Thus Saturday is considered, together with Sunday, as a Eucharistic day, even during Lent.

The feast of Easter serves as the movable center of the yearly cycle. It has a period of preparation (Lent) and a fifty-day celebration (Pentecost), and its date determines the following liturgical year. For each of these periods there is a corresponding liturgical book containing the pertinent hymnography: the *Triodion* for Lent, the *Pentecostarion* for the period between Easter and Pentecost, and the *Oktoekhos* (Book of eight tones) containing the cycle of eight weeks, which repeats itself between the Second Sunday after Pentecost and the following Lent.

Finally, the twelve volumes of the *Menaion* (Book of months) contain proper offices for each day of the calendar year. The very great amount of hymnographic material which was gradually accepted into the *Menaion* through the centuries is very uneven in quality, but the offices of the major feasts and of principal saints are generally celebrated with hymns composed by the best liturgical poets of Byzantium. Like the Western Sanctoral, the *Menaion* represents a later, post-Constantinian development of the liturgy, based on historical interest for past events, on local piety connected with the veneration of particular saints and their relics, and on pilgrimages to holy places in Palestine. In each case, however, the *Menaion* establishes a connection with the central, paschal content of the

Christian faith. Thus, for example, the feasts of the Nativity (December 25) and of the Epiphany of Christ (January 6) are preceded by periods of preparation which are patterned, hymnographically and musically, on the offices of Holy Week. Through this evocation, the cross and the Resurrection are shown as the ultimate goal of the Incarnation.

The three major cycles of the yearly feasts commemorate the lives of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and John the Baptist. The Christological cycle includes the feasts of the Annunciation, Nativity, Epiphany, Circumcision, "Meeting" with Simeon (February 2), and the Transfiguration. The feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14) is also part of this cycle. The cycle of the Virgin includes the commemoration of her conception, nativity, presentation, and dormition. The cycle of John the Baptist is an early Palestinian creation with a Biblical foundation and serves as the model for the Mariological cycle. It includes the feasts of conception, nativity, and decollation. This entire system, represented iconographically on the so-called "Deisis" a composition often shown centrally in the

iconostasis and including the central figure of Christ flanked by Mary and John suggests a parallelism between the Mother and the Precursor, the two representatives of the human race who stood closest to Jesus. No particular liturgical attention is paid to St. Joseph, except for a relatively modest commemoration on December 26, when he is included with other "ancestors" of Christ.

The *Menaion* contains explicit commemoration, however, of numerous Old Testament figures prophets, kings, and others the theological implication being that, after Christ's descent into Hell, they, as well as those who pleased God in the new dispensation, are alive in Him.

3. Hymnology

The introduction of massive hymnology in the "cathedral" rite is generally connected with the name of Romanos the Melode. There is very little historical evidence showing the reasons why the *kontakia* by Romanos and his imitators were very soon replaced, in Byzantine liturgical cycles, by different types of hymnography, but it may be assumed that the *kontakion* had to face monastic opposition. Although it dealt primarily with Biblical themes and often paraphrased Biblical texts, the *kontakion* nevertheless constituted a substitute for the Biblical psalms or canticles themselves, and encouraged the use of music which the monks considered too secular. The long poetical pieces of Romanos of course had no organic place in the increasingly rigid and strictly Biblical framework of vespers, matins, and other liturgical units as they were being elaborated in the monastic *Typika*. Yet the fact that Romanos' poetry, though explicitly Chalcedonian and Cyrillian, generally stood aloof from the great Christological disputes of the sixth and seventh centuries may also have contributed to the emergence of a hymnography more distinctly theological and

doctrinal than the *kontakia*.

The original ascetic opposition of many monastic centers against hymnographical creativity did not persist. By the fifth century, Auxentios (in Bithynia ca. 470) was composing *troparia*, short poetical pieces of two or three sentences, sung according to the pattern of Biblical psalmody and probably in conjunction with Biblical psalms or canticles.¹⁵ This style of hymnography served as the alternative for the long and independent *kontakia* of Romanos. Short *troparia*, or *stikhera*, were composed to be sung *after* each verse of the regular Biblical texts accepted as parts of vespers and matins, rather than as independent liturgical services. Complete series of *troparia* were written to accompany the ten Biblical canticles of matins. These series received the convenient appellation of canon, or "rule." They often include, after the sixth ode, a vestigial remnant of a *kontakion* of Romanos, while parts of the same *kontakion* are paraphrased in other *stikhera* or *troparia* (Nativity services, for example). Thus a few short

pieces of Romanos' poetry were kept in the liturgical books after the final adoption, in the ninth or tenth century, of the new patterns of hymnography. Palestinian monks of the Lavra of St. Sabbas (Andrew, who later became bishop in Crete, John of Damascus, Cosmas of Maiuma) seem to have played, in the early-eighth century, a decisive role in the reform, which was in fact a compromise between the original Biblical strictness of the monastic rule and the free lyricism of Romanos.

In the final form it assumed in the ninth century the later enrichments were only peripheral the Byzantine hymnographical system is a poetic encyclopedia of patristic spirituality and theology. Its importance for our understanding of Byzantine religious thought cannot be exaggerated. Medieval Byzantium never attributed to schools, to intellectual speculation, or even to the magisterium the importance which they acquired in the West, but the centuries-old hymnographical tradition will be referred to for example by Gregory Palamas against Barlaamas a certain criterion of orthodoxy and as an expression of Church tradition *par excellence*. It will remain so in the Slavic and other areas, where Byzantine Christianity will be spread.

The difficulty in using hymnographical materials as a source for theology lies in the tremendous volume and diversity of the hymns. Of course, the many hagiographical legends and poetic exaggerations found in them can be used only in the context in which they were originally written. The Byzantines, however, obviously understood the difference between doctrinal statements and poetry, for some hymns are explicitly called *dogmatika troparia*; those of Saturday vespers, for example, which were always dedicated to the meaning of the Incarnation in terms of the Chalcedonian definition:

Who will not bless you, O all-holy Virgin? Who will not sing praises to the One whom you bore? The only-begotten Son, who shone forth before

all ages from the Father, the same came forth from you, O pure one. Ineffably He became incarnate, being by nature God, and became man by nature for our sakes; not being divided in two persons, but known in two natures without confusion. Him do you beseech, O pure and blessed one, that He will have mercy on our souls [Tone 6].

This text, obviously, is meant to be a confession of faith as well as a prayer or a piece of religious poetry. Other boundlessly emotional hymns addressed to Mary, the *Theotokos*, use Biblical images and symbols to describe her role in salvation history:

Hail, O earth unsown! Hail, O bush which burned, yet was not consumed! Hail, O abyss unfathomable! Hail, O bridge leading to heaven, and lofty ladder, which Jacob saw! Hail, O divine container of manna! Hail, O abrogation of the curse! Hail, O recall of Adam! The Lord is with you [Annunciation vespers].

The Marian emotionalism displayed by Byzantine hymnographers the same ones who were able to use the strictest possible theological language in other texts is often an expression of liturgical wisdom and common sense. The liturgy of the Church, a sacred play involving the *whole of man*, must assume and transform all forms of human feeling and must not be restricted to satisfying only his intellectual capacity. The alternation and correlation between the various aspects of religious experience is probably the secret of the lasting impact exercised by Byzantine Church hymnography upon generations of human souls.

This humaneness of Byzantine hymnography is also shown in the *Triodion*, a book for use during the Lenten period, composed in large part by Theodore the Studite and his immediate disciples. A monument of monastic spirituality, the *Triodion* assumes a patristic system of anthropology according to which man is truly man only when he is in real communion with God: then also is he truly free. In his present fallen state, however, man is a prisoner of Satan and, as we saw in connection with the spiritual doctrine of Evagrius, his liberation and salvation presuppose the suppression of his "passions" i.e., of that which makes him love creatures rather than God. The way to "passionlessness" (*apatheia*) is through repentance:

O how many are the good things I miss! How beautiful the Kingdom I lost through my passions! I spent the wealth I once possessed by transgressing the commandment. Alas, O impassionate soul! You were condemned to fire eternal. But, before end comes, call on Christ, our God. Accept me as the prodigal son, O God, and have mercy on me [Sunday of the prodigal son, vespers].

Abstinence and asceticism are the tools proposed to fight passions, but, even if the ascetic note is somewhat exaggerated, the true dimension of the Christian life and hope is never lost: "The Kingdom

of God is neither food nor drink, but joy in the Holy Spirit," proclaims a *stikheron* of the first week of Lent; "Give money to the poor, have compassion on the suffering: this is the true fast which pleases God." Monastic-oriented asceticism does not make the authors lose sight of marriage, family life, and social responsibility:

Marriage is honorable, the couch is blameless; for Christ, in advance, blessed the one and the other by partaking food in the flesh and by changing water into wine in Cana . . . , so that you may change, O soul [Canon of Andrew of Crete, ode 9].

But all the appeals to "repentance" and to "change" would be meaningless if a foretaste of the blessed and joyful Kingdom to come were not also given. The triumphant hymns of the paschal night, composed by John

of Damascus, paraphrasing a paschal sermon of Gregory of Nazianzus, are an immortal monument of Christian joy:

This is the day of resurrection!
Let us shine joyfully, O peoples!
The Pascha of the Lord, the Pascha!
From death to life, and from earth to heaven,
Christ has led us, and we sing hymns of victory.

O Christ, the great and holy Pascha,
O wisdom, Word, and Power of God!
Permit us to partake more fully of Thee
In the unending day of Thy Kingdom.

Notes

1. "The Russian Primary Chronicle," trans. S. H. Cross, *Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature* 12 (1930), 199.
2. A. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée* (Chévtogne, 1953), pp. 109-113.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-106.
4. See A. Schmemmann, "The Byzantine Synthesis," *Introduction to Liturgical Theology* (London: Faith Press, 1966), pp. 116-166.
5. Gregory Palamas, *Hom.* 60; ed. S. Oikonomos (Athens, 1861), p. 250.
6. Basil of Caesarea, *On the Holy Spirit*, 27; ed. B. Pruche, SC 17 (Paris: Cerf, 1945), p. 233.
7. Louis Bouyer, *Eucharist* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), pp. 302-303.
8. PG 119:1033.
9. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, p. 124.

10. ^{MS} Patmos 266, published by A. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie Liturgicheskikh Rukopisei* (Kiev, 1901) I, 1-152.
11. Symeon of Thessalonica; PG 155:556^D.
12. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, p. 114.
13. See M. Skaballanovich, *Tolkovy Tipikon* (Kiev, 1910), pp. 410-416.
14. Basil of Caesarea, *On the Holy Spirit*, 27; Pruche ed., p. 237.
15. See the *Life* of Auxentios, *ActSS.*, Feb. 11, 770ff.

II DOCTRINAL THEMES

The historical outline found in the first nine chapters of this book was an attempt to cover the theological controversies, the distinctive tendencies, and the basic sources of theological thought in Byzantium. We now turn to a more systematic picture of Byzantine theology. No Byzantine theologian ever attempted to write a *Summa*. This does not mean, however, that behind the issues debated by theologians there was not a basic unity of inspiration, and the sense of a single, consistent tradition of faith. Of course, the East was less prone than the West to conceptualize or to dogmatize this unity of tradition. It preferred to maintain its faithfulness to the "mind of Christ" through the liturgy of the Church, through the tradition of holiness, through a living *gnosis* of the Truth. In any systematic presentation of Byzantine theology, there is, therefore, a danger of forcing it into the mold of rational categories foreign to its very nature. This is precisely what occurred in many textbooks of dogmatic theology which appeared in the Orthodox East after the eighteenth century, which claimed to remain faithful to the theology of the Byzantine Fathers. They have been ably characterized by Georges Florovsky as expressions of a "Western captivity" of the Orthodox mind. For, it is not enough to quote an abundance of proof-texts from patristic or Byzantine authors: true consistency requires a unity of method and congeniality of approach.

I have attempted to achieve this by adopting in the following chapters a plan of exposition which conforms to the content of the Christian experience itself: man, created and fallen, meets Christ, accepts the action of the Spirit, and is thus introduced into communion with the Triune God. The reader will judge for himself whether or not this plan is more adequate than the other to the subject matter itself.

Inevitably, a systematic exposition of doctrinal themes in Byzantine theology requires frequent reference to writings which sometimes fall

outside the chronological limits defined in the Introduction. It is impossible, for example, to speak of either anthropology or Trinitarian theology in Byzantium without referring to Origen and to the doctrines of the great Fathers of the fourth century, whom the Byzantines recognized as their teachers *par excellence*.

It was also inevitable, on the other hand, that my treatment of the Byzantine authors be influenced by the fact that., as an Orthodox theologian, I personally see the great tradition of the undivided Church as continuing in Byzantium and, through it, carrying its message to modern times as well.

10

Creation

Patristic thought on creation developed within the framework of age-long polemics against Origenism. The issue in the debate was the Greek concept of an eternal cosmos and the Biblical linear view of history, which began with the creative *fiat*. The starting point of Origen's view on the origin of the world was that the act of creation was an expression of God's *nature* and that, since this nature is changeless, there could never be a "time" when God would not be creating. Consequently, the world has always existed, because God's goodness has always needed an object. ¹ In Origenism, eternity of creation was, in fact, ontologically indistinguishable from the eternity of the Logos. Both proceeded eternally from God. This identification led Arius, after he had rejected the eternity of creation, to the concept that the Logos had also been generated in time. The anti-Arian theology of Athanasius of Alexandria defined the categories which became standard in later Byzantine authors: the distinction between generation and creation.

1. Creator and Creatures

For Athanasius,² creation is an act of the *will* of God, and will is ontologically distinct from *nature*. By nature, the Father generates the Son and this generation is indeed beyond time but creation occurs through the will of God, which means that God remains absolutely free to create or not to create, and remains transcendent to the world after creating it. The absence of a distinction between the nature of God and the will of God was common to Origen and to Arius. To establish this distinction constitutes the main argument of Athanasius.

It is totally impossible to consider the Father without the Son, because "the Son is not a creature which came into being by an act of will; by nature He is the proper Son of the essence [of the Father]."3 The Son, therefore, is God by nature, while "the nature of creatures which came into being from nothing is fluid, impotent, mortal, and composite."4
Re-

futing the Arian idea that the Logos was created in view of the world, Athanasius affirms that "it is not He who was created for us, but we were created for Him." 5 In God the order of nature precedes the order of volitive action,⁶ and is both superior to and independent of it. Because *God is what He is*, He is not determined or in any way limited in what He *does*, not even by His own essence and being.

Divine "nature" and created "nature" are, therefore, separate and totally dissimilar modes of existence. The first is totally free from the second. Yet creatures depend upon God; they exist "by His grace, His will, and His word . . . so that they can even cease to exist, if the Creator so wishes."⁷ In Athanasius, therefore, we have advanced quite far from Origen's cosmos, which was considered a necessary expression of God's goodness identified with divine nature itself. At this point one discovers that the notion of creation, as expressed by Athanasius, leads to a distinction in God between His transcendent essence and His properties, such as "power" or "goodness," which express His existence and action *ad extra*, not His essence.

The difference *in nature* between God and His creatures, as well as the distinction between the "natural" generation of the Son by the Father, and creation "by act of will," is emphasized by both Cyril of Alexandria⁸ and John of Damascus.⁹ The difference also represents the ontological *raison d'être* of the Chalcedonian definition on the "two natures" of Christ. The two natures can be understood as being in "communion" with each other, as "hypostatically" united, but they can never be "confused" i.e., considered as "one nature."

Athanasius' insistence on the transitory character of creation should not mislead us. What he wants to show is a *contrast* between the absolute, self-sufficient nature of God, and the dependence upon Him of all created nature. He certainly does not want to reduce created

existence to a mere "phenomenon." God's creative act produced a new "created" order, another "essence" distinct from His own; an "essence" worthy of God, deserving of His love and concern, and fundamentally "very good." God does not create, as in Origen, simply a collection of equal intellects, which find a meaning of existence only in contemplating the essence of God and which are diversified only as a consequence of their Fall. Because creation is an essence, and not simply a phantom or a mirage, there is a sense in which its meaning is found in itself, for even God "loves" the world, i.e., considers it as a reality vis-à-vis Himself. Even when it is assumed by the Logos in a hypostatic union, created nature, according to the Chalcedonian definition, "preserves its properties." The implication of this created autonomy was developed in particular by Maximus the Confessor and by the Orthodox theologians of the iconoclastic period. Let us only emphasize here that the very ideas of providence, love, and communion, which reflect the

creator's action toward the world, presuppose difference and distinction between Him and His creation.

2. The Divine Plan

Creation in time i.e., the possibility of a true *beginning* of created existence presents the major cleavage between Greek thought and Biblical Revelation. But the idea of an eternal *plan*, which God put into effect when He created the world in time, is not inconsistent with the concepts found in the Jewish "wisdom" literature, and even more concretely in the Johannine theology of the Logos, and responds to at least some preoccupations of Greek philosophical thought.

Throughout its history, Byzantine theology, both "Greek" and Biblical as it was, struggled with the possibility of integrating, into a consistent Christian view of creation, a theory of divine "ideas" about the world. The Platonic *kosmos noetos* had to be rejected, inasmuch as it represented an eternal reality outside of God, both impersonal and "substantial," which would limit the absolute freedom of the creative act, exclude creation *ex nihilo*, and tend to diminish the substantial reality of visible creation by considering it only as a shadow of eternal realities. This rejection was accomplished implicitly by the condemnation of Origen in 553 and explicitly in the synodal decisions against John Italos in 1081. Meanwhile, patristic and Byzantine thought developed in reaction to Origenism. Gregory of Nazianzus, for example, speaks of "images of the world" as thoughts of God. 10 These "thoughts" do not limit the freedom of a personal God, since they remain distinct from His nature. Only when He creates in time do they become "reality." 11 The thoughts are the expressions also of divine will, 12 not of divine nature; they are "perfect, eternal thoughts of an eternal God." 13 Since there cannot be anything created "in God," the thoughts, or ideas about the world, are uncreated

expressions of divine life, which represent the unlimited potentiality of divine freedom. God creates the world, not "out of them," but out of nothing. The beginning of the world is the beginning of a totally new reality, put forward by the *act* of creation which comes from God and conforms to His eternal plan.

The existence in God of eternal, uncreated "potentiality," which is not God's essence, nor the world's, nor an essence in itself, but which implies a certain *contingency* toward creation, presupposes an antinomical concept of God which will find different forms of expression in Byzantine theology. To describe it, Georges Florovsky writes that "we have to distinguish, as it were, *two modes of eternity*: the *essential eternity* in which only the Trinity lives, and the *contingent eternity* of the free acts of Divine grace."¹⁴ Actually, on this point, Byzantine theology reached a direct sense of the difference between the impersonal philosophical notion of God as an ab-

solute, and the Biblical understanding of a God personal, transcendent, and free.

To express the relationship between creator and creatures, the great Maximus the Confessor uses the old theology of the Logos as center and living unity of the *logos* of creation. The terminology already existed in Philo and Origen. But, whereas for Origen the *logoi* as *logoi* exist only in an essential unity with the one Logos, for Maximus their real and "logical" existence is also expressed in their *diversity*. The great difference between Origen and Maximus is that Maximus rejects Origen's view of visible creation as diversified only through the Fall. The "goodness" of creation, according to Maximus, resides in creation itself, and not only in its unity with divine essence. But creation cannot be truly "good" unless its differentiated *logoi*, which pre-existed as "thoughts" and "wills" of God, are fixed in Him and preserve communion with the one "super-essential" divine Logos. 15 Creatures, therefore, do not exist only "as *logoi*," or only by the fact that God eternally "knows them"; they exist "by themselves" from the very moment when God put His foreknowledge into action. In His thought, eternally, creatures exist only potentially, while their actual existence occurs in time. This temporal, actual existence of created beings is not autonomous, but centered in the one Logos, and is in communion with Him. There is a sense, therefore, in which "the one Logos is many *logoi*, and the many are one"; "the One is many according to creative and unifying procession of the One into the many, but the many are One according to the providence which leads the many to turn up toward the One, as their all-powerful principle."16 Paradoxically, therefore, the creatures are one in the one Logos, who, however, is "super-essential" and above participation.17 "Thus, the *logoi* are to Maximus not identical either with the essence of God or with the existence of the things in the created world. In fact, an

apophatic tendency is combined in Maximus with an anti-pantheistic tendency. . . . This is effected, above all, thanks to the understanding of the *logoi* as decisions of God's will."¹⁸

By remaining faithful to the Athanasian distinction between *nature* and *will*, Maximus succeeds in building an authentically Christian ontology of creation, which will remain, throughout the history of Byzantine thought, a standard and virtually unchallenged authority.¹⁹ This ontology presupposes a distinction in God between "nature" (or "essence") and "energy," a distinction which will later be called "Palamism." It presumes a personal and dynamic understanding of God, as well as a dynamic, or "energetic," conception of created nature.

3. The Dynamism of Creation

For Origen, the original, intellectual creation is static. It finds its true *logical* existence in the contemplation of God's essence, and its first *move-*

ment is a form of rebellion against God. Change and diversity in creation are consequences of the Fall and, therefore, are fundamentally evil. For Maximus, and the entire Byzantine theological tradition, the *movement* (*kinesis*) of creatures is the necessary and natural consequence of their creation by God.²⁰ God, therefore, in creating the world, placed outside of Himself a system of dynamic beings, which are different from Him in that they change and move toward Him.²¹ The *logos* of every creature consists, therefore, in being essentially *active*;²² there is no "nature" without "energy" or movement.

This dynamic conception of created nature constitutes Maximus' main argument against the "Monoenergists" of the seventh century, whose Christology considered Christ's humanity as having lost its genuinely *human* "energy" or will because of its union with divinity. But, for Maximus, created nature would lose its very existence if it were deprived of its *proper* energy, its proper purpose, and its proper dynamic identity. This proper movement of nature, however, can be fully itself only if it follows its proper goal (*skopos*), which consists in striving for God, entering into communion with Him, and thus fulfilling the *logos*, or divine purpose, though which and for which it is created. The true purpose of creation is, therefore, not contemplation of divine essence (which is inaccessible), but communion in divine energy, transfiguration, and transparency to divine action in the world. We shall discuss later the anthropological and Christological dimensions of this concept of creation. But it also has obvious cosmological implications.

In general, the Byzantines accepted cosmological concepts inherited from the Bible or from antiquity. So hesitant were they to push scientific knowledge further that it has even been written that "the meager accomplishment of the Byzantines in the natural sciences

remains one of the mysteries of the Greek Middle Ages."²³ In any case, it does not seem that Byzantine theology is to blame for that failure, for theology affirmed the dynamism of nature and, therefore, contained the fundamental incentive for studying and, eventually, controlling its development.

During the entire Byzantine Middle Ages, Basil's homilies *On the Hexaemeron*, were the standard and most authoritative text on the origin, structure, and development of the world. Supporting Athanasius' opposition to the Hellenic and Origenistic concept of creation as an eternal cyclical repetition of worlds, and affirming creation in time, Basil maintains the reality of a created movement and dynamism in creatures. The creatures do not simply receive their form and diversity from God; they possess an energy, certainly also God-given, but authentically their own. "Let the earth bring forth" (Gn 1:24): "this short commandment," says Basil, "immediately became a great reality and a creative *logos*, putting forth, in a way which transcends our understanding, the innumerable varieties of plants. . . . Thus, the order of nature, having received its beginning from

the first commandment, enters the period of following time, until it achieves the overall formation of the universe." 24 Using scientific knowledge as it existed in his time, as well as the Stoic terminology of the "seminal reasons," Basil remains theologically independent from his non-Biblical sources. For example, he rejects the Stoic idea that the *logoi* of creatures are the true eternal essences of beings, a concept which could lead to the eternal return "of worlds after their destruction."25 Like Athanasius and Maximus, Basil remains faithful to the Biblical concept of absolute divine transcendence and freedom in the act of creation; divine providence, which gave being to the world through the *logoi*, also maintains it in existence, but not at the expense of the world's own created dynamism, which is part of the creative plan itself.

The existence of the world as dynamic "nature" (i.e., as a reality "outside of" God for whom it is an object of love and providence), following its own order of evolutive growth and development, implies the possibility of purely objective scientific investigation of creatures by the human mind. This does not mean, however, that created nature is ontologically "autonomous." It has been created in order to "participate" in God, who is not only the prime mover and the goal of creation, but also the ultimate meaning (*logos*) of its permanence. "God is the principle, the center and the end," writes Maximus, "insofar as He *acts* without being passive. . . . He is the principle, as creator; He is the center, as providence, and He is the end, as conclusion, for *All things come from him, by him and toward him* [Rm 11:36]."26 A scientific knowledge which would ignore this ultimate meaning of creation would, therefore, be dangerously onesided.

4. Sanctification of Nature

In its present, defective state, created nature fulfills its destiny quite

inadequately. The Biblical, anthropocentric concept of the world is preserved in Greek patristic literature: nature suffers from the Fall of man, the "microcosm," to whom God had granted the control of nature and who, instead, preferred to be controlled by it. As a result, instead of revealing, through its internal meaning (*logos*) and purpose (*skopos*), the divine plan for creation and, through this, God Himself, nature became the domain and instrument of Satan: throughout creation, the "natural energy," which conforms to the original divine plan, is in struggle with the destructive forces of death. The dramatic character of the present existence of creation is generally taken for granted by Byzantine theologians, but it is most explicitly formulated in liturgy and spirituality.

The Byzantine rite of Baptism has inherited from Christian antiquity the strong initial emphasis on exorcism. The deliberate renunciation of Satan, the sacramental expulsion of the forces of evil from the soul of the candidate for baptism imply a passage from slavery under the "prince of this

world" to freedom in Christ. Liturgical exorcisms, however, are concerned not only with the demonic forces controlling the human soul. The "Great Blessing of Water" on the Feast of the Epiphany exorcises the cosmos, whose basic element, water, is seen as a refuge of "nestling dragons." The frequent mention of the demonic forces of the universe in liturgical and patristic texts should be understood in a *theological* context, for they cannot be reduced to Biblical or medieval mythologies alone, even if they often reflect mythological beliefs. The "demonic" in nature comes from the fact that creation fell out of its original meaning and direction. God had entrusted control over the world to man His own "image and likeness." But man chose to *be controlled* by the world and, thereby, lost his freedom. He then became subject to cosmic determinism, to which his "passions" attach him and in which ultimate power belongs to death. This is the interpretation which Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus apply to the passage of Genesis 3:21 about the "garments of skin" given to Adam and Eve after the Fall. Rejecting Origen's identification of the "garments" with material bodies an interpretation based upon the Origenistic idea on the pre-existence of souls Maximus describes the change in man's situation only in terms of a new *dependence* upon the animal side of the world's existence. Instead of using the potentialities of his nature to raise himself and the whole of creation to God, man submitted himself to the desires of his material senses. 27 As a result, the world which was originally created by God, as "very good" became for man a prison and a constant temptation, through which the "prince of this world" establishes his reign of death.

By sanctifying water, food, and plants, as well as the results of man's own creativity, such as works of art or technology (the Byzantine liturgy is very rich in sacramental actions of sanctification, or blessing), the Church replaces them all in their original and true

relation, not only to God, but also to man, who is God's "image." To proclaim God's control over the universe, as the Blessing of Epiphany does, amounts in fact to affirming that man is no longer a slave to cosmic forces:

The immaterial powers tremble before Thee; the sun praises Thee; and the moon worships Thee; the stars are Thy servants; and light bows to Thy will; the tempests tremble and the springs adore Thee. Thou didst spread out the heavens like a tent; Thou didst set the land upon the waters. . . . [Therefore,] heeding the depth of Thy compassion, O Master, Thou couldst not bear to see humanity defeated by the devil, and so Thou didst come and didst save us. . . . Thou didst free the children of our nature. . . .

Thus, sanctification of nature implies its demystification. For a Christian, the forces of nature cannot be divine; nor can they be subject to any form of natural determinism: the resurrection of Christ, by breaking the laws

Of nature, has liberated man from slavery to nature, and he is called to realize his destiny as lord of nature in God's name.

Byzantine liturgy, when it proclaims the sanctification of the cosmos, frequently mentions, not only the demonic powers which have usurped authority over the world, but also the "bodiless powers of heaven" who cooperate with God and man in the restoration of the original and "natural" order in the world. Yet Byzantium has never had a universally accepted system or description of the angelic World, with the exception of the *Celestial Hierarchy* of pseudo-Dionysius, in which each of the nine orders of angels is considered as an intermediary between the highest power above it and the form of existence below. The goal of Dionysius is to preserve, inside an outwardly Christian system of thought, a hierarchical concept of the universe adopted from Neoplatonism.

In spite of its very widespread, but rather peripheral, influence, the Dionysian concept of the angelic world never succeeded in eliminating the more ancient and more Biblical ideas about the angels. Particularly striking is the opposition between the very minor role ascribed by Dionysius to the "archangels" (second rank from the bottom of the angelic hierarchy) and the concept found in Jewish apocalyptic writings, including Daniel, Jude, and Revelation, where the archangels Michael and Gabriel rank as the "chief captains" of God's celestial armies. This idea has been preserved in the liturgy, which should be considered as the main and most reliable source of Byzantine "angelology."

Involved in the struggle against the demonic powers of the cosmos, the angels represent, in a way, the ideal side of creation. According to Byzantine theologians, they were created before the visible world, 28 and their essential function is to serve God and His image, man. The

scriptural idea that the angels perpetually praise God (Is 6:3; Lk 2:13) is a frequent theme of the Byzantine liturgy, especially of the Eucharistic canons, which call the faithful to join the choir of angels i.e., to recover their original fellowship with God. This reunion of heaven and earth, anticipated in the Eucharist, is the eschatological goal of the whole of creation. The angels contribute to its preparation by participating invisibly in the life of the cosmos.

Notes

1. Origen, *De principles*, 1, 2, 10; ed. Koetschau, pp. 41-42; trans. Butterworth, p. 23.
2. See G. Florovsky, "The Concept of Creation in Saint Athanasius," *Studia Patristica* VI, part IV, TU 81 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 36-37.
3. Athanasius, *Contra Arianos*, III, 60; PG 26:448-449.
4. *Contra Gentes*, 41; PG 25:81_{CD}.
5. *Contra Arianos*, II, 31; PG 26:212_B.
6. *Ibid.*, II, 2; PG 26:149_C.

7. *Ibid.*, I, 20; PG 26:55_A.
8. See, for example, *Thesaurus*, 15; PG 75:276_B; *ibid.*, 18; PG 75:313_C.
9. *De fide orth.*, I, 8; PG 94:812-813.
10. See especially Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carm. theol. IV de mundo*, V, 67-68; PG 37:421.
11. John of Damascus, *De fide orth.*, II, 2; PG 94:865.
12. *Ibid.*, I, 9; PG 94:837.
13. Maximus the Confessor, *Schol.*; PG 4:317.
14. Georges Florovsky, "The Idea of Creation in Christian Philosophy," *EChurchQ* 8 (1949), 67.
15. See Lars Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator*, pp. 76-84.
16. Maximus the Confessor, *Amb.* 7; PG 91:1081_C.
17. *Ibid.*; PG 91:1081_B.
18. Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator*, p. 81.
19. See S. L. Epifanovich, *Prepodobnyi Maksim Ispovednik i Vizantiiskoe bogoslovie* (Kiev, 1915), pp. 136-137.
20. See J. Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought* (Washington: Corpus, 1969), pp. 100-102.
21. See Maximus the Confessor, *Ad Thal.*, 60; PG 90:621_A.
22. Maximus the Confessor, *Amb.*; PG 91:1057_B.
23. Milton V. Anastos, "The History of Byzantine Science: Report on the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium of 1961," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

16 (1962), 411.

24. Basil of Caesarea, *In Hex.*, hom. 5; PG 29:1160_D.

25. *Ibid.*, 3; PG 29:73_C.

26. Maximus the Confessor, *Cap. gnostica*, I, 10; PG 91:1085_D-1088_A.

27. See, in particular, Maximus the Confessor, *Ad Thal.* 61; PG 90:628_{AB}.

28. Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 38, 9; PG 36:320_C; John of Damascus, *De fide orth.*, II, 3; PG 94:873.

11

Man

The view of man prevailing in the Christian East is based upon the notion of "participation" in God. Man has been created not as an autonomous, or self-sufficient, being; his very *nature* is truly itself only inasmuch as it exists "in God" or "in grace." Grace, therefore, gives man his "natural" development. This basic presupposition explains why the terms "nature" and "grace," when used by Byzantine authors, have a meaning quite different from the Western usage; rather than being in direct opposition, the terms "nature" and "grace" express a dynamic, living, and necessary relationship between God and man, different by their *natures*, but in *communion* with each other through God's energy, or grace. Yet man is the center of creation a "microcosm" and his free self-determination defines the ultimate destiny of the universe.

1. Man and God

According to Maximus the Confessor, God, in creating man, "communicated" to him four of His own properties: being, eternity, goodness, and wisdom. 1 Of these four *divine* properties, the first two belong to the very essence of man; the third and the fourth are merely *offered* to man's willful aptitude.

The idea that his "participation" in God is man's particular privilege is expressed in various ways, but consistently, in the Greek patristic tradition. Irenaeus, for example, writes that man is composed of three elements: body, soul, and Holy Spirit;² and the Cappadocian Fathers speak of an "efflux" of the Holy Spirit in man.³ Gregory of Nyssa, in his treatise *On the Creation of Man*, in discussing man before the Fall,

attributes to him the "beatitude of immortality," "justice," "purity."
"God is love," writes Gregory, "and source of love. The creator of our nature has also imparted to us the character of love. . . . If love is absent, all the elements of the image are deformed."⁴ Jean Daniélou's comments on this passage may, in fact, be extended to Greek patristic thought as a whole:

Gregory identifies realities which Western theology considers distinct. He ascribes to man certain traits, such as reason or freedom, which the West attributes to the [created] spirit; others such as *apatheia* or love (called *grace* by Westerners), attributed to divine life; as well as the effects of final glorification: incorruptibility and beatitude. For Gregory, the distinctions do not exist. 5

Thus, the most important aspect of Greek patristic anthropology, which will be taken for granted by the Byzantine theologians throughout the Middle Ages, is the concept that man is not an autonomous being, that his true humanity is realized only when he lives 'in God' and possesses divine qualities. To express this idea, various authors use various terminologies Origenistic, Neoplatonic, or Biblical; yet there is a consensus on the essential *openness* of man, a concept which does not fit into the Western categories of "nature" and "grace."

As we saw in the passage of Maximus' cited at the beginning of this section, the "natural" participation of man in God is not a static givenness; it is a challenge, and man is called to *grow* in divine life. Divine life is a gift, but also a task which is to be accomplished by a free human effort. This polarity between the "gift" and the "task" is often expressed in terms of the distinction between the concepts of "image" and "likeness." In Greek, the term *homoiosis*, which corresponds to "likeness" in Genesis 1:26, suggests the idea of dynamic progress ("assimilation") and implies human freedom. To use an expression of Gregory Palamas': Adam, before the Fall, possessed "the ancient dignity of freedom."⁶ Thus there is no opposition between freedom and grace in the Byzantine tradition: the presence in man of divine qualities, of a "grace" which is part of his nature and which makes him fully man, neither destroys his freedom, nor limits the necessity for him to become fully himself by his own

effort; rather, it secures that cooperation, or synergy, between the divine will and human choice which makes possible the progress "from glory to glory" and the assimilation of man to the divine dignity for which he was created.

The understanding of man as an "open being," naturally possessing in himself a divine "spark" and dynamically oriented toward further progress in God, has direct implications for the theory of knowledge and particularly for the theory of the knowledge of God. Western Scholasticism has assumed that this knowledge is based upon revealed premisses Scripture or church magisterium which serve as a basis for development by the human mind in conformity with the principles of Aristotelian logic. This concept of theology, which presupposes the autonomy of the human mind in defining Christian truths on the basis of Revelation, was the initial issue in the controversy between Barlaam the Calabrian and Gregory Palamas in the fourteenth century. According to Barlaam, the natural human mind could never reach divine truth itself, but only draw conclusions from re-

vealed premisses. In cases when revealed premisses specifically affirmed a given proposition, a logical intellectual process could lead to "apodictic" conclusions, i.e., to intellectually evident truths. If a theological affirmation could not be based on revealed premisses, however, it could not be considered as "demonstrated" but only as "dialectically possible." To refute these views, Palamas developed an experiential concept of our knowledge of God, based upon the notion that God is not known through a purely intellectual process, but that man, when he is in *communion* with God (i.e., restored to his *natural* state) can, and even must, enjoy a direct knowledge and experience of his creator. This direct knowledge is possible because man, since he is not an autonomous being, but an image of God "open upward," possesses the natural property of transcending himself and of reaching the divine. This property is not simply intellectual; it implies purification of the whole being, ascetical detachment, and ethical progress: "It is impossible to possess God in oneself," writes Palamas, "or to experience God in purity, or be united with the unmixed light, unless one purify oneself through virtue, unless one get out, or rather above, oneself." 7

Obviously, this Palamite understanding of knowledge coincides with Gregory of Nyssa's concepts of "the sense of the heart" or the "eyes of the soul,"⁸ and with Maximus' identification of the knowledge of God with "deification." For the entire patristic and Byzantine tradition, knowledge of God implies "participation" in God, i.e., not only intellectual knowledge, but a state of the entire human being, transformed by grace, and freely cooperating with it by the efforts of both will and mind. In the monastic tradition of Macarius, reflected, for example, in the writings of Symeon the New Theologian, this idea of "participation" is inseparable from the idea of freedom and of consciousness. A true Christian knows God through a free and

conscious experience; this is precisely the friendship with God which was man's state before the Fall the state in which God wanted man to live and which was restored in Jesus Christ.

2. Man and the World

The "image and likeness" of God in man implies, not only an openness of man toward God, but also a *function* and *task* of man in the whole of creation.

Against Origen, the Fathers unanimously affirmed that man is a unity of soul and body. On this point, the Biblical view decidedly overcame Platonic spiritualism; by the same token, the *visible* world and its *history* were recognized as worthy of salvation and redemption. If, in the Origenistic system, the diversity of visible phenomena was only a consequence of the Fall and of the bodily nature of man an "engrossed" and defective mode of the soul's existence, the only true and eternal reality being spiritual

and divine the Biblical and Christian concept understood the universe in its entirety as "very good"; and this concept applied first of all to man.

According to Maximus the Confessor, body and soul are complementary and cannot exist separately. 9 If primarily directed against the Origenistic idea of the pre-existence of souls, this affirmation raises the issue of the soul's survival after death. This survival is not denied, of course, but neither is it understood as a "liberation" from the body, in a Platonic sense. The separation of body and soul at death is as contrary to "nature" as death itself, and the ultimate and eternal survival of the soul is possible only if the whole man is raised from death at the resurrection. Yet the soul's immortality is not only directed toward the resurrection of the whole man; it is also conditioned by the soul's relationship to God. The spiritual literature of the Byzantine East frequently speaks of the "death of the soul" as a consequence of rebellion against God, i.e., of sin. "After the transgression of our ancestors in Paradise," writes Gregory Palamas, ". . . sin came into life. We ourselves are dead and, before the death of the body, we suffer the death of the soul; that is to say, the separation of the soul from God."¹⁰

Obviously, the dual nature of man is not simply a static juxtaposition of two heterogeneous elements, a mortal body and an immortal soul: it reflects a dynamic function of man between God and creation.

Describing the anthropology of Maximus, Lars Thunberg is fully justified when he writes: "Maximus seems to stress the independence of the elements [i.e., soul and body], not primarily in order to maintain the immortality of the soul in spite of its relationship to the body, but in order to underline the creative will of God as the only constitutive factor for both, as well as for their unity."¹¹ We are here back to the point made at the beginning of this section: man is truly man because

he is the image of *God*, and the divine factor in man concerns not only his spiritual aspect as Origen and Evagrius maintained but the whole of man, soul and body.

This last point is the reason why a majority of Byzantine theologians describe man in terms of a trichotomist scheme: spirit (or mind), soul, body. Their trichotomism is very directly connected with the notion of participation in God as the basis of anthropology.

We have seen that this theocentrism appears in Irenaeus' use of Pauline trichotomism: Spirit, soul, body.¹² Under Origenistic influence, the Fathers of the fourth century, followed by the later Byzantine authors, prefer to speak of mind (*nous*), soul, and body. The desire to avoid ambiguity concerning the identity of the "spirit" and to affirm the created character of the human "spirit" may also have contributed to this evolution. But, even then, Origenistic and Evagrian terminology was unsatisfactory, because the concept of the *nous* was connected with the myth of eternal pre-existence, original Fall, and disincarnate restoration. Although it reflected satisfactorily the theocentric aspect of patristic anthropology, this terminology

failed to emphasize the function of man in the visible world. Thus, in Maximus the Confessor, the human *mind*, though certainly understood as the element *par excellence* connecting man with God, is also seen as a created function of man's created psychosomatic unity.

The *nous*, therefore, is not so much a "part" of man as (1) the ability which man possesses to transcend himself in order to participate in God; (2) the unity of man's composite nature when it faces his ultimate destiny in God and in the world; (3) the freedom of man, which can either fully develop if it finds God or become defective if it submits itself to the body. "The spirit (*nous*) in human nature corresponds most nearly to the person," writes Vladimir Lossky.¹³ The judgment of Lars Thunberg on Maximus is valid for the entire Byzantine tradition: "Maximus is able to express his conviction that there is a personal aspect in man's life, which goes, as it were, beyond his nature, and represents his inner unity, as well as his relationship to God."¹⁴ This concept of the person or hypostasis, irreducible to nature or to any part of it, is a central notion in both theology and anthropology, as we shall see later in connection with the doctrine of the Trinity.

As image of God, man is lord of creation and "microcosm." This second concept, which was widely used in Platonism and Stoicism, was adopted by the Cappadocian Fathers and given a Christian dimension: man is a "microcosm" because (1) he unites, in his hypostatic existence, the intelligible and sensible aspects of creation; (2) he is given by God the *task* and *function* to make this unity ever more perfect, especially after the Fall, when forces of disintegration and division are also actively at work in creation. On this point, and especially in Maximus the Confessor, we find another aspect of the polarity of image-likeness: God's gift to man is also a task and a challenge.

Maximus, in a famous passage of *Ambigua* 41,15 lists five polarities which are to be overcome by man: God and creation, the intelligible and the sensible, heaven and earth, paradise and world, man and woman. The polarities have been sharpened by sin and rendered insuperable by human capabilities alone. Only the man Jesus, because He is also God, was able to overcome them. He is the new Adam, and in Him, creation again finds communion with the creator and harmony within itself.

The central role of man in the cosmos is also reflected better perhaps than in any system of concepts in the Byzantine liturgy with its emphasis on the union of heaven and earth, its sacramental realism, its rites of blessing food, nature, and human life, as well as in the affirmation that, by nature, man is closer to God than are the angels themselves. The idea originates in Hebrews 1:14, and is developed by Gregory Palamas in the context of an Incarnational theology: "The Word became flesh to honor the flesh, even this mortal flesh; therefore, the proud spirits should not consider themselves, and should not be considered, worthy of greater honors

than man, nor should they deify themselves on account of their incorporality and their apparent immortality." 16

Among creatures, there is no greater glory than to be the lord of all creation: man is given this glory if he preserves in himself the image of God. i.e., if he partakes in the life and glory of the creator Himself.

3. Original Sin

In order to understand many major theological problems which arose between East and West, both before and after the schism, the extraordinary impact upon Western thought of Augustine's polemics against Pelagius and Julian of Eclanum must be fully taken into account. In the Byzantine world, where Augustinian thought exercised practically no influence, the significance of the sin of Adam and of its consequences for mankind was understood along quite different lines.

We have seen that in the East man's relationship with God was understood as a communion of the human person with that which is *above nature*. "Nature," therefore, designates that which is, in virtue of creation, distinct from God. But nature can and must be transcended; this is the privilege and the function of the *free mind*, made "according to God's image."

Now, in Greek patristic thought, only this free, personal mind can commit sin and incur the concomitant "guilt" a point made particularly clear by Maximus the Confessor in his distinction between "natural will" and "gnomic will." Human nature, as God's creature, always exercises its dynamic properties (which together constitute the "natural will" a created dynamism) in accordance with the divine will which created it. But when the human person, or hypostasis, by rebelling against both God and nature misuses its freedom, it can distort the "natural will" and thus corrupt nature itself. It is able to do

so because it possesses freedom, or "gnomic will," which is capable of orienting man toward the good and of "imitating God" ("God alone is good by nature," writes Maximus, "and only God's imitator is good by his *gnome*");¹⁷ it is also capable of sin, because "our salvation depends on our will."¹⁸ But sin is always a personal act, never an act of nature.¹⁹ Patriarch Photius even goes so far as to say, referring to Western doctrines, that the belief in a "sin of nature" is a heresy.²⁰

From these basic ideas about the personal character of sin, it is evident that the rebellion of Adam and Eve against God could be conceived only as their personal sin; there would be no place, then, in such an anthropology for the concept of inherited guilt, or for a "sin of nature," although it admits that human nature incurs the consequences of Adam's sin.

The Greek patristic understanding of man never denies the unity of mankind or replaces it with a radical individualism. The Pauline doctrine of the two Adams ("As in Adam all men die, so also in Christ shall all

he brought to life" [1 Co 15:22]), as well as the Platonic concept of the ideal man, leads Gregory of Nyssa to understand Genesis 1:27 "God created man in His own image" to refer to the creation of mankind as a whole.²¹ It is obvious, therefore, that the sin of Adam must also be related to all men, just as salvation brought by Christ is salvation for all mankind; but neither original sin nor salvation can be realized in an individual's life without involving his personal and free responsibility.

The scriptural text which played a decisive role in the polemics between Augustine and the Pelagians is found in Romans 5:12, where Paul, speaking of Adam, writes: "As sin came into the world through one man, and through sin, death, so death spread to all men *because all men have sinned* [*eph ho pantes hemarton*]." In this passage there is a major issue of translation. The last four Greek words were translated in Latin as *in quo omnes peccaverunt* ("in whom [i.e., in Adam] all men have sinned"), and this translation was used in the West to justify the doctrine of guilt inherited from Adam and spread to his descendants. But such a meaning cannot be drawn from the original Greek the text read, of course, by the Byzantines. The form *eph ho* a contraction of *epi* with the relative pronoun *ho* can be translated as "because," a meaning accepted by most modern scholars of all confessional backgrounds.²² Such a translation renders Paul's thought to mean that death, which was "the wages of sin" (Rm 6:23) for Adam, is also the punishment applied to those who, like him, sin. It presupposes a cosmic significance of the sin of Adam, but does not say that his descendants are "guilty" as he was, unless they also sin as he sinned.

A number of Byzantine authors, including Photius, understood the *eph ho* to mean "because" and saw nothing in the Pauline text beyond a moral similarity between Adam and other sinners, death being the

normal retribution for sin. But there is also the consensus of the majority of Eastern Fathers, who interpret Romans 5:12 in close connection with 1 Corinthians 15:22 between Adam and his descendants there is a solidarity *in death* just as there is a solidarity *in life* between the risen Lord and the baptized.

This interpretation comes, obviously, from the literal, grammatical meaning of Romans 5:12. *Eph ho*, if it means "because," is a neuter pronoun; but it can also be masculine, referring to the immediately preceding substantive *thanatos* ("death"). The sentence then may have a meaning which seems improbable to a reader trained in Augustine, but which is indeed the meaning which most Greek Fathers accepted: "As sin came into the world through one man and death through sin, so death spread to all men; and *because of death*, all men have sinned. . . ."

Mortality, or "corruption," or simply death (understood in a personalized sense), has indeed been viewed, since Christian antiquity, as a cosmic disease which holds humanity under its sway, both spiritually and physically, and is controlled by the one who is "the murderer from the beginning"

(Jn 8:44). It is this death which makes sin inevitable, and in this sense "corrupts" nature.

For Cyril of Alexandria, humanity, after the sin of Adam, "fell sick of corruption." 23 Cyril's opponents, the theologians of the School of Antioch, agreed with him on the consequence of Adam's sin. For Theodore of Mopsuestia, "by becoming mortal, we acquired greater urge to sin." The necessity of satisfying the needs of the body—food, drink, and other bodily needs—are absent in immortal beings, but among mortals they lead to "passions," for they present unavoidable means of temporary survival.²⁴ Theodoret of Cyrus repeats almost literally the arguments of Theodore in his own commentary on Romans; elsewhere, he argues against the sinfulness of marriage by affirming that transmission of mortal life is not sinful in itself, in spite of Psalm 51:7 ("my mother conceived me in sin"). This verse, according to Theodoret, refers not to the sexual act but to the general sinful condition of *mortal* humanity: "Having become mortal, [Adam and Eve] conceived mortal children, and mortal beings are necessarily subject to passions and fears, to pleasures and sorrows, to anger and hatred."²⁵

There is indeed a consensus in Greek patristic and Byzantine traditions in identifying the inheritance of the Fall as an inheritance essentially of mortality rather than of sinfulness, sinfulness being merely a consequence of mortality. The idea appears in Chrysostom, who specifically denies the imputation of sin to the descendants of Adam;²⁶ in the eleventh-century commentator Theophylact of Ohrida;²⁷ and in later Byzantine authors, particularly Gregory Palamas.²⁸ The always-more-sophisticated Maximus the Confessor, when he speaks of the consequences of the sin of Adam, identifies them mainly with the mind's submission to the flesh and finds in sexual procreation the most obvious expression of man's acquiescence

in animal instincts; but as we have seen, sin remains, for Maximus, a personal act, and inherited guilt is impossible.²⁹ For him, as for the others, "the wrong choice made by Adam brought in passion, corruption, and mortality,"³⁰ but not inherited guilt.

The contrast with Western tradition on this point is brought into sharp focus when Eastern authors discuss the meaning of baptism.

Augustine's arguments in favor of infant baptism were taken from the text of the creeds (baptism for "the remission of sins") and from his understanding of Romans 5:12. Children are born sinful, not because they have sinned personally, but because they have sinned "in Adam"; their baptism is therefore also a baptism "for the remission of sins." At the same time, an Eastern contemporary of Augustine's, Theodoret of Cyrus, flatly denies that the creedal formula "for the remission of sins" is applicable to infant baptism. For Theodoret, in fact, the "remission of sins" is only a side effect of baptism, fully real in cases of adult baptism, which was the norm, of course, in the early Church and which indeed "remits sins." But the

principal meaning of baptism is wider and more positive: "If the only meaning of baptism were the remission of sins," writes Theodoret, "why would we baptize the newborn children who have not yet tasted of sin? But the mystery [of baptism] is not limited to this; it is a promise of greater and more perfect gifts. In it are the promises of future delights; it is a type of the future resurrection, a communion with the master's passion, a participation in His resurrection, a mantle of salvation, a tunic of gladness, a garment of light, or, rather, it is light itself." 31

Thus, the Church baptizes children, not to "remit" their yet nonexistent sins, but in order to give them a new and immortal *life*, which their mortal parents are unable to communicate to them. The opposition between the two Adams is seen in terms not of guilt and forgiveness but of death and life. "The first man was from the earth, a man of dust; the second man is from heaven; as was the man of dust, so are those who are of the dust, and as is the man of heaven, so are those who are of heaven" (1 Co 15:47-48). Baptism is the paschal mystery, the "passage." All its ancient forms, and especially the Byzantine, include a renunciation of Satan, a triple immersion as type of death and resurrection, and the positive gift of new life through anointing and Eucharistic communion.

In this perspective, death and mortality are viewed, not so much as retribution for sin (although they are also a just retribution for personal sins), as means through which the fundamentally unjust "tyranny" of the devil is exercised over mankind after Adam's sin. From this, baptism is a liberation, because it gives access to the new immortal life brought into the world by Christ's Resurrection. The Resurrection delivers men from the fear of death, and, therefore, also from the necessity of struggling for existence. Only in the light of the risen Lord does the Sermon on the Mount acquire its full realism: "Do

not be anxious about your life, what you shall eat or what you shall drink, nor about your body, what you shall put on. Is not life more than food, and the body more than clothing?" (Mt 6:25).

Communion in the risen body of Christ; participation in divine life; sanctification through the energy of God, which penetrates true humanity and restores it to its "natural" state, rather than justification, or remission of inherited guiltthese are at the center of Byzantine understanding of the Christian Gospel.

4. The New Eve

As early as Justin and Irenaeus, primitive Christian tradition established a parallel between Genesis 2 and the Lucan account of the Annunciation, and the contrast between two virgins, Eve and Mary, to symbolize two possible uses of created freedom by man: in the first, a surrender to the

devil's offer of false deification, in the second, humble acceptance of the will of God.

Although it was superseded after the Council of Ephesus by the veneration of Mary as Mother of God or *Theotokos*, the concept of the New Eve who, on behalf of all fallen humanity, was able to accept the coming of the new "dispensation" is present in the patristic tradition throughout the Byzantine period. Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople (434-446), frequently used the idea in his homilies. The Virgin Mary is viewed as the goal of Old Testament history, which began with the children of Eve: "Among the children of Adam, God chose the admirable Seth," writes Palamas, "and so the election, which had in view, by divine foreknowledge, her who should become the Mother of God, had its origin in the children of Adam themselves, filled up in the successive generations, descended as far as the King and Prophet David. . . . When it came to the time when this election should find its fulfillment, Joachim and Anna, of the house and country of David, were chosen by God. . . . It was to them that God now promised and gave the child who would be the Mother of God." 32

The election of the Virgin Mary is, therefore, the culminating point of Israel's progress toward reconciliation with God, but God's final response to this progress and the beginning of new life comes with the Incarnation of the Word. Salvation needed "a new root," writes Palamas in the same homily, "for no one, except God, is without sin; no one can give life; no one can remit sins."³³ This "new root" is God the Word made flesh; the Virgin Mary is His "temple."

Byzantine homiletic and hymnographical texts often praise the Virgin as "fully prepared," "cleansed," and "sanctified." But these texts are to be understood in the context of the doctrine of original sin which prevailed in the East: the inheritance from Adam is mortality, not

guilt, and there was never any doubt among Byzantine theologians that Mary was indeed a *mortal* being.

The preoccupation of Western theologians to find in Byzantium ancient authorities for the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary has often used these passages out of context. And, indeed, Sophronius of Jerusalem (638) praises Mary: "Many saints appeared before thee, but none was as filled with grace as thou. . . . No one has been purified in advance as thou hast been. . . ."34 Andrew of Crete (740) is even more specific, preaching on the Feast of the Virgin's Nativity: "When the Mother of Him who is beauty itself is born, [human] nature recovers in her person its ancient privileges, and is fashioned according to a perfect model, truly worthy of God. . . . In a word, the transfiguration of our nature begins today. . . ."35 This theme, which appears in the liturgical hymns of the Feast of September 8, is further developed by Nicholas Cabasilas in the

fourteenth century: "Earth she is, because she is from earth; but she is a new earth, since she derives in no way from her ancestors and has not inherited the old leaven. She is . . . a new dough and has originated a new race." 36

Quotations can easily be multiplied, and they give clear indications that the Mariological piety of the Byzantines would probably have led them to accept the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary as it was defined in 1854, *if only* they had shared the Western doctrine of original sin. But it should be remembered especially in the context of the poetical, emotional, or rhetorical exaggerations characteristic of Byzantine liturgical Mariology that such concepts as "purity" and "holiness" could easily be visualized even in the framework of pre-Christian humanity, which was considered as *mortal*, but not necessarily "guilty." In the case of Mary, her response to the angel and her status as the "new Eve" gave her a special relation to the "new race" born of her. Yet, never does one read, in Byzantine authors, any statement which would imply that she had received a special grace of *immortality*. Only such a statement would clearly imply that her humanity did not share the common lot of the descendants of Adam.

The only Byzantine author who definitely understood and accepted both the Western concept of original sin and the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is Gennadios Scholarios (*ca.* 1472): "The grace of God delivered her completely," Gennadios writes, "just as if she had been conceived virginally [sic]. . . . Thence, because she was completely liberated from the ancestral guilt and punishment a privilege which she is the only one of the human race to have received her soul is altogether inaccessible to the clouds of [impure] thoughts, and she became, in body and soul, a divine sanctuary." 37 Interesting in the mouth of a convinced Thomist, who abandons on

this point the negative attitude of St. Thomas himself, Scholarius' statement reflects the characteristically Western concept of "guilt," and anticipates later, similar utterances by Orthodox theologians, who will begin to think in the categories of Western Scholasticism.

In order to maintain a fully balanced view of Byzantine Mariology, it is necessary to keep in mind the essentially Christological framework of the veneration of the *Theotokos* in Byzantium (a point which will be stressed in the next chapter). Yet the absence of any formal doctrinal definition on Mariology as such allowed the freedom of poets and orators, as well as the reservation of strict exegetes. They always had available in hundreds of copies the writings of the greatest of Byzantine patristic authorities, John Chrysostom, who found it possible to ascribe to Mary not only "original sin," but also "agitation," "trouble," and, even, "love of honor."³⁸

No one, of course, would have dared to accuse the great Chrysostom of impiety. So the Byzantine Church, wisely preserving a scale of theological values which always gave precedence to the *basic* fundamental truths of

the Gospel, abstained from enforcing any dogmatic formulation concerning Mary, except that she was truly and really the *Theotokos*, "Mother of God." No doubt, this striking title, made necessary by the logic of Cyrillian Christology, justified her daily liturgical acclamation as "more honorable than the Cherubim, and more glorious beyond compare than the Seraphim."

What greater honor could be rendered to a human being? What clearer basis could be found for a Christian theocentric anthropology?

Notes

1. Maximus the Confessor, *De Char.*, III, 25; PG 90:1024^{BC}.
2. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, 5, 6, 1.
3. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carm.*; PG 37:452.
4. Gregory of Nyssa, *De opif. hom.* 5; PG 44:137^C.
5. Jean Daniélou, *Platonisme et théologie mystique* (Paris: Aubier, 1944), p. 54.
6. Gregory Palamas, *Triads*, I, 1, 9; ed. J. Meyendorff (Louvain, 1959), p. 27.
7. *Ibid.*; ed. Meyendorff, p. 203.
8. See Daniélou, *Platonisme et théologie mystique*, pp. 240-241.
9. Maximus the Confessor, *Amb.* 7; PG 91:1109^{CD}.
10. Gregory Palamas, *Hom.* 11; PG 151:125^A; see other references in J. Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas* (London: Faith Press, 1964), pp. 122-124.
11. Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator*, p. 103.

12. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, 5, 6, 1.
13. Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology*, p. 201.
14. Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator*, p. 119.
15. Maximus the Confessor, *Amb.*, 41; PG 91:1305_b.
16. Gregory Palamas, *Hom.* 16; PG 157:204_A.
17. *De Char.*, IV, 90; PG 90:1069_C.
18. Maximus the Confessor, *Liber Asceticus*; PG 90:953_B.
19. Maximus the Confessor, *Expos. or. dom.*; PG 90:905_A; on this, see J. Meyendorff, *Christ*, pp. 112-113.
20. Photius, *Library*, 177; ed. R. Henry (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1960), 2:177.
21. Gregory of Nyssa, *De opif. hom.* 16; PG 44:185_B.
22. See Joseph A. Fitzmeyer, S.J., in *The Jerome Biblical Commentary* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968) 53:56-57 (II, pp. 307-308): "The meaning of the phrase *eph' ho* is much disputed. The least convincing interpretations treat it as a strict rel[ative] phrase: (1) 'in whom,' an interpretation based on the [Vulgate] translation, 'in quo,' and commonly used in the Western Church since Ambrosiaster. This interpretation was unknown to the G[ree]k Fathers before Theophylact. But if Paul had meant this, he could have written *en ho* (see 1 Cor 15:22). . . . (4) 'Since, inasmuch as, because,' . . . This interpretation, commonly used by G[ree]k patristic writers, is based on 2 Cor 5:4; Phil 3:12; 4:10, where *eph' ho* is normally translated 'because.' . . . It would thus ascribe to all men an individual responsibility for death. . . . *all men sinned*: . . . The verb should not be translated, 'have sinned collectively' or 'have sinned in Adam,' because these are additions to the text. Here *hemarton* refers to personal, actual sins of men, as Pauline usage elsewhere suggests . . .

and as the G[ree]k Fathers generally understood it. . . . This clause, then, expresses a secondaryquasi-parentheticalrole the actual sins of men play in their condemnation to 'death.' However, a notion of 'Original Sin' is already contained in the first part of the verse, as the reason why 'death' has

spread to all men. If this were not true, the rest of the paragraph would make little sense. A universal causality of Adam's sin is presupposed in 5:15a, 16a, 17a, 18a, 19a. It would be false, then, to the whole thrust of the paragraph to interpret 5:12 so as to imply that man's condition before Christ's coming was due wholly to his own personal sins."

23. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Rom.*; PG 74:789_B.
24. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *In Rom.*; PG 66:801_B.
25. Theodoret of Cyrus, *In Rom.*; PG 80; 1245_A.
26. John Chrysostom, *In Rom.* hom. 10; PG 60:474-475.
27. Theophylact of Ohrida, *Exp. in Rom.*; PG 124:404_C.
28. See J. Meyendorff, *Gregory Palamas*, pp. 121-126.
29. See Epifanovich, *Prepodobnyi Maksim Ispovednik i Vizantiiskoe bogoslovie*, p. 65n5.
30. Maximus the Confessor, *Quaest. ad Thal.*, PG 90:408_{BC}.
31. Theodoret of Cyrus, *Haeret. fabul. compendium*, 5:18; PG 83:512.
32. Gregory Palamas, *Hom. in Present.*, 6-7; ed. Oikonomos (Athens, 1861), pp. 126-127; trans. in *EChurchQ* 10 (1954-1955), No. 8, 381-382.
33. *Ibid.*, 2; p. 122.
34. Sophronius of Jerusalem, *Oratio*, II, 25; PG 87:3248_A.
35. Andrew of Crete, *Hom. I in Nativ. B. Mariae*; PG 97:812_A.
36. Nicholas Cabasilas, *Hom. in Dorm.*, 4; PG 19:498.
37. Gennadios Scholarios, *Oeuvres complètes de Georges Scholarios*,

edd. J. Petit and M. Jugie (Paris, 1928), II, 501.

38. John Chrysostom, *Hom. 44 in Matt.*; PG 57:464; *Hom. 21 in Jn 2*; PG 59:131.

12

Jesus Christ

Byzantine Christology has always been dominated by the categories of thought and the terminology of the great controversies of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries about the person and identity of Jesus Christ. As we have shown in Part I, these controversies involved conceptual problems, as well as the theological basis of life. In the mind of Eastern Christians, the entire content of the Christian faith depends upon the way in which the question "Who is Jesus Christ?" is answered.

The five ecumenical councils which issued specific definitions on the relationship between the divine and the human natures in Christ have at times been viewed as a pendulant development: from the emphasis on the divinity of Christ, at Ephesus (431); to the reaffirmation of His full humanity, at Chalcedon (451); then back to His divinity, with the acceptance of Cyril's idea of Theopaschism, at Constantinople (553); followed by a new awareness of His human "energy" or "will," again at Constantinople (680), and of His human quality of describability in the anti-iconoclastic definition of Nicaea II (787). Still, the opinion is often expressed in Western theological literature that Byzantine Christology is crypto-Monophysite, and offered as an explanation for the lack of concern among Eastern Christians for man in his secular or social creativity. We hope that the following discussion will shed some light on these frequently recurring issues.

1. God and Man

To affirm that God became man, and that His humanity possesses all the characteristics proper to human nature, implies that the Incarnation

is a cosmic event. Man was created as the master of the cosmos and called by the creator to draw all creation to God. His failure to do so was a cosmic catastrophe, which could be repaired only by the creator Himself.

Moreover, the fact of the Incarnation implies that the bond between God and man, which has been expressed in the Biblical concept of "image

and likeness," is unbreakable, The restoration of creation is a "new creation," but it does not establish a new pattern, so far as man is concerned; it reinstates *man* in his original divine glory among creatures and in his original responsibility for the world, It reaffirms that man is truly man when he participates in the life of God; that he is not autonomous, either in relation to God, or in relation to the world; that true human life can never be "secular." In Jesus Christ, God and man are *one*; in Him, therefore, God becomes accessible not by superseding or eliminating the *humanum*, but by realizing and manifesting humanity in its purest and most authentic form.

The Incarnation of the Logos was very consistently considered by Byzantine theologians as having a *cosmic* significance. The cosmic dimension of the Christ-event is expressed particularly well in Byzantine hymnology: "Every creature made by Thee offers Thee thanks: the Angels offer Thee a hymn; the heavens, a star; the Magi, gifts; the shepherds, their wonder; the earth, its cave; the wilderness, the manger; and we offer Thee a Virgin Mother." ¹ The connection between creation and the Incarnation is constantly emphasized in the hymns: "Man fell from the divine and better life; though made in the image of God, through transgression he became wholly subject to corruption and decay. But now the wise Creator fashions him anew; for He has been glorified."² Similarly, the hymnology of Good Friday stresses the involvement of creation as a whole in the death of Christ: "The sun beholding Thee upon the Cross covered itself with gloom; the earth trembled for fear. . . ."³

Thus, poetic images reflect the parallelism between Genesis 1:2 and John 1. The coming of Christ is the Incarnation of the Logos "through whom" all things were made: it is a new creation, but the creator is the same. Against the Gnostics, who professed a dualism distinguishing the God of the Old Testament from the Father of Jesus, patristic

tradition affirmed their absolute identity and, therefore, the essential "goodness" of the original creation.

The Christ-event is a cosmic event both because Christ is the Logos and, therefore, in God the agent of creation and because He is man, since man is a "microcosm." Man's sin plunges creation into death and decay, but man's restoration in Christ is a restoration of the cosmos to its original beauty. Here again, Byzantine hymnology is the best witness:

David foreseeing in spirit the sojourn with men of the Only-begotten Son in the flesh, called the creation to rejoice with him, and prophetically lifted up his voice to cry: "Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in Thy name" [Ps 88:13]. For having gone up, O Christ, with Thy disciples into Mount Tabor, Thou wast transfigured, and hast made the nature that had grown dark in Adam to shine again as lightning. . . .4

The glorification of man, which is also the glorification of the whole of creation, should, of course, be understood eschatologically. In the person of Christ, in the sacramental reality of His Body, and in the life of the saints, the transfiguration of the entire cosmos is anticipated; but its advent in strength is still to come. This glorification, however, is indeed already a living experience available to all Christians, especially in the liturgy. This experience alone can give a goal and a meaning to human history.

The cosmic dimension of the Incarnation is implied in the Chalcedonian definition of 451, to which Byzantine theology remains faithful: Christ is "of one substance with us in His humanity, 'like unto us in all things save sin.'" He is God and man for "the distinction of natures is in no way abolished because of the union; rather, the characteristic properties of each nature are preserved." The last sentence of the definition obviously covers the creative, inventive, controlling functions of man in the cosmos. The idea is developed in the theology of Maximus the Confessor, when he argues, against the Monothelites, for the existence in Christ of a human "will," or "energy," stressing that without it authentic humanity is inconceivable. If Christ's manhood is identical with ours in all things except sin (and unless one classifies as "sin" every human "motion," "creativity," or "dynamism"), one must admit that Christ, who is man in His body, in His soul, and in His mind, was indeed acting with all these functions of true humanity. As Maximus fully understood, Christ's human energy or will was not superseded by His divine will, but accepted conformity with it. "The two natural wills [of Christ] are not contrary to each other, . . . but the human will follows [the divine]." 5 This conformity of the *humanum* with the *divinum* in Christ is, therefore, not a diminution of humanity, but its restoration: "Christ restores nature to conformity with itself. . . . Becoming man, He keeps His free

will in impassibility and peace with nature."⁶ "Participation" in God as we have shown is the very nature of man, not its abolition. This is the key to Eastern Christian understanding of the God-man relationship.

In Christ, the union of the two natures is hypostatic: they "concur into one person [*prosopon*] and one hypostasis," according to the Fathers of Chalcedon. The controversies which arose from the Chalcedonian formula led to further definitions of the meaning of the term hypostasis. While Chalcedon had insisted that Christ was indeed one in His personal identity, it did not clearly specify that the term hypostasis, used to designate this identity, also designated the hypostasis of the pre-existing Logos. The anti-Chalcedonian opposition in the East so built its entire argument around this point that Byzantine Christology of the age of Justinian committed itself very strongly to excluding that interpretation of Chalcedon which would have considered the "*prosopon*, or hypostasis," mentioned in the definition as simply the "*prosopon* of union" of the old Antiochian School

i.e., the new synthetic reality resulting from the union of the two natures. It affirmed, on the contrary, following Cyril of Alexandria, that Christ's unique hypostasis is the pre-existing hypostasis of the Logos; that is, that the term is used in Christology with exactly the same meaning as in the Trinitarian theology of the Cappadocian Fathers: one of the three eternal hypostases of the Trinity "took flesh," while remaining essentially the same in its divinity. The hypostasis of Christ, therefore, *pre-existed* in its divinity, but it *acquired* humanity by the Virgin Mary.

This fundamental position has two important implications. (a) There is no absolute symmetry between divinity and humanity in Christ because the unique hypostasis is only divine and because the human will *follows* the divine. It is precisely a "symmetrical" Christology which was rejected as Nestorian in Ephesus (431). This "assymetry" of Orthodox Christology reflects an idea which Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria stressed so strongly: only God can *save*, while humanity can only cooperate with the saving acts and will of God. However, as we emphasized earlier, in the patristic concept of man, "theocentricity" is a *natural* character of humanity; thus assymetry does not prevent the fact that Christ was fully and "actively" man.

(b) The human nature of Christ is not personalized into a separate human hypostasis, which means that the concept of hypostasis is not an expression of natural existence, either in God or in man, but it designates *personal* existence. Post-Chalcedonian Christology postulates that Christ was fully man and also that He was a human *individual*, but it rejects the Nestorian view that He was a human hypostasis, or person. A fully human individual life was en-hypostasized in the hypostasis of the Logos, without losing any of its human characteristics. The theory, associated with the name of Apollinaris of Laodicea, and according to which the Logos, in Jesus,

had taken the place of the human soul, was systematically rejected by Byzantine theologians since it implied that the humanity of Christ was not complete. Cyril's celebrated formula wrongly attributed to Athanasius and, in fact, uttered by Apollinaris "one nature incarnate of God the Word" was accepted only in a Chalcedonian context. Divine nature and human nature could never merge, or be confused, or become complementary to each other, but, in Christ, they were united in the single, divine hypostasis of the Logos: the divine model matched the human image.

The fact that the notion of hypostasis is irreducible to the concepts of "particular nature," or to the notion of "individuality," is crucially important not only in Christology but also in Trinitarian theology. Hypostasis is the personal, "acting" *source* of natural life; but it is not "nature," or life itself. In the hypostasis, the two natures of Christ accomplish a union without confusion. They retain their natural characteristics; but, because they share a common hypostatic life, there is a "communication of idioms,"

or *perichoresis*, which, for example, enables some of Christ's human actions/words or gestures to carry consequences which only God could have provoked. The clay made out of His spittle, for example, restores sight to the blind man.

Christ is one [writes John of Damascus]. Therefore the glory which naturally comes from the divinity has become common [to both natures] thanks to the identity of hypostasis; and, through the flesh, humility has also become common [to both natures] . . . , [but] it is the divinity which communicates its privileges to the body, remaining itself outside the passions of the flesh. 7

The hypostatic union implies also that the Logos made humanity *His own* in its totality; thus the Second Person of the Trinity was indeed the subject, or agent, of the *human* experiences, or acts, of Jesus. The controversy between Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius concerning the term *Theotokos*, applied to the Virgin Mary, concerned essentially this very problem. Was there, in Jesus, a human person whose mother could have been Mary? Cyril's answer emphatically negative was, in fact, a Christological option of great importance. In Christ, there was only one Son, the Son of God, and Mary could not have been the Mother of anyone else. She was, therefore, indeed the "Mother of God." Exactly the same problem arose in connection with the death of Christ: impassibility and immortality were indeed characteristics of the divine nature. How, then, asked the theologians of Antioch, could the Son of God *die*? Obviously, the "subject" of Christ's death was only His humanity. Against this point of view, and following Cyril, the Fifth Council (553) affirms: "If anyone does not confess that our Lord Jesus Christ who was crucified in the flesh is true God and the Lord of Glory and one of the Holy Trinity, let him be anathema."⁸ This conciliar text, which paraphrases 1 Corinthians 2:8 ("If they had understood, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory"),

inspired the hymn "The Only-begotten Son," attributed to Emperor Justinian and sung at every Byzantine Eucharistic liturgy: "One of the Holy Trinity, you were crucified for us."

"Theopaschism" the acceptance of formulae which affirm that the "Son of God died in the flesh" illustrates how distinct the concepts of "hypostasis" and "nature" or "essence" really are. The distinction is stressed by one of the main Chalcedonian theologians of the age of Justinian, Leontius of Jerusalem: "The Logos," writes Leontius, "is said to have suffered according to the hypostasis, for within His hypostasis He assumed a passible [human] essence besides His own impassible essence, and what can be asserted of the [human] essence can be asserted of the hypostasis."⁹ What this implies is that the characteristics of the divine essence—impassibility, immutability, etc.—are not absolutely binding upon the *per-*

sonal, or hypostatic, existence of God. Later we shall see the importance of this fact for the patristic and Byzantine understanding of God. Meanwhile, on the level of soteriology, the affirmation that the Son of God indeed "died in the flesh" reflects, better than any other Christological formula, the boundlessness of God's love for man, the reality of the "appropriation" by the Logos of fallen and mortal humanity i.e., the very mystery of salvation.

An often-recurring criticism of Byzantine Christology, as it was defined by the Fifth Council, is that it, in fact, had betrayed Chalcedon by assuring the posthumous triumph of the one-sided views of Alexandrian Christology. Assumed by the divine hypostasis of the Logos, the humanity of Christ, according to these critics, would have been deprived of an authentically human character. "In Alexandrian Christology," writes Marcel Richard, "there will never be any place for a true psychology of Christ, for a real cult of the Savior's humanity, even if the assumption by the Word of a human soul is expressively recognized." ¹⁰ And Charles Moeller also maintains: "The tendency of the East to see Christ more and more as God (a tendency which is so marked in its liturgy) betrays a certain exclusivism which will increase after the schism."¹¹ This "neo-Chalcedonism" of the Byzantines is thus opposed to true Chalcedonian Christology and branded as a crypto-Monophysitism; it consists essentially in an understanding of the hypostatic union which would so modify the human properties of Jesus that He would no longer be fully man.¹²

It is undoubtedly true that Byzantine theology and spirituality are very conscious of the uniqueness of the personality of Jesus and are reluctant to investigate His human "psychology." A balanced judgment on this subject, however, can be attained only if one keeps in mind, not only the doctrine of the hypostatic union, but also the

prevailing Eastern view of what "natural" man is. For, in Jesus, the new Adam, "natural" humanity has been restored. As we have seen, "natural" man was considered as participating in the glory of God. Such a man, undoubtedly, would no longer be fully subject to the laws of "fallen" psychology. These laws, however, were not simply denied in Jesus, but seen in the light of soteriology.

The full dimension of the problem was never directly discussed by Byzantine theologians, but there are indications which can help us to understand their position: (a) their interpretation of such passages as Luke 2:52 ("He progressed in age and wisdom"); (b) their attitude toward the heresy of Aphthartodocetism; and (c) the stand of the Orthodox defenders of the images against the iconoclasts.

(a) The idea of "progress in wisdom" implies a degree of ignorance in Jesus, which is confirmed by other well-known passages of the Gospels (Mk 13:32, for example). Byzantine thought on this subject may often have been confused by the Evagrian idea that "essential knowledge" is the very

characteristic of humanity before the Fall. Evagrius also thought that Jesus was precisely a created "intellect" which has preserved this original "knowledge." The search for *gnosis* was indeed conceived, in the Evagrian spiritual tradition, which remained alive in the Christian East, as the very content of spiritual life. This may have contributed to the fact that a majority of Byzantine authors deny any "ignorance" in Jesus Himself. John of Damascus, for example, can write:

One must know that the Word assumed *the ignorant and subjected nature*, [but,] thanks to the identity of the hypostasis and the indissoluble union, the Lord's soul was enriched with the knowledge of things to come and other divine signs; similarly, the flesh of human beings is not by nature life-giving, while the Lord's flesh, *without ceasing to be mortal by nature*, became life-giving, thanks to its hypostatic union with the Word. 13

This text certainly represents a clear case of a representative Byzantine author's affirming that the hypostatic union in virtue of the "communication of idioms" modifies the character of human nature. But this modification is clearly seen in the framework of a dynamic and soteriological Christology; the humanity of Christ is "paschal," in the sense that in it man *passes* from death to life, from ignorance to knowledge, and from sin to righteousness. However, in many less-justifiable cases, the ignorance of Jesus, as described in the Gospel texts, is simply interpreted as a pedagogical device or "appearance" on the part of Christ to show His "condescension." This obviously unsatisfactory solution is rejected by other authors who affirm Christ's real, human ignorance. "Most Fathers admitted," writes the anonymous author of the *De sectis*, "that Christ was ignorant of certain things; since He is in all things consubstantial with us, and since we ourselves are ignorant of certain things, it is clear that Christ also suffered ignorance. Scripture says about Christ: 'He progressed in age and wisdom' [Lk 2:52]; this means that 'He was learning what He

did not previously know."¹⁴ Obviously, Byzantine theologians are authentically concerned about recognizing in Christ *our fallen humanity*, but their minds are less clear about the moment when, in Jesus, this humanity became the transfigured, perfect, and "natural" humanity of the New Man.

(b) The heresy of the *Aphthartodocetae*, whose leader was the sixth-century theologian Julian of Halicarnassus, conceived Christ's humanity as incorruptible, and they were accused of a docetic understanding of the Incarnation. As R. Draguet has shown, the issue was not so much the connection between hypostatic union and corruptibility, but the very nature of man. Is man *naturally* corruptible (as he is naturally ignorant), or did corruptibility come with sin? The *Aphthartodocetae* denied that man by

nature was corruptible. Since Christ is the New Adam and the truly "natural" man, His humanity was indeed incorruptible. In rejecting Aphthartodocetism, the Orthodox affirmed (1) that the inheritance of mortality from Adam was not an inheritance of guilt, and (2) that the Logos voluntarily assumed, not an abstract ideal manhood, but our fallen humanity, with all the consequences of sin, including corruptibility. Opposition to Aphthartodocetism certainly contributed to preserving a clearer notion of Christ's real and full human nature.

(c) Iconoclasm was certainly another way of denying that Christ is man in a concrete and individual manner. Patriarch Nicephorus, one of the leading Orthodox polemicists, called it *Agraptodocetism* because iconoclasts considered Jesus as "undescribable." ¹⁵ In order to justify the possibility of painting an image of Christ, John of Damascus, and even more explicitly Theodore the Studite, insisted upon His individual human characteristics: "An indescribable Christ," writes Theodore, "would also be an incorporeal Christ; but Isaiah [8:3] describes this as a male being, and only the forms of the body can make man and woman distinct from one another."¹⁶ Nicephorus, in order to defend the use of images, stresses very forcibly the human limitations of Jesus, His experience of tiredness, hunger, thirst:¹⁷ "He acted, desired, was ignorant, and suffered as man."¹⁸ This means that He was man like all of us, and can be represented on an image.

As interpreted by the Orthodox theologians of the eighth and ninth centuries who struggled against iconoclasm, the icon of Christ becomes a confession of faith in the Incarnation:

The Inconceivable is conceived in the womb of a Virgin [writes Theodore the Studite]; the Unmeasurable becomes three cubits high, the Unqualifiable acquires a quality; the Undefinable stands up, sits down, and lies down; He who is everywhere is put into a crib; He who is above time gradually reaches the age of twelve; He who is formless appears with the

shape of a man, and the Incorporeal enters into a body. . . . Therefore, He is describable and indescribable.¹⁹

For Theodore the icon of Christ is the best possible illustration of what is meant by the hypostatic union. What appears on the image is the very hypostasis of God the Word in the flesh. In the Byzantine tradition the inscription around the halo surrounding the head of Jesus says "The One who is," the equivalent of the sacred name YHWE , the name of God, whose person is revealed, but whose essence is inaccessible. It is neither God's indescribable divinity nor His human nature alone which is represented on an icon, but the person of God the Son who took flesh: "Every portrait," writes Theodore, "is the portrait of an hypostasis, and not of a nature."²⁰

To paint an image of the divine essence or of God before His incarnation is obviously impossible; just as it is impossible to represent human nature as such, other than symbolically. Thus, symbolic images of Old Testament theophanies are not yet "icons" in a true sense. But the icon of Christ is different. With bodily eyes, the hypostasis of the Logos could be seen in the flesh, although its divine essence remained hidden; it is this mystery of the Incarnation which makes possible the sacred icons and requires their veneration.

The defense of images forced Byzantine thought to reaffirm the full concrete humanity of Christ. If an additional doctrinal stand against Monophysitism was necessary, it was taken by the Byzantine Church in the eighth and ninth centuries. But it is important to recognize that this stand was made neither at the expense of the doctrine of the hypostatic union nor at that of the Cyrillian understanding of the hypostatic identity of the incarnate Logos, but in the light of the former Christological formulations. The victory over iconoclasm was a reaffirmation of Chalcedonian and post-Chalcedonian Christology.

2. Redemption and Deification

The Chalcedonian definition proclaimed that Christ is consubstantial, not only with His Father, but also "with us." Though fully man, Christ does not possess a human hypostasis, for the hypostasis of His two natures is the divine hypostasis of the Logos. Each human individual, fully "consubstantial" with his fellow men, is, nonetheless, radically *distinct* from them in his unique, unrepeatable, and unassimilable personality or hypostasis: no man can fully be *in* another man. But Jesus' hypostasis has a fundamental affinity with all human personalities: that of being their *model*. For indeed all men are created according to the image of God, i.e., according to the image of the Logos. When the Logos became incarnate, the divine stamp matched

all its imprints: God assumed humanity in a way which did not exclude any human hypostasis, but which opened to all of them the possibility of restoring their unity in Himself. He became, indeed, the "new Adam," in whom every man finds his own nature realized perfectly and fully, without the limitations which would have been inevitable if Jesus were only a human personality.

It is this concept of Christ which Maximus the Confessor had in mind when he re-emphasized the old Pauline image of "recapitulation" in reference to the incarnate Logos, 21 and saw in Him the victory over the disintegrating separations in humanity. As man, Christ "accomplishes in all truth the true human destiny that He Himself had predetermined as God, and from which man had turned: He unites man to God."²² Thus Chalcedonian and post-Chalcedonian Christology would be meaningless speculation were it not oriented toward the notion of redemption. "The whole

history of christological dogma was determined by this basic idea: the Incarnation of the Word, as Salvation." 23

Byzantine theology did not produce any significant elaboration of the Pauline doctrine of justification expressed in Romans and Galatians. The Greek patristic commentaries on such passages as Galatians 3:13 ("Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law, having become a curse for us") generally interpret the idea of redemption by substitution in the wider context of victory over death and of sanctification. They never develop the idea in the direction of an Anselmian theory of "satisfaction." The voluntary assumption of human mortality by the Logos was an act of God's "condescension" by which He united to Himself the whole of humanity; for, as Gregory of Nazianzus wrote, "what is not assumed is not healed, and what is united to God is saved";²⁴ therefore, "we needed a God made flesh and put to death in order that we could live again."²⁵

The death of "One of the Holy Trinity in the flesh" was a voluntary act, a voluntary assumption by God of the entire dimension of human tragedy. "There is nothing in Him by compulsion or necessity; everything is free: willingly He was hungry, willingly thirsty, willingly He was frightened, and willingly He died."²⁶ But and this is the essential difference between the Orthodox and the *Aphthartodocetae*: this divine freedom of the hypostasis of the Logos did not limit the reality of His human condition: the Lord assumed a *mortal* humanity at the very moment of the Incarnation, at which time the free divine decision to die had already been made. "He takes a body, a body which is not different from ours," writes Athanasius; "He takes from us a nature similar to ours and, since we all are subject to corruption and death, He delivers His body to death for US."²⁷

The idea that the cross was the purpose of the Incarnation itself is

vividly suggested by the Byzantine liturgical texts of the Nativity. The hymnology of the pre-feast (December 20 to 24) is structured according to that of Holy Week, and the humility of Bethlehem is viewed as leading toward Golgotha: "The kings, first fruits of the Gentiles, bring Thee gifts. . . . By myrrh they point to Thy death. . . ." "Born now in the flesh, Thou shalt in the flesh undergo burial and death, and Thou shalt rise again on the third day."²⁸

The question whether the Incarnation would have taken place, had there not been a Fall, never stood at the center of attention in Byzantium: Byzantine theologians envisaged rather the concrete fact of human mortality: a cosmic tragedy in which God through the Incarnation undertook to become personally rather, *hypostatically* involved. The major, and, apparently, the only, exception to this general view is given by Maximus the Confessor, for whom the Incarnation and "recapitulation" of all things in Christ is the true "goal" and "aim" of creation; the Incarnation, therefore, was foreseen and foreordained independently of man's tragic misuse of

his own freedom. 29 This view fits in exactly with Maximus' idea of created "nature" as a dynamic process oriented toward an eschatological goal Christ the incarnate Logos. As creator, the Logos stands as the "beginning" of creation, and as incarnate, He is also its "end" when all things will exist not only "through Him," but "in Him." In order to be "in Christ," creation had to be assumed by God, made "His own"; the Incarnation, therefore, is a precondition of the final glorification of man independent of man's sinfulness and corruption.

Given the fallen state of man, the redemptive death of Christ makes this final restoration possible. But the death of Christ is truly redemptive and "life-giving" precisely because it is the death of the Son of God in the flesh (i.e., in virtue of the hypostatic union). In the East, the cross is envisaged not so much as the punishment of the just one, which "satisfies" a transcendent Justice requiring a retribution for man's sins. As Georges Florovsky rightly puts it: "the death of the Cross was effective, not as a death of an Innocent One, but as the death of the Incarnate Lord."³⁰ The point was not to satisfy a legal requirement, but to vanquish the frightful cosmic reality of death, which held humanity under its usurped control and pushed it into the vicious circle of sin and corruption. And, as Athanasius of Alexandria has shown in his polemics against Arianism, God alone is able to vanquish death, because He "alone has immortality" (1 Tm 6:16). Just as original sin did not consist in an inherited guilt, so redemption was not primarily a justification, but a victory over death. Byzantine liturgy, following Gregory of Nyssa, uses the image of the devil swallowing a hook, hidden by the body of Emmanuel; the same idea is found in a pseudo-Chrysostomic sermon, read during the liturgy of the paschal night: "Hell received a body, and encountered God; it received mortal dust, and met Heaven face to face."

Summarizing this patristic concept of death and resurrection, in the

light of the Christological statements of the fifth and sixth centuries, John of Damascus writes:

Although Christ died as man, and His holy soul was separated from His most pure body, His divinity remained with both the soul and the body, and continued inseparable from either. Thus the one hypostasis was not divided into two hypostases, for from the beginning both body and soul existed in the hypostasis of the Word. Although at the hour of death body and soul were separated from each other, yet each of them was preserved, having the one hypostasis of the Word. Therefore, the one hypostasis of the Word was an hypostasis as of the Word; so also of the body and of the soul. For neither the body nor the soul ever had any proper hypostasis other than that of the Word. The hypostasis, then, of the Word is ever one, and there were never two hypostases of the Word. Accordingly, the hypostasis of Christ is ever one. And though the soul is separated from the body in space, yet they remain hypostatically united through the Word.³¹

The triduum of Easterthe three days when Christ's humanity suffered the common fate of man, yet remained mysteriously en-hypostasized in the one divine hypostasis of the Logosis graphically expressed in the traditional Byzantine iconography of the Resurrection: Christ trampling down the gates of Sheol and lifting Adam and Eve back to life. Better than any conceptual language, and better also than the image of any particular event or aspect of the mysterysuch as the empty tomb, or even the crucifixion itselfthis icon points to the dynamic, soteriological dimension of Christ's death: God's intrusion into the domain usurped by the devil and the breaking up of his control over humanity. The same mystery of hypostatic unity, which remained unbroken in death itself, is expressed in the Byzantine liturgy of Holy Week; on Good Friday, at vespers, at the very moment when Christ gave up the spirit, the first hymns of the Resurrection are beginning to resound: "Myrrh is fitting for the dead, but Christ has shown Himself free from corruption." The hidden, yet decisive, triumph over death permeates the liturgical celebration of Holy Saturday: "Though the temple of Thy body was destroyed in the hour of the passion, yet even then one was the hypostasis of Thy Divinity and Thy flesh." 32 One discovers in these texts the ultimate, soteriological reason why Cyril's theopaschite formula became a criterion of orthodoxy in sixth-century Byzantine theology: death was vanquished precisely because God Himself had tasted of it hypostatically in the humanity which He had assumed. This is the paschal message of Christianity.

In connection with our discussion of the Greek patristic view of original sin as inherited mortality, we mentioned the concomitant understanding of the Resurrection as the foundation of Christian ethics and spirituality. For the Resurrection of Christ means indeed that death has ceased to be the controlling element of man's existence

and that, therefore, man is also free from slavery to sin. Death certainly remains as a physical phenomenon, but it does not *dominate* man as an unavoidable and ultimate fate: "As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive" (1 Co 15:22). And Athanasius writes: "Henceforth we are dissolved for a time only, according to our bodies' mortal nature, in order the better to receive resurrection; like seeds cast into the earth, we do not perish, but sown in the earth we shall rise again, since death has been brought to nought by the grace of the Savior."³³ And Chrysostom: "It is true, we still die as before, but we do not remain in death; and this is not to die. The power and the very reality of death are just this, that a dead man has no possibility of returning to life. But if after death he is to be quickened and, moreover, to be given a better life, then this is no longer death, but a falling asleep."³⁴ Since death has ceased to be the only possible end of existence, man is free from fear, and sin, based on the instinct of self-preservation, is no longer unavoidable. The vicious circle was broken on Easter Sunday

and is broken each time "the death of Christ is announced and His resurrection is confessed."

But what does "being in Christ" mean concretely? The last quotation from the Byzantine Eucharistic canon of St. Basil suggests the answer: through baptism, chrismation, and the Eucharist, man freely becomes a member of the risen Body of Christ.

This element of *freedom* and even of "consciousness" is essential to the doctrine of salvation as understood by the Byzantine patristic, sacramental, and liturgical tradition. On the one hand, there are emphatic affirmations of the universality of redemption. Gregory of Nyssa, for example, assures us that

As the principle of death took its rise in one person and passed on in succession through the whole of the human nature, so the principle of the Resurrection extends from one person to the whole of humanity. . . . This is the mystery of God's plan with regard to His death and His resurrection from the dead, 35

and his thoughts on the universality of redemption and "recapitulation" are echoed by Maximus the Confessor. On the other hand, the new life in Christ implies personal and free commitment. On the last day the Resurrection will indeed be universal, but blessedness will be given only to those who longed for it. Nicholas Cabasilas tells us that baptismal "resurrection of nature" is a free gift from God, given even to children who do not express consent; but "the Kingdom, the contemplation of God, and common life with Christ belong to free will."³⁶

Byzantine theologians seldom devote much explicit attention to speculation about the exact fate of souls after death. The fact that the Logos assumed human nature as such implied the universal validity of redemption, but not the *apokatastasis*, or universal salvation, a

doctrine which in 553 was formally condemned as Origenistic. Freedom must remain an inalienable element of every man, and no one is to be forced into the Kingdom of God against his own free choice; the *apokatastasis* had to be rejected precisely because it presupposes an ultimate limitation of human freedomthe freedom to remain outside of God.

But by rejecting God, human freedom, in fact, destroys itself. Outside of God, man ceases to be authentically and fully human. He is enslaved to the devil through death. This idea, which is central to Maximian thought and which made him profess so strongly the existence of a human, created will in Christ, serves as the basis of the Byzantine understanding of the destiny of man: participation in God, or "deification" (*theosis*), as the goal of human existence.

En-hypostasized in the Logos, Christ's humanity, in virtue of the "com-

munication of idioms," is penetrated with divine "energy." It is, therefore, a *deified* humanity, which, however, does not in any way lose its human characteristics. Quite to the contrary. These characteristics become even more real and authentic by contact with the divine model according to which they were created. In this deified humanity of Christ's, man is called to participate, and to share in its deification. This is the meaning of sacramental life and the basis of Christian spirituality. The Christian is called not to an "imitation" of Jesus a purely extrinsic and moral act but, as Nicholas Cabasilas puts it, to "life *in Christ*" through baptism, chrismation, and the Eucharist.

Deification is described by Maximus as a participation of the "whole man" in the "whole God":

In the same way in which the soul and the body are united, God should become accessible for participation by the soul and, through the soul's intermediary, by the body, in order that the soul might receive an unchanging character, and the body, immortality; and finally that the whole man should become God, deified by the grace of God-become-man, becoming whole man, soul and body, by nature, and becoming whole God, soul and body, by grace. 37

"Thus for Maximus the doctrinal basis of man's deification is clearly to be found in hypostatic unity between the divine and the human nature in Christ."³⁸ The man Jesus is God hypostatically, and, therefore, in Him there is a "communication"

(*perichoresis circumincessio*) of the "energies" divine and human. This "communication" also reaches those who are "in Christ." But they, of course, are human hypostases, and are united to God not hypostatically but only "by grace" or "by energy." "A man who becomes obedient to God in all things hears God saying: 'I said: you are gods' [Jn 10:34]; he then is God and is called 'God' not by nature or by relation but by [divine] decree and grace."³⁹ It is not through his

own activity or "energy" that man can be deified this would be Pelagianism but by divine "energy," to which his human activity is "obedient"; between the two there is a "synergy," of which the relation of the two energies in Christ is the ontological basis. But there is no confusion of natures, just as there cannot be any participation in divine essence by man. This is the theology of deification which we will also find in Gregory Palamas: "God in His completeness deifies those who are worthy of this, by uniting Himself with them, not hypostatically that belonged to Christ alone nor essentially, but through a small part of the 'uncreated *energies* and the uncreated divinity . . . while yet being entirely present in each."⁴⁰ Actually, the Byzantine Council of 1351, which confirmed the theology of Palamas, defined it as a "development" of the decrees of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680) on the two wills or "energies" of Christ.⁴¹

In "deification," man achieves the supreme goal for which he was created. This goal, already realized in Christ by a unilateral action of God's love, represents both the meaning of human history and a judgment over man. It is open to man's response and free effort.

3. The Theotokos

The only doctrinal definition on Mary to which the Byzantine Church was formally committed is the decree of the Council of Ephesus which called her the *Theotokos*, or "Mother of God." Obviously Christological, and not Mariological, the decree nevertheless corresponds to the Mariological theme of the "New Eve," which has appeared in Christian theological literature since the second century and which testifies, in the light of the Eastern view on the Adamic inheritance, to a concept of human freedom more optimistic than that which prevailed in the West.

But it is the theology of Cyril of Alexandria, affirming the personal, hypostatic identity of Jesus with the pre-existent Logos, as it was endorsed in Ephesus, which served as the Christological basis for the tremendous development of piety centered on the person of Mary after the fifth century. God became our Savior by becoming man; but this "humanization" of God came about through Mary, who is thus inseparable from the person and work of her Son. Since in Jesus there is no human hypostasis, and since a mother can be mother only of "someone," not of something, Mary is indeed the mother of the incarnate Logos, the "Mother of God." And since the deification of man takes place "in Christ," she is also in a sense just as real as man's participation "in Christ" the mother of the whole body of the Church.

This closeness of Mary with Christ led to an increasing popularity, in the East, of those apocryphal traditions which reported her bodily glorification after her death. These traditions found a place in the

hymnographical poetry of the Feast of the Dormition (*Koimesis*, August 15), but were never the object of theological speculation or doctrinal definition. The tradition of Mary's bodily "assumption" was treated by poets and preachers as an eschatological sign, a follow-up of the resurrection of Christ, an anticipation of the general resurrection. The texts speak very explicitly of the Virgin's natural death, excluding any possible connection with a doctrine of Immaculate Conception, which would attribute immortality to her and which would be totally incomprehensible in the light of the Eastern view of original sin as inherited mortality. 42 Thus, the boundless expressions of Marian piety and devotion in the Byzantine liturgy are nothing other than an illustration of the doctrine of hypostatic union in Christ of divinity and humanity. In a sense, they represent a legitimate and organic way of placing the somewhat abstract concepts of fifth- and sixth-century Chris-tology on the level of the simple faithful.

Notes

1. Dec. 24, Vespers; *The Festal Menaion*, trans. Mother Mary and K. Ware (London: Faber, 1969), p. 254.
2. Dec. 25, Matins; *Ibid.*, p. 269.
3. Holy and Great Friday, Vespers.
4. Aug. 6, Transfiguration, Vespers; *Festal Menaion*, pp. 476-477.
5. Council of Constantinople, 680; Denz. 291.
6. Maximus the Confessor, *Expos. orat. domin.*; PG 90:877_D.
7. John of Damascus. *De fide orth.*, III, 15; PG 94:1057_{BC}.
8. Denz. 222; Anathema 10 of Council of 553.
9. Leontius of Jerusalem, *Adv. Nest.*, VIII, 9; PG 86:1768_A.
10. Marcel Richard, "St. Athanase et la psychologie du Christ selon les Ariens," *Mel Sci Rel* 4 (1947), 54.
11. Charles Moeller, "Le chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme en Orient de 451 à la fin du VI^e siècle," in Grillmeier-Bacht, I, 717.
12. See *ibid.*, pp. 715-716.
13. John of Damascus, *De fide orth.*, III, 21; PG 94:1084_B-1085_A.
14. Anonymous, *De sectis*; PG 86:1264_A.
15. Patriarch Nicephorus, *Antirrh.*, I; PG 100:268_A.
16. Theodore the Studite, *Antirrh.*, III; PG 99:409_C.
17. Nicephorus, *Antirrh.*, I; PG 100:272_B.
18. *Ibid.*; PG 100:328_{BD}.

19. Theodore the Studite, *Antirrh.* III; PG 99:396_B.
20. *Ibid.*, III; PG 99:405_A.
21. See especially Maximus the Confessor, *Amb.*; PG 90:1308_D, 1312_A.
22. J. Meyendorff, *Christ*, p. 108.
23. Georges Florovsky, "The Lamb of God," *Scottish Journal of Theology* (March 1961), 16.
24. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ep. 101 ad Cledonium*; PG 37:181_C-184_A.
25. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Hom. 45*; PG 36:661_C.
26. John of Damascus, *De fide orth.*, IV, 1; PG 94:1101_A.
27. Athanasius, *De incarn.*, 8; PG 25:109_C.
28. Dec. 24, Compline, Canon, odes 5 and 6; *Festal Mention*, pp. 206-207.
29. Maximus the Confessor, *Ad Thal.*, 60; PG 90:621_{AC}.
30. Florovsky, "The Lamb of God," p. 24.
31. John of Damascus, *De fide orth.*, III, 27; PG 94:1097_{AB}.
32. Holy Saturday, Matins, Canon, ode 6.
33. Athanasius, *De incarn.*, 21; PG 25:129_D.
34. John Chrysostom, *In Haebr.*, hom. 17:2; PG 63:129.
35. Gregory of Nyssa, *Catechetical Oration*, 16; ed. J. H. Srawley (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), pp. 71-72.
36. Nicholas Cabasilas, *The Life in Christ*, II; PG 150:541_C.
37. Maximus the Confessor, *Amb.*, PG 91:1088_C.
38. Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator*, p. 457.

39. Maximus the Confessor, *„Amb.“*; PG 91:1237_{AB}.
40. Gregory Palamas, *Against Akindynos*, V, 26; edd. A. Kontogiannes and V. Phanourgakes, in P. Khrestov, *Gregoriou tou Palama Syggrammata* III (Thessaloniki, 1970), p. 371.
41. Tome of 1351; PG 151:722_B.

42. I do not imply here that the Western doctrine of the Immaculate Conception necessarily implies Mary's immortality, although some Roman Catholic theologians have suggested this implication (for example, M. Jugie, *l'Immaculée Conception dans l'Ecriture sainte et dans la Tradition orientale*, Bibliotheca Immaculatae Conceptionis, 3 [Rome, 1952]).

13

The Holy Spirit

The early Christian understanding of creation and of man's ultimate destiny is inseparable from pneumatology; but the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament and in the early Fathers cannot easily be reduced to a system of concepts. The fourth-century discussions on the divinity of the Spirit remained in a soteriological, existential context. Since the action of the Spirit gives life "in Christ," He cannot be a creature; He is indeed consubstantial with the Father and the Son. This argument was used both by Athanasius in his *Letters to Serapion* and by Basil in his famous treatise *On the Holy Spirit*. These two patristic writings remained, throughout the Byzantine period, the standard authorities in pneumatology. Except in the controversy around the *Filioque* debate about the nature of God rather than about the Spirit specifically there was little conceptual development of pneumatology in the Byzantine Middle Ages. This does not mean, however, that the *experience* of the Spirit was not emphasized with greater strength than in the West, especially in hymnology, in sacramental theology, and in spiritual literature.

"As he who grasps one end of a chain pulls along with it the other end to himself, so he who draws the Spirit draws both the Son and the Father along with It," Basil writes.¹ This passage, quite representative of Cappadocian thought, implies first that all major acts of God are Trinitarian acts, and secondly that the particular role of the Spirit is to make the "first contact," which is then followed existentially, but not chronologically by a revelation of the Son and, through Him, of the Father. The personal being of the Spirit remains mysteriously hidden, even if He is active at every great step of divine activity: creation,

redemption, ultimate fulfillment. His function is not to reveal Himself, but to reveal the Son "through whom all things were made" and who is also personally known in His humanity as Jesus Christ. "It is impossible to give a precise definition of the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit and we must simply resist errors concerning Him which come from various sides."² The personal existence of the Holy Spirit thus remains a mystery. It is a "kenotic" existence whose

fulfillment consists in manifesting the kingship of the Logos in creation and in salvation history.

1. The Spirit in Creation

For the Cappadocian Fathers, the Trinitarian interpretation of all the acts of God implies the participation of the Spirit in the act of creation. When Genesis mentions "the Spirit of God moving upon the face of the waters" (Gn 1:2), patristic tradition interprets the passage in the sense of a primeval maintenance of all things by the Spirit, which made possible the subsequent appearance of a created logical order through the Word of God. No chronological sequence is implied here, of course; and the action of the Spirit is part of the continuous creative action of God in the world: "The principle of all things is one," writes Basil, "which creates through the Son and perfects in the Spirit." ³

Basil identifies this function of "perfecting" creation as "sanctification," and implies that not only man, but nature as a whole, is perfectly itself only when it is in communion with God and when it is "filled" with the Spirit. The "secular" is always imperfect, or rather it exists only as a fallen and defective state of creation. This is particularly true of man, whose nature consists precisely in his being "theocentric." He received this "theocentricity," which the Greek Fathers always understood as a real "participation" in the life of God, when he was created and when God "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life" (Gn 2:7). This "breath" of God's life, identified with the Holy Spirit on the basis of the Septuagint version, is what made man to be "God's image." "A being taken from the earth," writes Cyril of Alexandria, "could not be seen as an image of the Most High, if he had not received this [breath]." ⁴ Thus the "perfecting" action of the Spirit does not belong to the category of the "miraculous," but forms a

part of the original and natural plan of God. It assumes, inspires, and vivifies everything which is still fundamentally good and beautiful, in spite of the Fall, and maintains in creation the first fruits of the eschatological transfiguration. In this sense, the Spirit is the very content of the Kingdom of God. Gregory of Nyssa reports the ancient variant for the text of the Lord's prayer, "Thy Kingdom come," in Luke 11:2, as "May Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us."⁵ And the Byzantine liturgical tradition maintains the same tradition when it starts every single office with an eschatological invocation of the Spirit, addressing Him as "Heavenly King."

The liturgical offices of Pentecost, though centered mainly on the role of the Spirit in redemption and salvation, also glorify the Spirit as "the One who rules all things, who is Lord of all, and who preserves creation from falling apart."⁶ Popular Byzantine customs associated with Pentecost suggest that the outpouring of the Spirit is indeed an anticipation of cosmic

transfiguration; the traditional decoration of churches with greens and flowers on that day reflects the experience of new creation. The same idea dominates the "Great Blessing of Water," celebrated with great solemnity on the Feast of the Epiphany (January 6). Water, the primeval cosmic element, is sanctified "by the power, effectual operation ["energy"], and descent of the Holy Spirit" (Great Litany of the Day). Since, after the Fall, the cosmic elements are controlled by the "prince of this world," the action of the Spirit must have a purifying function: "Thou didst hallow the streams of Jordan," says the priest, "in that Thou didst send down from heaven Thy Holy Spirit, and didst crush the heads of serpents which lurked there."

The full significance of this rite of exorcism becomes evident when one recalls that, in Biblical categories, water is a source of life for the entire cosmos, over which man is called to rule. Only through the Fall did nature become subject to Satan. But the Spirit liberates man from dependence upon nature. Instead of being a source of demonic power, nature receives "the grace of redemption, the blessing of Jordan," and becomes a "fountain of immortality, a gift of sanctification, a remission of sins, a healing of infirmities, a destruction of demons." 7 Instead of dominating man, nature becomes his servant, since he is the image of God. The original paradisaic relationship between God, man, and the cosmos is proclaimed again: the descent of the Spirit anticipates the ultimate fulfillment when God will be "all in all."

This anticipation, however, is not a magical operation occurring in the material universe. The universe does not change in its empirical existence. The change is seen only by the eyes of faith; i.e., because *man* has received in his heart the Spirit which cries: "Abba, Father" (Ga 4:6), he is able to experience, in the mystery of faith, the paradisaic reality of nature serving him and to recognize that this experience is not a subjective fancy, but one which reveals the

ultimate truth about nature and creation as a whole. By the power of the Spirit, the true and natural relationship is restored between God, man, and creation.

2. The Spirit and Man's Redemption

In the "economy" of salvation, the Son and the Spirit are inseparable: "When the Word dwelt upon the holy Virgin Mary," Athanasius writes, "the Spirit, together with the Word, entered her; in the Spirit, the Word fashioned a body for Himself, making it in conformity with Himself, in His will to bring all creation to the Father through Himself."⁸ The main argument, in favor of the consubstantiality of the Spirit with the Son and the Father, used by Athanasius, by Cyril of Alexandria, and by the Cappadocian Fathers, is the unity of the creative and redemptive action of God,

which is always Trinitarian: "The Father does all things by the Word in the Holy Spirit." 9

But the essential difference between the action of the Logos and that of the Spirit is that the Logos, and not the Spirit, became man, and thus could be directly *seen* as the concrete person and hypostasis of Jesus Christ, while the personal existence of the Holy Spirit remained covered by divine incognoscibility. The Spirit, in His action, reveals not Himself but the Son; when He indwells in Mary, the Word is being conceived; when He reposes on the Son at the baptism in Jordan, He reveals the Father's good will toward the Son. This is the Biblical and theological basis of the very current notion, found in the Fathers, and in the liturgical texts, of the Spirit as image of the Son.¹⁰ It is impossible to *see* the Spirit, but in Him one sees the Son, while the Son Himself is the image of the Father. In the context of a dynamic and soteriological thought, the static Hellenic concept of image reflects a living relationship between the divine persons, into which, through the incarnation of the Son, mankind is introduced.

We have already seen that, in Greek patristic and Byzantine thought, salvation is understood essentially in terms of *participation* in and *communion* with the deified humanity of the incarnate Logos, the New Adam. When the Fathers call the Spirit the "image of the Son," they imply that He is the main agent which makes this communion a reality. The Son has given us "the first fruits of the Spirit," writes Athanasius, "so that we may be transformed into sons of God, according to the image of the Son of God."¹¹ Thus, if it is through the Spirit that the Logos became man, it is also only through the Spirit that true life reaches all men. "What is the effect and the result of the sufferings and works and teaching of Christ?" asks Nicholas Cabasilas. "Considered in relation to ourselves, it is nothing other than the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Church."¹²

The Spirit transforms the Christian community into the "Body of Christ." In Byzantine hymns for the day of Pentecost, the Spirit is sometimes called the "glory of Christ" granted to the disciples after the Ascension,¹³ and at each Eucharist, the congregation after communion chants: "We have seen the true light; we have received the heavenly Spirit; we have found the true faith; we worship the undivided Trinity, for it has saved us." Pentecost, the birthday of the Church, is the moment when the true meaning of Christ's cross and Resurrection becomes manifest, when a new mankind enters back into divine fellowship, when a new knowledge is granted to "fishermen." This is the main theme of the feast of Pentecost in the Byzantine tradition, and, curiously, it matches the awareness of many modern students of Christian origins that full understanding of Christ's teaching is indeed a "post-Resurrection" experience of the early Church: "The Spirit, through His appearance in tongues of fire, firmly plants the memory of those man-saving words, which Christ told the

Apostles, having received them from the Father." 14 But the "knowledge" or "memory" granted by the Spirit is not an intellectual function; it implies an "illumination" of human life as a whole. The theme of "light," which, through Origen and Gregory of Nyssa, permitted the association of the Biblical theophanies with Greek Neoplatonic mysticism, also permeates the liturgical hymnography of Pentecost. "The Father is light, the Word is light, and the Holy Spirit is light, which was sent to the Apostles as tongues of fire, and through which the whole world is illumined and venerates the Holy Trinity" (solemn hymn, called *exaposteilarion*). For indeed, the Holy Spirit is the "glory" of Christ, which not only transfigures the body of the historical Jesus, as was the case at the Transfiguration, but glorifies as well His wider "Body," i.e., all those who believe in Him. In fact, a comparison of the Byzantine liturgical texts of Pentecost with those appointed for the Feast of the Transfiguration (August 6) and it is always important to remember that, for the Byzantines, the liturgy was the highest expression of their faith and Christian experiences shows that the miracle of Pentecost was considered as an expanded form of the mystery of Tabor. On Mount Tabor the divine light was shown to a restricted circle of disciples, but at Pentecost Christ "by sending the Spirit, has shone forth as the light of the world,"¹⁵ because the Spirit "enlightens the disciples and has initiated them into the heavenly mysteries."¹⁶

Examples can be easily multiplied, which show that the Byzantine theological tradition is constantly aware that in the "economy" of creation and salvation the Son and the Spirit are accomplishing one single divine act without, however, being subordinated to one another in their hypostatic or personal existence. The "head" of the new, redeemed humanity is, of course, Christ, but the Spirit is not only Christ's agent; He is, in the words of John of Damascus (which are

paraphrased in the hymns of Pentecost), "Spirit of God, direct, ruling; the fountain of wisdom, life and holiness; God existing and addressed along with the Father and Son; uncreated, full, creative, all-ruling, all-effecting, all-powerful, of infinite power, Lord of all creation and not subject to any; deifying, not deified; filling, not filled; shared in, not sharing in; sanctifying, not sanctified."¹⁷

This personal "independence" of the Spirit is connected, as Vladimir Lossky points out, with the whole mystery of redemption, which is both a unification (or "recapitulation") of mankind in the one divine-human hypostasis of Christ, the new Adam, and a mysterious personal encounter between *each man* and God. The unification of human nature is a free divine gift, but the personal encounter depends upon human freedom: "Christ becomes the sole image appropriate to the common nature of humanity. The Holy Spirit grants to each person created in the image of God the possibility of fulfilling the likeness in the common nature. The one lends His hypostasis to the nature, the other gives His divinity to the persons."¹⁸ There is, of course, one divinity and one divine action, or

"energy," leading mankind to the one eschatological goal of deification; but the personal, hypostatic functions of the Son and of the Spirit are not identical. Divine grace and divine life are a single reality, but God is Trinity, and not an impersonal essence into which humanity would be called to merge. Thus, here, as we have seen above, Byzantine Christian tradition requires the distinction in God, between the One unapproachable Essence, the three hypostases, and the grace, or energy, through which God enters into communion with creatures.

The mystery of Pentecost is not an incarnation of the Spirit, but the bestowing of these gifts. The Spirit does not reveal His Person, as the Son does in Jesus, and does not en-hypostasize human nature as a whole; He communicates His uncreated grace to each human person, to each member of the Body of Christ. New humanity is realized in the hypostasis of the Son incarnate, but it receives only the *gifts* of the Spirit. The distinction between the Person of the Spirit and His gifts will receive great emphasis in Byzantine theology in connection with the theological controversies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Gregory of Cyprus and Gregory Palamas will insist, in different contexts, that at Pentecost the Apostles received the eternal gifts or "energies" of the Spirit, but that there was no new hypostatic union between the Spirit and humanity. 19

Thus, the theology of the Holy Spirit implies a crucial polarity, which concerns the nature of the Christian faith itself. Pentecost saw the birth of the Church community, which will acquire structures, and will presuppose continuity and authority and was an outpouring of spiritual gifts, *liberating* man from servitude, giving him freedom and personal experience of God. Byzantine Christianity will remain aware of an unavoidable tension between these two aspects of faith: faith as doctrinal continuity and authority, and faith as the personal experience

of saints. It will generally understand that an exaggerated emphasis on one aspect or the other destroys the very meaning of the Christian Gospel. The Spirit gives a structure to the community of the Church and authenticates the ministries which possess the authority to preserve the structure, to lead, and to teach; but the same Spirit also maintains in the Church prophetic functions and reveals the whole truth to each member of Christ's body, if only he is able and worthy to "receive" it. The life of the Church, because it is created by the Spirit, cannot be reduced to either the "institution" or the "event," to either authority or freedom. It is a "new" community created by the Spirit in Christ, where true freedom is recovered in the spiritual communion of the Body of Christ.

3. The Spirit and the Church

In Byzantine liturgical language, the term *koinonia* ("communion") is the specific expression designating the presence of the Holy Spirit in the

Eucharistic community, and one of the key notions in Basil's treatise on the Holy Spirit. 20 This observation is important inasmuch as it emphasizes that the "communion" of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, as divine Trinity, the "communion of the Holy Spirit" which introduces man into divine life, and the "communion" or "community" which is then created between men in Christ, not only are designated with the same term, but, ultimately, represent the same spiritual experience and reality. The Church is not simply a society of human beings, associated with each other by common beliefs and goals; it is a *koinonia* in God and with God. And if God Himself were not a Trinitarian *koinonia*, if He were not three Persons, the Church could never be an association of persons, irreducible to each other in their personal identity. Participation in divine life would be nothing more than a Neoplatonic or Buddhist integration into an impersonal "One."

The very specific "oneness" realized in the Eucharistic *koinonia*, is, *par excellence*, a gift of the Spirit.

One of the recurring themes in the Byzantine hymnography of Pentecost is a parallel drawn between the "confusion" of Babel and the "union" and "symphony" effected by the descent of the Spirit in tongues of fire: "When the Most High came down and confused the tongues, He divided the nations; but when He distributed the tongues of fire, He called all to unity. Therefore, with one voice, we glorify the all-holy Spirit."21 The Spirit does not suppress the pluralism and variety of creation; nor, more particularly, does He exclude the truly personal experience of God, accessible to each man; He overcomes division, contradiction, and corruption. He Himself is the "symphony" of creation, which will be fully realized in the eschatological fulfillment. The Church's function is to render this fulfillment accessible by anticipation through its role of "sanctification," effected by the Spirit.

"Creation is sanctified," Basil writes, "and the Spirit is the Sanctifier. In the same manner, the angels, the archangels and all the supercelestial powers receive their sanctity from the Spirit. But the Spirit Himself possesses sanctity by nature. He does not receive it by grace, but essentially; hence, He is distinctively called Holy. Thus He is holy by nature, as the Father and the Son are holy by nature."²² The mysterious, but overwhelming, role of the Spirit in the "economy" of salvation cannot be expressed fully other than by this suggestive tautology: the Holy Spirit "sanctifies," i.e., He creates a *koinonia* of man with God, and, hence, of men between themselves as a "community of saints." It is best expressed in the "anaphora of St. Basil," celebrated ten times each year in the Byzantine Church, at the most solemn moment of the epiclesis:

We pray Thee and call upon Thee, O Holy of Holies, that, by the favor of Thy goodness, Thy Holy Spirit may come upon us and upon the gifts

now offered, to bless, to hallow, and to show this bread to be the precious Body of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ, and this cup to be the precious Blood of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ, shed for the life of the world, and [that the Spirit may] unite all of us to one another who become partakers of the one Bread and Cup in the communion [*koinonia*] of the Holy Spirit.

Each one individually having been baptized "in the death of Christ" and having received the "seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit" in the sacrament of chrismation, the faithful participate together in the mystery of the Eucharist. The existence of their *koinonia* is both a *condition* of the Eucharistic miracle the Spirit is being invoked not only on the "gifts" but "*upon us* and upon the gifts" and its consequence: the Spirit sanctifies the gifts so that the *koinonia* may become an always-renewed reality.

The role of the Spirit in transforming a community of sinners into the "Church of God" is distinct, but not essentially different, from His role in creation; for the "new Adam," being a "new creation," is also an anticipation of the universal transfiguration of the world, which is the ultimate intent and goal of God's creative activity. Byzantine liturgy and theology are always aware of the fact that "by the Holy Spirit, every living thing receives life," ²³ and that, therefore, as the new temple of the Spirit, the Church is invested with a divine mission to the world. It does not receive the Spirit for its own sake, but in order to accomplish God's purpose in human history and in the whole cosmos. The parallelism as well as the difference between the "first" and the "new" creation is well expressed by Nicholas Cabasilas: "[God] does not create anew out of the same matter which He created in the beginning. Then He made use of the dust of the earth; today He calls upon His own body. He restores life to us, not by forming anew a vital principle which He formerly maintained in the natural order, but

by shedding His blood in the hearts of communicants so that He may cause His own life to spring in them. Of old He breathed a breath of life; now He imparts to us His own Spirit."²⁴

"New creation" implies mission to the world; hence the Church is always "apostolic," i.e., not only founded on the faith of those who saw the risen Lord, but assuming their function of "being sent" to announce and establish the Kingdom of God. And this mission receives its authenticity from the Spirit. The Byzantine hymns for Pentecost glorify Christ "who has made the fishermen most wise by sending down upon them the Holy Spirit, and through them did draw the world into His net."²⁵

The Spirit has bestowed upon the Church its "apostolicity," since the day of Pentecost; and only through the Spirit can the Church preserve consistency and continuity with the original Christian Gospel. The various ministries, created by the Spirit in the Christian *koinonia*, and more particularly that of the episcopate, are meant to maintain and structure this

continuity, thus assuring the purity and effectiveness of the Church's mission in the world.

4. The Spirit and Man's Freedom

We have seen in Chapter 11 that man was not understood, in the Greek patristic tradition, as an autonomous being; participation in divine life was seen as an integral part of his *nature*. But since man is created free, it is obvious that there cannot be, as in Western theology, any opposition between "grace" and freedom. Quite to the contrary. Man can be authentically free only "in God," when, through the Holy Spirit, he has been liberated from the determinism of created and fallen existence and has received the power to share in God's lordship over creation.

This approach to freedom has crucial implications for man's attitude toward the Church, as well as for his social and personal ethics. On the one hand, it presupposes that nowhere, except in the sacramental community of the Church, is it possible to achieve the truly liberating divine life. On the other hand, the whole approach to man's salvation remains based on a personal, responsible, and free experience of God. This paradox, irreducible to a rational scheme, corresponds to an essential element of pneumatology: the Spirit simultaneously guarantees the continuity and authenticity of the Church's sacramental institutions and bestows upon each human person a possibility of free divine experience and, therefore, a full responsibility for both personal salvation and corporate continuity of the Church in the divine truth. Between the corporate and the sacramental on the one hand, and the personal, on the other, there is, therefore, a necessary tension in the spiritual life of the Christian and in his ethical behavior. The Kingdom to come is already realized in the sacraments, but each individual Christian is called to grow into it, by exercising his own efforts and by

using his own God-given freedom with the cooperation of the Spirit.

In the Byzantine tradition, there has never been any strong tendency to build systems of Christian ethics, and the Church has never been viewed as the source of authoritative and detailed statements on Christian behavior. Church authority was certainly often called upon to solve concrete cases, and its decisions were seen as authoritative criteria for future judgments; but the creative mainstream of Byzantine spirituality was a call to "perfection" and to "holiness," and not a propositional system of ethics. It is the mystical, eschatological, and, therefore, maximalistic character of this call to holiness which gives it its essential difference from the legalism of medieval Roman Catholicism, the puritanical moralism of other Western trends, and the relativism of modern "situation ethics." Whenever they searched for models of Christian behavior, Byzantine Christians looked

rather at saints and "athletes of the faith," especially the monks. Monastic literature is the source *par excellence* for our own understanding of Byzantine spirituality, and it is dominated by a "quest" of the Spirit.

Especially associated with the tradition of Macarius, this quest is particularly evident in the flowery hymns of Symeon the New Theologian, addressed to the Holy Spirit:

I give thanks to Thee for this, that Thou, divine Being above all things, makest Thyself a single spirit with me without confusion, without change and that Thou didst become all in all for me, ineffable nourishment, freely distributed, which falls from the lips of my soul, which flows abundantly from the source of my heart; the resplendent vesture which covers me and protects me and which destroys the demons; the purification which washes from me every stain through these holy and perpetual tears which Thy presence accords to those whom Thou visitest. I give thanks to Thee for Thy being which was revealed to me as the day without twilight, as the sun which does not set. O Thou who hast no place where Thou hidest Thyself, for Thou dost never shun us, never hast Thou disdained anyone; it is we, on the contrary, who hide ourselves, not wishing to go toward Thee. 26

The conscious and personal experience of the Holy Spirit is, therefore, the supreme goal of Christian life in the Byzantine tradition, an experience which presupposes constant growth and ascent. This experience is not opposed to an essentially Christocentric understanding of the Gospel, for it itself is possible only "in Christ," i.e., through communion in the deified humanity of Jesus; nor is it contradictory to practical ethical requirements, for it remains impossible unless these requirements are fulfilled. But, obviously, such experience reflects a basically personalistic understanding of Christianity. To a degree larger than in the West, then, the Byzantine Church will see in the saint or in the mystic the guardian of the faith,

and will trust him more than any permanent institution; and it will not develop legal or canonical guarantees for an independent Christian action in the world, hoping rather that, if they are needed, prophets will arise to preserve the identity of the Gospel; this hope will indeed be fulfilled in the irreducible non-conformity of monastic personalities and communities throughout Byzantine history.

Obviously, however, Byzantine Christianity will also be faced with temptations inherent in its personalistic outlook. Spiritualistic and dualistic sects will often prosper in the Byzantine, and post-Byzantine, world, side by side with Orthodox spirituality. Between the fourth and the fourteenth centuries, various forms of Messalianism²⁷the Pelagianism of the East²⁷will promote an anti-social, non-sacramental, and dualistic interpretation of the monastic ideal. They will be followed by the Russian *Strigol'niki*

and other sects. Their influence, under the form of an exaggerated anti-institutionalism, will always be felt inside the canonical boundaries of the Orthodox Church itself.

The Church, of course, has never admitted that spiritualistic individualism and "enthusiasm" be erected as an ecclesiological system, but maintained its sacramental structure and canonical discipline. Conscious of the fact that in the Kingdom of God there are no laws other than those of the Spirit, it has also remembered that the Kingdom, already accessible as a true and direct experience, has not yet come in strength, and remains hidden under the sacramental veils. In the present *aion*, structures, laws, canons, and institutions are unavoidable, as *means* toward a fuller realization of the Kingdom. In practice, the Byzantine world recognized that the Christian empire had a legitimate role to play in codifying practical Christian ethics and in supervising their application. The standard code of Christian behavior was the *Nomocanon*, a collection of Church rules and of state laws concerning religion. Even there, however, the basic personalism of Byzantine Christianity was preserved in the fact that a *person*, not an institution, was invested with direct responsibilities in the Christian world: the Christian emperor, "elect of God." Historically, the perpetuation of the empire in the East played a role in preventing the Byzantine Church from assuming the direct role of ruling society politically, and thus keeping more strictly to its function as a signpost of the Kingdom to come. A Kingdom fundamentally different from all political systems of this age.

Whatever the obvious ambiguity and the hypocrisy which, at times, was evident in the Byzantine state, it thus served as an historical framework for a tradition which maintained the *eschatological* character of Christianity. In general, whether in the lands of Islam, or in modern secular societies of Eastern Europe, the Orthodox settled

for a ghetto life: the closed liturgical community, with its experience of the heavenly, served both as a refuge and as a school. It demonstrated a remarkable capacity for survival and also, as for example in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Russia, for influencing intellectual development. Its emphasis on the free experience of the Spirit, as the liberating goal of human life, may be even better appreciated among those who today are looking for alternatives to the over-institutionalized ecclesiasticism of Western Christianity.

Notes

1. Letter 38, 4; PG 32:332_C; trans. R. J. Deferrari (London: Heinemann, 1961), p. 211.
2. *Cat.* 16, 11; PG 33:932_C.
3. *De Spir. S.*, 16, 38; PG 32:136_B.
4. *In Joh.* XI, 10; PG 74:541_C.

5. See R. Leaney, "The Lucan text of the Lord's Prayer (in Gregory of Nyssa)," *Novum Testamentum* 1 (1956), 103-111.
6. *Apodeipnon*, canon, ode 5.
7. Great Blessing of Water.
8. *Ad Serap.* 1, 31; PG 26:605_A.
9. *Ibid.*, 1, 28; PG 26:596_A.
10. See for example Basil, *De Spirit. S.*, 9, 23, PG 32:109_B.
11. *On the Incarnation and Against the Arians*, 8; PG 26:997_A.
12. *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, 37, 3, SC 4 bis, p. 229; trans. J. M. Hussey and P. A. McNulty (London: SPCK, 1960), p. 90.
13. *Kathisma*, after the Polyeleon.
14. Canon 2, ode 8.
15. Canon 1, ode 1.
16. *Kathisma* 1.
17. *De fide orth.* I, 8; PG 94:821_{BC}.
18. Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, pp. 166-167.
19. Cf. J. Meyendorff, *Gregory Palamas*, pp. 14-15, 231.
20. Boris Bobrinskoy, "Liturgie et ecclésiologie trinitaire de St. Basile," *Etudes patristiques: le traité sur le Saint-Esprit de Saint Basile*, Foi et Constitution, 1969, pp. 89-90; also in *Verbum Caro*, 23, No. 88.
21. *Kontakion* of Pentecost.
22. Letter 159, 2; PG 32:621_{AB}; ed. Deferrari, p. 396.

23. Sunday Matins, Antiphon, tone 4.

24. *On the Life in Christ*, IV; PG 150:617_B.

25. *Troparion*.

26. PG 120:509_{BC}.

27. I. Hausherr, "L'erreur fondamentale et la logique du messalianisme," *OCP* 1 (1955), 328-360.

14

The Triune God

"When I say *God*, I mean Father, Son, and Holy Spirit," writes Gregory of Nazianzus. 1 Far from being a form of abstract speculation, the doctrine of the Trinity was always, for the Greek patristic tradition, a matter of religious experience: liturgical, mystical, and, often, poetical:

No sooner do I conceive of the one than I am illumined by the splendor of the three; no sooner do I distinguish them than I am carried back to the one. When I think of any one of the three, I think of Him as the whole, and my eyes are filled, and the greater part of what I am thinking escapes me.²

The basis of this Trinitarian theology, which was formulated by the Cappadocian Fathers in the fourth century at the conclusion of the Arian controversies, and which remained standard throughout the Byzantine period, is found in soteriology: the Fathers were actually preoccupied, not with speculation, but with man's salvation. The Nicaean doctrine of con-substantiality meant "the confession of the fullness of divinity in Christ and implied that the Incarnation was essential to the redemptive act of Christ"; and maintained, similarly, that if "the Spirit is not fully God, He is unable to bestow sanctification."³ In itself, the Cappadocian doctrine of the Trinity remains totally meaningless unless one remember that its goal is to maintain the Christological and pneumatological presuppositions developed in the last two chapters: the incarnate Logos and the Holy Spirit are met and experienced first as *divine agents of salvation*, and only then are they also discovered to be essentially one God. It is well known that, during the theological debates of the fourth century, the Cappadocian Fathers were accused of tritheism, so that Gregory of

Nyssa was even obliged to issue his famous apologetic treatise proving that "there are not three gods."⁴ It remains debatable, however, whether he succeeded in proving his point *philosophically*. The doctrine of the three hypostases, adopted by the Cappadocian Fathers to designate the three divine Persons,

had definite Plotinian and Origenistic associations, which normally implied *substantial* differentiation. The Fathers, however, remained faithful to the terminology they had adopted, in spite of all difficulties and criticism both from the "old Nicaeans" faithful to Athanasius and from the theologians of the Latin West because they saw no other means of preserving the Biblical experience of salvation in the fully identifiable and distinct persons of Christ and the Spirit, an experience which could never enter the categories of philosophical essentialism.

The Latin West adopted a different approach to Trinitarian theology, and the contrast has been well expressed by Théodore de Régnon: "Latin philosophy considers the nature in itself first and proceeds to the agent; Greek philosophy considers the agent first and passes through it to find the nature. The Latins think of personality as a mode of nature; the Greeks think of nature as the content of the person." 5 Practically speaking, the difference of emphasis means that in both the *lex orandi* and the *lex credendi* of Byzantine Christianity, the Trinity remained a primary and concrete experience; the unity of God's nature was an article of faith, coupled always with an insistence on the absolute unknowability of the divine essence. In the West, however, especially since the time of Augustine, the unity of the divine being served as the starting point of Trinitarian theology. Obviously, as long as the two schools of thought remained open to dialogue and mutual understanding, they could have developed in a complementary way. Unfortunately, the bitter polemics on the *Filioque* issue led to a stiffening of positions and became one of the major causes of the schism. The modern crisis of deism, the increasing difficulty faced by modern theologians in explaining and justifying the being of God as a philosophically definable entity, may prove helpful, not only in solving the medieval controversy between East and West, but also in the revival of a more authentic Trinitarianism. "It would seem that in

our time," writes Théodore de Régnon, "the dogma of the divine unity had, as it were, absorbed the dogma of the Trinity of which one only speaks as a memory."⁶ But the "dogma of the divine unity" is being challenged by that of the "death of God"; hence, there is a return to an existential and experiential approach to the doctrine of God, seen in the context of salvation history: "Without our experience of Father, Son, and Spirit in salvation history," writes Karl Rahner, "we would ultimately be unable to conceive at all of their subsisting distinctly as the one God."⁷

These modern concerns meet directly the consistent position of Byzantine theology.

1. Unity and Trinity

The Cappadocian Fathers adopted the formulation which would remain the criterion of Orthodox Trinitarian theology in the East: God is one

essence in three hypostases. This Cappadocian settlement, given the circumstances of the fourth century, never pretended to be anything more than the best possible *description* of the divine mystery, not the solution of a philosophical process, similar to the Plotinian "Trinity of hypostases." The Fathers always affirmed that we cannot know *what* God is, only *that He is*, because He has revealed Himself in salvation history as Father, Son, and Spirit. God is Trinity, "and this fact can be deduced from no principle nor explained by any sufficient reason for there are neither principles nor causes anterior to the Trinity." 8

Why then are *this* description and this terminology preferable to others? Mainly because all the options then available seemed inadequate from the start. The formula "one essence, three *prosopa*," for example, was not able to exclude a modalistic Trinity, since the term *prosopon*, although commonly used to designate "person," could also mean "mask" or "appearance." The Cappadocian Fathers, meanwhile, wanted to affirm simultaneously that God is one object and three objects, that both His unity and His trinity are full realities. "When I speak of God," writes Gregory of Nazianzus, "you must be illumined at once by one flash of light and by three. Three in properties, in hypostases or Persons, if any prefer so to call them, for we will not quarrel about names so long as the syllables amount to the same meaning; but one in respect of the *ousia*, that is, the Godhead."9

There is no claim here for philosophical consistency, although an effort is made to use current philosophical terms. The ultimate meaning of the terms, however, is clearly different from their meaning in Greek philosophy, and their inadequacy is frankly recognized.

This is particularly true of hypostasis, a term crucial in Trinitarian theology, and in Christology. Neither in Aristotelianism nor in Neoplatonism was the term intended to designate a *person* in the

Christian (and modern) sense, an *agent*, "possessing" his own nature and "acting" accordingly, a *unique subject*, whose absolute identity can in no way be duplicated. Against the "old Nicaeans," the Cappadocian Fathers wanted to emphasize that the Nicaean *homoousion* ("consubstantial") does not identify the Son with the Father on the personal level, but only on the level of the *ousia*. "Neither is the Son Father, for the Father is one, but He is what the Father is; nor is the Spirit Son because He is of God, for the Only-begotten is one, but He is what the Son is."¹⁰ Thus, in God, the "what" is one, but the three hypostases are personal identities, irreducible to each other in their personal being. They "possess divinity"¹¹ and divinity is "in them."¹²

One recognizes the hypostatic character [of the Spirit] in that He is revealed after the Son and with the Son, and in that He receives His subsistence from the Father. And the Son, in Himself and with Himself re-

vealing the Spirit, who proceeds from the Father, shines alone with the unbegotten light and has nothing in common with the Father and the Spirit in the identity of His particularities, but is revealed alone in the characters proper to His hypostasis. And the Father possesses the particular hypostatic character of being the Father and of being independent from all causality. . . . 13

The same personalistic emphasis appears in the Greek Fathers' insistence on the "monarchy" of the Father. Contrary to the concept which prevailed in the post-Augustinian West and in Latin Scholasticism, Greek theology attributes the *origin* of hypostatic "subsistence" to the *hypostasis* of the Father not to the common essence. The Father is the "cause" (*aitia*) and the "principle" (*arche*) of the divine nature, which is in the Son and in the Spirit. What is even more striking is the fact that this "monarchy" of the Father is constantly used by the Cappadocian Fathers against those who accuse them of "tritheism": "God is one," writes Basil, "because the Father is one."¹⁴ And the same thought is found in Gregory of Nazianzus: "God is the common nature of the three, but the Father is their union [*henosis*]."¹⁵ Pseudo-Dionysius also speaks of the Father as the "source of Divinity,"¹⁶ and John of Damascus in his *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* also affirms the essential dependence of the Son and the Spirit upon the *Person* of the Father:

Whatsoever the Son has from the Father, the Spirit also has, including His very being. And if the Father does not exist, then neither does the Son and the Spirit; and if the Father does not have something, then neither has the Son or the Spirit. Furthermore, because of the Father, that is, because of the fact that the Father is, the Son and the Spirit are; and because of the Father, the Son and the Spirit have everything that they have.¹⁷

By accepting Nicaea, the Cappadocian Fathers eliminated the ontological subordinationism of Origen and Arius, but they preserved indeed, together with their understanding of hypostatic life, a Biblical

and Orthodox subordinationism, maintaining the personal identity of the Father as the ultimate origin of all divine being and action: "The three [are] one God when contemplated together; each [is] God because [they are] consubstantial; the three [are] one God because of the monarchy [of the Father]."18 Developing his well-known doctrine of the divine image in man, Gregory of Nyssa defines one aspect of human personal existence which is clearly *different* from that of God: *each* human person possesses the power of reproducing himself, while, in God, there is only "one and the same Person of the Father from whom the Son is born and the Spirit proceeds."19 Thus, the human race is in a constant process of fragmentation, and can recover its unity only through *adoption* by the Father in Christ. i.e., by becoming children of the one single hypostasis which generates without

fragmenting, or multiplying. The origin of unity in the Trinity, the Father restores the unity of creation by adopting humanity in His Son, the New Adam, in whom humanity is "recapitulated" through the activity of the Spirit.

Not an abstract intellectual speculation, the doctrine of the Trinity stands at the very center of Byzantine religious experience: the immanent Trinity manifests itself as the "economic" Trinity, i.e., the saving revelation of God in history. This is made particularly clear in the liturgy, especially in the Eucharistic canon. As a solemn prayer to the Father by the adopted human community, united in the incarnate Son and invoking the Spirit, the Eucharist is indeed the sacrament of divine unity being bestowed upon men. The same Trinitarian reality is expressed in innumerable hymns, scattered throughout the Byzantine liturgical cycles. Here is a solemn hymn of Pentecost, attributed to the emperor-poet Leo ^{vi} (886-912), and constituting a variation on the famous *Trisagion*:

Come, O peoples, let us venerate the tri-hypostatic Deity,

The Son in the Father, with the Holy Spirit.

For before time the Father generated a Son, sharing His eternity and His Throne;

And the Holy Spirit was in the Father, glorified together with the Son.

One Power, One Essence, One Deity, whom we all venerate and say:

Holy God, who created all things through the Son, with the cooperation of the Holy Spirit;

Holy Mighty, through whom we knew the Father and the Holy Spirit dwelt in the world;

Holy Immortal, the Spirit Comforter, who proceeds from the Father and abides in the Son,

Holy Trinity, glory to Thee. 20

In the classical Latin Trinitarian doctrine, "Father, Son, and Spirit are only 'relatively' distinct."²¹ Whatever the interpretation given to the idea of "relation" implied in this statement, it is clear that Western thought recognized the ontological primacy of essential *unity* over personal diversity in God; that is, that God is essentially one, except in the divine *Persons*, who are defined in terms of *relations*. In Byzantine thought, however, to use an expression from Maximus the Confessor "God is identically monad and triad,"²² and there is probably a tendency in both worship and philosophical formulations (as distinct from doctrinal statements) to give a certain preeminence to the personal diversity over essential unity. A reference to the Nicæan "consubstantial" was the Byzantine response to the accusation of "tritheism."

This reference, however, could not be decisive in itself, simply because Greek patristic thought, and particularly that of the Cappadocians, always

presupposed the starting point of apophatic theology: that God's being and, consequently, the ultimate meaning of hypostatic relations were understood to be totally above comprehension, definition, or argument. The very notion of God's being both Unity and Trinity was a *revelation* illustrating this incomprehensibility; for no reality, accessible to the mind, could be both "one" and "three." As Vladimir Lossky puts it: "the Incomprehensible reveals Himself in the very fact of His being incomprehensible, for His incomprehensibility is rooted in the fact that God is not only Nature but also Three Persons." 23

The knowledge of God is therefore possible only inasmuch as He reveals Himself, inasmuch as the immanent Trinity manifests itself in the "economy" of salvation, inasmuch as the transcendent *acts* on the immanent level. It is in the fundamental oneness of these "acts" or "energies" of God that the Greek Fathers, particularly Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, discover the decisive and existential sign of the unity of God's essence. Basil's well-known argument in favor of the divinity of the Spirit is that He has the same "energy" as the Father and the Son. Similarly, Gregory of Nyssa proves the essential unity of Father, Son, and Spirit from the unity of their operation.²⁴ This argument also fits into the context of the Cappadocians' polemics against Eunomius, who affirmed the possibility of knowing God's essence; no knowledge concerning God, they asserted, was possible, except from His "energies." The "economic" Trinity, revealed in God's action in the world, is, therefore, the only possible basis for affirming that God is indeed, paradoxically and incomprehensibly, a transcendent and immanent Trinity. Gregory of Nyssa's doctrine of the "energies" is well described by G. L. Prestige:

In men . . . , in spite of the solidarity of the whole race, each individual acts separately, so that it is proper to regard them as many. This is not so . . . with God. The Father never acts independently of the Son, nor the Son of

the Spirit. Divine action . . . always begins from the Father, proceeds through the Son, and is completed in the Holy Spirit; there is no such thing as a separate individual operation of any Person; the energy invariably passes through the three, though the effect is not three actions but one.²⁵

In fact, the Aristotelian principle according to which each "nature" (*physis*) has an "energy" (*energeia*) i.e., an existentially perceivable manifestation provides the terminological background for the patristic concept of "energy." (We find this terminology used, as well, in Christology, where Maximus the Confessor, for example, will maintain that the two natures of Christ presuppose two "energies" or wills.) However, significantly, the Aristotelian dyad, nature-energy, was not considered sufficient in itself when applied to God, because in God's nature, the decisive *acting* factor is

hypostatic; hence, divine "energy" is not only unique but tri-hypostatic, since the "energy" reflects the common life of the three Persons. The personal aspects of the divine subsistence do not disappear in the one "energy," and it is indeed the Trinitarian life of God which is communicated and participated in in the "energy": through the "energy," therefore, the divine hypostases appear in their co-inherence (*perichoresis*): 26 "I am in the Father and the Father in me" (Jn 14:11). Human persons, though also one in nature and substance, act disjointly and often in conflict with each other; in God, however, the *perichoresis* expresses the perfect love, and therefore, the perfect unity of "energy," of the three hypostases, without, however, any mingling or coalescence. The "energy," because it is always Trinitarian, is always an expression and a communication of love: "As the Father has loved me, so I have loved you: abide in my love" (Jn 15:9).

It is probably in the context of the doctrine of the *perichoresis* that one should understand a unique passage in Palamas, where he seems inspired by the Augustinian "psychological" image of the Trinity.²⁷ Palamas writes: "This Spirit of the Word from on high is like the mysterious love of the Father toward the Word mysteriously begotten; it is that possessed by the Word, the beloved Son, toward the Father who begat Him; this the Son does insofar as He comes from the Father conjointly with this love, and this love rests naturally upon him."²⁸ Since the whole approach to the Trinity in Palamas is different from Augustine's, it is certainly the result of the personalistic interpretation, which can be given to the "psychological" image being used here to suggest the Trinitarian mystery: love unites the three divine hypostases, and pours out, through their common divine "energy" or "action," upon those worthy to receive it.

2. Hypostasis, Essence, and Energy

The distinction a *real* distinction between divine "essence" and divine "energy" is made unavoidable in the context of the doctrine of "deification," which implies a "participation" of created man in the uncreated life of God, whose essence remains transcendent and totally unparticipable. All these aspects of the doctrine of God will, in fact, be faced simultaneously during the controversies between Gregory Palamas and his adversaries in the fourteenth century. His conclusion, necessarily, is that "three elements belong to God: essence, energy, and the triad of the divine hypostases."²⁹

This triple distinction is rendered inescapable, as soon as one rejects the Augustinian option of Trinitarianism in favor of the Cappadocian. For, indeed, if the Persons are only relations internal to the essence, the revelation of God, if any, is a revelation either of the "essence" or of "analogous" created symbols; the "energies," then, are either the "essence" of God or created signs, and there is no real distinction *in God*. But if, on the contrary, the Persons are distinct from the essence, which is common to

them but transcendent and inaccessible to man, and if in Christ man meets God "face to face," so that there is a real "participation" in divine existence, this participated divine existence can only be a free gift from God, which safeguards the inaccessible character of the essence and the transcendence of God. This God-giving-Himself is the divine "energy"; a living and personal God is indeed an *acting* God.

We have seen that the doctrine of the "energies" in the Byzantine tradition is central both to the understanding of creation and to Christology. Refusing to reduce the being of God to the philosophical concept of simple "essence," Byzantine thought affirms the full and distinct reality of the Triune hypostatic life of God *ad intra*, as well as His "multiplication" as creator *ad extra*. These two "multiplicities" do not, however, coincide. The terminology which the doctrine of energies received, in its relation to the three hypostases, was stabilized in the Palamite synthesis of the fourteenth century:

The proper appellations of the divine hypostases are common to the energies; whereas appellations common to the hypostases are particular to each of the divine energies. Thus *life* is a common appellation of the Father, the Son and the Spirit, but *foreknowledge* is not called *life*, nor is *simplicity*, nor *unchangeableness*, nor any other energy. Thus each of the realities which we have enumerated belongs at the same time to the Father, the Son, and the Spirit; but they only belong to one energy, and not to all; each reality in fact has only one signification. Inversely, *Father* is the proper appellation of one sole hypostasis, but it is manifest in all the energies. . . . And the same is true of the appellations Son and Spirit. . . . Thus since God in His wholeness is wholly incarnate, He has unchangeably united to the whole of me . . . the divine nature and all its power and energy in one of the divine hypostases. Thus, also, through each of His energies one shares in the whole of God . . . the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. . . . 30

The triple distinctionessence, hypostasis, energyis not a division of

God's being; it reflects the mysterious life of the "One-who-is"transcendent, tri-personal, and present to His creation.

The Palamite formulations of the fourteenth century were preceded by theological developments which dealt with the same triple distinction. In 1156 and 1157, two local councils held in Constantinople debated the problem whether the sacrifice of Christ, in both its historical and its Eucharistic dimensions, was offered to the Father alone, or to the Holy Trinity. Soterichos, a theologian, was condemned because he held that the acts of offering and of receiving constituted the *hypostatic characteristics* of the Son and the Father respectively, an opinion the councils considered to be a confusion between the "immanent" and the "economic" Trinity, or between the hypo-static characteristics and "energies." And, indeed, the Byzantine liturgies of

Basil and of John Chrysostom include, at the offertory, a prayer addressed to Christ: "For it is you who offer and are offered, who receive and are yourself received." The mystery of the hypostatic life, as it is revealed in the Incarnation and in the act of redemption, is also expressed in a Byzantine Easter *troparion* (repeated by the priest during the offertory, at the Eucharist): "O Christ undescribable! You filled all things: bodily in the grave, in Hades with your soul as God, in Paradise with the thief; you also sat on the divine throne with the Father and the Spirit."

Therefore, even if the Father alone is the addressee of the Eucharistic prayer, the act of "receiving" the sacrifice is a Trinitarian act, as are all the divine acts *ad extra*.³¹ The mystery of the Incarnation, however, consists in the fact that the divine hypostasis of the Logos assumed *also* the role of offering, bringing humanity with itself to the throne of the Father. The Eucharistic sacrifice is precisely this offering, accomplished in the body of Christ, where human nature is penetrated with divine energy, assumed as it is by the hypostasis of the Logos.

The hypostatic, personal existence implies an "openness," which makes it possible for the incarnate Logos to "offer" and to "receive," to be man and God, and to remain, with the Father and the Spirit, the "actor" of the "energies" characterizing divine nature.

3. The Living God

"God, when He was speaking with Moses, did not say: 'I am the essence,' but 'I am who am' [Ex 3:14]. It is therefore not He-who-is who comes from the essence, but it is the essence which comes from He-who-is, for He-who-is embraces in Himself all being."³² When Palamas, in the passage just quoted, explicitly refers to the Biblical doctrine of the living God, or when he refuses to identify the being of God with the philosophical notion of essence "The essence is

necessarily being, but being is not necessarily essence"³³he expresses the very content of his quarrel with Barlaam and Akindynos, but also maintains the *theologia* of the Cappadocian Fathers.

We have already noted that the conflict within Byzantine society which set the monks against the "humanists" involved an understanding of man's destiny based on the Bible as opposed to one based on Platonic spiritualism. A similar problem developed on the level of "theology" proper, i.e., the doctrine of God. The issue was complicated by the fact that Latin Scholasticism provided the Byzantine anti-Palamites with a truly "Greek" interpretation of the divine being, and they readily turned into *Latinophrones*. For indeed the *real* significance of the *Filioque* quarrel consisted in the fact that the two sides held to a different approach to God. The East refused to identify God's being with the concept of "simple essence," while the West admitted this identification on the basis of Greek philosophical presuppositions. The issue certainly could not be solved by collections of

scriptural and patristic "proof texts," even if agreement was obviously possible on the canonical level (unilateral interpolation of the universal creed by the Latins) and in the terminology (procession "from both" could be admitted by the Easterns on the level of the "economy"). The controversy was really concerned, as Vladimir Lossky puts it, with the fact that

by the dogma of the *Filioque* the God of the philosophers and savants is introduced into the place of the Living God. . . . The Unknowable Essence of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit receives positive qualifications. It becomes the subject of a Natural Theology, concerned with "God in general," who may be the God of Descartes, or the God of Leibniz, or even perhaps, to some extent, the God of Voltaire and the dechristianized Deists of the eighteenth century. 34

This conclusion may appear to some as an overstatement. It is both characteristic and refreshing, however, that precisely those modern theologians of the West who are most concerned with making Christian theology again as kerygmatic and appealing as it was in another age are suggesting a return to the pre-Augustinian concepts of God, "where the three hypostases were seen first of all in their personal, irreducible functions."³⁵ "Without our experience of Father, Son, and Spirit in salvation history, we would ultimately be unable to conceive at all of their subsisting distinctly as the one God."³⁶

Notes

1. *Oratio* 45, 4; PG 36:628_c.
2. *Oratio* 40, 41; PG 36:417_{BC}.
3. Both quotations from Georges Florovsky, *Vostochnye Ottsy* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1931), p. 23.
4. The treatise is addressed *To Ablabius*, ed. F. Mueller (Leiden,

1958), pp. 37-57.

5. Théodore de Régnon, *Etudes de théologie positive sur la Sainte Trinité* (Paris, 1892), I, 433. See also G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought* (London: SPCK, 1952), pp. 233-241, and J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London: Black, 1958), pp. 253-279.

6. De Régnon, *Etudes*, I, 365.

7. Karl Rahner, *The Trinity*, trans. Joseph Donceel, S.J. (London: Burns & Oates, 1969), pp. 110-111.

8. Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, p. 47.

9. *Oratio* 39, 11; PG 36:345_{CD}.

10. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio*, 31, 9; PG 36:144_A.

11. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Poem. Dogm.* 20,3; PG 37:414_A.

12. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 31, 41; PG 36:149_A.

13. Basil, *Ep.* 38, 4; PG 32:329_{CD}.

14. Basil, *Contra Sab.*, 3; PG 31:605_A.

15. *Oratio* 42, 15; PG 36:476_B.

16. Pseudo-Dionysius, *De div. nom.* 2, 7; PG 3:645_B.

17. *De fide orthodoxa* 1, 8; PC; 94:324_B; trans. F. H. Chase, *Fathers of the Church*. 37 (New York, 1958), p. 184.
18. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 40, 41; PG 36:417_B.
19. *Adv. Graecos*; PG 45:180.
20. *Pentekostarion* (Athens: Phos, 1960), p. 218.
21. K. Rahner, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
22. *Capita theol. et oecon.* II, 1; PG 90:1125_A.
23. *Op. cit.*, p. 64.
24. See G. L. Prestige, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-260.
25. *Op. tit.*, p. 260.
26. The term was first used in Christology (see Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, pp. 291-299); it began to be applied to the hypostatic relations by pseudo-Cyril and by John of Damascus.
27. St. Augustine's *De Trinitate* had been translated into Greek by Maximus Planudes in the thirteenth century, and could have been known by Palamas.
28. *Cap. phys.* 36; PG 151:1144_D-1145_A.
29. *Cap. phys.* 75; PG 151:1173_B.
30. *Against Akindynos*, V, 27; edd. Kontogiannes and Phanourgakes, pp. 373-374.
31. On the councils of 1156 and 1157, see J. Meyendorff, *Christ*, pp. 152-154.
32. Gregory Palamas, *Triads* III, 2, 12; ed J. Meyendorff, in *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense*, 31 (Louvain, 1959); Palamas is

paraphrasing Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 45, 3; PG 36:625c.

33. *Against Akindynos* III, 10; edd. Kontogiannes and Phanourgakes, p. 184.

34. "The procession of the Holy Spirit in the Orthodox Triadology" in *Eastern Churches Quarterly*. Supplemental issue *Concerning the Holy Spirit* (1948), p. 46. See also the debate on the *Filioque* between Orthodox (Bishop Cassian, Meyendorff, Verhovskoy, and others) and Roman Catholic (Camelot, Bouyer, Henry, Dubarle, Dondaine, and others) theologians published in *Russie et Chrétienté* (1950), No. 3-4.

35. Cf. J. Meyendorff, *Christ*, p. 166.

36. K. Rahner, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

15

Sacramental Theology: The Cycle of Life

In his book on *The Life in Christ* a commentary on baptism, confirmation, and communions Nicholas Cabasilas writes: "It is possible for the saints in this present world, not only to be disposed and prepared for [eternal] life [in Christ], but also even now to live and act according to it." ¹ The Kingdom of God, an anticipation of the eschatological fulfillment, is already accessible in the Body of Christ: this possibility of "being in Christ," of "participating" in divine life the "natural" state of humanity is, for the Byzantines, essentially manifested in the sacraments, or *mysteria*, of the Church. These sacraments are understood less as isolated acts through which a "particular" grace is bestowed upon individuals by properly appointed ministers acting with the proper intention, and more as the aspects of a unique mystery of the Church, in which God shares divine life with humanity, redeeming man from sin and death and bestowing upon him the glory of immortality.

1. Number of Sacraments

Byzantine theology ignores the Western distinction between "sacraments" and "sacramentals," and never formally committed itself to any strict limitation of the number of sacraments. In the patristic period there was no technical term to designate "sacraments" as a specific category of church acts: the term *mysterion* was used primarily in the wider and general sense of "mystery of salvation,"² and only in a subsidiary manner to designate the particular *actions* which bestow salvation. In this second sense, it was used concurrently with such terms as "rites" or "sanctifications."³ Theodore the Studite

in the ninth century gives a list of six sacraments: the holy "illumination" (baptism), the "synaxis" (Eucharist), the holy chrism, ordination, monastic tonsure, and the service of burial.⁴ The doctrine of the "seven sacraments" appears for the first time every char-

acteristically in the Profession of Faith required from Emperor Michael Paleologus by Pope Clement ^{IV} in 1267. ⁵ The Profession had been prepared, of course, by Latin theologians.

The obviously Western origin of this strict numbering of the sacraments did not prevent it from being widely accepted among Eastern Christians after the thirteenth century, even among those who fiercely rejected union with Rome. It seems that this acceptance resulted not so much from the influence of Latin theology as from the peculiarly medieval and Byzantine fascination with symbolic numbers: the number seven, in particular, evoked an association with the seven gifts of the Spirit in Isaiah 11:2-4. But among Byzantine authors who accept the "seven sacraments," we find different competing lists. The monk Job (thirteenth century), author of a dissertation on the sacraments, includes monastic tonsure in the list, as did Theodore the Studite, but combines as one sacrament penance and the anointing of the sick.⁶ Symeon of Thessalonica (fifteenth century) also admits the sacramental character of the monastic tonsure, but classifies it together with penance,⁷ considering the anointing as a separate sacrament. Meanwhile, Joasaph, Metropolitan of Ephesus, a contemporary of Symeon's, declares: "I believe that the sacraments of the Church are not seven, but more," and he gives a list of ten, which includes the consecration of a church, the funeral service, and the monastic tonsure.⁸

Obviously, the Byzantine Church never committed itself formally to any specific list; many authors accept the standard series of seven sacraments: baptism, confirmation, Eucharist, holy orders, matrimony, penance, and the anointing of the sick while others give a longer list, and still others emphasize the exclusive and prominent importance of baptism and the Eucharist, the basic Christian initiation into "new life." Thus, Gregory Palamas proclaims that "in these two

[sacraments], our whole salvation is rooted, since the entire economy of the God-man is recapitulated in them."⁹ And Nicholas Cabasilas composes his famous book on *The Life in Christ* as a commentary on baptism, chrismation, and the Eucharist.

2. Baptism and Chrismation

In the Eastern Church, baptism and confirmation (the latter being effected through anointment with "holy chrism" blessed by the bishop) are normally celebrated together. Immediately after receiving baptism and confirmation, the child is admitted to Eucharistic communion. There is, therefore, no practical difference between admitting a child or an adult to membership in the Church; in both cases, a human being who belonged to the "old Adam" through his natural birth is introduced to "new life" by partaking of baptism, chrismation, and holy communion. Christian initiation is one single and indivisible act: "If one does not receive the chrism one is not perfectly baptized," writes Symeon of Thessalonica.¹⁰

As we have seen, the patristic doctrine of salvation is based, not on the idea of guilt inherited from Adam and from which man is relieved in Christ, but on a more existential understanding of both "fallen" and "redeemed" humanity. From the "old Adam," through his natural birth, man inherits a defective form of life bound by mortality, inevitably sinful, lacking fundamental freedom from the "prince of this world." The alternative to this "fallen" state is "life in Christ," which is true and "natural" human life, the gift of God bestowed in the mystery of the Church. "Baptism," writes Nicholas Cabasilas, "is nothing else but to be born according to Christ and to receive our very being and nature." 11

The emphasis, in both the rite of baptism and the theological commentaries of the Byzantine period, is on the *positive* meaning of baptism as "new birth." "The salutary day of Baptism," Cabasilas continues, "becomes a name day to Christians, because then they are formed and shaped, and our shapeless and undefined life receives shape and definition."¹² Again according to Cabasilas all the scriptural and traditional designations of baptism point to the same *positive* meaning: "'Birth' and 'new birth,' 're-fashioning' and 'seal,' as well as 'baptism' and 'clothing' and 'anointing,' 'gift,' 'enlightening,' and 'washing' all signify this one thing: that the rite is the beginning of existence for those who are and live in accordance with God."¹³

Considering baptism as "new birth" implies also that it is a free gift from God, and is in no sense dependent upon human choice, consent, or even consciousness: "Just as in the case of physical birth we do not even contribute willingness to all the blessings derived from baptism."¹⁴ In the East, therefore, there was never any serious doubt or controversy about the legitimacy of infant baptism. This legitimacy was based, not on the idea of a "sin" which would make even the infant guilty in the eyes of God and in need of baptism as justification,

but on the fact that, at all stages of life, including infancy, man needs to be "born anew" i.e. to begin a new and eternal life in Christ. The ultimate eschatological goal of new life cannot be fully comprehended even by the "conscious adult."

Just as it is not possible to understand the power of the eyes or the grace of color without light, or for those who sleep to learn the affairs of those who stay awake while they are yet asleep, in the same way in this life it is not possible to understand the new members and their faculties which are directed solely to the life to come. . . . Yet we are members of Christ, and this is the result of baptism. The splendor and beauty of the members consists in the Head, for the members would not appear to be beautiful unless they are attached to the Head. Of these members the Head is hidden in the present life, but will be clearly apparent when they shine forth together with the Head.¹⁵

Since he is a member of the Body of Christ through baptism, man again becomes "theocentric" that is, he recovers his original destiny, which is

eschatological and mysterious, because it participates in the very mystery of God. As a divine gift, whether bestowed upon an adult or an infant, baptism is the beginning of new life. As Theodoret of Cyrus writes:

If the only meaning of baptism were remission of sins, why would we baptize newborn children who have not yet tasted of sin? But the mystery of baptism is not limited to this; it is a promise of greater and more perfect gifts. In it are the promises of future delights; it is the type of the future resurrection, a communion with the master's Passion, a participation in His Resurrection, a mantle of salvation, a tunic of gladness, a garment of light, or rather it is light itself. 16

As a "beginning" and a promise of new life, baptism implies free self-determination and growth. It does not suppress human freedom, but restores it to its original and "natural" form. In the case of infant baptism, this restoration is, of course, only potential, but the sacrament always implies a *call* to freedom. In the Byzantine tradition, the formula of baptism is not pronounced, as in the West, in the name of the minister who performs the sacrament ("I baptize you"), but is a solemn declaration on behalf of the baptized: "The servant of God, N., is baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." "This," writes Symeon of Thessalonica, "signifies the freedom of the baptized."¹⁷ After baptism, the way toward God is a "synergy" of God's power and free human effort. It is also a liberation from the bonds of Satan the tyrant and the usurper signified by the exorcisms which precede the sacrament of baptism itself.¹⁸

The Byzantine tradition has retained the ancient Christian practice of baptism through triple immersion. Actually, immersion was sometimes considered essential to the validity of the sacrament, and some extreme anti-Latin polemicists questioned the effectiveness of

Western baptism on the grounds that it was performed by sprinkling. Immersion is indeed the very sign of what baptism means: "The water destroys the one life, but shows forth the other; it drowns the old man and raises the new," writes Cabasilas.¹⁹ "Drowning" cannot be meaningfully signified other than through immersion.

To the man liberated through baptism from servitude to Satan, the Spirit bestows the faculty of "being active in spiritual energies," according to another expression of Cabasilas'.²⁰ We have already seen that Byzantine patristic theology recognized a connection between the gifts of the Spirit and human freedom; redemption of humanity implies that not only human "nature" but also *each man*, freely and personally, will find his place in the new creation, "recapitulated" in Christ. The gift of the Spirit in chrismation is the main sacramental sign of this particular dimension of salvation, which is, according to the liturgical norm, inseparable from baptism. Thus the "life in Christ" and "life in the Spirit" are not two

separate forms of spirituality; they are complementary aspects of the same road, leading toward eschatological "deification."

Normally united with baptism in a single rite of Christian initiation, chrismation is celebrated separately only in cases of reconciliation to the Church of certain categories of heretics and schismatics, enumerated in Canon 95 of the Council *in Trullo*. Its significance, then, is to validate, through "the seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit" (the formula pronounced by the priest during the anointing), a Christian baptism performed in irregular circumstances*i.e.*, outside the canonical boundaries of the Church.

3. Penance

Sacramental penance*i.e.*, reconciliation to the Church after sins committed after baptism has had a parallel development in East and West. Originally a public act, required from sinners who either had been officially excommunicated or had performed acts liable to excommunication, penance, gradually and especially after the fourth century, took the form of private confession, followed by a prayer of absolution pronounced by a priest. It then identified itself almost completely with the practice of private spiritual direction, especially widespread in monastic communities.

The development of penitential practice and theology in the Byzantine world was distinct from its Western counterpart in that it never knew the influence of legalistic interpretations of salvation, such as the Anselmian doctrine of "satisfaction," and never faced a crisis comparable to the Western Reformation and Counter-Reformation, with the latter's stress on clerical authority.

Patristic and Byzantine literature on repentance is almost entirely ascetical and moral. Very few authors of ascetical treatises on

repentance specifically mention sacramental absolution as a formal requirement. This silence does not imply that sacramental repentance did not exist; except in cases of formal excommunication, which had to be followed by an equally formal reconciliation, it was only encouraged, but not required. In his innumerable calls to repentance, Chrysostom frequently mentions "confession," i.e., an opening of one's conscience before a witness or "the Church"; but regular sacramental confession does not seem to be meant. In his nine sermons specifically dealing with "repentance," only once does he refer to the Church as a direct recourse: "Did you commit sin? Enter the Church and repent for your sin. . . . You are an old man, and still you commit sin? Enter [the Church], repent; for here is the physician, not the judge; here one is not investigated, one receives remission of sins." 21

A French ecclesiastical historian is probably correct when he writes: "The Byzantines seldom go to confession, at least in the secular world, for in the monasteries . . . confession is regularly practiced. But is this confes-

sion, or is it a direction of conscience of simple laymen by their spiritual fathers? Both practices exist and, in the monasteries, are indistinguishable from one another." 22

Ascetical and canonical literature frequently mentions penitential requirements periods of excommunication, prostrations, and charitable works required as retribution for sins committed and confessed; but, except in case of "mortal" sins murder, apostasy, adultery followed by formal excommunication, it is nowhere evident that a priest's absolution is necessary to seal the act of repentance. On the contrary, numerous sources describe absolutions given by non-ordained monks,²³ a practice which has survived in Eastern monasteries until our own day.

The various forms of absolution found in Byzantine *euchologia* and penitentials²⁴ all have the form of *prayer*: "In the East," writes A. Almazov, "it was always understood that absolution is expressed through prayer, and, even if a declaratory formula is being used, it implies that remission of sins is attributed to God Himself."²⁵ Declaratory formulas ("I, an unworthy priest . . . , forgive and absolve . . .") which crept into some *euchologia*, Greek and Slavic, are all of post-Scholastic Latin origin and were adopted within the framework of a general Latinization of the Byzantine rite.

Byzantine theologians themselves were hesitant about the exact status of penance among the *mysteria* of the Church, and often listed it with either monastic tonsure or anointing of the sick. By the fifteenth century, however, private confession to a priest, followed by a prayer of remission, was a generally accepted practice among laymen, with confession to lay monks existing as an alternative in monasteries. This lack of clarity in both theology and practice has a positive implication: confession and penance were interpreted primarily as a form of

spiritual healing. For sin itself in Eastern Christian anthropology is primarily a disease, "passion." Without denying the Petrine privilege of the keys transmitted to all the bishops, or the apostolic power to remit sins, of which the Church is bearer, Byzantine theologians never succumbed to the temptation of reducing sin to the notion of a legal crime, which is to be sentenced, punished, or forgiven; yet they were aware that the sinner is primarily a prisoner of Satan and, as such, mortally sick. For this reason, confession and penance, at least ideally, preserved the character of liberation and healing rather than that of judgment; hence, the great variety of forms and practices, and the impossibility of confining them within static theological categories.

4. Marriage

The Byzantine theological, liturgical, and canonical tradition unanimously stresses the absolute uniqueness of Christian marriage, and bases this emphasis upon the teaching of Ephesians 5. As a sacrament, or *mysterion*,

marriage reflects the union between Christ and the Church, between Yahweh and Israel, and as such can be only *one* eternal bond, which death itself does not destroy. In its sacramental nature, marriage transfigures and transcends both fleshly union and contractual legal association: human love is being projected into the eternal Kingdom of God.

Only this basic understanding of Christian marriage can explain the fact that until the tenth century no second marriage, whether of those widowed or of those divorced, was blessed in church. Referring to the custom of "crowning" the bridal pair a feature of the Byzantine rite of marriage a canon attributed to Nicephorus the Confessor (806-815) specifies: "Those who enter a second marriage are not crowned and are not admitted to receive the most pure mysteries for two years; those who enter a third marriage are excommunicated for five years."

²⁶ This text, which merely repeats the earlier prescriptions of the canons of Basil,²⁷ presupposes that second and third marriages of those widowed or divorced can be concluded as civil contracts only. Actually, since the marriage blessing was normally given at a Eucharist, where the bridal pair received communion, the required temporary excommunication excluded the Church's participation or blessing in cases when marriage was repeated.

Absolute uniqueness, as the *norm* of Christian marriage, is also affirmed in the fact that in Byzantine canon law it is strictly required from clergy; a man who was married twice, or was married to a widow or a divorcee, is not eligible for ordination to the diaconate or to the priesthood.²⁸ But laymen, after a period of penitence and abstention from the sacraments, are re-admitted to full communion with the Church, even after a second or third marriage; understanding and toleration is extended to them, when they cannot agree to remaining single, or would like to have a second chance to build up a

true Christian marriage. Obviously, Byzantine tradition approaches the problem of remarriage after widowhood or divorce in terms of penitential discipline. Marriage, as a sacrament, implies the bestowing of God's grace; but this grace, to be effective, requires human cooperation ("synergy"). This is true of all the sacraments, but particularly of baptism, whose fruits can be dispersed through sin and then restored through repentance. In the case of marriage, which presupposes personal understanding and psychological adjustment, Byzantine tradition accepts the possibility of an initial mistake, as well as the fact that single life, in cases of death or the simple absence of the partner, is a greater evil than remarriage for those who cannot "bear" it.

The possibility of divorce remained an integral part of Byzantine civil legislation at all times. In the framework of the "symphony" between Church and state, it was never challenged, a fact which cannot be explained simply by reference to caesaropapism. The Byzantine Church never lacked saints who were ready to castigate imperial despotism, social injustice, and other evils contrary to the Gospel. John Chrysostom (398-404), Theodore

the Studite (820), or Patriarch Polyeuktos (956-970) were able to challenge the power of the state without fear; none of them, however, protested against the legislation concerning divorce. Obviously, they considered it as an inevitable factor of human life in the fallen world, where man can accept grace and refuse it; where sin is inevitable, but repentance always accessible; where the Church's function is never to compromise the norms of the Gospel, but to show compassion and mercy to human weakness.

This attitude of the Byzantine Church was clearly maintained as long as the primary function of the Church (to make the Kingdom of God present in man's life) and that of the state (to manage fallen humanity by choosing the lesser evil and maintaining order through legal means) remained clearly distinct. In the question of marriage, this essential distinction disappeared (at least in practice) when Emperor Leo VI (912) published his *Novella* 89, formally giving the Church the legal obligation to validate all marriages, 29 Civil marriage disappeared as a legal possibility for free citizens; and soon, quite logically, Alexis I Comnenus would also make church marriage an obligation for slaves. By these imperial acts the Church theoretically gained formal control over the marriage discipline of all citizens. In fact, however, it began to be directly responsible for all the inevitable compromises, which had been solved so far by the possibility of civil marriage and divorce, and lost the possibility of applying its early penitential discipline. If the Church now gave legal authority to marriage, it had also to resolve the legal difficulties involved in this new responsibility. Indeed, it began to "grant divorces" (which were previously granted by secular courts alone) and to allow "remarriage" in church; because, without such "remarriages," second and third unions were legally invalid. It succeeded in making a fourth marriage totally illegal (Council of 920),³⁰ but had to compromise on many

other counts.

It maintained, however, at least in principle, an essential distinction between the first and the following marriages: a special service was introduced for the latter, dissociated from the Eucharist and penitential in character. It was understood, therefore, that second and third marriages were not the norm, and as such were deficient sacramentally. The most striking difference between the Byzantine theology of marriage and its medieval Latin counterpart is that the Byzantines strongly emphasized the *unicity* of Christian marriage and the *eternity* of the marriage bond; they never considered that Christian marriage was a legal contract, automatically dissolved by the death of one of the partners. Remarriage of the widowed was only tolerated by them, as was the remarriage of the divorced. But this "toleration" did not mean approval. It implied repentance, and remarriage was allowed only to those men or women whose previous marriages could be considered as non-existent in practice (the various imperial codes listed

the cases). Meanwhile, the Latin West became legalistically intolerant toward divorce, while admitting, without limitation, any number of remarriages after widowhood. Guided in its practice by the legal notion of contract, indissoluble as long as both parties were alive, the West seemed to ignore the idea that marriage, if it is a sacrament, has to be projected as an eternal bond into the Kingdom of God; that like all sacraments marriage requires a free response and implies the possibility of human rejection and human mistake; and that, after such a sinful rejection or human mistake, repentance always allows a new beginning. This is the theological basis for the toleration of divorce in the early Christian Church, as well as in Byzantium.

5. Healing and Death

Frequently associated with penance as a single sacrament, the office of "holy unction" did not evolve except in some areas of the Christian East after the sixteenth century into "extreme unction," a sacrament reserved for the dying. In Byzantium it involved the concelebration of several priests, usually seven, in accordance with James 5:14, a text considered to be the scriptural foundation of the sacrament. It was composed of scriptural readings and prayers of healing, the texts of which definitely exclude the possibility of giving a magic interpretation to the rite; healing is requested only in a framework of repentance and spiritual salvation, and not as an end in itself.

Whatever the outcome of the disease, the anointing symbolized divine pardon and liberation from the vicious cycle of sin, suffering, and death, in which fallen humanity is held captive. Compassionate to human suffering, assembled together to pray for its suffering member, the Church through its presbyters asks for relief, forgiveness, and eternal freedom. This is the meaning of holy unction.

The funeral service, also considered a "sacrament" by some Byzantine

authors, has no different significance. Even in death the Christian remains a member of the living and resurrected Body of Christ, into which he has been incorporated through baptism and the Eucharist. Through the funeral service, the Church gathers to bear witness to this fact, visible only to the eyes of faith, but already experienced by every Christian who possesses the awesome privilege of living, by anticipation, in the future Kingdom.

Notes

1. Cabasilas, *De vita in Christo*, I, 3; PG 150:496_D.
2. See, for example, Chrysostom, *Hom. 7, 1 in I Cor.*; PG 61:55.
3. Chrysostom, *Catechèses baptismales*, ed. A. Wenger, *Sources Chrétiennes* 50 (Paris: Cerf, 1957), II, 17, p. 143.

4. *Ep. II*, 165; PG 99:1524_B.
5. G. M. Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica Christianorum orientalium*, III (Paris, 1930), p. 16.
6. Quoted by M. Jugie, *ibid.*, pp. 17-18.
7. *De sacramentis*, 52; PG 155:197_A.
8. *Responsa canonica*, ed. A. I. Almazov (Odessa, 1903), p. 38.
9. *Horn. 60*, ed. S. Oikonomos (Athens, 1860), p. 250.
10. *De sacramentis*, 43; PG 155:188_A.
11. *De vita in Christo*, II, 3; PG 150:524_A.
12. *Ibid.*, 4, 525_A.
13. *Ibid.*, 524_C.
14. *Ibid.*, 5, 525_D.
15. *Ibid.*, 22:548_{BC}.
16. *Haeret. fabul. compendium* 5, 18; PG 83:512.
17. *De sacramentis*, 64; PG 155:228_D-229_B. See also Manuel of Corinth, *Apology* 7; PG 140:480.
18. Nicholas Cabasilas, *loc. cit.*, 6:528_B.
19. *Ibid.*, 9:532_B.
20. *Ibid.*, III, 1; 569_A.
21. *De penitentia*, III, 1; PG 49:292.
22. J. Pargoire, *L'Eglise byzantine de 527 à 847* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1932), p. 347.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 348.

24. The earliest available manuscripts are of the tenth century. By far the best collection of penitential rites, in Greek and Slavic versions, is found in A. Almazov, *Tainaia Ispoved' v pravoslavnoi vostochnoi tserkvi* III (Odessa, 1894).

25. *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 149-150.

26. Canon 2, in *Syntagma Canonum* IV, edd. G. Rhalles and M. Potles (Athens, 1854), p. 457. On the discipline of marriage in the Byzantine Church, see mainly J. Zhishman, *Das Eherecht der orientalischen Kirche* (Vienna, 1864); K. Ritzer, *Le mariage dans les églises Chrétiennes du Ier au XIe siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 1970), pp. 163-213; and J. Meyendorff, *Marriage: An Orthodox Perspective* (New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1971).

27. Particularly canons 4 and 50 in Rhalles-Potles, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 and 203.

28. Quinisext Council, canon 3, *ibid.*, II, pp. 312-314.

29. *Les nouvelles de Leon VI, le Sage*, ed. A. Daia (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1944), pp. 294-297.

30. Rhalles-Potles, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 4-10.

16

The Eucharist

Formal conservatism was one of the predominant features of Byzantine civilization, affecting both the secular and the sacred aspects of life, and the forms of the liturgy in particular. But if the avowed intention was to preserve things as they were, if the basic structures of the Eucharistic liturgy have not been modified since the early centuries of Christianity and even today retain the forms which they acquired in the ninth century, the *interpretation* of words and gestures was subject to substantial change and evolution. Thus, Byzantine ritual conservatism was instrumental in preserving the original Christian *lex orandi*, otherwise often reinterpreted in the context of a Platonizing or moralizing symbolism, though it also allowed in due time especially with Nicholas Cabasilas and the Hesychast theologians of the fourteenth century a strong reaffirmation of the original sacramental realism in liturgical theology.

1. Symbols, Images, and Reality

Early Christianity and the patristic tradition understood the Eucharist as a mystery of true and real communion with Christ. Speaking of the Eucharist, Chrysostom insists that "Christ even now is present, even now operates";¹ and Gregory of Nyssa, in spite of the Platonizing tendencies of his thought, otherwise stands for the same view of the Eucharist as a mystery of real "participation" in the glorified Body of Christ, the seed of immortality.

By dispensation of His grace, He disseminates Himself in every believer through that flesh, whose existence comes from bread and wine, blending Himself with the bodies of believers, to secure that, by this union with the

Immortal, man, too, may be a sharer in incorruption. He gives these gifts by virtue of the benediction through which He "trans-elements" [*metastoeicheiosis*] the natural quality of these visible things to that immortal thing.²

Participation in these sources of immortality and unity is a constant concern for every Christian:

It is good and beneficial to communicate every day [Basil writes,] and to partake of the holy body and blood of Christ. For He distinctly says, "He that eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life" [Jn 6:55]. And who doubts that to share frequently in life is the same thing as to have manifold life? I indeed communicate four times a week, on the Lord's day, on Wednesday, on Friday, and on the Sabbath, and on the other days if there is a commemoration of any saint. 3

This realistic and existential theology of the Eucharist was, as we have seen,⁴ challenged by pastoral needs in the post-Constantinian Church: large congregations in large churches caused a lessening of participation by the laity.

It may be argued that the pastoral considerations which prompted this evolution were at least partially justified; the eschatological meaning of the Eucharist implied a withdrawal from the "world," a "closed" community of committed participants. Now that in the empire of Constantine and Justinian, the Church and the world had become indistinguishable as a single society, the Eucharist had to be protected from the "crowd," which had ceased to be the "people of God." More questionable, however, was the theological rationalization of this new situation, which was endorsed by some commentators on the liturgy who began to explain the Eucharist as a system of *symbols* to be "contemplated"; sacramental participation was thus gradually replaced with intellectual *vision*. Needless to say, this new attitude was perfectly suited to the Origenistic and Evagrian understanding of religion as an ascent of the *mind* to God, of which liturgical action was a symbol.

Most influential in promoting this symbolic understanding of the Eucharist were the writings of pseudo-Dionysius. Reducing the

Eucharistic synaxis to a moral appeal, the Areopagite calls his readers to a "higher" contemplation:

Let us leave to the imperfect these signs which, as I said, are magnificently painted in the vestibules of the sanctuaries; they will be sufficient to feed their contemplation. As far as we are concerned: let us turn back, in considering the holy synaxis, from the effects to their causes, and, thanks to the lights which Jesus will give us, we shall be able to contemplate harmoniously the intelligible realities in which are clearly reflected the blessed goodness of the models.⁵

Thus, the Eucharist is only the visible "effect" of an invisible "model"; and the celebrant "by offering Jesus Christ to our eyes, shows us in a tangible way and, as in an image, our intelligible life."⁶ Thus, for Dionysius, "the

loftiest sense of the Eucharistic rites and of sacramental communion itself is in symbolizing the union of our minds with God and with Christ. . . . Dionysius never formally presents Eucharistic communion as a participation in the Body and Blood of Christ." 7

Dionysius' symbolism only superficially affected the Eucharistic rites themselves, but it became quite popular among commentators on the liturgy. Thus, the great Maximus the Confessor, whose use of the concept of "symbol" is probably more realistic than Dionysius', nevertheless systematically applies the terms "symbol" or "image" to the Eucharistic liturgy in general and to the elements of bread and wine in particular.⁸

In the eighth century, this symbolism led to a serious theological debate concerning the Eucharistthe only one Byzantium ever knew. The iconoclastic council of 754, in condemning the use of religious images, proclaimed that the only admissible "image" of Christ is the one established by Christ Himself, the Eucharistic Body and Blood.⁹ This radical and clear contention, based upon a long-standing tradition, was a real challenge to the Orthodox party; the ambiguity of the Areopagite was evidenced once more, and a clarification of symbolism made necessary.

Thus, the defenders of the images, especially Theodore the Studite and Patriarch Nicephorus, firmly rejected it. For Theodore, the Eucharist is not "type," but the very "truth"; it is the "mystery which recapitulates the whole of the [divine] dispensation."¹⁰ According to Nicephorus, it is the "flesh of God," "one and the same thing" with the Body and Blood of Christ,¹¹ who came to save the very reality of human flesh by becoming and remaining. "flesh," even after His glorification; thus, in the Eucharist, "what is the matter of the sacrament, if the flesh is not real, so that we see it being perfected by

the Spirit?"¹²

As a result of the iconoclastic controversy, Byzantine "Eucharistic realism," clearly departing from Dionysian terminology, was redirected along Christological and soteriological lines; in the Eucharist, man participates in the glorified humanity of Christ, which is not the "essence of God,"¹³ but a humanity still consubstantial to man and available to him as food and drink. In his treatise *Against Eusebius and Epiphanius*, Patriarch Nicephorus is particularly emphatic in condemning the Origenist idea that in the Eucharist man contemplates or participates in the "essence" of God.¹⁴ For him, as also for later Byzantine theologians, the Eucharist is Christ's transfigured, life-giving, but still human, body, en-hypostasized in the Logos and penetrated with divine "energies." Characteristically, one never finds the category of "essence" (*ousia*) used by Byzantine theologians in a Eucharistic context. They would consider a term like "transubstantiation" (*metousiosis*) improper to designate the Eucharistic mystery, and generally use the concept of *metabole*, found in the canon of John Chrysostom, or such dynamic terms as "trans-elementation" (*metastoicheiosis*) or "re-ordination" (*metarrhythmisis*). Transubstantiation (*metousiosis*) appears

only in the writings of the *Latinophrones* of the thirteenth century, and is nothing but a straight translation from the Latin. The first Orthodox author to use it is Gennadios Scholarios; 15 but, in his case as well, direct Latin influence is obvious. The Eucharist is neither a symbol to be "contemplated" from outside nor an "essence" distinct from humanity, but Jesus Himself, the risen Lord, "made known through the breaking of bread" (Lk 24:35); Byzantine theologians rarely speculated beyond this realistic and soteriological affirmation of the Eucharistic presence as that of the glorified humanity of Christ.

The rejection of the concept of the Eucharist as "image" or "symbol" is, on the other hand, very significant for the understanding of the entire Eucharistic "perception" of the Byzantines; the Eucharist for them always remained fundamentally a mystery to be received as food and drink, and not to be "seen" through physical eyes. The elements remain covered, except during the prayers of consecration and during communion; and, in contrast with Western medieval piety, were never "venerated" outside the framework of the Eucharistic liturgy itself.

The Eucharist cannot reveal anything to the sense of vision; it is only the bread of heaven. Vision is offered another channel of revelation the icons: hence, the revelatory program of the Byzantine iconostasis, with the figures of Christ and the saints exposed precisely in order to be *seen* and venerated. "Christ is not shown in the Holy Gifts," writes Leonid Ouspensky; "He is given. He is shown in the icons. The visible side of the reality of the Eucharist is an image which can never be replaced either by imagination or by looking at the Holy Gifts."¹⁶

As a result of the iconoclastic controversy, Byzantine Eucharistic theology retained and re-emphasized the mystery and hiddenness of this central liturgical action of the Church. But it also reaffirmed that the Eucharist was essentially a *meal* which could be partaken of only through eating and drinking, because God had assumed the fullness of

our humanity, with all its psychic and physical functions, in order to lead it to resurrection.

Byzantine theologians had an opportunity to make the same point in connection with their anti-Latin polemics against the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist. The discussion on the azymes, which started in the eleventh century, was generally entangled in arguments of purely symbolic nature (the Greeks maintained, for example, that the Eucharistic bread had to be leavened in order to symbolize the *animated* humanity of Christ, while the Latin use of azymes implied Apollinarianism, i.e., the denial that Jesus had a human soul), but the controversy also recognized that the Byzantines understood the Eucharistic bread to be necessarily *consubstantial* with humanity, while Latin medieval piety emphasized its "supersubstantiality," its otherworldliness. The use of ordinary bread, identical with the bread used as everyday food, was the sign of true Incarnation: "What is the daily bread [of the Lord's prayer]," asks Nicetas

Stethatos, "if it is not consubstantial with us? And the bread consubstantial with us is none other than the Body of Christ, who became con-substantial with us through the flesh of His humanity." 17

The Byzantines did not see the substance of the bread somehow changed in the Eucharistic mystery into another substance the Body of Christ but viewed this bread as the "type" of humanity: our humanity changed into the transfigured humanity of Christ.¹⁸ For this reason, Eucharistic theology played such a prominent role in the theological debates of the fourteenth century, when the basic issue was a confrontation between an autonomous concept of man and the Hesychast defense of "deification." The great Nicholas Cabasilas, though still bound to the old Dionysian symbolism, overcomes the dangers of Nominalism; clearly, for him as also for Gregory Palamas, the Eucharist is the mystery which not only "represents" the life of Christ and offers it to our "contemplation"; it is the moment and the place, in which Christ's deified humanity becomes ours.

He not merely clothed Himself in a body. He also took a soul and mind and will and everything human, so that He might be able to be united to the whole of us, penetrate through the whole of us, and resolve us into Himself, having in every respect joined His own to that which is ours. . . . For since it was not possible for us to ascend and participate in that which is His, He comes down to us and participates in that which is ours. And so precisely does He conform to the things which He assumed that, in giving those things to us which He has received from us, He gives Himself to us. Partaking of the body and blood of His humanity, we receive God Himself in our souls the Body and Blood of God, and the soul, mind, and will of God no less than His humanity.¹⁹

The last word on the Eucharist, in Byzantine theology, is thus an anthropological and soteriological understanding of the mystery. "In approaching the Eucharist, the Byzantines began not with bread *qua* bread, but with bread *qua* man."²⁰ Bread and wine are offered only

because the Logos has assumed humanity, and they are being *changed* and deified by the operation of the Spirit because Christ's humanity has been transformed into glory through the cross and Resurrection. This is the thought of Cabasilas, as just quoted, and the meaning of the canon of John Chrysostom: "Send down Thy Holy Spirit *upon us and upon these gifts*, and make this bread the precious Body of Thy Christ, and that which is in this cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ, so that, for those who partake, they may be a purification of soul, a remission of sins, the communion of Thy Holy Spirit, the fullness of the Kingdom of heaven. . . ."

The sacrament of new humanity *par excellence*, the Eucharist, for Cabasilas "alone of the mysteries perfects the other sacraments . . . , since they cannot fulfill the initiation without it."²¹ Christians partake of it "continually," for "it is the perfect sacrament for all purposes, and there

is nothing of which those who partake thereof stand in need which it does not supply in an eminent way." 22 The Eucharist is also "the much praised marriage according to which the most holy Bridegroom espouses the Church as a bride";²³ that is, the Eucharist is the very sacrament which truly transforms a human community into "the Church of God," and is, therefore, as we will see later, the ultimate criterion and basis of ecclesial structure.

2. Eucharist and Church

The ecclesiological significance of the Eucharist, though challenged by the Hellenistic world-view which tended to interpret it as a system of "symbols" visually contemplated by the individual, was always maintained by the Byzantine *lex orandi* and reaffirmed by those who followed the mainstream of traditional theology. In the controversy on the azymes, the implication on the Byzantine side was that the Eucharist is indeed a paschal mystery, in which our fallen humanity is transformed into the glorified humanity of the New Adam, Christ: this glorified humanity is realized in the Body of the Church.

These anthropological presuppositions of Byzantine Eucharistic theology necessarily had to include the concepts of "synergy" and of the unity of mankind.

It is against the background of the Greek patristic doctrine of "synergy" that one can really understand the significance of the Byzantine insistence on the epiclesis in the Eucharistic liturgy, another issue debated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by Greek and Latin theologians. The text of the epiclesis, as it appears in the canon of John Chrysostom and in other Eastern liturgies, implies that the mystery is accomplished through a prayer of the entire Church ("We ask Thee . . .") a concept which does not necessarily exclude the idea that the bishop or priest pronouncing the words of institution acts

in persona Christi, as Latin theology insists, but which deprives this notion of its exclusivity by interpreting the ministerial sacerdotal "power" to perform the sacraments as a function of the entire worshipping Body of the Church.

In well-known passages of his *Commentary on the Liturgy*, Cabasilas, defending the epiclesis, rightly recalls that all sacraments are accomplished through prayer. Specifically, he quotes the consecration of the chrism, the prayers of ordination, of absolution, and of the anointing of the sick.²⁴ Thus, he writes, "it is the tradition of the Fathers, who received this teaching from the Apostles and from their successors, that the sacraments are rendered effective through prayer; all the sacraments, as I have said, and particularly the holy Eucharist."²⁵ This "deprecatory" form of sacramental rites does not imply, however, a doctrine of validity *ex opere operantis*, i.e., dependent upon the worthiness of the celebrant. "He who

celebrates the sacrifice daily," Cabasilas continues, "is but the minister of the grace. He brings to it nothing of his own; he would not dare to do or say anything according to his own judgment and reason. . . . Grace works all; the priest is only a minister, and that very ministry comes to him by grace; he does not hold it on his own account." 26

The mystery of the Church, fully realized in the Eucharist, overcomes the dilemma of prayer and response, of nature and grace, of the divine as opposed to the human, because the Church, as the Body of Christ, is precisely a communion of God and man, not only where God is present and active, but where humanity becomes fully "acceptable to God," fully adequate to the original divine plan; prayer itself then becomes an act of communion, where there cannot be any question of its not being heard by God. The conflict, the "question," the separateness, and the sinfulness are still present in each individual member of the Church, but only inasmuch as he has not fully appropriated the divine presence and refuses to conform to it; the presence itself, however, is the "new testament in my Blood" (Lk 22:20), and God will not take it away. Thus, all Christians including the bishop, or the priest are individually nothing more than sinners, whose prayers are not necessarily heard, but *when gathered together in the name of Christ*, as the "Church of God," they are a part in the New Testament, to which God has eternally committed Himself through His Son and the Spirit.

As a divine-human communion and "synergy," the Eucharist is a prayer addressed "in Christ" to the Father, and accomplished through the descent of the Holy Spirit. The epiclesis, therefore, is the fulfillment of the Eucharistic action, just as Pentecost is the fulfillment of a divine "economy" of salvation; salvation is always a Trinitarian action. The pneumatological dimension of the Eucharist is also presupposed in the very notion of "synergy"; it is the Spirit which

makes Christ present in the age between His two comings: when divine action is not imposing itself on humanity, but offering itself for acceptance by human freedom and, by communicating itself to man, making him authentically free.

At all times, Byzantine theologians understood the Eucharist as the center of a soteriological and triadological mystery, not simply as a change of bread and wine. Those who followed Dionysian symbolism approached the Eucharist in the context of a Hellenistic hierarchical cosmos, and understood it as the center of salvific action through mystical "contemplation," which still involved the whole destiny of humanity and the world. Those who held a more Biblical view of man and a more Christocentric understanding of history approached the Eucharist as the key to ecclesiology; the Church, for them, was primarily the place where God and man met in the Eucharist, and the Eucharist became the criterion of ecclesial structure and the inspiration of all Christian action and responsibility in the world. In both cases the Eucharist was understood in a cosmological and

ecclesiological dimension affirmed in the formula of the Byzantine oblation: "Thine own of thine own, we offer unto Thee in behalf of all and for all."

One of the ideas which constantly appears in Byzantine "symbolic" interpretations of the Eucharist is that the temple in which the Eucharistic liturgy is celebrated is an image of the "new," transfigured cosmos. The idea is found in several early Christian writers, and reappears in Maximus the Confessor²⁷ and, later, in Symeon of Thessalonica.²⁸ Undoubtedly, it inspired the Byzantine architects who built Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, the model of all temples of the East, with the *circle* as its central geometrical theme. In the Neoplatonic tradition, the circle, the symbol of plenitude, is the standard image of God; God is reflected in His creatures, once they are restored to their original design: "He circumscribes their expansion in a circle and sets Himself as the pattern of the beings which He has created," writes Maximus, adding immediately that "The holy Church is an image of God, since it effects the union of the faithful, as God does."²⁹ The Church, as community and as building, is, therefore, a sign of the new age, the eschatological anticipation of the new creation, the created cosmos restored in its original wholeness. Clearly, a theologian like Maximus uses the models and categories of his age to describe the fullness of the world to come. His interpretation of the Eucharistic liturgy is "less an initiation into the mystery of the liturgy than an introduction to the mystery with the liturgy as a starting point";³⁰ but the very idea that the Eucharist is an anticipation of the eschatological fulfillment is affirmed in the canon of the Byzantine liturgy itself, which recalls the second coming of Christ as an event which *has already occurred*: "Remembering this saving commandment and all the things which have come to pass for us, the cross, the tomb, the Resurrection on the third day, the

ascension into heaven, and the second and glorious coming, we offer unto Thee . . ."

This eschatological character of the Eucharistic mystery, strongly expressed in the liturgy, in the religious art which served as its framework, and in the theological commentaries, whatever their school of thought, explains why the Byzantines always believed that in the Eucharist the Church is fully "the Church," and that the Eucharist is the ultimate criterion and seal of all the other sacraments. Following pseudo-Dionysius, who spoke of the Eucharist as the "sacrament of sacraments,"³¹ as the "focal point" of each particular sacrament,³² Byzantine theologians affirm the absolute centrality of the Eucharist in the life of the Church: "It is the final sacrament," writes Cabasilas, "because it is not possible to proceed further and to add anything to it."³³ "The Eucharist alone of the mysteries brings perfection to the other sacraments . . . , since they cannot complete the initiation without it."³⁴ Symeon of Thessalonica applies this idea concretely to individual sacraments. Concerning marriage, for example, he writes that the bridal pair "must be ready to receive communion, so that

their crowning be a worthy one and their marriage valid"; and he specifies that communion is not given to those whose marriage is defective from the point of view of Church discipline, and is, therefore, not fully the sacrament, but simply a "good fellowship." 35

Any local church where the "divine liturgy" of the Eucharist is celebrated possesses, therefore, the "marks" of the true Church of God: unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity. These marks cannot belong to any human gathering; they are the eschatological signs given to a community through the Spirit of God. Inasmuch as a local church is built upon and around the Eucharist, it is not simply a "part" of the universal people of God; it *is the fullness* of the Kingdom which is anticipated in the Eucharist, and the Kingdom can never be "partially" one or "partially" catholic. "Partiality" belongs only to the individual appropriation of the given fullness by the members, who are limited by belonging to the "old Adam"; it does not exist in the Body of Christ, indivisible, divine, and glorious.

Liturgical discipline and Byzantine canon law try to protect this unifying and catholic character of the Eucharist. They require that on each altar no more than one Eucharist be celebrated each day; similarly, a priest, or bishop, is not allowed to celebrate twice on the same day. Whatever the practical inconveniences, these rules aim at preserving the Eucharist at least nominally as the gathering "of all together at the same place" (Ac 2:1); *all* should be together at the same altar, around the same bishop, at the same time, because there is only one Christ, one Church, and one Eucharist. The idea that the Eucharist is the sacrament uniting the whole Church remained alive in the East and prevented the multiplication of Masses of intention and of low Masses. The Eucharistic liturgy always remained a festal event in Byzantium, a celebration involving, at least in principle, the whole Church.

As a manifestation of the Church's unity and wholeness, the Eucharist served also as the ultimate theological norm for ecclesiastical structure: the local church where the Eucharist is celebrated was always considered to be not merely a "part" of a universal organization, but the *whole* Body of Christ manifested sacramentally and including the entire "communion of saints," living or departed. Such a manifestation was seen as a necessary basis for the geographical expansion of Christianity, but it was not identical with it. Theologically, the *sacrament* is the sign and reality of the eschatological anticipation of the Kingdom of God, and the episcopate necessary center of this reality is envisaged primarily in its sacramental function, with the other aspects of its ministry (pastorate, teaching) based on this "high priestly" function in the local community, rather than on the idea of a co-optation into a universal apostolic college. The bishop was, first of all, the image of Christ in the Eucharistic mystery. "O Lord our God," says the prayer of episcopal ordination, "who in Thy providence hast instituted for us teachers of like nature with ourselves, to maintain

Thine Altar, that they may offer unto Thee sacrifice and oblation for all Thy people; do Thou, the same Lord, make this man also, who has been proclaimed a steward of the episcopal grace, to be an imitator of Thee, the true Shepherd. . . ." 36

Thus, according to pseudo-Dionysius, the "high priest" (*archiereys*) possesses the "first" and the "last" order of hierarchy and "fulfills every hierarchic consecration."³⁷ Symeon of Thessalonica also defines the episcopal dignity in terms of its sacramental functions; the bishop for him is the one who performs all sacramentsbaptism, chrismation, Eucharist, ordination; he is the one "through whom all ecclesiastical acts are perfected."³⁸ The Eucharist is, indeed, the *ultimate* manifestation of God in Christ; and there cannot be, therefore, any ministry higher and more decisive than that which presides over the Eucharist. The centrality of the Eucharist, the awareness that the fullness of Christ's Body abides in it and that the episcopal function is the highest in the Church will be the principal foundation of the Byzantine opposition to any theological interpretation of supra-episcopal primacies: there cannot be, according to them, any authority "by divine right" over the Eucharist and the bishop who heads the Eucharistic assembly.

The practice of the Byzantine Church was not always consistent with the inner logic of this Eucharistic ecclesiology. The historical development of the episcopal functionwhich, on the one hand, after the fourth century delegated the celebration of the Eucharist to presbyters on a permanent basis, and, on the other, became *de facto* a part of wider administrative structures (provinces, patriarchates)lost some of its exclusive and direct connections with the sacramental aspect of the life of the Church. But the essential theological and ecclesiological norms were reaffirmed whenever they were directly challenged, and thus remained an essential part of what, for the

Byzantines, was the tradition of the Catholic Church.³⁹

Notes

1. *Hom. in II Tim.* 2, 4; PG 62:612.
2. *Catechetical oration*, 37, ed. Strawley, p. 152.
3. Letter 93, ed. Deferrari, II, 145.
4. See Chapter 1. For a good historical review of Byzantine Eucharistic theologies and practices (with earlier bibliography), see H. J. Schulz, *Die byzantinische Liturgie vom Werden ihrer Symbolgestalt* (Freiburg: Lambertus-Verlag, 1964).
5. *Eccl. Hier.*, III, 3, 14; PG 3:428_{AC}.
6. *Ibid.*, III, 13; 444_C; see our comments on these texts in *Christ*, pp. 79-80.
7. R. Roques, *L'univers dionysien. Structure hiérarchique du monde selon le pseudo-Denys* (Paris: Aubier, 1954), pp. 267, 269.
8. See particularly *Quaestiones et dubia* 41; PG 90:820_A. On the liturgical theology of Maximus, see R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VIIe au*

- XVe siècle*, Archives de l'Orient chrétien, 9 (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1966), pp. 82-124.
9. Mansi, XIII, 261_D-264_C.
10. *Antirrh.* I; PG 99:340_{AC}.
11. *Antirrh.* II; PG 100:336_B-337_A.
12. *Contra Eusebium*, ed. J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, I (Paris, 1852), pp. 440-442.
13. Nicephorus, *ibid.*, p. 446.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 468-469.
15. *De sacramentali corpore Christi*, edd. L. Petit and M. Judie, I (Paris: Bonne Presse, 1928), pp. 126, 134.
16. "The Problem of the Iconostasis," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 8 (1964), No. 4, 215.
17. *Dialexis et antidialogus*, ed. A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios* II (Paderborn: Quellen und Forschungen, 1930), pp. 322-323.
18. This aspect of the controversy on the azymes is brilliantly shown in J. H. Erickson, "Leavened and Unleavened: Some Theological Implications of the Schism of 1054," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 14 (1970), No. 3, 155-176.
19. *De vita in Christo*, IV, 9: PG 150:592_D-593_A.
20. Erickson, *op cit.*, p. 165.
21. *De vita in Christo*, IV, 4, 585_B. See also Gregory Palamas, *Confession of Faith*; PG 151:765, trans. A. Papadakis, "Gregory Palamas at the Council of Blachernae, 1351," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 10 (1969), 340.

22. *Ibid.*, 11; 596_c.
23. *Ibid.*, 10; 593.
24. *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, 29, edd. R. Bornert, J. Gouillard, and P. Perichon, *Sources Chrétiennes*, 4 his (Paris: Cerf, 1967), pp. 185-187; trans. Hussey and McNulty (London: SPCK, 1960), pp. 74-75.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 190; tr. pp. 75-76.
26. *Ed. cit.*, 46, p. 262; tr. pp. 104-105.
27. See the references in R. Bornert, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.
28. *De sacro templo*, 131, 139, 152; PG 155:337_D, 348_C, 357_A.
29. *Mystagogia*, 1; PG 91:668_B.
30. R. Bornert, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
31. *Eccl. Hier.*, III, 1; PG 3:424_C.
32. *Ibid.*, col. 444_D.
33. *De vita in Christo*, IV, 1; PG 150:581_B.
34. *Ibid.*, IV, 4; 585_B.
35. *De sacro templo*, 282; PG 155:512_D-513_A.
36. Jacobus Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum* (Venice, 1730; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1960), p. 251; trans. *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox Catholic Apostolic Church*, ed. I. F. Hapgood (New York: Association Press, 1922), p. 330.
37. *Hier. Eccl.* V, 5; PG 3:505_A, 6:505_C, etc.
38. *De sacris ordinationibus* 157; PG 155:364_B.

39. *De vita in Christo*, IV, 8; PG 150:604_B.

17

The Church in the World

Christians were Christians only because Christianity brought to them liberation from death. If one would penetrate to the heart of Eastern Christianity one must be present on the night when the Easter liturgy is celebrated: of this liturgy all other rites are but reflections or figures. The three words of the Easter troparion the Easter hymn repeated a thousand times in tones ever more and more triumphant, repeated to the point of ecstasy and of an overflowing mystic joy "By His death He has trodden death beneath His feet" here is the great message of the Byzantine Church: the joy of Easter, the banishing of that ancient terror which beset the life of man, this it is which has won and kept the allegiance of the masses; it is this creed of triumph which has been translated into all the languages of the Orient, and yet has never lost its virtue; this is the faith which found its material expression in the icon, so that even when the originality of the artist fell short, man's shortcoming could not veil the meaning of that joyous Mystery. 1

These words of a secular historian reflect quite adequately what we have tried to suggest about Byzantine Christianity as *experience*. Whether he was a theologian, a monk, or an average layman, the Byzantine Christian knew that his Christian faith was not an obedient acceptance of intellectual propositions, issued by an appropriate authority, but on *evidence*, accessible to him personally in the liturgical and sacramental life of the Church, and also in the life of prayer and contemplation, the one being inseparable from the other. Not physical, or emotional, or intellectual, this experience is described as *gnosis*, or as "spiritual senses," or as inner "certainty." To affirm that it was impossible for any Christian to achieve this knowledge was considered as the greatest "heresy" by Symeon the New Theologian.

Whether one considers with Vladimir Lossky that "in a certain sense

all theology is mystical,"² or whether one looks down skeptically upon Byzantine "obligatory mysticism," it is obvious that the definition of Christianity as "experience" raises the issue of its witness to the world in terms of verbal expressions, or definitions, and in terms of action, of

behavior, and of practical responsibility. In the eyes of Western Christians, the Eastern Church often appears as quite other-worldly, and, indeed, the West has traditionally been much more concerned than the East with organizing human society, with defining the Christian truth in terms which could be readily understood, with giving man concrete normative formulae of behavior and conduct. To attempt a critical description of this problem in Byzantine theology is to raise one of the basic theological and anthropological issues of Christian life: the relation between the absolute divine truth and the relative faculties of perception and action possessed by created and fallen man.

1. Church and Society

The great dream of Byzantine civilization was a universal Christian society administered by the emperor and spiritually guided by the Church. This idea obviously combined Roman and Christian universalisms in one single socio-political program. It was also based upon the theological presuppositions concerning man which were developed above: 3 man, by nature, is God-entered in *all* aspects of his life, and he is responsible for the fate of the *entire* creation. As long as Christianity was persecuted, this Biblical assertion could be nothing more than an article of faith, to be realized at the end of history and anticipated in the sacraments. With the "conversion" of Constantine, however, it suddenly appeared as a concrete and reachable goal. The original enthusiasm with which the Christian Church accepted imperial protection was never corrected by any systematic reflection on the nature and role of the state or of secular societies in the life of *fallen* humanity. There lies the tragedy of the Byzantine system: it assumed that the state, as such, could become intrinsically Christian.

The official version of the Byzantine social ideal is expressed in the famous text of Justinian's Sixth *Novella*:

There are two greatest gifts which God, in his love for man, has granted from on high: the priesthood and the imperial dignity. The first serves divine things, the second directs and administers human affairs; both, however, proceed from the same origin and adorn the life of mankind. Hence, nothing should be such a source of care to the emperors as the dignity of the priests, since it is for the [imperial] welfare that they constantly implore God. For if the priesthood is in every way free from blame and possesses access to God, and if the emperors administer equitably and judiciously the state entrusted to their care, general harmony will result, and whatever is beneficial will be bestowed upon the human race.⁴

In the thought of Justinian, the "symphony" between "divine things" and "human affairs" was based upon the Incarnation, which united the divine and human natures, so that the person of Christ is the unique

source of the two the civil and ecclesiastical hierarchies. The fundamental mistake of this approach was to assume that the ideal humanity which was manifested, through the Incarnation, in the person of Jesus Christ could also find an adequate manifestation in the Roman Empire. Byzantine theocratic thought was, in fact, based upon a form of "realized eschatology," as if the Kingdom of God had already appeared "in power" and as if the empire were the manifestation of this power in the world and in history. Byzantine Christian thought of course recognized the reality of evil, both personal and social, but it presumed, at least in the official philosophy of imperial legislation, that such evil could be adequately controlled by subduing the whole "inhabited earth" to the power of the one emperor and to the spiritual authority of the one Orthodox priesthood.

The providential significance of the one world-empire was exalted, not only in imperial laws, but also in ecclesiastical hymnography. A Christmas hymn, ascribed to the ninth-century nun Kassia, proclaims a direct connection between the world-empire of Rome and the "recapitulation" of humanity in Christ. *Pax Romana* is thus made to coincide with *Pax Christiana*:

When Augustus reigned alone upon earth, the many kingdoms of man
came to end:

And when Thou wast made man of the pure Virgin, the many gods of
idolatry were destroyed.

The cities of the world passed under one single rule;

And the nations came to believe in one sovereign Godhead.

The peoples were enrolled by the decree of Caesar;

And we, the faithful, were enrolled in the Name of the Godhead,

When Thou, our God, wast made man.

Great is Thy mercy: glory to Thee. 5

As late as 1397, when he had almost reached the nadir of political

misery, the Byzantine still understood the universal empire as the necessary support of Christian universalism. Solicited by Prince Basil of Moscow on the issue whether the Russians could omit the liturgical commemoration of the emperor, while continuing to mention the patriarch, Patriarch Anthony ^{IV} replied: "It is not possible for Christians to have the Church and not to have the Empire; for Church and Empire form a great unity and community; it is not possible for them to be separated from one another."⁶

The idea of the Christian and universal empire presupposed that the emperor had obligations, both as guardian of the faith and as witness of God's mercy for man. According to the ninth-century *Epanagoge*, "The purpose of the emperor is to do good, and therefore he is called benefactor, and when he fails in this obligation to do good, he forsakes his imperial dignity."⁷ The system was an authentic attempt to view human life in

Christ as a whole: it did not admit any dichotomy between the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the secular, the individual and the social, or the doctrinal and the ethical, but recognized a certain polarity between "divine things" essentially the sacramental communion of man with God and "human affairs." Yet between the two, there had to be a "symphony" in the framework of a single Christian "society" in which both Church and state cooperated in preserving the faith and in building a society based on charity and humaneness. 8

This wholeness of the Byzantine concept of the Christian mission in the world reflects the fundamental Chalcedonian belief in the total assumption of humanity by the Son of God in the Incarnation. The Christian faith, therefore, is understood to lead to the transfiguration and "deification" of the *entire man*; and, as we have seen, this "deification" is indeed accessible, as a living experience, *even now*, and not merely in a future kingdom. Byzantine ecclesiology and Byzantine political philosophy both assume that baptism endows man with that experience, which transforms not only the "soul" but the whole man, and makes him, already in this present life, a citizen of the Kingdom of God.

One can actually see that the main characteristic of Eastern Christianity, in its ethical and social attitudes, is to consider man as already redeemed and glorified in Christ; by contrast, Western Christendom has traditionally understood the present state of humanity in both a more realistic and a more pessimistic way: though redeemed and "justified" in the eyes of God by the sacrifice of the cross, man remains a sinner. The primary function of the Church, therefore, is to provide him with criteria of thought and a discipline of behavior, which would allow him to overcome his sinful condition and direct him to good works. On this assumption, the Church is

understood primarily as an institution established *in the world*, serving the world and freely using the means available in the world, and appropriate for dealing with sinful humanity, particularly the concepts of law, authority, and administrative power. The contrast between the structures built by the medieval papacy and the eschatological, experiential, and "other-worldly" concepts which prevailed in the ecclesiological thinking of the Byzantine East helps us to understand the historical fate of East and West.' In the West, the Church developed as a powerful institution; in the East, it was seen primarily as a sacramental (or "mystical") organism, in charge of "divine things" and endowed with only limited institutional structures. The structures (patriarchates, metropolitanates, and other officialdom) themselves were shaped by the empire (except for the fundamental tripartite hierarchy: bishop, priest, deacon in each local church) and were not considered to be of divine origin.

This partial surrender on the "institutional" side of Christianity to the empire contributed to the preservation of a sacramental and eschatological understanding of the Church, but it was not without serious dangers. In

its later history the Eastern Church experienced the fact that the state did not always deserve its confidence, and often assumed a clearly demonic face.

Throughout the Byzantine period proper, however, the Justinian "symphony" worked better than one could expect. The mystical and other-worldly character of Byzantine Christianity was largely responsible for some major characteristics of the state itself. The emperor's personal power, for example, was understood as a form of charismatic ministry: the sovereign was chosen by God, not by men; hence the absence, in Byzantium, of any legally defined process of imperial succession. Both strict legitimism and democratic election were felt to be limitations to God's freedom in selecting His appointee.

This charismatic understanding of the state obviously lacked political realism and efficiency. "Providential usurpations" were quite frequent, and political stability an exception. In political terms, the Byzantine imperial system was indeed a utopia. Conceived as a universal counterpart of a universal Church, the empire never achieved universality; understood as a reflection of the heavenly kingdom of God, it has a history of bloody revolutions, of wars, and like all medieval states of social injustice. As always and everywhere, the ideals of Christianity proved unapplicable in legal and institutional terms; they only gave hope to individual heroes of the faith and impulse to those who were striving to draw man closer to the ideal of the "life in Christ" which had become accessible to man. The Byzantines recognized this fact, at least implicitly, when they paid such great veneration to the saints, in whom they saw the divine light shining in a "world" which was theoretically Christianized, but which in fact had changed little after the establishment of Christianity. The permanent presence, in the midst of Byzantine society, of innumerable

monastic communities, which at least the best among them were withdrawing from the world in order to manifest that the Kingdom was *not yet* there, was another reminder that there could not be any real and permanent "symphony" between God and the world, only an unstable and dynamic polarity.

This polarity was, in fact, nothing else than the opposition between the "old" and the "new" Adam in man. In terms of social ethics, it excluded clear-cut formulae and legal absolutes, and prevented the Church from being fully identified with an institution defined in terms of politics, or sociology; but, at times, it was also interpreted as a Platonic or Manichaean dualism, and it then meant total withdrawal from social responsibility. Occasionally this attitude led to a takeover by the state of the Church's mission, leaving the monks alone in their witness to the inevitable conflict and polarity between the Kingdom of God and the kingdom of Caesar.

2. The Mission of the Church

The Byzantine concept according to which the empire and the Church were allied in the leadership of a single universal Christian *oikoumene*

implied their cooperation in the field of mission. The designation of "equal-to-the-Apostles" (*isapostolos*) was applied to Constantine the Great precisely because of his contribution to the conversion of the *oikoumene* to Christ. The emperors of Constantinople, his successors, were normally buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles. Their missionary responsibility was stressed in court ceremonial. The emperor was expected to propagate the Christian faith and to maintain Christian ethics and behavior, and to achieve these goals through both legislation and support given to the Church's missionary and charitable activities.

Outside the imperial borders, the Church-state alliance frequently led to a *de facto* identification, in the eyes of the non-Christians, of the political interests of the empire with the fate of Orthodox Christianity. Non-Christian rulers of Persia and Arab caliphs often persecuted Christians, not only out of religious fanaticism, but also because they suspected them of being the emperor's allies. The suspicion was actually frequently justified, especially during the lengthy holy war between Islam and Christianity, which made spiritual contacts, mutual understanding, and meaningful dialogue virtually impossible. For this reason, except in a very few cases, Byzantine Christianity was never able to make any missionary inroads among the Islamic invaders coming from the East. 9

Missionary activity was quite successful, however, among the barbarians coming from the NorthMongols, Slavs, and Caucasianswho flooded imperial territories and eventually settled as the empire's northern neighbors. It is this missionary work which actually preserved the universal character of the Orthodox Church after the lapse of the non-Greek communities of the Middle East into Monophysitism and after the great schism with the West. After the ninth century particularly, Byzantine Christianity expanded

spectacularly, extending its penetration to the Caspian Sea and the Arctic Ocean.¹⁰

The Byzantine mission to the Slavs is usually associated with what is called "Cyrillo-Methodian ideology" and is characterized by the translation of both Scripture and liturgy into the vernacular language of the newly converted nations by two brothers, Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, in the ninth century. In actual fact, however, Byzantine churchmen were not always consistent with the principles adopted by the first missionaries; historical evidence shows that enforced Hellenization and cultural integration were also practiced, especially when the empire succeeded in achieving direct political control over Slavic lands. Still the fundamental theological meaning of Christian mission, as expressed by Cyril (or "Constantine the philosopher," Cyril's secular name), was never challenged in principle:

Since you have learned to hear, Slavic people,
Hear the Word, for it came from God,
The Word nourishing human souls,
The Word strengthening heart and mind. . . .

Therefore St. Paul has taught:
 "In offering my prayer to God,
 I had rather speak five words
 That all the brethren will understand
 Than ten thousand words which are incomprehensible." 11

Clearly, the author sees the proclamation of the Gospel as essential to the very nature of the Christian faith, which is a revelation of the eternal Word or Logos of God. The Word must be heard and understood; hence the necessity of a translation of Scripture and worship into the vernacular. This principle expressed by the Prologue in terms which Martin Luther would not have disavowed will remain the distinctive characteristic of Orthodox missions, at a time when the Christian West was opting for a unified but dead language Latin as the only channel for communicating the Word. Cyril and Methodius, during their mission to Moravia and their stay in Venice, had several discussions with Frankish missionaries who held the "heresy of the three languages," believing that the Gospel could be communicated only in the three languages used in Pilate's inscription on Jesus' cross: Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. By contrast, Cyril and Methodius stressed that, in the East, Slavs, as well as Armenians, Persians, Egyptians, Georgians, and Arabs, praised God in their own languages.¹²

The deliberate policy of translation implied a mission evolving into the rapid "indigenization" of the Church, which became an integral part of the various national cultures. Eventually, Byzantine Orthodox Christianity became deeply rooted in their lives, and neither foreign domination nor secular ideologies could easily uproot it. But indigenization also implied the existence of "national" churches, especially after the dismemberment of what Obolensky has called the "Byzantine Commonwealth." Modern nationalism further secularized the national self-consciousness of East European nations, damaging

the sense of Christian catholicity among them.

Byzantine missionary methods and principles found their continuation in Orthodox Russia. Stephen of Perm (1340-1396), for example, is known as the apostle of the Zyrians, a Finnish tribe in northeastern Russia. Having learned Greek, Stephen translated the scriptures and the liturgy into the language of the Zyrians and became their bishop.¹³ His example was followed until the twentieth century in the missionary expansion of the Russian Orthodox Church in Asia and even on the American continent, through Alaska.

3. Eschatology

Eschatology can never really be considered a separate chapter of Christian theology, for it qualifies the character of theology as a whole. This is especially true of Byzantine Christian thought, as we have tried to show in

the preceding chapters. Not only does it consider man's destiny and the destiny of all of creation as *oriented toward an end*; this orientation is the main characteristic of the sacramental doctrines, of its spirituality, and of its attitude toward the "world." Furthermore, following Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus the Confessor, it considers the ultimate end itself as a *dynamic* state of man and of the whole of creation: the goal of created existence is not, as Origen thought, a static contemplation of divine "essence," but a dynamic ascent of love, which never ends, because God's transcendent being is inexhaustible, and which, thus, always contains new things yet to be discovered (*novissima*) through the union of love.

The eschatological state, however, is not only a reality of the future but a *present experience*, accessible in Christ through the gifts of the Spirit. The Eucharistic canon of the liturgy of John Chrysostom commemorates the second coming of Christ together with events of the past: the cross, the grave, the Resurrection, and the Ascension. In the Eucharistic presence of the Lord, His forthcoming advent is already realized, and "time" is being transcended. Similarly, the entire tradition of Eastern monastic spirituality is based upon the premiss that *now*, in this life, Christians can experience the vision of God and the reality of "deification."

This strong emphasis on an "already realized" eschatology explains why Byzantine Christianity lacks a sense of direct responsibility for history as such. Or if it acknowledges such a responsibility, it tends to rely on such institutions as history itself may produce, particularly the Christian empire. The Christian state, and the Church as such, assume a responsibility for society as a whole, receiving guidance and inspiration from the Christian Gospel. But the dynamic "movement," which characterizes the "new humanity in Christ," and for which the Church is responsible, is not the movement of history but a mystical

growth in God, known to the saints alone. The movement certainly occurs in the midst of history and may, to a degree, influence the historical process, but it does not belong to history essentially because it anticipates the end of history. It is, indeed, the "movement" of *nature*, and of the natural man, but *natural* humanityhumanity as originally conceived and created by Godpresupposes communion with God, freedom from the world, lordship over creation and over history. It must, therefore, be independent from what the world understands as history.

Existing in history, the Church expects the second coming of Christ in power as the visible triumph of God in the world and the final transfiguration of the whole of creation. Man, as center and lord of creation, will then be restored to his original stature, which has been corrupted by sin and death; this restoration will imply the "resurrection of the flesh," because man is not only a "soul," but a psychosomatic whole, necessarily incomplete without his body. Finally, the second coming will also be a judgment, because the criterion of all righteousnessChrist Himselfwill be present

not "in faith" only, appealing for man's free response, but in full evidence and power.

These three essential meanings of the *parousiacosmic* transfiguration, resurrection, and judgment are not subjects of detailed speculation by Byzantine theologians; yet they stand at the very center of Byzantine liturgical experience.

The feast of the Transfiguration (August 6), one of the highlights of the Byzantine liturgical year, celebrates, in the "Taboric light," the eschatological anticipation of Christ's coming: "Today on Tabor in the manifestation of Thy Light, O Word, Thou unaltered Light from the Light of the unbegotten Father, we have seen the Father as Light and the Spirit as Light, guiding with light the whole of creation." ¹⁴ On Easter night, the eschatological dimension of the Resurrection is proclaimed repeatedly: "O Christ, the Passover great and most holy! O Wisdom, Word, and Power of God! Grant that we may more perfectly partake of Thee in the day which knows no night in Thy Kingdom." ¹⁵ The *parousia*, as judgment, appears frequently in Byzantine hymnology, particularly in the Lenten cycle. In this cycle, too, active love for one's neighbor is often emphasized by the hymnographers: "Having learned the commandments of the Lord, let us follow this polity: let us feed the hungry, let us give drink to the thirsty, let us clothe the naked, let us welcome strangers, let us visit the sick and the prisoners, so that the One who comes to judge the whole earth may tell us: come, O blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom which is prepared for you." ¹⁶

The only subject on which Byzantine theologians were forced into more systematic and theoretical debates on eschatology was the medieval controversy on purgatory. The Latin doctrine that divine justice requires retribution for all sins committed, and that, whenever

"satisfaction" could not be offered before death, justice would be accomplished through the temporary "fire of purgatory," was included in the Profession of Faith signed by emperor Michael ^{viii} Paleologus and accepted at the Council of Lyons (1274).¹⁷ The short-lived union of Lyons did not provoke much debate on the subject in Byzantium, but the question arose again in Florence and was debated for several weeks; the final decree on union, which Mark of Ephesus refused to sign, included a long definition on purgatory.¹⁸

The debate between Greeks and Latins, in which Mark was the main Greek spokesman, showed a radical difference of perspective. While the Latins took for granted their legalistic approach to divine justice which, according to them, requires a retribution for every sinful act the Greeks interpreted sin less in terms of the acts committed than in terms of a moral and spiritual disease which was to be healed by divine forbearance and love. The Latins also emphasized the idea of an individual judgment by God of each soul, a judgment which distributes the souls into three categories: the just, the wicked, and those in a middle category who need to

be "purified" by fire. The Greeks, meanwhile, without denying a particular judgment after death or agreeing on the existence of the three categories, maintained that neither the just nor the wicked will attain their *final* state of either bliss or condemnation before the last day. Both sides agreed that prayers for the departed are necessary and helpful, but Mark of Ephesus insisted that even the just need them; he referred, in particular, to the Eucharistic canon of Chrysostom's liturgy, which offers the "bloodless sacrifice" for "patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and every righteous spirit made perfect in faith," and even for the Virgin Mary herself. Obviously he understood the state of the blessed, not as a legal and static justification, but as a never-ending ascent, into which the entire communion of saints the Church in heaven and the Church on earth has been initiated in Christ.

19 In the communion of the Body of Christ, all members of the Church, living or dead, are interdependent and united by ties of love and mutual concern; thus, the prayers of the Church on earth and the intercession of the saints in heaven can effectively help all sinners, i.e., all men, to get closer to God. This communion of saints, however, is still in expectation of the ultimate fulfillment of the *parousia* and of the general resurrection, when a decisive, though mysterious, landmark will be reached for each individual destiny.

The Florentine debate on purgatory seems to have been largely improvised on the spot, and both sides used arguments from Scripture and tradition which do not always sound convincing. Still, the difference in the fundamental attitude toward salvation in Christ is easily discernible. Legalism, which applied to individual human destiny the Anselmian doctrine of "satisfaction," is the *ratio theologica* of the Latin doctrine on purgatory. For Mark of Ephesus, however, salvation is communion and "deification." On his way to God, the Christian does not stand alone; he is a member of Christ's

Body. He can achieve this communion even now, before his death as well as afterward, and, in any case, he needs the prayer of the whole Body, at least until the end of time when Christ will be "all in all." Of course, such an understanding of salvation through communion excludes any legalistic view of the Church's pastoral and sacramental powers over either the living or the dead (the East will never have a doctrine of "indulgences"), or any precise description of the state of the departed souls before the general resurrection.

Except for the negative act of rejecting the Latin doctrine of purgatory implied in the canonization of Mark of Ephesus and in later doctrinal statements of Orthodox theologians, the Orthodox Church never entered the road of seeking exact doctrinal statements on the "beyond." A variety of popular beliefs, often sanctioned in hagiographic literature, exists in practice, but the Church itself, and especially its liturgy, limits itself to a fundamentally Christocentric eschatology: "You have died, and your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ who is our life appears, then you

also will appear with him in glory" (Col 3:3-4). Until that ultimate "appearance," the Body of Christ, held together with the bond of the Spirit, includes both the living and the dead, as symbolized on the paten during the liturgy, where particles of bread, commemorating those who repose in Christ and those who are still parts of the visible Christian community on earth, are all united in a single Eucharistic communion. For indeed, death, through the Resurrection, has lost its power over those who are "in Him." It cannot separate them either from God or from each other. This communion in Christ, indestructible by death, makes possible and necessary the continuous intercession of all the members of the Body for each other. Prayer *for* the departed, as well as intercession *by* the departed saints for the living, express a single and indivisible "communion of saints."

The ultimate fulfillment of humanity's destiny will consist, however, in a last judgment. The condemnation of Origenism by the Fifth Council (553) implies the very explicit rejection of the doctrine of *apocatastasis*, i.e., the idea that the whole of creation and all of humanity will ultimately be "restored" to their original state of bliss. Obviously, the basic reason why *apocatastasis* was deemed incompatible with the Christian understanding of man's ultimate destiny is that it implies a radical curtailment of human *freedom*. If Maximus the Confessor is right in defining freedom, or self-determination, as the very sign of the image of God in man, 20 it is obvious that this freedom is ultimate and that man cannot be forced into a union with God, even in virtue of such philosophical necessity as God's "goodness." At the ultimate confrontation with the Logos, on the last day, man will still have the option of rejecting Him and thus will go to "hell."

Man's freedom is not destroyed even by physical death; thus, there is the possibility of continuous change and mutual intercession. But it is

precisely this freedom which implies responsibility and, therefore, the ultimate test of the last judgment, when alone in the entire cosmic system, which will then experience its final transfiguration man will still have the privilege of facing the eternal consequence of either his "yes" or his "no" to God.

Notes

1. Henri Gregoire, *Byzantium: An Introduction to East Roman Civilization*, edd. N. H. Baynes and H. St. L. B. Moss (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), pp. 134-145.
2. *Mystical Theology*, p. 7.
3. See Chapter 11.
4. *Novella VI, Corpus juris civilis*, ed. Rudolfus Schoell (Berlin, 1928), III, 35-36. The basic study on the subject is Francis Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy: Origins and Background* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Studies [IX], 1966), in two volumes and containing exhaustive bibliography. See also J. Meyendorff, "Justinian, the Empire, and the Church," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 22 (1968), 45-60.
5. *The Festal Menaion*, p. 254.

6. *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, edd. F. Miklosich and I. Müller (Vienna, 1862), pp. 188-192.
7. *Title 2, Jus graeco-romanum*, ed. Zepos (Athens, 1931), II, 241.
8. On this last aspect of Byzantine ideology, see D. J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1968).
9. See J. Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views of Islam," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964), 115-132; and A. Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1969).
10. For the history of these missions and their cultural consequences, see Francis Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions Among the Slavs* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970); and D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500-1453* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971).
11. Trans. by Roman Jakobson in "St. Constantine's Prologue to the Gospel," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 7 (1963), No. 1, 17-18.
12. *Vita Constantini* 16, 7-8 in *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicensis. Fontes, Radovi Staroslovenskog Instituta* 4 (1960), 131.
13. On Stephen, see particularly George Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), II, 230-245.
14. *Exaposteilarion, The Festal Mention*, p. 495.
15. Paschal canon, ode 9, *Pentekostarion*; this *troparion* is also used as a post-communion prayer in the Eucharistic liturgy.
16. Meat-fare Sunday, vespers, *Lite, Triodion*.

17. *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, ed. H. Denziger, No. 464.

18. *Ibid.*, No. 693.

19. See the two treatises of Mark on purgatory in L. Petit, "Documents relatifs au Concile de Florence. I: La question du Purgatoire à Ferrare," *Patrologia Orientalis* 15 (1920), No. 1, 39-60, 108-151. A Russian translation of these texts is given in Amvrosy, *Sviatoy Mark Efessky i Florentiiskaia Unia* (Jordanville, New York, 1963), 58-73, 118-150. J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 119-125, offers a brief account of the controversy.

20. "Since man was created according to the image of the blessed and supra-essential deity, and since, on the other hand, the divine nature is free, it is obvious that man is free by nature, being the image of the deity" (*Disp. cum Pyrrho*; PG 91:304c).

CONCLUSION ANTINOMIES

To attempt a description of Byzantine theology, using simultaneously the historical and the systematic methods, implies the obvious risk of provoking the dissatisfaction of both historians and systematic theologians. To the present author, however, the risk was worth taking because he fundamentally agrees with a recent statement by Jaroslav Pelikan about Christian doctrine: "Tradition without history has homogenized all the stages of development into one statically defined truth; history without tradition has produced a historicism that relativizes the development of Christian doctrine in such a way as to make the distinction between authentic growth and cancerous aberration seem completely arbitrary." 1

In the case of Byzantine theology, Pelikan's methodological statement is particularly relevant, because of the internal characteristics of the Eastern Christian experience itself. Ever concerned with the truth and in principle excluding any relativism, Byzantine thought has avoided both conceptual rationalism and authoritarianism, which have always been components of "traditionalism" in the West. In its very conservatism, Byzantine theology relies on internal and experiential criteria, which, like life itself, imply change, but also fidelity to the past. Neither change nor conservatism, however, is an end in itself. A tradition which is reduced to the preservation of concepts and formulae excludes the progress of life and is insensible to the Christian virtue of hope: in their paschal hymns, and at each Eucharistic liturgy, the Byzantines never stopped hoping for "a more perfect communion" with God in the Kingdom to come. But this very progress for them was possible only if one would avoid the pitfalls of

"novelties," inconsistent with the "apostolic" foundations of the faith, given once and for all in Scripture and the original *kerygma* of the eyewitnesses of Jesus.

Byzantine theology was neither systematically anti-conceptual nor anti-hierarchical. The conversion of Greek intellectuals to Christianity meant, after Origen, that philosophical concepts and the arguments of logic would be extensively used in expressing and developing Christian truths. Yet the sacramental understanding of the church implied the hierarchical structure,

a continuity in the teaching office, and, finally, conciliar authority. Neither concepts nor hierarchy, however, were conceived as *sources* of the Christian experience itself, but only as means to safeguard it, to channel it in accordance with the original rule of faith, and to express it in such a way as to give it life and relevance in the changing and developing processes of history.

In order to preserve its identity, Byzantine theological thought had to experience several major crises: the recurring temptation of adopting the Hellenistic world-view of Origenism; the conflict with the Roman papacy on the nature of Church authority; the doctrinal controversy over the "energies" of God in the fourteenth century, and several others. Inevitably, the controversies led to formal attitudes and definitions, partly determined by polemics. A certain "freezing" of concepts and formulae was the inevitable result. However, even in their formal definitions, Byzantine theologians have generally succeeded in preserving a sense of inadequacy between the formulae and the content of the faith: the most obvious and positive truths of Christian experience were thus expressed in antinomies, i.e., in propositions which, in formal logic, are mutually exclusive without being irrational.

Thus, the Byzantine concerns on the doctrine of God, derived from the polemics of the Cappadocian Fathers against Eunomius and crystallized in fourteenth-century Palamism, affirms in God a real distinction between the Persons and the common "essence," just as it maintains that the same God is both transcendent (in the "essence") and immanent (in the "energies"). Similarly, while essentially unchangeable, God is affirmed as *becoming* the creator of the world in time through His "energy"; but since "energy" is uncreated, i.e., is Godchangeability is seen as a real attribute of the divine. The philosophical antinomies required in this theology reflect a

personalistic and dynamic understanding of God, a positive experience of the God of the Bible, inexpressible in Greek philosophical terms.

On the level of anthropology one finds equally antinomic concepts in Byzantine Christian thought. Man, while certainly a creature and, as such, *external* to God, is defined, in his very *nature*, as being fully himself only when he is in *communion* with God. This communion is not a static contemplation of God's "essence" (as Origen thought), but an eternal progress into the inexhaustible riches of divine life. This is precisely the reason why the doctrine of *theosis* i.e., the process through which, in Christ, man recovers his original relation to God and grows into God "from glory to glory" is the central theme of Byzantine theology and of the Eastern Christian experience itself. Here again static concepts like "human nature" (i.e., that which is properly human) and "divine grace" (that which comes from God) can be used only antinomically: grace is seen as a part of nature itself.

Also, if one understands the ultimate destiny of man, and therefore also his "salvation," in terms of *theosis*, or "deification," rather than as a justification from sin and guilt, the Church will necessarily be viewed primarily as a communion of free sons of God and only secondarily as an institution endowed with authority to govern and to judge. Again, it is impossible to define Byzantine ecclesiology without at least a partial recourse to antinomy, particularly in describing the relation between the "institution" and the "event," between the "Levite" and the "prophet," between the "hierarchy" and the "saint." In the absence of any legal or infallible criterion of authority, with frequently reiterated statements that authority is not a source of truth but is itself dependent upon the faith of those who are called to exercise it, it was inevitable that the monastic community, as well as individual spiritual personalities, would occasionally compete with bishops and councils as spokesmen of the authentic tradition and as witnesses to the truth. In fact, this polarity was an integral part of the Church's life and did not necessarily lead to conflict: it only reflected the mystery of human freedom which was seen as the very gift of the Holy Spirit, bestowed upon every Christian at his baptism and making him a fully responsible member of Christ's Body. However, even then, the sacramental understanding of ecclesiology served as a guarantee against individualism and arbitrariness: responsibility could only be understood in this ecclesial and sacramental framework, which, in turn, was impossible without an identifiable ministry of bishops and priests.

These are the basic intuitions which determined the social and individual ethics of the Byzantine Christians. Actually, one can hardly find, in the entire religious literature of Byzantium, any systematic treatment of Christian ethics, or behavior, but rather innumerable examples of moral exegesis of Scripture, and ascetical treatises on

prayer and spirituality. This implies that Byzantine ethics were eminently "theological ethics." The basic affirmation that *every* man, whether Christian or not, is created according to the image of God and therefore called to divine communion and "deification," was of course recognized, but no attempt was ever made to build "secular" ethics for man "in general." Byzantines were ready to find seeds of the divine Logos in the precepts of ancient philosophers or even occasionally among Moslem Arabs, but these were always understood as dynamically oriented toward the only true incarnated Logos, and were all to be fulfilled in Him.

The religious inheritance of Christian Byzantium has frequently defined itself in opposition to the West, and indeed its entire concept of God-man relationships is different from one which prevailed in post-Augustinian Latin Christianity. Contemporary man searching for a God who would be not only transcendent but also existentially experienced and immanently present in man, and the gradual discovery of man as essentially open, developing, and growing should be more receptive to the basic positions

of Byzantine thought, which may then acquire an astonishingly contemporary relevance.

Note

1. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine I. The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 9.

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The First Book of Adam and Eve

by Rutherford Platt

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Prologue

The First Book of Adam and Eve details the life and times of Adam and Eve after they were expelled from the garden to the time that Cain kills his brother Abel. It tells of Adam and Eve's first dwelling—the Cave of Treasures; their trials and temptations; Satan's many apparitions to them; the birth of Cain, Abel, and

their twin sisters; and Cain's love for his beautiful twin sister, Luluwa, whom Adam and Eve wished to join to Abel.

This book is considered by many scholars to be part of the "Pseudepigrapha" (soo-duh-pig-ruh-fuh). The "Pseudepigrapha" is a collection of historical biblical works that are considered to be fiction. Because of that stigma, this book was not included in the compilation of the Holy Bible. This book is a written history of what happened in the days of Adam and Eve after they were cast out of the garden. Although considered to be pseudepigraphic by some, it carries significant meaning and insight into events of that time. It is doubtful that these writings could have survived all the many centuries if there were no substance to them.

This book is simply a version of an account handed down by word of mouth, from generation to generation, linking the time that the first human life was created to the time when somebody finally decided to write it down. This particular version is the work of unknown Egyptians. The lack of historical allusion makes it difficult to precisely date the writing, however, using other pseudepigraphical works as a reference, it was probably written a few hundred years before the birth of Christ. Parts of this version are found in the Jewish Talmud, and the Islamic Koran, showing what a vital role it played in the original literature of human wisdom. The Egyptian author wrote in Arabic, but later translations were found written in Ethiopic. The present English translation was translated in the late 1800's by Dr. S. C. Malan and Dr. E. Trumpp. They translated into King James English from both the Arabic version and the Ethiopic version which was then published in *The Forgotten Books of Eden* in 1927 by The World Publishing Company. In 1995, the text was extracted from a copy of *The Forgotten Books of Eden* and converted to electronic form by Dennis Hawkins. It was then translated into more modern English by simply exchanging 'Thou' s for 'You's, 'Art's for 'Are's, and so forth. The text was then carefully re-read to ensure its integrity.

Chapter I - The crystal sea, God commands Adam, expelled from Eden, to live in the Cave of Treasures.

1 On the third day, God planted the garden in the east of the earth, on the border of the world eastward, beyond which, towards the sun-rising, one finds nothing but water, that encompasses the whole world, and reaches to the borders of heaven.

2 And to the north of the garden there is a sea of water, clear and pure to the taste, unlike anything else; so that, through the clearness thereof, one may look into the depths of the earth.

3 And when a man washes himself in it, he becomes clean of the cleanness thereof, and white of its whiteness—even if he were dark.

4 And God created that sea of his own good pleasure, for He knew what would come of the man He would make; so that after he had left the garden, on account of his transgression, men should be born in the earth. Among them are righteous ones who will die, whose souls God would raise at the last day; when all of them will return to their flesh, bathe in the water of that sea, and repent of their sins.

5 But when God made Adam go out of the garden, He did not place him on the border of it northward. This was so that he and Eve would not be able to go near to the sea of water where they could wash themselves in it, be cleansed from their sins, erase the transgression they had committed, and be no longer reminded of it in the thought of their punishment.

6 As to the southern side of the garden, God did not want Adam to live there either; because, when the wind blew from the north, it would bring him, on that southern side, the delicious smell of the trees of the garden.

7 Wherefore God did not put Adam there. This was so that he would not be able to smell the sweet smell of those trees, forget his transgression, and find consolation for what he had done by taking delight in the smell of the trees and yet not be cleansed from his transgression.

8 Again, also, because God is merciful and of great pity, and governs all things in a way that He alone knows—He made our father Adam live in the western border of the garden, because on that side the earth is very broad.

9 And God commanded him to live there in a cave in a rock—the Cave of Treasures below the garden.

Chapter II - Adam and Eve faint when they leave the Garden. God sends His Word to encourage them.

1 But when our father Adam, and Eve, went out of the garden, they walked the ground on their feet, not knowing they were walking.

2 And when they came to the opening of the gate of the garden, and saw the broad earth spread before them, covered with stones large and small, and with sand, they feared and trembled, and fell on their faces, from the fear that came over them; and they were as dead.

3 Because—whereas until this time they had been in the garden land, beautifully planted with all manner of trees—they now saw themselves, in a strange land, which they knew not, and had never seen.

4 And because, when they were in the garden they were filled with the grace of a bright nature, and they had not hearts turned toward earthly things.

5 Therefore God had pity on them; and when He saw them fallen before the gate of the garden, He sent His Word to our father, Adam and Eve, and raised them from their fallen state.

Chapter III - Concerning the promise of the great five and a half days.

1 God said to Adam, "I have ordained on this earth days and years, and you and your descendants shall live and walk in them, until the days and years are fulfilled; when I shall send the Word that created you, and against which you have transgressed, the Word that made you come out of the garden, and that raised you when you were fallen.

2 Yes, the Word that will again save you when the five and a half days are fulfilled."

3 But when Adam heard these words from God, and of the great five and a half days, he did not understand the meaning of them.

4 For Adam was thinking there would be only five and a half days for him until the end of the world.

5 And Adam cried, and prayed to God to explain it to him.

6 Then God in his mercy for Adam who was made after His own image and likeness, explained to him, that these were 5,000 and 500 years; and how One would then come and save him and his descendants.

7 But before that, God had made this covenant with our father, Adam, in the same terms, before he came out of the garden, when he was by the tree where Eve took of the fruit and gave it to him to eat.

8 Because, when our father Adam came out of the garden, he passed by that tree, and saw how God had changed the appearance of it into another form, and how it shriveled.

9 And as Adam went to it he feared, trembled and fell down; but God in His mercy lifted him up, and then made this covenant with him.

10 And again, when Adam was by the gate of the garden, and saw the cherub with a sword of flashing fire in his hand, and the cherub grew angry and frowned at him, both Adam and Eve became afraid of him, and thought he meant to put them to death. So they fell on their faces, trembled with fear.

11 But he had pity on them, and showed them mercy; and turning from them went up to heaven, and prayed to the Lord, and said;—

12 "Lord, You sent me to watch at the gate of the garden, with a sword of fire.

13 But when Your servants, Adam and Eve, saw me, they fell on their faces, and were as dead. O my Lord, what shall we do to Your servants?"

14 Then God had pity on them, and showed them mercy, and sent His Angel to keep the garden.

15 And the Word of the Lord came to Adam and Eve, and raised them up.

16 And the Lord said to Adam, "I told you that at the end of the five and a half days, I will send my Word and save you.

17 Strengthen your heart, therefore, and stay in the Cave of Treasures, of which I have before spoken to you."

18 And when Adam heard this Word from God, he was comforted with that which God had told him. For He had told him how He would save him.

Chapter IV - Adam mourns over the changed conditions. Adam and Eve enter the Cave of Treasures.

1 But Adam and Eve cried for having come out of the garden, their first home.

2 And indeed, when Adam looked at his flesh, that was altered, he cried bitterly, he and Eve, over what they had done. And they walked and went gently down into the Cave of Treasures.

3 And as they came to it, Adam cried over himself and said to Eve, "Look at this cave that is to be our prison in this world, and a place of punishment!

4 What is it compared with the garden? What is its narrowness compared with the space of the other?

5 What is this rock, by the side of those groves? What is the gloom of this cavern, compared with the light of the garden?

6 What is this overhanging ledge of rock to shelter us, compared with the mercy of the Lord that overshadowed us?

7 What is the soil of this cave compared with the garden land? This earth, strewn with stones; and that, planted with delicious fruit trees?"

8 And Adam said to Eve, "Look at your eyes, and at mine, which before beheld angels praising in heaven; and they too, without ceasing.

9 But now we do not see as we did; our eyes have become of flesh; they cannot see like they used to see before."

10 Adam said again to Eve, "What is our body today, compared to what it was in former days, when we lived in the garden?"

11 After this, Adam did not want to enter the cave, under the overhanging rock; nor would he ever want to enter it.

12 But he bowed to God's orders; and said to himself, "Unless I enter the cave, I shall again be a transgressor."

Chapter V - Eve makes a noble and emotional intercession, taking the blame on herself.

1 Then Adam and Eve entered the cave, and stood praying, in their own tongue, unknown to us, but which they knew well.

2 And as they prayed, Adam raised his eyes and saw the rock and the roof of the cave that covered him overhead. This prevented him from seeing either heaven or God's creatures. So he cried and beat his chest hard, until he dropped, and was as dead.

3 And Eve sat crying; for she believed he was dead.

4 Then she got up, spread her hands toward God, appealing to Him for mercy and pity, and said, "O God, forgive me my sin, the sin which I committed, and don't remember it against me.

5 For I alone caused Your servant to fall from the garden into this condemned land; from light into this darkness; and from the house of joy into this prison.

6 O God, look at this Your servant fallen in this manner, and bring him back to life, that he may cry and repent of his transgression which he committed through me.

7 Don't take away his soul right now; but let him live that he may stand after the measure of his repentance, and do Your will, as before his death.

8 But if You do not bring him back to life, then, O God, take away my own soul, that I be like him, and leave me not in this dungeon, one and alone; for I could not stand alone in this world, but with him only.

9 For You, O God, caused him to fall asleep, and took a bone from his side, and restored the flesh in the place of it, by Your divine power.

10 And You took me, the bone, and make me a woman, bright like him, with heart, reason, and speech; and in flesh, like to his own; and You made me after the likeness of his looks, by Your mercy and power.

11 O Lord, I and he are one, and You, O God, are our Creator, You are He who made us both in one day.

12 Therefore, O God, give him life, that he may be with me in this strange land, while we live in it on account of our transgression.

13 But if You will not give him life, then take me, even me, like him; that we both may die the same day."

14 And Eve cried bitterly, and fell on our father Adam; from her great sorrow.

Chapter VI - God's reprimand to Adam and Eve in which he points out how and why they sinned.

1 But God looked at them; for they had killed themselves through great grief.

2 But He decided to raise them and comfort them.

3 He, therefore, sent His Word to them; that they should stand and be raised immediately.

4 And the Lord said to Adam and Eve, "You transgressed of your own free will, until you came out of the garden in which I had placed you.

5 Of your own free will have you transgressed through your desire for divinity, greatness, and an exalted state, such as I have; so that I deprived you of the bright nature in which you then were, and I made you come out of the garden to this land, rough and full of trouble.

6 If only you had not transgressed My commandment and had kept My law, and had not eaten of the fruit of the tree which I told you not to come near! And there were fruit trees in the garden better than that one.

7 But the wicked Satan did not keep his faith and had no good intent towards Me, that although I had created him, he considered Me to be useless, and sought the Godhead for himself; for this I hurled him

down from heaven so that he could not remain in his first estate—it was he who made the tree appear pleasant in your eyes, until you ate of it, by believing his words.

8 Thus have you transgressed My commandment, and therefore I have brought on you all these sorrows.

9 For I am God the Creator, who, when I created My creatures, did not intend to destroy them. But after they had sorely roused My anger, I punished them with grievous plagues, until they repent.

10 But, if on the contrary, they still continue hardened in their transgression, they shall be under a curse forever."

Chapter VII - The beasts are appeased.

1 When Adam and Eve heard these words from God, they cried and sobbed yet more; but they strengthened their hearts in God, because they now felt that the Lord was to them like a father and a mother; and for this very reason, they cried before Him, and sought mercy from Him.

2 Then God had pity on them, and said: "O Adam, I have made My covenant with you, and I will not turn from it; neither will I let you return to the garden, until My covenant of the great five and a half days is fulfilled."

3 Then Adam said to God, "O Lord, You created us, and made us fit to be in the garden; and before I transgressed, You made all beasts come to me, that I should name them.

4 Your grace was then on me; and I named every one according to Your mind; and you made them all subject to me.

5 But now, O Lord God, that I have transgressed Your commandment, all beasts will rise against me and will devour me, and Eve Your handmaid; and will cut off our life from the face of the earth.

6 I therefore beg you, O God, that since You have made us come out of the garden, and have made us be in a strange land, You will not let the beasts hurt us."

7 When the Lord heard these words from Adam, He had pity on him, and felt that he had truly said that the beasts of the field would rise and devour him and Eve, because He, the Lord, was angry with the two of them on account of their transgressions.

8 Then God commanded the beasts, and the birds, and all that moves on the earth, to come to Adam and to be familiar with him, and not to trouble him and Eve; nor yet any of the good and righteous among their offspring.

9 Then all the beasts paid homage to Adam, according to the commandment of God; except the serpent, against which God was angry. It did not come to Adam, with the beasts.

Chapter VIII - The "Bright Nature" of man is taken away.

1 Then Adam cried and said, "O God, when we lived in the garden, and our hearts were lifted up, we saw the angels that sang praises in heaven, but now we can't see like we used to; no, when we entered the cave, all creation became hidden from us."

2 Then God the Lord said to Adam, "When you were under subjection to Me, you had a bright nature within you, and for that reason could you see things far away. But after your transgression your bright nature was withdrawn from you; and it was not left to you to see things far away, but only near at hand; after the ability of the flesh; for it is brutish."

3 When Adam and Eve had heard these words from God, they went their way; praising and worshipping Him with a sorrowful heart.

4 And God ceased to commune with them.

Chapter IX - Water from the Tree of Life. Adam and Eve near drowning.

1 Then Adam and Eve came out of the Cave of Treasures, and went near to the garden gate, and there they stood to look at it, and cried for having come away from it.

2 And Adam and Eve went from before the gate of the garden to the southern side of it, and found there the water that watered the garden, from the root of the Tree of Life, and that split itself from there into four rivers over the earth.

3 Then they came and went near to that water, and looked at it; and saw that it was the water that came forth from under the root of the Tree of Life in the garden.

4 And Adam cried and wailed, and beat his chest, for being severed from the garden; and said to Eve:—

5 "Why have you brought on me, on yourself, and on our descendants, so many of these plagues and punishments?"

6 And Eve said to him, "What is it you have seen that has caused you to cry and to speak to me in this manner?"

7 And he said to Eve, "Do you not see this water that was with us in the garden, that watered the trees of the garden, and flowed out from there?"

8 And we, when we were in the garden, did not care about it; but since we came to this strange land, we love it, and turn it to use for our body."

9 But when Eve heard these words from him, she cried; and from the soreness of their crying, they fell into that water; and would have put an end to themselves in it, so as never again to return and behold the creation; for when they looked at the work of creation, they felt they must put an end to themselves.

Chapter X - Their bodies need water after they leave the garden.

1 Then God, merciful and gracious, looked at them thus lying in the water, and close to death, and sent an angel, who brought them out of the water, and laid them on the seashore as dead.

2 Then the angel went up to God, was welcome, and said, "O God, Your creatures have breathed their last."

3 Then God sent His Word to Adam and Eve, who raised them from their death.

4 And Adam said, after he was raised, "O God, while we were in the garden we did not require, or care for this water; but since we came to this land we cannot do without it."

5 Then God said to Adam, "While you were under My command and were a bright angel, you knew not this water.

6 But now that you have transgressed My commandment, you can not do without water, wherein to wash your body and make it grow; for it is now like that of beasts, and is in want of water."

7 When Adam and Eve heard these words from God, they cried a bitter cry; and Adam entreated God to let him return into the garden, and look at it a second time.

8 But God said to Adam, "I have made you a promise; when that promise is fulfilled, I will bring you back into the garden, you and your righteous descendants."

9 And God ceased to commune with Adam.

1 Then Adam and Eve felt themselves burning with thirst, and heat, and sorrow.

2 And Adam said to Eve, "We shall not drink of this water, even if we were to die. O Eve, when this water comes into our inner parts, it will increase our punishments and that of our descendants."

3 Both Adam and Eve then went away from the water, and drank none of it at all; but came and entered the Cave of Treasures.

4 But when in it Adam could not see Eve; he only heard the noise she made. Neither could she see Adam, but heard the noise he made.

5 Then Adam cried, in deep affliction, and beat his chest; and he got up and said to Eve, "Where are you?"

6 And she said to him, "Look, I am standing in this darkness."

7 He then said to her, "Remember the bright nature in which we lived, when we lived in the garden!

8 O Eve! Remember the glory that rested on us in the garden. O Eve! Remember the trees that overshadowed us in the garden while we moved among them.

9 O Eve! Remember that while we were in the garden, we knew neither night nor day. Think of the Tree of Life, from below which flowed the water, and that shed lustre over us! Remember, O Eve, the garden land, and the brightness thereof!

10 Think, oh think of that garden in which was no darkness, while we lived in it.

11 Whereas no sooner did we come into this Cave of Treasures than darkness surrounded us all around; until we can no longer see each other; and all the pleasure of this life has come to an end."

Chapter XII - How darkness came between Adam and Eve.

1 Then Adam beat his chest, he and Eve, and they mourned the whole night until the crack of dawn, and they sighed over the length of the night in Miyazia.

2 And Adam beat himself, and threw himself on the ground in the cave, from bitter grief, and because of the darkness, and lay there as dead.

3 But Eve heard the noise he made in falling on the ground. And she felt about for him with her hands, and found him like a corpse.

4 Then she was afraid, speechless, and remained by him.

5 But the merciful Lord looked on the death of Adam, and on Eve's silence from fear of the darkness.

6 And the Word of God came to Adam and raised him from his death, and opened Eve's mouth that she might speak.

7 Then Adam stood up in the cave and said, "O God, why has light departed from us, and darkness covered us? Why did you leave us in this long darkness? Why do you plague us like this?

8 And this darkness, O Lord, where was it before it covered us? It is because of this that we cannot see each other.

9 For so long as we were in the garden, we neither saw nor even knew what darkness is. I was not hidden from Eve, neither was she hidden from me, until now that she cannot see me; and no darkness came over us to separate us from each other.

10 But she and I were both in one bright light. I saw her and she saw me. Yet now since we came into this cave, darkness has covered us, and separated us from each other, so that I do not see her, and she does not see me.

11 O Lord, will You then plague us with this darkness?"

Chapter XIII - The fall of Adam. Why night and day were created.

1 Then when God, who is merciful and full of pity, heard Adam's voice, He said to him:—

2 "O Adam, so long as the good angel was obedient to Me, a bright light rested on him and on his hosts.

3 But when he transgressed My commandment, I deprived him of that bright nature, and he became dark.

4 And when he was in the heavens, in the realms of light, he knew nothing of darkness.

5 But he transgressed, and I made him fall from the heaven onto the earth; and it was this darkness that came over him.

6 And on you, O Adam, while in My garden and obedient to Me, did that bright light rest also.

7 But when I heard of your transgression, I deprived you of that bright light. Yet, of My mercy, I did not turn you into darkness, but I made you your body of flesh, over which I spread this skin, in order that it may bear cold and heat.

8 If I had let My wrath fall heavily on you, I should have destroyed you; and had I turned you into darkness, it would have been as if I had killed you.

9 But in My mercy, I have made you as you are; when you transgressed My commandment, O Adam, I drove you from the garden, and made you come forth into this land; and commanded you to live in this cave; and darkness covered you, as it did over him who transgressed My commandment.

10 Thus, O Adam, has this night deceived you. It is not to last forever; but is only of twelve hours; when it is over, daylight will return.

11 Sigh not, therefore, neither be moved; and say not in your heart that this darkness is long and drags on wearily; and say not in your heart that I plague you with it.

12 Strengthen your heart, and be not afraid. This darkness is not a punishment. But, O Adam, I have made the day, and have placed the sun in it to give light; in order that you and your children should do your work.

13 For I knew you would sin and transgress, and come out into this land. Yet I wouldn't force you, nor be heard over you, nor shut up; nor doom you through your fall; nor through your coming out from light into darkness; nor yet through your coming from the garden into this land.

14 For I made you of the light; and I willed to bring out children of light from you and like to you.

15 But you did not keep My commandment one day; until I had finished the creation and blessed everything in it.

16 Then, concerning the tree, I commanded you not to eat of it. Yet I knew that Satan, who deceived himself, would also deceive you.

17 So I made known to you by means of the tree, not to come near him. And I told you not to eat of the fruit thereof, nor to taste of it, nor yet to sit under it, nor to yield to it.

18 Had I not been and spoken to you, O Adam, concerning the tree, and had I left you without a commandment, and you had sinned—it would have been an offence on My part, for not having given you any order; you would turn around and blame Me for it.

19 But I commanded you, and warned you, and you fell. So that My creatures cannot blame Me; but the blame rests on them alone.

20 And, O Adam, I have made the day so that you and your descendants can work and toil in it. And I have made the night for them to rest in it from their work; and for the beasts of the field to go forth by night and look for their food.

21 But little of darkness now remains, O Adam, and daylight will soon appear."

Chapter XIV - The earliest prophesy of the coming of Christ.

1 Then Adam said to God: "O Lord, take You my soul, and let me not see this gloom any more; or remove me to some place where there is no darkness."

2 But God the Lord said to Adam, "Indeed I say to you, this darkness will pass from you, every day I have determined for you, until the fulfillment of My covenant; when I will save you and bring you back again into the garden, into the house of light you long for, in which there is no darkness*. I will bring you to it—in the kingdom of heaven."

3 Again said God to Adam, "All this misery that you have been made to take on yourself because of your transgression, will not free you from the hand of Satan, and will not save you.

4 But I will. When I shall come down from heaven, and shall become flesh of your descendants, and take on Myself the infirmity from which you suffer, then the darkness that covered you in this cave shall cover Me in the grave, when I am in the flesh of your descendants.

5 And I, who am without years, shall be subject to the reckoning of years, of times, of months, and of days, and I shall be reckoned as one of the sons of men, in order to save you."

6 And God ceased to commune with Adam.

* Reference: John 12:46

Chapter XV - Adam and Eve grieve over the suffering of God to save them from their sins.

1 Then Adam and Eve cried and sorrowed by reason of God's word to them, that they should not return to the garden until the fulfillment of the days decreed on them; but mostly because God had told them that He should suffer for their salvation.

Chapter XVI - The first sunrise. Adam and Eve think it is a fire coming to burn them.

1 After this, Adam and Eve continued to stand in the cave, praying and crying, until the morning dawned on them.

2 And when they saw the light returned to them, they retrained from fear, and strengthened their hearts.

3 Then Adam began to come out of the cave. And when he came to the mouth of it, and stood and turned his face towards the east, and saw the sunrise in glowing rays, and felt the heat thereof on his body, he was

afraid of it, and thought in his heart that this flame came forth to plague him.

4 He then cried and beat his chest, then he fell on the ground on his face and made his request, saying:—

5 "O Lord, plague me not, neither consume me, nor yet take away my life from the earth."

6 For he thought the sun was God.

7 Because while he was in the garden and heard the voice of God and the sound He made in the garden, and feared Him, Adam never saw the brilliant light of the sun, neither did its flaming heat touch his body.

8 Therefore he was afraid of the sun when flaming rays of it reached him. He thought God meant to plague him therewith all the days He had decreed for him.

9 For Adam also said in his thoughts, as God did not plague us with darkness, behold, He has caused this sun to rise and to plague us with burning heat.

10 But while he was thinking like this in his heart, the Word of God came to him and said:—

11 "O Adam, get up on your feet. This sun is not God; but it has been created to give light by day, of which I spoke to you in the cave saying, 'that the dawn would come, and there would be light by day.'

12 But I am God who comforted you in the night."

13 And God ceased to commune with Adam.

Chapter XVII - The Chapter of the Serpent.

1 The Adam and Eve came out at the mouth of the cave, and went towards the garden.

2 But as they went near it, before the western gate, from which Satan came when he deceived Adam and Eve, they found the serpent that became Satan coming at the gate, and sorrowfully licking the dust, and wiggling on its breast on the ground, by reason of the curse that fell on it from God.

3 And whereas before the serpent was the most exalted of all beasts, now it was changed and become slippery, and the meanest of them all, and it crept on its breast and went on its belly.

4 And whereas it was the fairest of all beasts, it had been changed, and was become the ugliest of them all. Instead of feeding on the best food, now it turned to eat the dust. Instead of living, as before, in the best places, now it lived in the dust.

5 And, whereas it had been the most beautiful of all beasts, all of which stood dumb at its beauty, it was now abhorred of them.

6 And, again, whereas it lived in one beautiful home, to which all other animals came from elsewhere; and where it drank, they drank also of the same; now, after it had become venomous, by reason of God's curse, all beasts fled from its home, and would not drink of the water it drank; but fled from it.

Chapter XVIII - The mortal combat with the serpent.

1 When the accursed serpent saw Adam and Eve, it swelled its head, stood on its tail, and with eyes blood-red, acted like it would kill them.

2 It made straight for Eve, and ran after her; while Adam standing by, cried because he had no stick in his hand with which to hit the serpent, and did not know how to put it to death.

3 But with a heart burning for Eve, Adam approached the serpent, and held it by the tail; when it turned towards him and said to him:—

4 "O Adam, because of you and of Eve, I am slippery, and go on my belly." Then with its great strength, it threw down Adam and Eve and squeezed them, and tried to kill them.

5 But God sent an angel who threw the serpent away from them, and raised them up.

6 Then the Word of God came to the serpent, and said to it, "The first time I made you slick, and made you to go on your belly; but I did not deprive you of speech.

7 This time, however, you will be mute, and you and your race will speak no more; because, the first time My creatures were ruined because of you, and this time you tried to kill them."

8 Then the serpent was struck mute, and was no longer able to speak.

9 And a wind blew down from heaven by the command of God and carried away the serpent from Adam

and Eve, and threw it on the seashore where it landed in India.

Chapter XIX - Beasts made subject to Adam.

1 But Adam and Eve cried before God. And Adam said to Him:—

2 "O Lord, when I was in the cave, I said this to you, my Lord, the beasts of the field would rise and devour me, and cut off my life from the earth."

3 Then Adam, because of what had happened to him, beat his chest and fell on the ground like a corpse. Then the Word of God came to him, who raised him, and said to him,

4 "O Adam, not one of these beasts will be able to hurt you; because I have made the beasts and other moving things come to you in the cave. I did not let the serpent come with them because it might have risen against you and made you tremble; and the fear of it should fall into your hearts.

5 For I knew that the accursed one is wicked; therefore I would not let it come near you with the other beasts.

6 But now strengthen your heart and fear not. I am with you to the end of the days I have determined on you."

Chapter XX - Adam wishes to protect Eve.

1 Then Adam cried and said, "O God, take us away to some other place, where the serpent can not come near us again, and rise against us. For fear that it might find Your handmaid Eve alone and kill her; for its eyes are hideous and evil."

2 But God said to Adam and Eve, "From now on, don't be afraid, I will not let it come near you; I have driven it away from you, from this mountain; neither will I leave in it the ability to hurt you."

3 Then Adam and Eve worshipped before God and gave Him thanks, and praised Him for having delivered them from death.

Chapter XXI - Adam and Eve attempt suicide.

1 Then Adam and Eve went in search of the garden.

2 And the heat beat like a flame on their faces; and they sweated from the heat, and cried before the Lord.

3 But the place where they cried was close to a high mountain, facing the western gate of the garden.

4 Then Adam threw himself down from the top of that mountain; his face was torn and his flesh was ripped; he lost a lot of blood and was close to death.

5 Meanwhile Eve remained standing on the mountain crying over him, thus lying.

6 And she said, "I don't wish to live after him; for all that he did to himself was through me."

7 Then she threw herself after him; and was torn and ripped by stones; and remained lying as dead.

8 But the merciful God, who looks over His creatures, looked at Adam and Eve as they lay dead, and He sent His Word to them, and raised them.

9 And said to Adam, "O Adam, all this misery which you have brought on yourself, will have no affect against My rule, neither will it alter the covenant of the 5, 500 years."

Chapter XXII - Adam in a gracious mood.

1 Then Adam said to God, "I dry up in the heat, I am faint from walking, and I don't want to be in this world. And I don't know when You will take me out of it to rest."

2 Then the Lord God said to him, "O Adam, it cannot be now, not until you have ended your days. Then shall I bring you out of this miserable land."

3 And Adam said to God, "While I was in the garden I knew neither heat, nor languor, neither moving about, nor trembling, nor fear; but now since I came to this land, all this affliction has come over me.

4 Then God said to Adam, "So long as you were keeping My commandment, My light and My grace rested on you. But when you transgressed My commandment, sorrow and misery came to you in this land."

5 And Adam cried and said, "O Lord, do not cut me off for this, neither punish me with heavy plagues, nor yet repay me according to my sin; for we, of our own will, transgressed Your commandment, and ignored Your law, and tried to become gods like you, when Satan the enemy deceived us."

6 Then God said again to Adam, "Because you have endured fear and trembling in this land, languor and suffering, treading and walking about, going on this mountain, and dying from it, I will take all this on Myself in order to save you."

Chapter XXIII - Adam and Eve strengthen themselves and make the first altar ever built.

1 Then Adam cried more and said, "O God, have mercy on me, so far as to take on yourself, that which I will do."

2 But God withdrew His Word from Adam and Eve.

3 Then Adam and Eve stood on their feet; and Adam said to Eve, "Strengthen yourself, and I also will strengthen myself." And she strengthened herself, as Adam told her.

4 Then Adam and Eve took stones and placed them in the shape of an altar; and they took leaves from the trees outside the garden, with which they wiped, from the face of the rock, the blood they had spilled.

5 But that which had dropped on the sand, they took together with the dust with which it was mingled and offered it on the altar as an offering to God.

6 Then Adam and Eve stood under the Altar and cried, thus praying to God, "Forgive us our trespass* and our sin, and look at us with Thine eye of mercy. For when we were in the garden our praises and our hymns went up before you without ceasing.

7 But when we came into this strange land, pure praise was not longer ours, nor righteous prayer, nor understanding hearts, nor sweet thoughts, nor just counsels, nor long discernment, nor upright feelings, neither is our bright nature left us. But our body is changed from the likeness in which it was at first, when we were created.

8 Yet now look at our blood which is offered on these stones, and accept it at our hands, like the praise we used to sing to you at first, when in the garden."

9 And Adam began to make more requests of God.

* ORIGINAL OF THE LORD'S PRAYER SAID TO BE USED ABOUT 150 YEARS BEFORE OUR LORD:
Our Father, Who art in Heaven, be gracious unto us, O Lord our God, hallowed be Your Name, and let the

remembrance of Thee be glorified Heaven above and upon earth here below.

Let Your kingdom reign over us now and forever. The Holy Men of old said remit and forgive unto all men whatsoever they have done unto me. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil thing; for Thine is the kingdom and Thou shalt reign in glory forever and forevermore, AMEN.

Chapter XXIV - A vivid prophecy of the life and death of Christ.

1 Then the merciful God, good and lover of men, looked at Adam and Eve, and at their blood, which they had held up as an offering to Him; without an order from Him for so doing. But He wondered at them; and accepted their offerings.

2 And God sent from His presence a bright fire, that consumed their offering.

3 He smelled the sweet savor of their offering, and showed them mercy.

4 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said to him, "O Adam, as you have shed your blood, so will I shed My own blood when I become flesh of your descendants; and as you died, O Adam, so also will I die. And as you built an altar, so also will I make for you an altar of the earth; and as you offered your blood on it, so also will I offer My blood on an altar on the earth.

5 And as you sued for forgiveness through that blood, so also will I make My blood forgiveness of sins, and erase transgressions in it.

6 And now, behold, I have accepted your offering, O Adam, but the days of the covenant in which I have bound you are not fulfilled. When they are fulfilled, then will I bring you back into the garden.

7 Now, therefore, strengthen your heart; and when sorrow comes over you, make Me an offering, and I will be favorable to you."

Chapter XXV - God represented as merciful and loving. The establishing of worship.

1 But God knew that Adam believed he should frequently kill himself and make an offering to Him of his blood.

2 Therefore He said to him, "O Adam, don't ever kill yourself like this again, by throwing yourself down from that mountain."

3 But Adam said to God, "I was thinking to put an end to myself at once, for having transgressed Your commandments, and for my having come out of the beautiful garden; and for the bright light of which You have deprived me; and for the praises which poured forth from my mouth without ceasing, and for the light that covered me.

4 Yet of Your goodness, O God, do not get rid of me altogether; but be favorable to me every time I die, and bring me to life.

5 And thereby it will be made known that You are a merciful God, who does not want anyone to perish; who loves not that one should fall; and who does not condemn any one cruelly, badly, and by whole destruction."

6 Then Adam remained silent.

7 And the Word of God came to him, and blessed him, and comforted him, and covenanted with him, that He would save him at the end of the days determined for him.

8 This, then, was the first offering Adam made to God; and so it became his custom to do.

Chapter XXVI - A beautiful prophecy of eternal life and joy (v. 15). The fall of night.

1 Then Adam took Eve, and they began to return to the Cave of Treasures where they lived. But when they got closer to it and saw it from a distance, heavy sorrow fell on Adam and Eve when they looked at it.

2 Then Adam said to Eve, "When we were on the mountain we were comforted by the Word of God that conversed with us; and the light that came from the east shown over us.

3 But now the Word of God is hidden from us; and the light that shown over us is so changed as to disappear, and let darkness and sorrow come over us.

4 And we are forced to enter this cave which is like a prison, in which darkness covers us, so that we are

separated from each other; and you can not see me, neither can I see you."

5 When Adam had said these words, they cried and spread their hands before God; for they were full of sorrow.

6 And they prayed to God to bring the sun to them, to shine on them, so that darkness would not return to them, and that they wouldn't have to go under this covering of rock. And they wished to die rather than see the darkness.

7 Then God looked at Adam and Eve and at their great sorrow, and at all they had done with a fervent heart, on account of all the trouble they were in, instead of their former well-being, and on account of all the misery that came over them in a strange land.

8 Therefore God was not angry with them; nor impatient with them; but he was patient and forbearing towards them, as towards the children He had created.

9 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said to him, "Adam, as for the sun, if I were to take it and bring it to you, days, hours, years and months would all stop, and the covenant I have made with you, would never be fulfilled.

10 But then you would be deserted and stuck in a perpetual plague, and you would never be saved.

11 Yes, rather, bear long and calm your soul while you live night and day; until the fulfillment of the days, and the time of My covenant is come.

12 Then shall I come and save you, O Adam, for I do not wish that you be afflicted.

13 And when I look at all the good things in which you lived, and why you came out of them, then would I willingly show you mercy.

14 But I cannot alter the covenant that has gone out of My mouth; otherwise I would have brought you back into the garden.

15 When, however, the covenant is fulfilled, then shall I show you and your descendants mercy, and bring you into a land of gladness, where there is neither sorrow nor suffering; but abiding joy and gladness, and light that never fails, and praises that never cease; and a beautiful garden that shall never pass away."

16 And God said again to Adam, "Be patient and enter the cave, for the darkness, of which you were afraid, shall only be twelve hours long; and when ended, light shall come up."

17 Then when Adam heard these words from God, he and Eve worshipped before Him, and their hearts were comforted. They returned into the cave after their custom, while tears flowed from their eyes, sorrow and wailing came from their hearts, and they wished their soul would leave their body.

18 And Adam and Eve stood praying until the darkness of night came over them, and Adam was hid from Eve, and she from him.

19 And they remained standing in prayer.

Chapter XXVII - The second tempting of Adam and Eve. The devil takes on the form of a beguiling light.

1 When Satan, the hater of all good, saw how they continued in prayer, and how God communed with

them, and comforted them, and how He had accepted their offering—Satan made an apparition.

2 He began with transforming his hosts; in his hands was a flashing fire, and they were in a great light.

3 He then placed his throne near the mouth of the cave because he could not enter into it by reason of their prayers. And he shed light into the cave, until the cave glistened over Adam and Eve; while his hosts began to sing praises.

4 And Satan did this, in order that when Adam saw the light, he should think within himself that it was a heavenly light, and that Satan's hosts were angels; and that God had sent them to watch at the cave, and to give him light in the darkness.

5 So that when Adam came out of the cave and saw them, and Adam and Eve bowed to Satan, then he would overcome Adam thereby, and a second time humble him before God.

6 When, therefore, Adam and Eve saw the light, fancying it was real, they strengthened their hearts; yet, as they were trembling, Adam said to Eve:—

7 "Look at that great light, and at those many songs of praise, and at that host standing outside who won't come into our cave. Why don't they tell us what they want, where they are from, what the meaning of this light is, what those praises are, why they have been sent to this place, and why they won't come in?

8 If they were from God, they would come into the cave with us, and would tell us why they were sent."

9 Then Adam stood up and prayed to God with a burning heart, and said:—

10 "O Lord, is there in the world another god besides You, who created angels and filled them with light, and sent them to keep us, who would come with them?

11 But, look, we see these hosts that stand at the mouth of the cave; they are in a great light; they sing loud praises. If they are of some other god than You, tell me; and if they are sent by you, inform me of the reason for which You have sent them."

12 No sooner had Adam said this, than an angel from God appeared to him in the cave, who said to him, "O Adam, fear not. This is Satan and his hosts; he wishes to deceive you as he deceived you at first. For the first time, he was hidden in the serpent; but this time he is come to you in the likeness of an angel of light; in order that, when you worshipped him, he might enslave you, in the very presence of God."

13 Then the angel went from Adam and seized Satan at the opening of the cave, and stripped him of the pretense he had assumed, and brought him in his own hideous form to Adam and Eve; who were afraid of him when they saw him.

14 And the angel said to Adam, "This hideous form has been his ever since God made him fall from heaven. He could not have come near you in it; he therefore transformed himself into an angel of light."

15 Then the angel drove away Satan and his hosts from Adam and Eve, and said to them, "Fear not; God who created you, will strengthen you."

16 And the angel left them.

17 But Adam and Eve remained standing in the cave; no consolation came to them; they divided in their thoughts.

18 And when it was morning they prayed; and then went out to seek the garden. For their hearts were towards it, and they could get no consolation for having left it.

Chapter XXVIII - The Devil pretends to lead Adam and Eve to the water to bathe.

1 But when the crafty Satan saw them, that they were going to the garden, he gathered together his host, and came in appearance on a cloud, intent on deceiving them.

2 But when Adam and Eve saw him thus in a vision, they thought they were angels of God come to comfort them about having left the garden, or to bring them back again into it.

3 And Adam spread his hands before God, beseeching Him to make him understand what they were.

4 Then Satan, the hater of all good, said to Adam, "O Adam, I am an angel of the great God; and, behold the hosts that surround me.

5 God has sent us to take you and bring you to the border of the garden northwards; to the shore of the clear sea, and bathe you and Eve in it, and raise you to your former gladness, that you return again to the garden."

6 These words sank into the heart of Adam and Eve.

7 Yet God withheld His Word from Adam, and did not make him understand at once, but waited to see his strength; whether he would be overcome as Eve was when in the garden, or whether he would prevail.

8 Then Satan called to Adam and Eve, and said, "Behold, we go to the sea of water," and they began to go.

9 And Adam and Eve followed them at some little distance.

10 But when they came to the mountain to the north of the garden, a very high mountain, without any steps to the top of it, the Devil drew near to Adam and Eve, and made them go up to the top in reality, and not in a vision; wishing, as he did, to throw them down and kill them, and to wipe off their name from the earth; so that this earth should remain to him and his hosts alone.

Chapter XXIX - God tells Adam of the Devil's purpose. (v. 4).

1 But when the merciful God saw that Satan wished to kill Adam with his many tricks, and saw that Adam was meek and without guile, God spoke to Satan in a loud voice, and cursed him.

2 Then he and his hosts fled, and Adam and Eve remained standing on the top of the mountain, from there they saw below them the wide world, high above which they were. But they saw none of the host which time after time were by them.

3 They cried, both Adam and Eve, before God, and begged for forgiveness of Him.

4 Then came the Word from God to Adam, and said to him, "Know you and understand concerning this Satan, that he seeks to deceive you and your descendants after you."

5 And Adam cried before the Lord God, and begged and prayed to Him to give him something from the garden, as a token to him, wherein to be comforted.

6 And God considered Adam's thought, and sent the angel Michael as far as the sea that reaches India, to take from there golden rods and bring them to Adam.

7 This did God in His wisdom in order that these golden rods, being with Adam in the cave, should shine forth with light in the night around him, and put an end to his fear of the darkness.

8 Then the angel Michael went down by God's order, took golden rods, as God had commanded him, and brought them to God.

Chapter XXX - Adam receives the first worldly goods.

1 After these things, God commanded the angel Gabriel to go down to the garden, and say to the cherub who kept it, "Behold, God has commanded me to come into the garden, and to take from it sweet smelling incense, and give it to Adam."

2 Then the angel Gabriel went down by God's order to the garden, and told the cherub as God had commanded him.

3 The cherub then said, "Well." And Gabriel went in and took the incense.

4 Then God commanded his angel Raphael to go down to the garden, and speak to the cherub about some myrrh, to give to Adam.

5 And the angel Raphael went down and told the cherub as God had commanded him, and the cherub said, "Well." Then Raphael went in and took the myrrh.

6 The golden rods were from the Indian sea, where there are precious stones. The incense was from the eastern border of the garden; and the myrrh from the western border, from where bitterness came over Adam.

7 And the angels brought these things to God, by the Tree of Life, in the garden.

8 Then God said to the angels, "Dip them in the spring of water; then take them and sprinkle their water over Adam and Eve, that they be a little comforted in their sorrow, and give them to Adam and Eve.

9 And the angels did as God had commanded them, and they gave all those things to Adam and Eve on the top of the mountain on which Satan had placed them, when he sought to make an end of them.

10 And when Adam saw the golden rods, the incense and the myrrh, he was rejoiced and cried because he thought that the gold was a token of the kingdom from where he had come, that the incense was a token of the bright light which had been taken from him, and that the myrrh was a token of the sorrow in which he was.

Chapter XXXI - They make themselves more comfortable in the Cave of Treasures on the third day.

1 After these things God said to Adam, "You asked Me for something from the garden, to be comforted

therewith, and I have given you these three tokens as a consolation to you; that you trust in Me and in My covenant with you.

2 For I will come and save you; and kings shall bring me when in the flesh, gold, incense and myrrh; gold as a token of My kingdom; incense as a token of My divinity; and myrrh as a token of My suffering and of My death.

3 But, O Adam, put these by you in the cave; the gold that it may shed light over you by night; the incense, that you smell its sweet savor; and the myrrh, to comfort you in your sorrow."

4 When Adam heard these words from God, he worshipped before Him. He and Eve worshipped Him and gave Him thanks, because He had dealt mercifully with them.

5 Then God commanded the three angels, Michael, Gabriel and Raphael, each to bring what he had brought, and give it to Adam. And they did so, one by one.

6 And God commanded Suriyel and Salathiel to bear up Adam and Eve, and bring them down from the top of the high mountain, and to take them to the Cave of Treasures.

7 There they laid the gold on the south side of the cave, the incense on the eastern side, and the myrrh on the western side. For the mouth of the cave was on the north side.

8 The angels then comforted Adam and Eve, and departed.

9 The gold was seventy rods*; the incense, twelve pounds; and the myrrh, three pounds.

10 These remained by Adam in the Cave of Treasures**.

11 God gave these three things to Adam on the third day after he had come out of the garden, in token of

the three days the Lord should remain in the heart of the earth.

12 And these three things, as they continued with Adam in the cave, gave him light by night; and by day they gave him a little relief from his sorrow.

* A rod is a unit of linear measure equivalent to 5.5 yards and also a unit of area measure equivalent to 30.25 square yards. In this case, the word rod simply means a kind of long, thin piece of gold of unspecified size and weight.

** This is the original text which appears to contain embedded editorial content: "These remained by Adam in the House of Treasures; therefore was it called 'of concealment.' But other interpreters say it was called the 'Cave of Treasures,' by reason of the bodies of righteous men that were in it.

Chapter XXXII - Adam and Eve go into the water to pray.

1 And Adam and Eve remained in the Cave of Treasures until the seventh day; they neither ate of the fruit the earth, nor drank water.

2 And when it dawned on the eighth day, Adam said to Eve, "O Eve, we prayed God to give us something from the garden, and He sent his angels who brought us what we had desired.

3 But now, get up, let us go to the sea of water we saw at first, and let us stand in it, praying that God will again be favorable to us and take us back to the garden; or give us something; or that He will give us comfort in some other land than this in which we are."

4 Then Adam and Eve came out of the cave, went and stood on the border of the sea in which they had before thrown themselves, and Adam said to Eve:—

5 Come, go down into this place, and come not out of it until the end of thirty days, when I shall come to you. And pray to God with burning heart and a sweet voice, to forgive us.

6 And I will go to another place, and go down into it, and do like you."

7 Then Eve went down into the water, as Adam had commanded her. Adam also went down into the water; and they stood praying; and besought the Lord to forgive them their offense, and to restore them to their former state.

8 And they stood like that praying, until the end of the thirty-five days.

Chapter XXXIII - Satan falsely promises the "bright light."

1 But Satan, the hater of all good, sought them in the cave, but found them not, although he searched diligently for them.

2 But he found them standing in the water praying and thought within himself, "Adam and Eve are standing like that in that water praying to God to forgive them their transgression, and to restore them to their former state, and to take them from under my hand.

3 But I will deceive them so that they shall come out of the water, and not fulfil their vow."

4 Then the hater of all good, went not to Adam, but he went to Eve, and took the form of an angel of God, praising and rejoicing, and said to her:—

5 "Peace be to you! Be glad and rejoice! God is favorable to you, and He sent me to Adam. I have brought him the glad tidings of salvation, and of his being filled with bright light as he was at first.

6 And Adam, in his joy for his restoration, has sent me to you, that you come to me, in order that I crown you with light like him.

7 And he said to me, 'Speak to Eve; if she does not come with you, tell her of the sign when we were on the top of the mountain; how God sent his angels who took us and brought us to the Cave of Treasures; and laid the gold on the southern side; incense, on the eastern side; and myrrh on the western side.' Now come to him."

8 When Eve hear these words from him, she rejoiced greatly. And thinking Satan's appearance was real, she came out of the sea.

9 He went before, and she followed him until they came to Adam. Then Satan hid himself from her, and she saw him no more.

10 She then came and stood before Adam, who was standing by the water and rejoicing in God's forgiveness.

11 And as she called to him, he turned around, found her there and cried when he saw her, and beat his chest; and from the bitterness of his grief, he sank into the water.

12 But God looked at him and at his misery, and at his being about to breathe his last. And the Word of God came from heaven, raised him out of the water, and said to him, "Go up the high bank to Eve." And when he came up to Eve he said to her, "Who told you to come here?"

13 Then she told him the discourse of the angel who had appeared to her and had given her a sign.

14 But Adam grieved, and gave her to know it was Satan. He then took her and they both returned to the cave.

15 These things happened to them the second time they went down to the water, seven days after their coming out of the garden.

16 They fasted in the water thirty-five days; altogether forty-two days since they had left the garden.

Chapter XXXIV - Adam recalls the creation of Eve. He eloquently appeals for food and drink.

1 And on the morning of the forty-third day, they came out of the cave, sorrowful and crying. Their bodies were lean, and they were parched from hunger and thirst, from fasting and praying, and from their heavy sorrow on account of their transgression.

2 And when they had come out of the cave they went up the mountain to the west of the garden.

3 There they stood and prayed and besought God to grant them forgiveness of their sins.

4 And after their prayers Adam began to beg God, saying, "O my Lord, my God, and my Creator, You commanded the four elements* to be gathered together, and they were gathered together by Thine order.

5 Then You spread Your hand and created me out of one element, that of dust of the earth; and You brought me into the garden at the third hour, on a Friday, and informed me of it in the cave.

6 Then, at first, I knew neither night nor day, for I had a bright nature; neither did the light in which I lived ever leave me to know night or day.

7 Then, again, O Lord, in that third hour in which You created me, You brought to me all beasts, and lions, and ostriches, and fowls of the air, and all things that move in the earth, which You had created at the first hour before me of the Friday.

8 And Your will was that I should name them all, one by one, with a suitable name. But You gave me understanding and knowledge, and a pure heart and a right mind from you, that I should name them after Thine own mind regarding the naming of them.

9 O God, You made them obedient to me, and ordered that not one of them break from my sway, according to Your commandment, and to the dominion which You had given me over them. But now they are all estranged from me.

10 Then it was in that third hour of Friday, in which You created me, and commanded me concerning the tree, to which I was neither to go near, nor to eat thereof; for You said to me in the garden, 'When you eat of it, of death you shall die.'

11 And if You had punished me as You said, with death, I should have died that very moment.

12 Moreover, when You commanded me regarding the tree, I was neither to approach nor to eat thereof, Eve was not with me; You had not yet created her, neither had You yet taken her out of my side; nor had she yet heard this order from you.

13 Then, at the end of the third hour of that Friday, O Lord, You caused a slumber and a sleep to come over me, and I slept, and was overwhelmed in sleep.

14 Then You drew a rib out of my side, and created it after my own likeness and image. Then I awoke; and when I saw her and knew who she was, I said, 'This is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; from now on she shall be called woman.'

15 It was of Your good will, O God, that You brought a slumber in a sleep over me, and that You immediately brought Eve out of my side, until she was out, so that I did not see how she was made; neither could I witness, O my Lord, how awful and great are Your goodness and glory.

16 And of Your goodwill, O Lord, You made us both with bodies of a bright nature, and You made us two, one; and You gave us Your grace, and filled us with praises of the Holy Spirit; that we should be neither hungry nor thirsty, nor know what sorrow is, nor yet faintness of heart; neither suffering, fasting nor weariness.

17 But now, O God, since we transgressed Your commandment and broke Your law, You have brought us out into a strange land, and have caused suffering, and faintness, hunger and thirst to come over us.

18 Now, therefore, O God, we pray you, give us something to eat from the garden, to satisfy our hunger with it; and something wherewith to quench our thirst.

19 For, behold, many days, O God, we have tasted nothing and drunk nothing, and our flesh is dried up, and our strength is wasted, and sleep is gone from our eyes from faintness and crying.

20 Then, O God, we dare not gather anything from the fruit of trees, from fear of you. For when we transgress at first You spared us and did not make us die.

21 But now, we thought in our hearts, if we eat of the fruit of the trees, without God's order, He will destroy us this time, and will wipe us off from the face of the earth.

22 And if we drink of this water, without God's order, He will make an end of us and root us up at once.

23 Now, therefore, O God, that I am come to this place with Eve, we beg You to give us some fruit from the garden, that we may be satisfied with it.

24 For we desire the fruit that is on the earth, and all else that we lack in it."

* The medieval belief that there were only four elements—fire, earth, air, and water—was widely accepted until about 1500 AD when the current atomic theory was in its infancy.

Chapter XXXV - God's reply.

1 Then God looked again at Adam and his crying and groaning, and the Word of God came to him, and

said to him:—

2 "O Adam, when you were in My garden, you knew neither eating nor drinking; neither faintness nor suffering; neither leanness of flesh, nor change; neither did sleep depart from thine eyes. But since you transgressed, and came into this strange land, all these trials are come over you."

Chapter XXXVI - Figs.

1 Then God commanded the cherub, who kept the gate of the garden with a sword of fire in his hand, to take some of the fruit of the fig-tree, and to give it to Adam.

2 The cherub obeyed the command of the Lord God, and went into the garden and brought two figs on two twigs, each fig hanging to its leaf; they were from two of the trees among which Adam and Eve hid themselves when God went to walk in the garden, and the Word of God came to Adam and Eve and said to them, "Adam, Adam, where are you?"

3 And Adam answered, "O God, here I am. When I heard the sound of You and Your voice, I hid myself, because I am naked."

4 Then the cherub took two figs and brought them to Adam and Eve. But he threw them to them from a distance; for they might not come near the cherub by reason of their flesh, that could not come near the fire.

5 At first, angels trembled at the presence of Adam and were afraid of him. But now Adam trembled before the angels and was afraid of them.

6 Then Adam came closer and took one fig, and Eve also came in turn and took the other.

7 And as they took them up in their hands, they looked at them, and knew they were from the trees among which they had hidden themselves.

Chapter XXXVII - Forty-three days of penance do not redeem one hour of sin (v. 6).

1 Then Adam said to Eve, "Do you not see these figs and their leaves, with which we covered ourselves when we were stripped of our bright nature? But now, we do not know what misery and suffering may come over us from eating them.

2 Now, therefore, O Eve, let us restrain ourselves and not eat of them, you and I; and let us ask God to give us of the fruit of the Tree of Life."

3 Thus did Adam and Eve restrain themselves, and did not eat of these figs.

4 But Adam began to pray to God and to beseech Him to give him of the fruit of the Tree of Life, saying thus: "O God, when we transgressed Your commandment at the sixth hour of Friday, we were stripped of the bright nature we had, and did not continue in the garden after our transgression, more than three hours.

5 But in the evening You made us come out of it. O God, we transgressed against You one hour, and all these trials and sorrows have come over us until this day.

6 And those days together with this the forty-third day, do not redeem that one hour in which we transgressed!

7 O God, look at us with an eye of pity, and do not avenge us according to our transgression of Your commandment, in Your presence.

8 O God, give us of the fruit of the Tree of Life, that we may eat of it, and live, and turn not to see sufferings and other trouble, in this earth; for You are God.

9 When we transgressed Your commandment, You made us come out of the garden, and sent a cherub to keep the Tree of Life, lest we should eat thereof, and live; and know nothing of faintness after we transgressed.

10 But now, O Lord, behold, we have endured all these days, and have borne sufferings. Make these forty-three days an equivalent for the one hour in which we transgressed."

Chapter XXXVIII - "When 5500 years are fulfilled..."

1 After these things the Word of God came to Adam, and said to him:—

2 "O Adam, as to the fruit on the Tree of Life that you have asked for, I will not give it to you now, but only when the 5500 years are fulfilled. At that time I will give you fruit from the Tree of Life, and you will eat, and live forever, you, and Eve, and your righteous descendants.

3 But these forty-three days cannot make amends for the hour in which you transgressed My commandment.

4 O Adam, I gave you the fruit of the fig-tree to eat in which you hid yourself. Go and eat of it, you and Eve.

5 I will not deny your request, neither will I disappoint your hope; therefore, endure until the fulfillment of the covenant I made with you."

6 And God withdrew His Word from Adam.

Chapter XXXIX - Adam is cautious—but too late.

1 Then Adam returned to Eve, and said to her, "Get up, and take a fig for yourself, and I will take another; and let us go to our cave."

2 Then Adam and Eve took each a fig and went towards the cave; the time was about the setting of the sun; and their thoughts made them long to eat of the fruit.

3 But Adam said to Eve, "I am afraid to eat of this fig. I know not what may come over me from it."

4 So Adam cried, and stood praying before God, saying, "Satisfy my hunger, without my having to eat this fig; for after I have eaten it, what will it profit me? And what shall I desire and ask of you, O God, when it is gone?"

5 And he said again, "I am afraid to eat of it; for I know not what will befall me through it."

Chapter XL - The first Human hunger.

1 Then the Word of God came to Adam, and said to him, "O Adam, why didn't you have this dread, or this fasting, or this care before now? And why didn't you have this fear before you transgressed?"

2 But when you came to live in this strange land, your animal body could not survive on earth without earthly food, to strengthen it and to restore its powers."

3 And God withdrew His Word for Adam.

Chapter XLI - The first Human thirst.

1 Then Adam took the fig, and laid it on the golden rods. Eve also took her fig, and put it on the incense.

2 And the weight of each fig was that of a water-melon; for the fruit of the garden was much larger than the fruit of this land*.

3 But Adam and Eve remained standing and fasting the whole of that night, until the morning dawned.

4 When the sun rose they were still praying, but after they had finished praying, Adam said to Eve:—

5 "O Eve, come, let us go to the border of the garden looking south; to the place from where the river flows, and is parted into four heads. There we will pray to God, and ask Him to give us some of the Water of Life to drink.

6 For God has not fed us with the Tree of Life, in order that we may not live. Therefore, we will ask him to give us some of the Water of Life, and to quench our thirst with it, rather than with a drink of water of this land."

7 When Eve heard these words from Adam, she agreed; and they both got up and came to the southern border of the garden, at the edge of the river of water a short distance from the garden.

8 And they stood and prayed before the Lord, and asked Him to look at them this once, to forgive them, and to grant them their request.

9 After this prayer from both of them, Adam began to pray with his voice before God, and said;—

10 "O Lord, when I was in the garden and saw the water that flowed from under the Tree of Life, my heart did not desire, neither did my body require to drink of it; neither did I know thirst, for I was living; and above that which I am now.

11 So that in order to live I did not require any Food of Life, neither did I drink of the Water of Life.

12 But now, O God, I am dead; my flesh is parched with thirst. Give me of the Water of Life that I may drink of it and live.

13 Of Your mercy, O God, save me from these plagues and trials, and bring me into another land different from this, if You will not let me live in Your garden."

* This is substantiated by Genesis 3:7 whereby the leaves of the fig tree were large enough that Adam and Eve could fashion garments from them.

Chapter XLII - A promise of the Water of Life. The third prophecy of the coming of Christ.

1 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said to him:—

2 "O Adam, as to what you said, 'Bring me into a land where there is rest,' it is not another land than this, but it is the kingdom of heaven where alone there is rest.

3 But you can not make your entrance into it at present; but only after your judgment is past and fulfilled.

4 Then will I make you go up into the kingdom of heaven, you and your righteous descendants; and I will give you and them the rest you ask for at present.

5 And if you said, 'Give me of the Water of Life that I may drink and live'—it cannot be this day, but on the day that I shall descend into hell, and break the gates of brass, and bruise in pieces the kingdoms of iron.

6 Then will I in mercy save your soul and the souls of the righteous, to give them rest in My garden. And that shall be when the end of the world is come.

7 And, again, in regards to the Water of Life you seek, it will not be granted you this day; but on the day that I shall shed My blood on your head* in the land of Golgotha**.

8 For My blood shall be the Water of Life to you at that time, and not to just you alone, but to all your descendants who shall believe in Me***; that it be to them for rest forever."

9 The Lord said again to Adam, "O Adam, when you were in the garden, these trials did not come to you.

10 But since you transgressed My commandment, all these sufferings have come over you.

11 Now, also, does your flesh require food and drink; drink then of that water that flows by you on the face of the earth.

12 Then God withdrew His Word from Adam.

13 And Adam and Eve worshipped the Lord, and returned from the river of water to the cave. It was noon-day; and when they drew near to the cave, they saw a large fire by it.

* This phrase indicates that the bleeding will take place in an elevated position above the populace. This is believed to be a reference to the cross whereby Christ bled profusely above the people below.

** Golgotha (goal-goth-uh) was the hill outside the walls of Jerusalem where Jesus was crucified. Its exact location is not precisely known, but the Church of the Holy Sepulcher is believed to have been constructed on this hill.

*** Reference: John 6:25 and 7:38

Chapter XLIII - The Devil attempts arson.

1 Then Adam and Eve were afraid, and stood still. And Adam said to Eve, "What is that fire by our cave? We have done nothing in it to cause this fire.

2 We neither have bread to bake therein, nor broth to cook there. As to this fire, we have never known anything like it, neither do we know what to call it.

3 But ever since God sent the cherub with a sword of fire that flashed and lightened in his hand, from fear of which we fell down and were like corpses, have we not seen the like.

4 But now, O Eve, behold, this is the same fire that was in the cherub's hand, which God has sent to keep the cave in which we live.

5 O Eve, it is because God is angry with us, and will drive us from it.

6 O Eve, we have again transgressed His commandment in that cave, so that He had sent this fire to burn around it, and to prevent us from going into it.

7 If this be really so, O Eve, where shall we live? And where shall we flee from before the face of the Lord? Since, in regards to the garden, He will not let us live in it, and He has deprived us of the good things thereof; but He has placed us in this cave, in which we have borne darkness, trials and hardships, until at last we have found comfort therein.

8 But now that He has brought us out into another land, who knows what may happen in it? And who knows but that the darkness of that land may be far greater than the darkness of this land?

9 Who knows what may happen in that land by day or by night? And who knows whether it will be far or near, O Eve? Where it will please God to put us, may be far from the garden, O Eve? Or where God will prevent us from beholding Him, because we have transgressed His commandment, and because we have made requests of Him at all times?

10 O Eve, if God will bring us into a strange land other than this, in which we find consolation, it must be to put our souls to death, and blot out our name from the face of the earth.

11 O Eve, if we are further alienated from the garden and from God, where shall we find Him again, and ask Him to give us gold, incense, myrrh, and some fruit of the fig-tree?

12 Where shall we find Him, to comfort us a second time? Where shall we find Him, that He may think of us, as regards the covenant He has made on our behalf?"

13 Then Adam said no more. And they kept looking, He and Eve, towards the cave, and at the fire that flared up around it.

14 But that fire was from Satan. For he had gathered trees and dry grasses, and had carried and brought them to the cave, and had set fire to them, in order to consume the cave and what was in it.

15 So that Adam and Eve should be left in sorrow, and he should cut off their trust in God, and make them deny Him.

16 But by the mercy of God he could not burn the cave, for God sent His angel around the cave to guard it from such a fire, until it went out.

17 And this fire lasted from noon-day until the break of day. That was the forty-fifth day.

Chapter XLIV - The power of fire over man.

1 Yet Adam and Eve were standing and looking at the fire, and unable to come near the cave from their dread of the fire.

2 And Satan kept on bringing trees and throwing them into the fire, until the flames of the fire rose up on high, and covered the whole cave, thinking, as he did in his own mind, to consume the cave with much fire. But the angel of the Lord was guarding it.

3 And yet he could not curse Satan, nor injure him by word, because he had no authority over him, neither did he take to doing so with words from his mouth.

4 Therefore the angel tolerated him, without saying one bad word, until the Word of God came who said to Satan, "Go away from here; once before you deceived My servants, and this time you seek to destroy them.

5 Were it not for My mercy I would have destroyed you and your hosts from off the earth. But I have had patience with you, until the end of the world."

6 Then Satan fled from before the Lord. But the fire went on burning around the cave like a coal-fire the whole day; which was the forty-sixth day Adam and Eve had spent since they came out of the garden.

7 And when Adam and Eve saw that the heat of the fire had somewhat cooled down, they began to walk towards the cave to get into it as they usually did; but they could not, by reason of the heat of the fire.

8 Then they both began crying because of the fire that separated them from the cave, and that came towards them, burning. And they were afraid.

9 Then Adam said to Eve, "See this fire of which we have a portion in us: which formerly yielded to us, but no longer does so, now that we have transgressed the limit of creation, and changed our condition, and our nature is altered. But the fire is not changed in its nature, nor altered from its creation. Therefore it now has power over us; and when we come near it, it scorches our flesh."

1 Then Adam rose and prayed to God, saying, "See, this fire has separated us from the cave in which You have commanded us to live; but now, behold, we cannot go into it."

2 Then God heard Adam, and sent him His Word, that said:—

3 "O Adam, see this fire! How different the flame and heat thereof are from the garden of delights and the good things in it!

4 When you were under My control, all creatures yielded to you; but after you have transgressed My commandment, they all rise over you."

5 God said again to him, "See, O Adam, how Satan has exalted you! He has deprived you of the Godhead, and of an exalted state like Me, and has not kept his word to you; but has, after all, become your enemy. He is the one who made this fire in which he meant to burn you and Eve.

6 Why, O Adam, has he not kept his agreement with you, not even one day; but has deprived you of the glory that was on you—when you yielded to his command?

7 Do you think, Adam, that he loved you when he made this agreement with you? Or that he loved you and wished to raise you on high?

8 But no, Adam, he did not do all that out of love to you; but he wished to make you come out of light into darkness; and from an exalted state to degradation; from glory to abasement; from joy to sorrow; and from rest to fasting and fainting."

9 God also said to Adam, "See this fire kindled by Satan around your cave; see this wonder that surrounds

you; and know that it will encompass about both you and your descendants, when you obey his command; that he will plague you with fire; and that you will go down into hell after you are dead.

10 Then you will see the burning of his fire, that will be burning around you and likewise your descendants. You will not be delivered from it until My coming; just like you cannot go into your cave right now because of the great fire around it; not until My Word comes and makes a way for you on the day My covenant is fulfilled.

11 There is no way for you at present to come from this life to rest, not until My Word comes, who is My Word. Then He will make a way for you, and you shall have rest." Then God called with His Word to the fire that burned around the cave, that it split itself in half, until Adam had gone through it. Then the fire parted itself by God's order, and a way was made for Adam*.

12 And God withdrew His Word from Adam.

* Reference: Exodus 14:21,22 and Joshua 3:15-17

Chapter XLVI - "How many times have I delivered you out of his hand . . ."

1 Then Adam and Eve began again to come into the cave. And when they came to the way between the fire, Satan blew into the fire like a whirlwind, and caused the burning coal-fire to cover Adam and Eve; so

that their bodies were singed; and the coal-fire scorched them*.

2 And from the burning of the fire Adam and Eve screamed, and said, "O Lord, save us! Leave us not to be consumed and plagued by this burning fire; neither require us for having transgressed Your commandment."

3 Then God looked at their bodies, on which Satan had caused fire to burn, and God sent His angel that stayed the burning fire. But the wounds remained on their bodies.

4 And God said to Adam, "See Satan's love for you, who pretended to give you the Godhead and greatness; and, behold, he burns you with fire, and seeks to destroy you from off the earth.

5 Then look at Me, O Adam; I created you, and how many times have I delivered you out of his hand? If not, wouldn't he have destroyed you?"

6 God said again to Eve, "What is that he promised you in the garden, saying, 'As soon as you eat from the tree, your eyes will be opened, and you shall become like gods, knowing good and evil.' But look! He has burnt your bodies with fire, and has made you taste the taste of fire, for the taste of the garden; and has made you see the burning of fire, and the evil of it, and the power it has over you.

7 Your eyes have seen the good he has taken from you, and in truth he has opened your eyes; and you have seen the garden in which you were with Me, and you have also seen the evil that has come over you from Satan. But as to the Godhead he cannot give it to you, neither fulfil his speech to you. No, he was bitter against you and your descendants, that will come after you."

8 And God withdrew His Word from them.

* At this time, the garments that the Lord had given them in Genesis 3:21 were burned off so that Adam and Eve were again naked. Reference chapter L whereby Adam and Eve seek garments with which to cover their nakedness..

Chapter XLVII - The Devil's own Scheming.

1 Then Adam and Eve came into the cave, yet trembling at the fire that had scorched their bodies. So Adam said to Eve:—

2 "Look, the fire has burnt our flesh in this world; but how will it be when we are dead, and Satan shall punish our souls? Is not our deliverance long and far off, unless God come, and in mercy to us fulfil His promise?"

3 Then Adam and Eve passed into the cave, blessing themselves for coming into it once more. For it was in their thoughts, that they never should enter it, when they saw the fire around it.

4 But as the sun was setting the fire was still burning and nearing Adam and Eve in the cave, so that they could not sleep in it. After the sun had set, they went out of it. This was the forty-seventh day after they came out of the garden.

5 Adam and Eve then came under the top of hill by the garden to sleep, as they were accustomed.

6 And they stood and prayed God to forgive them their sins, and then fell asleep under the summit of the

mountain.

7 But Satan, the hater of all good, thought within himself: "Whereas God has promised salvation to Adam by covenant, and that He would deliver him out of all the hardships that have befallen him—but has not promised me by covenant, and will not deliver me out of my hardships; no, since He has promised him that He should make him and his descendants live in the kingdom in which I once was—I will kill Adam.

8 The earth shall be rid of him; and shall be left to me alone; so that when he is dead he may not have any descendants left to inherit the kingdom that shall remain my own realm; God will then be wanting me, and He will restore it to me and my hosts."

Chapter XLVIII - Fifth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve.

1 After this Satan called to his hosts, all of which came to him, and said to him:—

2 "O, our lord, what will you do?"

3 He then said to them, "You know that this Adam, whom God created out of the dust, is the one who has taken our kingdom, come, let us gather together and kill him; or hurl a rock at him and at Eve, and crush them under it."

4 When Satan's hosts heard these words, they came to the part of the mountain where Adam and Eve were asleep.

5 Then Satan and his host took a huge rock, broad and even, and without blemish, thinking within himself, "If there should be a hole in the rock, when it fell on them, the hole in the rock might come over them, and so they would escape and not die."

6 He then said to his hosts, "Take up this stone, and throw it flat on them, so that it doesn't roll off them to somewhere else. And when you have hurled it, get away from there quickly."

7 And they did as he told them. But as the rock fell down from the mountain toward Adam and Eve, God commanded the rock to become a dome over them*, that did them no harm. And so it was by God's order.

8 But when the rock fell, the whole earth quaked with it**, and was shaken from the size of the rock.

9 And as it quaked and shook, Adam and Eve awoke from sleep, and found themselves under a dome of rock. But they didn't know what had happened; because when they fell asleep they were under the sky, and not under a dome; and when they saw it, they were afraid.

10 Then Adam said to Eve, "Wherefore has the mountain bent itself, and the earth quaked and shaken on our account? And why has this rock spread itself over us like a tent?

11 Does God intend to plague us and to shut us up in this prison? Or will He close the earth over us?

12 He is angry with us for our having come out of the cave, without His order; and for our having done so of our own accord, without consulting Him, when we left the cave and came to this place."

13 Then Eve said, "If, indeed, the earth quaked for our sake, and this rock forms a tent over us because of our transgression, then we will be sorry, O Adam, because our punishment will be long.

14 But get up and pray to God to let us know concerning this, and what this rock is that is spread over us

like a tent."

15 Then Adam stood up and prayed before the Lord, to let him know what had brought about this difficult time. And Adam stood praying like that until the morning.

* The word "dome" is used here but the text does not specifically suggest that the covering was round—only that it covered them on all sides, however a dome is the most likely shape that would have been able to withstand the impact with the ground. From verse 9 that says "when they saw it" and verse 11 that says "shut us up in this prison", we can conclude that the dome had holes in its sides that were big enough to let in light and air but were too small to allow Adam and Eve to escape. Another conclusion would be that the holes were large but too high up for Adam and Eve to reach, however the former is more likely.

** In verse 7 of the next chapter (XLIX), God tells Adam and Eve that the ground was also lowered under them—"I commanded ... the rock under you to lower itself".

Chapter XLIX - The first prophecy of the Resurrection.

1 Then the Word of God came and said:—

2 "O Adam, who counselled you, when you came out of the cave, to come to this place?"

3 And Adam said to God, "O Lord, we came to this place because of the heat of the fire, that came over us inside the cave."

4 Then the Lord God said to Adam, "O Adam, you dread the heat of fire for one night, but how will it be when you live in hell?

5 Yet, O Adam, don't be afraid, and don't believe that I have placed this dome of rock over you to plague you with it.

6 It came from Satan, who had promised you the Godhead and majesty. It is he who threw down this rock to kill you under it, and Eve with you, and thus to prevent you from living on the earth.

7 But, in mercy for you, just as that rock was falling down on you, I commanded it to form an dome over you; and the rock under you to lower itself.

8 And this sign, O Adam, will happen to Me at My coming on earth: Satan will raise the people of the Jews to put Me to death; and they will lay Me in a rock, and seal a large stone over Me, and I shall remain within that rock three days and three nights.

9 But on the third day I shall rise again, and it shall be salvation to you, O Adam, and to your descendants, to believe in Me. But, O Adam, I will not bring you from under this rock until three days and three nights have passed."

10 And God withdrew His Word from Adam.

11 But Adam and Eve lived under the rock three days and three nights, as God had told them.

12 And God did so to them because they had left their cave and had come to this same place without God's order.

13 But, after three days and three nights, God created an opening in the dome of rock and allowed them to

get out from under it. Their flesh was dried up, and their eyes and hearts were troubled from crying and sorrow.

Chapter L - Adam and Eve seek to cover their nakedness.

1 Then Adam and Eve went forth and came into the Cave of Treasures, and they stood praying in it the whole of that day, until the evening.

2 And this took place at the end of the fifty days after they had left the garden.

3 But Adam and Eve rose again and prayed to God in the cave the whole of that night, and begged for mercy from Him.

4 And when the day dawned, Adam said to Eve, "Come! Let us go and do some work for our bodies."

5 So they went out of the cave, and came to the northern border of the garden, and they looked for something to cover their bodies with*. But they found nothing, and knew not how to do the work. Yet their bodies were stained, and they were speechless from cold and heat.

6 Then Adam stood and asked God to show him something with which to cover their bodies.

7 Then came the Word of God and said to him, "O Adam, take Eve and come to the seashore where you fasted before. There you will find skins of sheep that were left after lions ate the carcasses. Take them and

make garments for yourselves, and clothe yourselves with them.

* Chapter XLVI, verse 1, says "Satan blew into the fire ... so that their bodies were singed". At this time, the garments that the Lord had given them in Genesis 3:21 were burned off so that Adam and Eve were again naked.

Chapter LI - "What is his beauty that you should have followed him?"

1 When Adam heard these words from God, he took Eve and went from the northern end of the garden to the south of it, by the river of water where they once fasted.

2 But as they were going on their way, and before they got there, Satan, the wicked one, had heard the Word of God communing with Adam respecting his covering.

3 It grieved him, and he hastened to the place where the sheep-skins were, with the intention of taking them and throwing them into the sea, or of burning them with fire, so that Adam and Eve would not find them.

4 But as he was about to take them, the Word of God came from heaven, and bound him by the side of those skins until Adam and Eve came near him. But as they got closer to him they were afraid of him, and of his hideous look.

5 Then came the Word of God to Adam and Eve, and said to them, "This is he who was hidden in the serpent, and who deceived you, and stripped you of the garment of light and glory in which you were.

6 This is he who promised you majesty and divinity. Where, then, is the beauty that was on him? Where is his divinity? Where is his light? Where is the glory that rested on him?

7 Now his figure is hideous; he is become abominable among angels; and he has come to be called Satan.

8 O Adam, he wished to take from you this earthly garment of sheep-skins, and to destroy it, and not let you be covered with it.

9 What, then, is his beauty that you should have followed him? And what have you gained by obeying him? See his evil works and then look at Me; at Me, your Creator, and at the good deeds I do you.

10 See, I bound him until you came and saw him and beheld his weakness, that no power is left with him."

11 And God released him from his bonds.

Chapter LII - Adam and Eve sew the first shirt.

1 After this Adam and Eve said no more, but cried before God on account of their creation, and of their

bodies that required an earthly covering.

2 Then Adam said to Eve, "O Eve, this is the skin of beasts with which we shall be covered, but when we put it on, behold, we shall be wearing a token of death on our bodies. Just as the owners of these skins have died and have wasted away, so also shall we die and pass away."

3 Then Adam and Eve took the skins, and went back to the Cave of Treasures; and when in it, they stood and prayed as they were accustomed.

4 And they thought how they could make garments of those skins; for they had no skill for it.

5 Then God sent to them His angel to show them how to work it out. And the angel said to Adam, "Go forth, and bring some palm-thorns." Then Adam went out, and brought some, as the angel had commanded him.

6 Then the angel began before them to work out the skins, after the manner of one who prepares a shirt. And he took the thorns and stuck them into the skins, before their eyes.

7 Then the angel again stood up and prayed God that the thorns in those skins should be hidden, so as to be, as it were, sewn with one thread.

8 And so it was, by God's order; they became garments for Adam and Eve, and He clothed them therewith.

9 From that time the nakedness of their bodies was covered from the sight of each other's eyes.

10 And this happened at the end of the fifty-first day.

11 Then when Adam's and Eve's bodies were covered, they stood and prayed, and sought mercy of the Lord, and forgiveness, and gave Him thanks for that He had had mercy on them, and had covered their

nakedness. And they ceased not from prayer the whole of that night.

12 Then when the morning dawned at the rising of the sun, they said their prayers after their custom; and then went out of the cave.

13 And Adam said to Eve, "Since we don't know what there is to the west of this cave, let us go out and see it today." Then they came forth and went toward the western border.

Chapter LIII - The prophecy of the Western Lands and of the great flood.

1 They were not very far from the cave, when Satan came towards them, and hid himself between them and the cave, under the form of two ravenous lions three days without food, that came towards Adam and Eve, as if to break them in pieces and devour them.

2 Then Adam and Eve cried, and prayed God to deliver them from their paws.

3 Then the Word of God came to them, and drove away the lions from them.

4 And God said to Adam, "O Adam, what do you seek on the western border? And why have you left of thine own accord the eastern border, in which was your living place?"

5 Now then, turn back to your cave, and remain in it, so that Satan won't deceive you or work his purpose over you.

6 For in this western border, O Adam, there will go from you a descendant, that shall replenish it; and that will defile themselves with their sins, and with their yielding to the commands of Satan, and by following his works.

7 Therefore will I bring over them the waters of a flood, and overwhelm them all. But I will deliver what is left of the righteous among them; and I will bring them to a distant land, and the land in which you live now shall remain desolate and without one inhabitant in it.

8 After God had thus spoken to them, they went back to the Cave of Treasures. But their flesh was dried up, and they were weak from fasting and praying, and from the sorrow they felt at having trespassed against God.

Chapter LIV - Adam and Eve go exploring.

1 Then Adam and Eve stood up in the cave and prayed the whole of that night until the morning dawned. And when the sun was risen they both went out of the cave; their heads were wandering from heaviness of sorrow and they didn't know where they were going.

2 And they walked in that condition to the southern border of the garden. And they began to go up that border until they came to the eastern border beyond which there was no more land.

3 And the cherub who guarded the garden was standing at the western gate, and guarding it against Adam and Eve, lest they should suddenly come into the garden. And the cherub turned around, as if to put them

to death; according to the commandment God had given him.

4 When Adam and Eve came to the eastern border of the garden—thinking in their hearts that the cherub was not watching—as they were standing by the gate as if wishing to go in, suddenly came the cherub with a flashing sword of fire in his hand; and when he saw them, he went forth to kill them. For he was afraid that God would destroy him if they went into the garden without His order.

5 And the sword of the cherub seemed to shoot flames a distance away from it. But when he raised it over Adam and Eve, the flame of the sword did not flash forth.

6 Therefore the cherub thought that God was favorable to them, and was bringing them back into the garden. And the cherub stood wondering.

7 He could not go up to Heaven to determine God's order regarding their getting into the garden; he therefore continued to stand by them, unable as he was to part from them; for he was afraid that if they should enter the garden without permission, God would destroy him.

8 When Adam and Eve saw the cherub coming towards them with a flaming sword of fire in his hand, they fell on their faces from fear, and were as dead.

9 At that time the heavens and the earth shook; and another cherubim came down from heaven to the cherub who guarded the garden, and saw him amazed and silent.

10 Then, again, other angels came down close to the place where Adam and Eve were. They were divided between joy and sorrow.

11 They were glad, because they thought that God was favorable to Adam, and wished him to return to the garden; and wished to restore him to the gladness he once enjoyed.

12 But they sorrowed over Adam, because he was fallen like a dead man, he and Eve; and they said in their thoughts, "Adam has not died in this place; but God has put him to death, for his having come to this place, and wishing to get into the garden without His permission."

Chapter LV - The Conflict between God and Satan.

1 Then came the Word of God to Adam and Eve, and raised them from their dead state, saying to them, "Why did you come up here? Do you intend to go into the garden, from which I brought you out? It cannot be today; but only when the covenant I have made with you is fulfilled."

2 Then Adam, when he heard the Word of God, and the fluttering of the angels whom he did not see, but only heard the sound of them with his ears, he and Eve cried, and said to the angels:—

3 "O Spirits, who wait on God, look at me, and at my being unable to see you! For when I was in my former bright nature, then I could see you. I sang praises as you do; and my heart was far above you.

4 But now, that I have transgressed, that bright nature is gone from me, and I am come to this miserable state. And now I have come to this, that I cannot see you, and you do not serve me like you used to do. For I have become animal flesh.

5 Yet now, O angels of God, ask God with me, to restore me to that wherein I was formerly; to rescue me from this misery, and to remove from me the sentence of death He passed on me, for having trespassed against Him."

6 Then, when the angels heard these words, they all grieved over him; and cursed Satan who had misled Adam, until he came from the garden to misery; from life to death; from peace to trouble; and from gladness to a strange land.

7 Then the angels said to Adam, "You obeyed Satan, and ignored the Word of God who created you; and you believed that Satan would fulfil all he had promised you.

8 But now, O Adam, we will make known to you, what came over us through him, before his fall from heaven.

9 He gathered together his hosts, and deceived them, promising to give them a great kingdom, a divine nature; and other promises he made them.

10 His hosts believed that his word was true, so they yielded to him, and renounced the glory of God.

11 He then sent for us—according to the orders in which we were—to come under his command, and to accept his vain promise. But we would not, and we did not take his advice.

12 Then after he had fought with God, and had dealt forwardly with Him, he gathered together his hosts, and made war with us. And if it had not been for God's strength that was with us, we could not have prevailed against him to hurl him from heaven.

13 But when he fell from among us, there was great joy in heaven, because of his going down from us. For if he had remained in heaven, nothing, not even one angel would have remained in it.

14 But God in His mercy, drove him from among us to this dark earth; for he had become darkness itself and a worker of unrighteousness.

15 And he has continued, O Adam, to make war against you, until he tricked you and made you come out of the garden, to this strange land, where all these trials have come to you. And death, which God brought to him, he has also brought to you, O Adam, because you obeyed him, and trespassed against God."

16 Then all the angels rejoiced and praised God, and asked Him not to destroy Adam this time, for his having sought to enter the garden; but to bear with him until the fulfillment of the promise; and to help him in this world until he was free from Satan's hand.

Chapter LVI - A chapter of divine comfort.

1 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said to him:—

2 "O Adam, look at that garden of joy and at this earth of toil, and behold the garden is full of angels, but look at yourself alone on this earth with Satan whom you obeyed.

3 Yet, if you had submitted, and been obedient to Me, and had kept My Word, you would be with My angels in My garden.

4 But when you transgressed and obeyed Satan, you became his guests among his angels, that are full of wickedness; and you came to this earth, that brings forth to you thorns and thistles.

5 O Adam, ask him who deceived you, to give you the divine nature he promised you, or to make you a garden as I had made for you; or to fill you with that same bright nature with which I had filled you.

6 Ask him to make you a body like the one I made you, or to give you a day of rest as I gave you; or to create within you a reasonable soul, as I created for you; or to take you from here to some other earth than this one which I gave you. But, O Adam, he will not fulfil even one of the things he told you.

7 Acknowledge, then, My favor towards you, and My mercy on you, My creature; that I have not avenged you for your transgression against Me, but in My pity for you I have promised you that at the end of the great five and a half days I will come and save you."

8 Then God said again to Adam and Eve, "Get up, go down from here, before the cherub with a sword of fire in his hand destroys you."

9 But Adam's heart was comforted by God's words to him, and he worshipped before Him.

10 And God commanded His angels to escort Adam and Eve to the cave with joy, instead of the fear that had come over them.

11 Then the angels took up Adam and Eve, and brought them down from the mountain by the garden, with songs and psalms, until they arrived at the cave. There the angels began to comfort and to strengthen them, and then departed from them towards heaven, to their Creator, who had sent them.

12 But after the angels had departed from Adam and Eve, Satan came with shamefacedness, and stood at the entrance of the cave in which were Adam and Eve. He then called to Adam, and said, "O Adam, come, let me speak to you."

13 Then Adam came out of the cave, thinking he was one of God's angels that was come to give him some good counsel.

Chapter LVII - "Therefore I fell.... "

1 But when Adam came out and saw his hideous figure, he was afraid of him, and said to him, "Who are you?"

2 Then Satan answered and said to him, "It is I, who hid myself within the serpent, and who spoke to Eve, and who enticed her until she obeyed my command. I am he who sent her, using my deceitful speech, to deceive you, until you both ate of the fruit of the tree and abandoned the command of God."

3 But when Adam heard these words from him, he said to him, "Can you make me a garden as God made for me? Or can you clothe me in the same bright nature in which God had clothed me?"

4 Where is the divine nature you promised to give me? Where is that slick speech of yours that you had with us at first, when we were in the garden?"

5 Then Satan said to Adam, "Do you think that when I have promised one something that I would actually deliver it to him or fulfil my word? Of course not. For I myself have never even thought of obtaining what I promised.

6 Therefore I fell, and I made you fall by that for which I myself fell; and with you also, whosoever accepts my counsel, falls thereby.

7 But now, O Adam, because you fell you are under my rule, and I am king over you; because you have obeyed me and have transgressed against your God. Neither will there be any deliverance from my hands until the day promised you by your God."

8 Again he said, "Because we do not know the day agreed on with you by your God, nor the hour in which you shall be delivered, for that reason we will multiply war and murder on you and your descendants after you.

9 This is our will and our good pleasure, that we may not leave one of the sons of men to inherit our orders in heaven.

10 For as to our home, O Adam, it is in burning fire; and we will not stop our evil doing, no, not one day nor one hour. And I, O Adam, shall set you on fire when you come into the cave to live there."

11 When Adam heard these words he cried and mourned, and said to Eve, "Hear what he said; that he won't fulfil any of what he told you in the garden. Did he really then become king over us?

12 But we will ask God, who created us, to deliver us out of his hands."

Chapter LVIII - "About sunset on the 53rd day. . ."

1 Then Adam and Eve spread their hands before God, praying and begging Him to drive Satan away from them so that he can't harm them or force them to deny God.

2 Then God sent to them at once, His angel, who drove away Satan from them. This happened about sunset, on the fifty-third day after they had come out of the garden.

3 Then Adam and Eve went into the cave, and stood up and turned their faces to the ground, to pray to God.

4 But before they prayed Adam said to Eve, "Look, you have seen what temptations have befallen us in this land. Come, let us get up, and ask God to forgive us the sins we have committed; and we will not come out until the end of the day next to the fortieth. And if we die in here, He will save us."

5 Then Adam and Eve got up, and joined together in entreating God.

6 They continued praying like this in the cave; neither did they come out of it, by night or by day, until their prayers went up out of their mouths, like a flame of fire.

Chapter LIX - Eighth apparition of Satan of Satan to Adam and Eve.

1 But Satan, the hater of all good, did not allow them to finish their prayers. For he called to his hosts, and they came, all of them. Then he said to them, "Since Adam and Eve, whom we deceived, have agreed together to pray to God night and day, and to beg Him to deliver them, and since they will not come out of the cave until the end of the fortieth day.

2 And since they will continue their prayers as they have both agreed to do, that He will deliver them out of our hands, and restore them to their former state, see what we shall do to them." And his hosts said to him, "Power is thine, O our lord, to do what you list."

3 Then Satan, great in wickedness, took his hosts and came into the cave, in the thirtieth night of the forty days and one; and he beat Adam and Eve, until he left them dead.

4 Then came the Word of God to Adam and Eve, who raised them from their suffering, and God said to Adam, "Be strong, and be not afraid of him who has just come to you."

5 But Adam cried and said, "Where were you, O my God, that they should punish me with such blows, and that this suffering should come over us; over me and over Eve, Your handmaiden?"

6 Then God said to him, "O Adam, see, he is lord and master of all you have, he who said, he would give you divinity. Where is this love for you? And where is the gift he promised?"

7 Did it please him just once, O Adam, to come to you, comfort you, strengthen you, rejoice with you, or send his hosts to protect you; because you have obeyed him, and have yielded to his counsel; and have followed his commandment and transgressed Mine?"

8 Then Adam cried before the Lord, and said, "O Lord because I transgressed a little, You have severely punished me in return for it, I ask You to deliver me out of his hands; or else have pity on me, and take my soul out of my body now in this strange land."

9 Then God said to Adam, "If only there had been this sighing and praying before, before you transgressed! Then would you have rest from the trouble in which you are now."

10 But God had patience with Adam, and let him and Eve remain in the cave until they had fulfilled the forty days.

11 But as to Adam and Eve, their strength and flesh withered from fasting and praying, from hunger and thirst; for they had not tasted either food or drink since they left the garden; nor were the functions of their bodies yet settled; and they had no strength left to continue in prayer from hunger, until the end of

the next day to the fortieth. They were fallen down in the cave; yet what speech escaped from their mouths, was only in praises.

Chapter LX - The Devil appears like an old man. He offers "a place of rest."

1 Then on the eighty-ninth day, Satan came to the cave, clad in a garment of light, and girt about with a bright girdle.

2 In his hands was a staff of light, and he looked most awful; but his face was pleasant and his speech was sweet.

3 He thus transformed himself in order to deceive Adam and Eve, and to make them come out of the cave, before they had fulfilled the forty days.

4 For he said within himself, "Now that when they had fulfilled the forty days' fasting and praying, God would restore them to their former state; but if He did not do so, He would still be favorable to them; and even if He had not mercy on them, would He yet give them something from the garden to comfort them; as already twice before."

5 Then Satan drew near the cave in this fair appearance, and said:—

6 "O Adam, get up, stand up, you and Eve, and come along with me, to a good land; and don't be afraid. I am flesh and bones like you; and at first I was a creature that God created.

7 And it was so, that when He had created me, He placed me in a garden in the north, on the border of the world.

8 And He said to me, 'Stay here!' And I remained there according to His Word, neither did I transgress His commandment.

9 Then He made a slumber to come over me, and He brought you, O Adam, out of my side, but did not make you stay with me.

10 But God took you in His divine hand, and placed you in a garden to the eastward.

11 Then I worried about you, for that while God had taken you out of my side, He had not let you stay with me.

12 But God said to me: 'Do not worry about Adam, whom I brought out of your side; no harm will come to him.

13 For now I have brought out of his side a help-meet* for him; and I have given him joy by so doing.'"

14 Then Satan said again, "I did not know how it is you are in this cave, nor anything about this trial that has come over you—until God said to me, 'Behold, Adam has transgressed, he whom I had taken out of your side, and Eve also, whom I took out of his side; and I have driven them out of the garden; I have made them live in a land of sorrow and misery, because they transgressed against Me, and have obeyed Satan. And look, they are in suffering until this day, the eightieth.'

15 Then God said to me, 'Get up, go to them, and make them come to your place, and suffer not that Satan come near them, and afflict them. For they are now in great misery; and lie helpless from hunger.'

16 He further said to me, 'When you have taken them to yourself, give them to eat of the fruit of the Tree of Life, and give them to drink of the water of peace; and clothe them in a garment of light, and restore them to their former state of grace, and leave them not in misery, for they came from you. But grieve not over them, nor repent of that which has come over them.

17 But when I heard this, I was sorry; and my heart could not patiently bear it for your sake, O my child.

18 But, O Adam, when I heard the name of Satan, I was afraid, and I said within myself, I will not come out because he might trap me as he did my children, Adam and Eve.

19 And I said, 'O God, when I go to my children, Satan will meet me in the way, and war against me, as he did against them.'

20 Then God said to me, 'Fear not; when you find him, hit him with the staff that is in thine hand, and don't be afraid of him, for you are of old standing, and he shall not prevail against you.'

21 Then I said, 'O my Lord, I am old, and cannot go. Send Your angels to bring them.'

22 But God said to me, 'Angels, verily, are not like them; and they will not consent to come with them. But I have chosen you, because they are your offspring and are like you, and they will listen to what you say.'

23 God said further to me, 'If you don't have enough strength to walk, I will send a cloud to carry you and set you down at the entrance of their cave; then the cloud will return and leave you there.

24 And if they will come with you, I will send a cloud to carry you and them.'

25 Then He commanded a cloud, and it bear me up and brought me to you; and then went back.

26 And now, O my children, Adam and Eve, look at my old gray hair and at my feeble state, and at my

coming from that distant place. Come, come with me, to a place of rest."

27 Then he began to cry and to sob before Adam and Eve, and his tears poured on the ground like water.

28 And when Adam and Eve raised their eyes and saw his beard, and heard his sweet talk, their hearts softened towards him; they obeyed him, for they believed he was true.

29 And it seemed to them that they were really his offspring, when they saw that his face was like their own; and they trusted him.

* The existence of the two words helpmeet and helpmate, meaning exactly the same thing, is a comedy of errors. God's promise to Adam, as rendered in the King James version of the Bible, was to give him an help meet for him (that is, a helper fit for him). In the 17th century the two words help and meet in this passage were mistaken for one word, applying to Eve, and thus helpmeet came to mean a wife. Then in the 18th century, in a misguided attempt to make sense of the word, the spelling helpmate was introduced. Both errors are now beyond recall, and both spellings are acceptable.

Chapter LXI - They begin to follow Satan.

1 Then he took Adam and Eve by the hand, and began to bring them out of the cave.

2 But when they had come a little ways out of it, God knew that Satan had overcome them, and had brought them out before the forty days were ended, to take them to some distant place, and to destroy them.

3 Then the Word of the Lord God again came and cursed Satan, and drove him away from them.

4 And God began to speak to Adam and Eve, saying to them, "What made you come out of the cave, to this place?"

5 Then Adam said to God, "Did you create a man before us? For when we were in the cave there suddenly came to us a friendly old man who said to us, 'I am a messenger from God to you, to bring you back to some place of rest.'

6 And we believed, O God, that he was a messenger from you; and we came out with him; and knew not where we should go with him."

7 Then God said to Adam, "See, that is the father of evil arts, who brought you and Eve out of the Garden of Delights. And now, indeed, when he saw that you and Eve both joined together in fasting and praying, and that you came not out of the cave before the end of the forty days, he wished to make your purpose vain, to break your mutual bond; to cut off all hope from you, and to drive you to some place where he might destroy you.

8 Because he couldn't do anything to you unless he showed himself in the likeness of you.

9 Therefore he came to you with a face like your own, and began to give you tokens as if they were all true.

10 But because I am merciful and am favorable to you, I did not allow him to destroy you; instead I drove him away from you.

11 Now, therefore, O Adam, take Eve, and return to your cave, and remain in it until the morning after the fortieth day. And when you come out, go towards the eastern gate of the garden."

12 Then Adam and Eve worshipped God, and praised and blessed Him for the deliverance that had come to them from Him. And they returned towards the cave. This happened in the evening of the thirty-ninth day.

13 Then Adam and Eve stood up and with a fiery passion, prayed to God, to give them strength; for they had become weak because of hunger and thirst and prayer. But they watched the whole of that night praying, until morning.

14 Then Adam said to Eve, "Get up, let us go towards the eastern gate of the garden as God told us."

15 And they said their prayers as they were accustomed to do every day; and they left the cave to go near to the eastern gate of the garden.

16 Then Adam and Eve stood up and prayed, and appealed to God to strengthen them, and to send them something to satisfy their hunger.

17 But after they finished their prayers, they were too weak to move.

18 Then came the Word of God again, and said to them, "O Adam, get up, go and bring the two figs here."

19 Then Adam and Eve got up, and went until they came near to the cave.

Chapter LXII - Two fruit trees.

1 But Satan the wicked was envious, because of the consolation God had given them.

2 So he prevented them, and went into the cave and took the two figs, and buried them outside the cave, so that Adam and Eve should not find them. He also had in his thoughts to destroy them.

3 But by God's mercy, as soon as those two figs were in the ground, God defeated Satan's counsel regarding them; and made them into two fruit trees, that overshadowed the cave. For Satan had buried them on the eastern side of it.

4 Then when the two trees were grown, and were covered with fruit, Satan grieved and mourned, and said, "It would have been better to have left those figs where they were; for now, behold, they have become two fruit trees, whereof Adam will eat all the days of his life. Whereas I had in mind, when I buried them, to destroy them entirely, and to hide them forever.

5 But God has overturned my counsel; and would not that this sacred fruit should perish; and He has made plain my intention, and has defeated the counsel I had formed against His servants."

6 Then Satan went away ashamed because he hadn't thought his plans all the way through.

Chapter LXIII - The first joy of trees.

1 But Adam and Eve, as they got closer to the cave, saw two fig trees, covered with fruit, and overshadowing the cave.

2 Then Adam said to Eve, "It seems to me that we have gone the wrong way. When did these two trees grow here? It seems to me that the enemy wishes to lead us the wrong way. Do you suppose that there is another cave besides this one in the earth?"

3 Yet, O Eve, let us go into the cave, and find in it the two figs; for this is our cave, in which we were. But if we should not find the two figs in it, then it cannot be our cave."

4 They went then into the cave, and looked into the four corners of it, but found not the two figs.

5 And Adam cried and said to Eve, "Did we go to the wrong cave, then, O Eve? It seems to me these two fig trees are the two figs that were in the cave." And Eve said, "I, for my part, do not know."

6 Then Adam stood up and prayed and said, "O God, You commanded us to come back to the cave, to take the two figs, and then to return to you.

7 But now, we have not found them. O God, have you taken them, and sown these two trees, or have we gone astray in the earth; or has the enemy deceived us? If it be real, then, O God, reveal to us the secret of these two trees and of the two figs."

8 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said to him, "O Adam, when I sent you to fetch the figs, Satan went before you to the cave, took the figs, and buried them outside, eastward of the cave, thinking to destroy them; and not sowing them with good intent.

9 Not for his mere sake, then, have these trees grown up at once; but I had mercy on you and I commanded them to grow. And they grew to be two large trees, that you be overshadowed by their branches, and find rest; and that I made you see My power and My marvelous works.

10 And, also, to show you Satan's meanness, and his evil works, for ever since you came out of the garden, he has not ceased, no, not one day, from doing you some harm. But I have not given him power over you."

11 And God said, "From now on, O Adam, rejoice on account of the trees, you and Eve; and rest under them when you feel weary. But do not eat any of their fruit or come near them."

12 Then Adam cried, and said, "O God, will You again kill us, or will You drive us away from before Your face, and cut our life from off the face of the earth?

13 O God, I beg you, if You know that there be in these trees either death or some other evil, as at the first time, root them up from near our cave, and with them; and leave us to die of the heat, of hunger and of thirst.

14 For we know Your marvelous works, O God, that they are great, and that by Your power You can bring one thing out of another, without one's wish. For Your power can make rocks to become trees, and trees to become rocks."

Chapter LXIV - Adam and Eve partake of the first earthly food.

1 Then God looked at Adam and at his strength of mind, at his endurance of hunger and thirst, and of the heat. And He changed the two fig trees into two figs, as they were at first, and then said to Adam and to Eve, "Each of you may take one fig." And they took them, as the Lord commanded them.

2 And He said to them, "You must now go into the cave and eat the figs, and satisfy your hunger, or else you will die."

3 So, as God commanded them, they went into the cave about sunset. And Adam and Eve stood up and prayed during the setting sun.

4 Then they sat down to eat the figs; but they knew not how to eat them; for they were not accustomed to eat earthly food. They were afraid that if they ate, their stomach would be burdened and their flesh thickened, and their hearts would take to liking earthly food.

5 But while they were thus seated, God, out of pity for them, sent them His angel, so they wouldn't perish of hunger and thirst.

6 And the angel said to Adam and Eve, "God says to you that you do not have the strength that would be required to fast until death; eat, therefore, and strengthen your bodies; for you are now animal flesh and cannot subsist without food and drink."

7 Then Adam and Eve took the figs and began to eat of them. But God had put into them a mixture as of savory bread and blood.

8 Then the angel went from Adam and Eve, who ate of the figs until they had satisfied their hunger. Then they put aside what was left; but by the power of God, the figs became whole again, because God blessed them.

9 After this Adam and Eve got up, and prayed with a joyful heart and renewed strength, and praised and rejoiced abundantly the whole of that night. And this was the end of the eighty-third day.

Chapter LXV - Adam and Eve acquire digestive organs. Final hope of returning to the Garden is lost.

1 And when it was day, they got up and prayed, after their custom, and then went out of the cave.

2 But they became sick from the food they had eaten because they were not used to it, so they went about in the cave saying to each other:—

3 "What has our eating caused to happen to us, that we should be in such pain? We are in misery, we shall die! It would have been better for us to have died keeping our bodies pure than to have eaten and defiled them with food."

4 Then Adam said to Eve, "This pain did not come to us in the garden, neither did we eat such bad food there. Do you think, O Eve, that God will plague us through the food that is in us, or that our innards will come out; or that God means to kill us with this pain before He has fulfilled His promise to us?"

5 Then Adam besought the Lord and said, "O Lord, let us not perish through the food we have eaten. O Lord, don't punish us; but deal with us according to Your great mercy, and forsake us not until the day of the promise You have made us."

6 Then God looked at them, and then fitted them for eating food at once; as to this day; so that they should not perish.

7 Then Adam and Eve came back into the cave sorrowful and crying because of the alteration of their bodies. And they both knew from that hour that they were altered beings, that all hope of returning to the garden was now lost; and that they could not enter it.

8 For that now their bodies had strange functions; and all flesh that requires food and drink for its existence, cannot be in the garden.

9 Then Adam said to Eve, "Behold, our hope is now lost; and so is our trust to enter the garden. We no longer belong to the inhabitants of the garden; but from now on we are earthy and of the dust, and of the inhabitants of the earth. We shall not return to the garden, until the day in which God has promised to save us, and to bring us again into the garden, as He promised us."

10 Then they prayed to God that He would have mercy on them; after which, their mind was quieted, their hearts were broken, and their longing was cooled down; and they were like strangers on earth. That night Adam and Eve spent in the cave, where they slept heavily by reason of the food they had eaten.

Chapter LXVI - Adam does his first day's work.

1 When it was morning, the day after they had eaten food, Adam and Eve prayed in the cave, and Adam said to Eve, "Look, we asked for food of God, and He gave it. But now let us also ask Him to give us a drink of water."

2 Then they got up, and went to the bank of the stream of water, that was on the south border of the garden, in which they had before thrown themselves. And they stood on the bank, and prayed to God that

He would command them to drink of the water.

3 Then the Word of God came to Adam, and said to him, "O Adam, your body has become brutish, and requires water to drink. Take some and drink it, you and Eve, then give thanks and praise."

4 Adam and Eve then went down to the stream and drank from it, until their bodies felt refreshed. After having drunk, they praised God, and then returned to their cave, after their former custom. This happened at the end of eighty-three days.

5 Then on the eighty-fourth day, they took the two figs and hung them in the cave, together with the leaves thereof, to be to them a sign and a blessing from God. And they placed them there so that if their descendants came there, they would see the wonderful things God had done for them.

6 Then Adam and Eve again stood outside the cave, and asked God to show them some food with which they could nourish their bodies.

7 Then the Word of God came and said to him, "O Adam, go down to the westward of the cave until you come to a land of dark soil, and there you shall find food."

8 And Adam obeyed the Word of God, took Eve, and went down to a land of dark soil, and found there wheat* growing in the ear and ripe, and figs to eat; and Adam rejoiced over it.

9 Then the Word of God came again to Adam, and said to him, "Take some of this wheat and make yourselves some bread with it, to nourish your body therewith." And God gave Adam's heart wisdom, to work out the corn until it became bread.

10 Adam accomplished all that, until he grew very faint and weary. He then returned to the cave; rejoicing at what he had learned of what is done with wheat, until it is made into bread for one's use.

* In this book, the terms 'corn' and 'wheat' are used interchangeably. The reference is possibly used to indicate a type of ancient grain resembling Egyptian Corn also known as Durra. Durra is a wheat-like cereal grain frequently cultivated in dry regions such as Egypt.

Chapter LXVII - "Then Satan began to lead astray Adam and Eve...."

1 When Adam and Eve went down to the land of black mud and came near to the wheat God had showed them and saw that it was ripe and ready for reaping, they did not have a sickle to reap it with. So they readied themselves, and began to pull up the wheat by hand, until it was all done.

2 Then they heaped it into a pile; and, faint from heat and from thirst, they went under a shady tree, where the breeze fanned them to sleep.

3 But Satan saw what Adam and Eve had done. And he called his hosts, and said to them, "Since God has shown to Adam and Eve all about this wheat, wherewith to strengthen their bodies—and, look, they have come and made a big pile of it, and faint from the toil are now asleep—come, let us set fire to this heap of corn, and burn it, and let us take that bottle of water that is by them, and empty it out, so that they may find nothing to drink, and we kill them with hunger and thirst.

4 Then, when they wake up from their sleep, and seek to return to the cave, we will come to them in the way, and will lead them astray; so that they die of hunger and thirst; when they may, perhaps, deny God, and He destroy them. So shall we be rid of them."

5 Then Satan and his hosts set the wheat on fire and burned it up.

6 But from the heat of the flame Adam and Eve awoke from their sleep, and saw the wheat burning, and the bucket of water by them, poured out.

7 Then they cried and went back to the cave.

8 But as they were going up from below the mountain where they were, Satan and his hosts met them in the form of angels, praising God.

9 Then Satan said to Adam, "O Adam, why are you so pained with hunger and thirst? It seems to me that Satan has burnt up the wheat." And Adam said to him, "Yes."

10 Again Satan said to Adam, "Come back with us; we are angels of God. God sent us to you, to show you another field of corn, better than that; and beyond it is a fountain of good water, and many trees, where you shall live near it, and work the corn field to better purpose than that which Satan has consumed."

11 Adam thought that he was true, and that they were angels who talked with him; and he went back with them.

12 Then Satan began to lead astray Adam and Eve eight days, until they both fell down as if dead, from hunger, thirst, and faintness. Then he fled with his hosts, and left them.

the custom of worship.

1 Then God looked at Adam and Eve, and at what had come over them from Satan, and how he had made them perish.

2 God, therefore, sent His Word, and raised up Adam and Eve from their state of death.

3 Then, Adam, when he was raised, said, "O God, You have burnt and taken from us the corn You have given us, and You have emptied out the bucket of water. And You have sent Your angels, who have caused us to lose our way from the corn field. Will You make us perish? If this be from you, O God, then take away our souls; but punish us not."

4 Then God said to Adam, "I did not burn down the wheat, and I did not pour the water out of the bucket, and I did not send My angels to lead you astray.

5 But it is Satan, your master who did it; he to whom you have subjected yourself; my commandment being meanwhile set aside. He it is, who burnt down the corn, and poured out the water, and who has led you astray; and all the promises he has made you were just a trick, a deception, and a lie.

6 But now, O Adam, you shall acknowledge My good deeds done to you."

7 And God told His angels to take Adam and Eve, and to bear them up to the field of wheat, which they found as before, with the bucket full of water.

8 There they saw a tree, and found on it solid manna; and wondered at God's power. And the angels commanded them to eat of the manna when they were hungry.

9 And God admonished Satan with a curse, not to come again, and destroy the field of corn.

10 Then Adam and Eve took of the corn, and made of it an offering, and took it and offered it up on the mountain, the place where they had offered up their first offering of blood.

11 And they offered this offering again on the altar they had built at first. And they stood up and prayed, and besought the Lord saying, "Thus, O God, when we were in the garden, our praises went up to you, like this offering; and our innocence went up to you like incense. But now, O God, accept this offering from us, and don't turn us away, deprived of Your mercy."

12 Then God said to Adam and Eve, "Since you have made this offering and have offered it to Me, I shall make it My flesh, when I come down on earth to save you; and I shall cause it to be offered continually on an altar, for forgiveness and for mercy, for those who partake of it duly."

13 And God sent a bright fire over the offering of Adam and Eve, and filled it with brightness, grace, and light; and the Holy Ghost came down on that offering.

14 Then God commanded an angel to take fire tongs, like a spoon, and with it to take an offering and bring it to Adam and Eve. And the angel did so, as God had commanded him, and offered it to them.

15 And the souls of Adam and Eve were brightened, and their hearts were filled with joy and gladness and with the praises of God.

16 And God said to Adam, "This shall be to you a custom, to do so, when affliction and sorrow come over you. But your deliverance and your entrance in to the garden, shall not be until the days are fulfilled as agreed between you and Me; were it not so, I would, of My mercy and pity for you, bring you back to My garden and to My favor for the sake of the offering you have just made to My name."

17 Adam rejoiced at these words which he heard from God; and he and Eve worshipped before the altar, to which they bowed, and then went back to the Cave of Treasures.

18 And this took place at the end of the twelfth day after the eightieth day, from the time Adam and Eve came out of the garden.

19 And they stood up the whole night praying until morning; and then went out of the cave.

20 Then Adam said to Eve, with joy of heart, because of the offering they had made to God, and that had been accepted of Him, "Let us do this three times every week, on the fourth day Wednesday, on the preparation day Friday, and on the Sabbath Sunday, all the days of our life."

21 And as they agreed to these words between themselves, God was pleased with their thoughts, and with the resolution they had each taken with the other.

22 After this, came the Word of God to Adam, and said, "O Adam, you have determined beforehand the days in which sufferings shall come over Me, when I am made flesh; for they are the fourth Wednesday, and the preparation day Friday.

23 But as to the first day, I created in it all things, and I raised the heavens. And, again, through My rising again on this day, will I create joy, and raise them on high, who believe in Me; O Adam, offer this offering, all the days of your life."

24 Then God withdrew His Word from Adam.

25 But Adam continued to offer this offering thus, every week three times, until the end of seven weeks. And on the first day, which is the fiftieth, Adam made an offering as he was accustomed, and he and Eve took it and came to the altar before God, as He had taught them.

Chapter LXIX - Twelfth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve, while Adam was praying over the offering on the altar; when Satan beat him.

1 Then Satan, the hater of all good, envious of Adam and of his offering through which he found favor with God, hastened and took a sharp stone from among the sharp iron stones; appeared in the form of a man, and went and stood by Adam and Eve.

2 Adam was then offering on the altar, and had begun to pray, with his hands spread before God.

3 Then Satan hastened with the sharp iron stone he had with him, and with it pierced Adam on the right side, from which flowed blood and water, then Adam fell on the altar like a corpse. And Satan fled.

4 Then Eve came, and took Adam and placed him below the altar. And there she stayed, crying over him; while a stream of blood flowed from Adam's side over his offering.

5 But God looked at the death of Adam. He then sent His Word, and raised him up and said to him, "Fulfil your offering, for indeed, Adam, it is worth much, and there is no shortcoming in it."

6 God said further to Adam, "Thus will it also happen to Me, on the earth, when I shall be pierced and blood and water shall flow from My side and run over My body, which is the true offering; and which shall be offered on the altar as a perfect offering."

7 Then God commanded Adam to finish his offering, and when he had ended it he worshipped before God, and praised Him for the signs He had showed him.

8 And God healed Adam in one day, which is the end of the seven weeks; and that is the fiftieth day.

9 Then Adam and Eve returned from the mountain, and went into the Cave of Treasures, as they were used to do. This completed for Adam and Eve, one hundred and forty days since their coming out of the garden.

10 Then they both stood up that night and prayed to God. And when it was morning, they went out, and went down westward of the cave, to the place where their corn was, and there rested under the shadow of a tree, as they were accustomed.

11 But when there a multitude of beasts came all around them. It was Satan's doing, in his wickedness; in order to wage war against Adam through marriage.

Chapter LXX - Thirteenth apparition of Satan, to trick Adam into marrying Eve.

1 After this Satan, the hater of all good, took the form of an angel, and with him two others, so that they looked like the three angels who had brought to Adam gold, incense, and myrrh.

2 They passed before Adam and Eve while they were under the tree, and greeted Adam and Eve with fair words that were full of deceit.

3 But when Adam and Eve saw their pleasant expression, and heard their sweet speech, Adam rose, welcomed them, and brought them to Eve, and they remained all together; Adam's heart the while, being glad because he thought concerning them, that they were the same angels, who had brought him gold, incense, and myrrh.

4 Because, when they came to Adam the first time, there came over him from them, peace and joy, through their bringing him good tokens; so Adam thought that they had come a second time to give him other tokens for him to rejoice therewith. For he did not know it was Satan; therefore he received them with joy and consorted with them.

5 Then Satan, the tallest of them, said, "Rejoice, O Adam, and be glad. Look, God has sent us to you to tell you something."

6 And Adam said, "What is it?" Then Satan answered, "It is a simple thing, yet it is the Word of God, will you accept it from us and do it? But if you will not accept it, we will return to God, and tell Him that you would not receive His Word."

7 And Satan said again to Adam, "Don't be afraid and don't tremble; don't you know us?"

8 But Adam said, "I do not know you."

9 Then Satan said to him, "I am the angel that brought you gold, and took it to the cave; this other angel is the one that brought you incense; and that third angel, is the one who brought you myrrh when you were on top of the mountain, and who carried you to the cave.

10 But as to the other angels our fellows, who bare you to the cave, God has not sent them with us this time; for He said to us, 'You will be enough'."

11 So when Adam heard these words he believed them, and said to these angels, "Speak the Word of God, that I may receive it."

12 And Satan said to him, "Swear, and promise me that you will receive it."

13 Then Adam said, "I do not know how to swear and promise."

14 And Satan said to him, "Hold out your hand, and put it inside my hand."

15 Then Adam held out his hand, and put it into Satan's hand; when Satan said to him, "Say, now—So true as God is living, rational, and speaking, who raised the stars in heaven, and established the dry ground on the waters, and has created me out of the four elements*, and out of the dust of the earth—I will not break my promise, nor renounce my word."

16 And Adam swore thus.

17 Then Satan said to him, "Look, it is now some time since you came out of the garden, and you know neither wickedness nor evil. But now God says to you, to take Eve who came out of your side, and to marry her so that she will bear you children, to comfort you, and to drive from you trouble and sorrow; now this thing is not difficult, neither is there any scandal in it to you.

* See the previous footnote in chapter XXXIV regarding the 'four elements'.

Chapter LXXI - Adam is troubled by the thought of marrying Eve.

1 But when Adam heard these words from Satan, he sorrowed much, because of his oath and of his

promise, and said, "Shall I commit adultery with my flesh and my bones, and shall I sin against myself, for God to destroy me, and to blot me out from off the face of the earth?"

2 Since, when at first, I ate of the tree, He drove me out of the garden into this strange land, and deprived me of my bright nature, and brought death over me. If, then, I should do this, He will cut off my life from the earth, and He will cast me into hell, and will plague me there a long time.

3 But God never spoke the words that you have said; and you are not God's angels, and you weren't sent from Him. But you are devils that have come to me under the false appearance of angels. Away from me; you cursed of God!"

4 Then those devils fled from before Adam. And he and Eve got up, and returned to the Cave of Treasures, and went into it.

5 Then Adam said to Eve, "If you saw what I did, don't tell anyone; for I sinned against God in swearing by His great name, and I have placed my hand another time into that of Satan." Eve, then, held her peace, as Adam told her.

6 Then Adam got up, and spread his hands before God, beseeching and entreating Him with tears, to forgive him what he had done. And Adam remained thus standing and praying forty days and forty nights. He neither ate nor drank until he dropped down on the ground from hunger and thirst.

7 Then God sent His Word to Adam, who raised him up from where he lay, and said to him, "O Adam, why have you sworn by My name, and why have you made agreement with Satan another time?"

8 But Adam cried, and said, "O God, forgive me, for I did this unwittingly; believing they were God's angels."

9 And God forgave Adam, saying to him, "Beware of Satan."

10 And He withdrew His Word from Adam.

11 Then Adam's heart was comforted; and he took Eve, and they went out of the cave, to prepare some food for their bodies.

12 But from that day Adam struggled in his mind about his marrying Eve; afraid that if he was to do it, God would be angry with him.

13 Then Adam and Eve went to the river of water, and sat on the bank, as people do when they enjoy themselves.

14 But Satan was jealous of them; and planned to destroy them.

Chapter LXXII - Adam's heart is set on fire. Satan appears as beautiful maidens.

1 Then Satan, and ten from his hosts, transformed themselves into maidens, unlike any others in the whole world for grace.

2 They came up out of the river in presence of Adam and Eve, and they said among themselves, "Come, we will look at the faces of Adam and Eve, who are of the men on earth. How beautiful they are, and how different is their look from our own faces." Then they came to Adam and Eve, and greeted them; and stood wondering at them.

3 Adam and Eve looked at them also, and wondered at their beauty, and said, "Is there, then, under us, another world, with such beautiful creatures as these in it?"

4 And those maidens said to Adam and Eve, "Yes, indeed, we are an abundant creation."

5 Then Adam said to them, "But how do you multiply?"

6 And they answered him, "We have husbands who have married us, and we bear them children, who grow up, and who in their turn marry and are married, and also bear children; and thus we increase. And if so be, O Adam, you will not believe us, we will show you our husbands and our children."

7 Then they shouted over the river as if to call their husbands and their children, who came up from the river, men and children; and every man came to his wife, his children being with him.

8 But when Adam and Eve saw them, they stood dumb, and wondered at them.

9 Then they said to Adam and Eve, "See all our husbands and our children? You should marry Eve, as we have married our husbands, so that you will have children as we have." This was a device of Satan to deceive Adam.

10 Satan also thought within himself, "God at first commanded Adam concerning the fruit of the tree, saying to him, 'Eat not of it; else of death you shall die.' But Adam ate of it, and yet God did not kill him; He only decreed on him death, and plagues and trials, until the day he shall come out of his body.

11 Now, then, if I deceive him to do this thing, and to marry Eve without God's permission, God will kill him then."

12 Therefore Satan worked this apparition before Adam and Eve; because he sought to kill him, and to

make him disappear from off the face of the earth.

13 Meanwhile the fire of sin came over Adam, and he thought of committing sin. But he restrained himself, fearing that if he followed this advice of Satan, God would put him to death.

14 Then Adam and Eve got up, and prayed to God, while Satan and his hosts went down into the river, in presence of Adam and Eve; to let them see that they were going back to their own world.

15 Then Adam and Eve went back to the Cave of Treasures, as they usually did; about evening time.

16 And they both got up and prayed to God that night. Adam remained standing in prayer, yet not knowing how to pray, by reason of the thoughts in his heart regarding his marrying Eve; and he continued so until morning.

17 And when light came up, Adam said to Eve, "Get up, let us go below the mountain, where they brought us gold, and let us ask the Lord concerning this matter."

18 Then Eve said, "What is that matter, O Adam?"

19 And he answered her, "That I may request the Lord to inform me about marrying you; for I will not do it without His permission or else He will make us perish, you and me. For those devils have set my heart on fire, with thoughts of what they showed us, in their sinful apparitions.

20 Then Eve said to Adam, "Why need we go below the mountain? Let us rather stand up and pray in our cave to God, to let us know whether this counsel is good or not."

21 Then Adam rose up in prayer and said, "O God, you know that we transgressed against you, and from the moment we transgressed, we were stripped of our bright nature; and our body became brutish, requiring food and drink; and with animal desires.

22 Command us, O God, not to give way to them without Your permission, for fear that You will turn us into nothing. Because if you do not give us permission, we shall be overpowered, and follow that advice of Satan; and You will again make us perish.

23 If not, then take our souls from us; let us be rid of this animal lust. And if You give us no order respecting this thing, then sever Eve from me, and me from her; and place us each far away from the other.

24 Then again, O God, if You separate us from each other, the devils will deceive us with their apparitions that resemble us, and destroy our hearts, and defile our thoughts towards each other. Yet if it is not each of us towards the other, it will, at all events, be through their appearance when the devils come to us in our likeness." Here Adam ended his prayer.

Chapter LXXIII - The marriage of Adam and Eve.

1 Then God considered the words of Adam that they were true, and that he could long await His order, respecting the counsel of Satan.

2 And God approved Adam in what he had thought concerning this, and in the prayer he had offered in His presence; and the Word of God came to Adam and said to him, "O Adam, if only you had had this caution at first, before you came out of the garden into this land!"

3 After that, God sent His angel who had brought gold, and the angel who had brought incense, and the angel who had brought myrrh to Adam, that they should inform him respecting his marriage to Eve.

4 Then those angels said to Adam, "Take the gold and give it to Eve as a wedding gift, and promise to marry her; then give her some incense and myrrh as a present; and be you, you and she, one flesh."

5 Adam obeyed the angels, and took the gold and put it into Eve's bosom in her garment; and promised to marry her with his hand.

6 Then the angels commanded Adam and Eve to get up and pray forty days and forty nights; when that was done, then Adam was to have sexual intercourse with his wife; for then this would be an act pure and undefiled; so that he would have children who would multiply, and replenish the face of the earth.

7 Then both Adam and Eve received the words of the angels; and the angels departed from them.

8 Then Adam and Eve began to fast and pray, until the end of the forty days; and then they had sexual intercourse, as the angels had told them. And from the time Adam left the garden until he wedded Eve, were two hundred and twenty-three days, that is seven months and thirteen days.

9 Thus was Satan's war with Adam defeated.

Chapter LXXIV - The birth of Cain and Luluwa. Why they received those names.

1 And they lived on the earth working in order to keep their bodies in good health; and they continued so until the nine months of Eve's pregnancy were over, and the time drew near when she must give birth.

2 Then she said to Adam, "The signs placed in this cave since we left the garden indicate that this is a pure place and we will be praying in it again some time. It is not appropriate then, that I should give birth in it. Let us instead go to the sheltering rock cave that was formed by the command of God when Satan threw a big rock down on us in an attempt to kill us with it.

3 Adam then took Eve to that cave. When the time came for her to give birth, she strained a lot. Adam felt sorry, and he was very worried about her because she was close to death and the words of God to her were being fulfilled: "In suffering shall you bear a child, and in sorrow shall you bring forth a child."

4 But when Adam saw the distress in which Eve was, he got up and prayed to God, and said, "O Lord, look at me with the eye of Your mercy, and bring her out of her distress."

5 And God looked at His maid-servant Eve, and delivered her, and she gave birth to her first-born son, and with him a daughter.

6 The Adam rejoiced at Eve's deliverance, and also over the children she had borne him. And Adam ministered to Eve in the cave, until the end of eight days; when they named the son Cain, and the daughter Luluwa.

7 The meaning of Cain is "hater," because he hated his sister in their mother's womb; before they came out of it. Therefore Adam named him Cain.

8 But Luluwa means "beautiful," because she was more beautiful than her mother.

9 Then Adam and Eve waited until Cain and his sister were forty days old, when Adam said to Eve, "We will make an offering and offer it up in behalf of the children."

10 And Eve said, "We will make one offering for the first-born son and then later we shall make one for the daughter."

Chapter LXXV - The family revisits the Cave of Treasures. Birth of Abel and Akia.

1 Then Adam prepared an offering, and he and Eve offered it up for their children, and brought it to the altar they had built at first.

2 And Adam offered up the offering, and asked God to accept his offering.

3 Then God accepted Adam's offering, and sent a light from heaven that shown on the offering. Adam and his son drew near to the offering, but Eve and the daughter did not approach it.

4 Adam and his son were joyful as they came down from on the altar. Adam and Eve waited until the daughter was eighty days old, then Adam prepared an offering and took it to Eve and to the children. They went to the altar, where Adam offered it up, as he was accustomed, asking the Lord to accept his offering.

5 And the Lord accepted the offering of Adam and Eve. Then Adam, Eve, and the children, drew near together, and came down from the mountain, rejoicing.

6 But they returned not to the cave in which they were born; but came to the Cave of Treasures, in order that the children should go around in it, and be blessed with the tokens brought from the garden.

7 But after they had been blessed with these tokens, they went back to the cave in which they were born.

8 However, before Eve had offered up the offering, Adam had taken her, and had gone with her to the river of water, in which they threw themselves at first; and there they washed themselves. Adam washed his body and Eve hers also clean, after the suffering and distress that had come over them.

9 But Adam and Eve, after washing themselves in the river of water, returned every night to the Cave of Treasures, where they prayed and were blessed; and then went back to their cave, where their children were born.

10 Adam and Eve did this until the children had been weaned. After they were weaned, Adam made an offering for the souls of his children in addition to the three times every week he made an offering for them.

11 When the children were weaned, Eve again conceived, and when her pregnancy came to term, she gave birth to another son and daughter. They named the son Abel and the daughter Aklia.

12 Then at the end of forty days, Adam made an offering for the son, and at the end of eighty days he made another offering for the daughter, and treated them, as he had previously treated Cain and his sister Luluwa.

13 He brought them to the Cave of Treasures, where they received a blessing, and then returned to the cave where they were born. After these children were born, Eve stopped having children.

Chapter LXXVI - Cain becomes jealous of Abel because of his sisters.

1 And the children began to grow stronger and taller; but Cain was hard-hearted, and ruled over his younger brother.

2 Often when his father made an offering, Cain would remain behind and not go with them, to offer up.

3 But, as to Abel, he had a meek heart, and was obedient to his father and mother. He frequently moved them to make an offering, because he loved it. He prayed and fasted a lot.

4 Then came this sign to Abel. As he was coming into the Cave of Treasures, and saw the golden rods, the incense and the myrrh, he asked his parents, Adam and Eve, to tell him about them and asked, "Where did you get these from?"

5 Then Adam told him all that had befallen them. And Abel felt deeply about what his father told him.

6 Furthermore his father, Adam, told him of the works of God, and of the garden. After hearing that, Abel remained behind after his father left and stayed the whole of that night in the Cave of Treasures.

7 And that night, while he was praying, Satan appeared to him under the figure of a man, who said to him, "You have frequently moved your father into making offerings, fasting and praying, therefore I will kill you, and make you perish from this world."

8 But as for Abel, he prayed to God, and drove away Satan from him; and did not believe the words of the devil. Then when it was day, an angel of God appeared to him, who said to him, "Do not cut short either fasting, prayer, or offering up an offering to your God. For, look, the Lord had accepted your prayer. Be not afraid of the figure which appeared to you in the night, and who cursed you to death." And the angel departed from him.

9 Then when it was day, Abel came to Adam and Eve, and told them of the vision he had seen. When they heard it, they grieved much over it, but said nothing to him about it; they only comforted him.

10 But as to the hard-hearted Cain, Satan came to him by night, showed himself and said to him, "Since Adam and Eve love your brother Abel so much more than they love you, they wish to join him in marriage to your beautiful sister because they love him. However, they wish to join you in marriage to his ugly sister, because they hate you.

11 Now before they do that, I am telling you that you should kill your brother. That way your sister will be left for you, and his sister will be cast away."

12 And Satan departed from him. But the devil remained behind in Cain's heart, and frequently aspired to kill his brother.

Chapter LXXVII - Cain, 15 years old, and Abel 12 years old, grow apart.

1 But when Adam saw that the older brother hated the younger, he endeavored to soften their hearts, and said to Cain, "O my son, take of the fruits of your sowing and make an offering to God, so that He might forgive you for your wickedness and sin."

2 He said also to Abel, "Take some of your sowing and make an offering and bring it to God, so that He might forgive you for your wickedness and sin."

3 Then Abel obeyed his father's voice, took some of his sowing, and made a good offering, and said to his father, Adam, "Come with me and show me how to offer it up."

4 And they went, Adam and Eve with him, and they showed him how to offer up his gift on the altar. Then after that, they stood up and prayed that God would accept Abel's offering.

5 Then God looked at Abel and accepted his offering. And God was more pleased with Abel than with his offering, because of his good heart and pure body. There was no trace of guile in him.

6 Then they came down from the altar, and went to the cave in which they lived. But Abel, by reason of his joy at having made his offering, repeated it three times a week, after the example of his father Adam.

7 But as to Cain, he did not want to make an offering, but after his father became very angry, he offered up a gift once. He took the smallest of his sheep for an offering and when he offered it up, his eyes were on the lamb.

8 Therefore God did not accept his offering, because his heart was full of murderous thoughts.

9 And they all thus lived together in the cave in which Eve had brought forth, until Cain was fifteen years old, and Abel twelve years old.

Chapter LXXVIII - Jealousy overcomes Cain. He makes trouble in the family. How the first murder was planned.

1 Then Adam said to Eve, "Behold the children are grown up; we must think of finding wives for them."

2 Then Eve answered, "How can we do it?"

3 Then Adam said to her, "We will join Abel's sister in marriage to Cain, and Cain's sister to Abel.

4 The said Eve to Adam, "I do not like Cain because he is hard-hearted; but let them stay with us until we offer up to the Lord in their behalf."

5 And Adam said no more.

6 Meanwhile Satan came to Cain in the figure of a man of the field, and said to him, "Behold Adam and Eve have taken counsel together about the marriage of you two; and they have agreed to marry Abel's sister to you, and your sister to him.

7 But if it was not that I love you, I would not have told you this thing. Yet if you will take my advice, and obey me, I will bring to you on your wedding day beautiful robes, gold and silver in plenty, and my relations will attend you."

8 Then Cain said with joy, "Where are your relations?"

9 And Satan answered, "My relations are in a garden in the north, where I once meant to bring your father Adam; but he would not accept my offer.

10 But you, if you will receive my words and if you will come to me after your wedding, you shall rest from the misery in which you are; and you shall rest and be better off than your father Adam."

11 At these words of Satan Cain opened his ears, and leaned towards his speech.

12 And he did not remain in the field, but he went to Eve, his mother, and beat her, and cursed her, and said to her, "Why are you planning to take my sister to wed her to my brother? Am I dead?"

13 His mother, however, quieted him, and sent him to the field where he had been.

14 Then when Adam came, she told him of what Cain had done.

15 But Adam grieved and held his peace, and said not a word.

16 Then on the next morning Adam said to Cain his son, "Take of your sheep, young and good, and offer them up to your God; and I will speak to your brother, to make to his God an offering of corn."

17 They both obeyed their father Adam, and they took their offerings, and offered them up on the mountain by the altar.

18 But Cain behaved haughtily towards his brother, and shoved him from the altar, and would not let him offer up his gift on the altar; but he offered his own on it, with a proud heart, full of guile, and fraud.

19 But as for Abel, he set up stones that were near at hand, and on that, he offered up his gift with a heart humble and free from guile.

20 Cain was then standing by the altar on which he had offered up his gift; and he cried to God to accept his offering; but God did not accept it from him; neither did a divine fire come down to consume his offering.

21 But he remained standing over against the altar, out of humor and meanness, looking towards his brother Abel, to see if God would accept his offering or not.

22 And Abel prayed to God to accept his offering. Then a divine fire came down and consumed his

offering. And God smelled the sweet savor of his offering; because Abel loved Him and rejoice in Him.

23 And because God was well pleased with him, He sent him an angel of light in the figure of a man who had partaken of his offering, because He had smelled the sweet savor of his offering, and they comforted Abel and strengthened his heart.

24 But Cain was looking on all that took place at his brother's offering, and was angry because of it.

25 Then he opened his mouth and blasphemed God, because He had not accepted his offering.

26 But God said to cain, "Why do you look sad? Be righteous, that I may accept your offering. Not against Me have you murmured, but against yourself.

27 And God said this to Cain in rebuke, and because He abhorred him and his offering.

28 And Cain came down from the altar, his color changed and with a sad face, and came to his father and mother and told them all that had befallen him. And Adam grieved much because God had not accepted Cain's offering.

29 But Abel came down rejoicing, and with a gladsome heart, and told his father and mother how God had accepted his offering. And they rejoiced at it and kissed his face.

30 And Abel said to his father, "Because Cain shoved me from the altar, and would not allow me to offer my gift on it, I made an altar for myself and offered my gift on it."

31 But when Adam heard this he was very sorry, because it was the altar he had built at first, and on which he had offered his own gifts.

32 As to Cain, he was so resentful and so angry that he went into the field, where Satan came to him and

said to him, "Since your brother Abel has taken refuge with your father Adam, because you shoved him from the altar, they have kissed his face, and they rejoice over him, far more than over you."

33 When Cain heard these words of Satan, he was filled with rage; and he let no one know. But he was laying wait to kill his brother, until he brought him into the cave, and then said to him:—

34 "O brother, the country is so beautiful, and there are such beautiful and pleasurable trees in it, and charming to look at! But brother, you have never been one day in the field to take your pleasure in that place.

35 Today, O, my brother, I very much wish you would come with me into the field, to enjoy yourself and to bless our fields and our flocks, for you are righteous, and I love you much, O my brother! But you have alienated yourself from me."

36 Then Abel consented to go with his brother Cain into the field.

37 But before going out, Cain said to Abel, "Wait for me, until I fetch a staff, because of wild beasts."

38 Then Abel stood waiting in his innocence. But Cain, the forward, fetched a staff and went out.

39 And they began, Cain and his brother Abel, to walk in the way; Cain talking to him, and comforting him, to make him forget everything.

Chapter LXXIX - A wicked plan is carried to a tragic conclusion. Cain is frightened. "Am I my brother's keeper?" The seven punishments. Peace is shattered.

1 And so they went on, until they came to a lonely place, where there were no sheep; then Abel said to Cain, "Behold, my brother, we are tired from walking; for we see none of the trees, nor of the fruits, nor of the flourishing green plants, nor of the sheep, nor any one of the things of which you told me. Where are those sheep of thine you told me to bless?"

2 Then Cain said to him, "Come on, and you shall see many beautiful things very soon, but go before me, until I catch up to you."

3 Then went Abel forward, but Cain remained behind him.

4 And Abel was walking in his innocence, without guile; not believing his brother would kill him.

5 Then Cain, when he came up to him, comforted him with his talk, walking a little behind him; then he ran up to him and beat him with the staff, blow after blow, until he was stunned.

6 But when Abel fell down on the ground, seeing that his brother meant to kill him, he said to Cain, "O, my brother, have pity on me. By the breasts we have sucked, don't hit me! By the womb that bore us and that brought us into the world, don't beat me to death with that staff! If you will kill me, take one of these large stones and kill me outright."

7 Then Cain, the hard-hearted, and cruel murderer, took a large stone, and beat his brother's head with it, until his brains oozed out, and he wallowed in his blood, before him.

8 And Cain repented not of what he had done.

9 But the earth, when the blood of righteous Abel fell on it, trembled, as it drank his blood, and would

have destroyed Cain because of it.

10 And the blood of Abel cried mysteriously to God, to avenge him of his murderer.

11 Then Cain began at once to dig the ground wherein to lay his brother; for he was trembling from the fear that came over him, when he saw the earth tremble on his account.

12 He then cast his brother into the pit he made, and covered him with dust. But the ground would not receive him; but it threw him up at once.

13 Again Cain dug the ground and hid his brother in it; but again the ground threw him up on itself; until three times the ground thus threw up on itself the body of Abel.

14 The muddy ground threw him up the first time, because he was not the first creation; and it threw him up the second time and would not receive him, because he was righteous and good, and was killed without a cause; and the ground threw him up the third time and would not receive him, that there might remain before his brother a witness against him.

15 And so the earth mocked Cain, until the Word of God, came to him concerning his brother.

16 Then was God angry, and much displeased at Abel's death; and He thundered from heaven, and lightnings went before Him, and the Word of the Lord God came from heaven to Cain, and said to him, "Where is Abel your brother?"

17 Then Cain answered with a proud heart and a gruff voice, "How, O God? Am I my brother's keeper?"

18 Then God said to Cain, "Cursed be the earth that has drunk the blood of Abel your brother; and as for you, you will always be trembling and shaking; and this will be a mark on you so that whoever finds you, will kill you."

19 But Cain cried because God had said those words to him; and Cain said to Him, "O God, whosoever finds me shall kill me, and I shall be blotted out from the face of the earth."

20 Then God said to Cain, "Whoever finds you will not kill you;" because before this, God had been saying to Cain, "I shall put seven punishments on anyone that kills Cain." For as to the word of God to Cain, "Where is your brother?" God said it in mercy for him, to try and make him repent.

21 For if Cain had repented at that time, and had said, "O God, forgive me my sin, and the murder of my brother," God would then have forgiven him his sin.

22 And as to God saying to Cain, "Cursed be the ground that has drunk the blood of your brother." That also, was God's mercy on Cain. For God did not curse him, but He cursed the ground; although it was not the ground that had killed Abel, and committed a wicked sin.

23 For it was fitting that the curse should fall on the murderer; yet in mercy did God so manage His thoughts as that no one should know it, and turn away from Cain.

24 And He said to him, "Where is your brother?" To which he answered and said, "I know not." Then the Creator said to him, "Be trembling and quaking."

25 Then Cain trembled and became terrified; and through this sign did God make him an example before all the creation, as the murderer of his brother. Also did God bring trembling and terror over him, that he might see the peace in which he was at first, and see also the trembling and terror he endured at the last; so that he might humble himself before God, and repent of his sin, and seek the peace that he enjoyed at first.

26 And in the word of God that said, "I will put seven punishments on anyone who kills Cain," God was not seeking to kill Cain with the sword, but He sought to make him die of fasting, and praying and crying by hard rule, until the time that he was delivered from his sin.

27 And the seven punishments are the seven generations during which God awaited Cain for the murder of his brother.

28 But as to Cain, ever since he had killed his brother, he could find no rest in any place; but went back to Adam and Eve, trembling, terrified, and defiled with blood. . . .

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Artyom TER-MARKOSYAN VARDANYAN 

DIVINE PRESENCE: GAZING UPON THE ANGELS IN EARLY BYZANTINE ART

Maria LIDOVA

Angels form an essential presence in Byzantine visual culture. Their images adorned liturgical spaces and monastic cells, as well as the secular environment of the imperial court. Although, by nature, bodiless creatures, they nevertheless took on material form and a recognizable likeness when depicted in Christian art. The context of their appearance was polyvalent, and their roles could vary from that of assisting figure or secondary member of a composition to central protagonist and recipient of public worship.

Divine messengers appeared in great numbers on the walls of Byzantine churches, and on minor religious objects, magical amulets, textiles, and small pilgrimage tokens. Surviving examples point to the abundance of angelic representations which would have surrounded the Christian believer from very early on. Already in the third–fourth century, angels were active participants in biblical scenes, although initially deprived of their distinguishing wings.¹ Around the year 400, depictions of angels acquired a set of characteristics that would continue to define their representation for centuries to come. Scholars agree that the sixth century and, most-likely, the reign of Justinian I (527–565) was the period in which the cult of angels took on unprecedented importance, and numerous churches were built in their honor—that of archangel Michael in particular—all over the empire.²

1. G. BEREFELT, *A Study in the Winged Angel. The Origin of a Motif*, Stockholm 1968; M. BUS-SAGLI, Gli angeli e i venti: considerazioni sul simbolismo aereo delle ali angeliche, *AM* 5/2, 1991, pp. 107–26; T. MARTIN, The Development of Winged Angels in Early Christian Art, *ETF (art.)* 14, 2001, pp. 11–29.

2. R. JANIN, Les sanctuaires byzantins de saint Michel, *Échos d'Orient* 37, 1934, pp. 28–50; V. SAXER, Jalons pour servir à l'histoire du culte de l'archange saint Michel en Orient jusqu'à l'iconoclasme, in *Noscere sancta. Miscellanea in memoria di Agosto Amore OFM († 1982)*, I, *Storia della Chiesa, Archeologia, Arte*, Roma 1985, pp. 357–426; *The Archangel Michael in Africa. History, Cult and Persona*, ed. by I. S. Gilhus, A. Tsakos, and M. C. Wright, London – New York, NY 2019. This was in part connected to the belief in the healing powers of Saint Michael protecting the faithful at the time of the plague: J. HERRIN, *Byzantium: The Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire*, Princeton, NJ 2007, pp. 16–17.

Inventer les anges de l'Antiquité à Byzance: conception, représentation, perception.
éd. par D. LAURITZEN (Travaux et mémoires 25/2), Paris 2021.

A number of important studies, detailed encyclopedia entries and general overviews have examined the figure of the angel in Byzantium.³ The work of Glenn Peers offers an exemplary inquiry into the world of Byzantine angelic representations, yet, as this volume demonstrates, the topic remains open to debate and continues to offer various intriguing new angles and potential lines of inquiry.⁴ In the present contribution, I intend to discuss a series of visual contexts in which angels appeared, focusing primary on the pre-iconoclastic period and on certain typological roles assigned to heavenly beings in Byzantine material culture at a time when these roles were still being elaborated.

I. ANGELS AS HEAVENLY GUARDIANS IN EARLY BYZANTINE ART

In early Byzantine art, angels are most commonly depicted in pairs standing at the side of a holy figure or a sacred object. This particular iconographic pattern seems to derive not so much from literary sources, which define the appearance of angelic figures in the vast majority of visual contexts, but from the development of the angelic artistic and iconographic tradition in its own right. Flanking figures were quite common in Roman art, particularly in connection with imperial representations. Soldier guards or personifications would often be portrayed at the sides of a ruler or a high-ranking official. When depicted flanking an object or a figure, the significance of angels was restricted to that of companion and/or accompanying guardian, whilst simultaneously granting greater importance to the visual motif represented at the centre and indicating its holiness or sacred nature.⁵ The angels could also serve as mediators between the figure placed amongst them and the rest of the characters represented in the composition.

Within a great diversity of visual contexts in which angels perform the role of guardians it is possible to differentiate across two distinct axes: the visual motif alongside which they appear and the rendering of their figures. Most commonly, angels would be represented flanking Christ or the Virgin Mary. In the sixth-century church of San Michele in Africisco in Ravenna, the apse was occupied by a mosaic decoration depicting Christ as a youthful

3. To cite just a few: G. STUHLFAUTH, *Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst*, Freiburg 1897; J. DANIELOU, *The Angels and Their Mission According to the Fathers of the Church*, transl. by D. Heimann, New York, NY 1957; M. BUSSAGLI, *Storia degli angeli. Racconto di immagini e di idee*, Milano 1995; C. PROVERBIO, *La figura dell'angelo nella civiltà paleocristiana*, Todi 2007; *Angels. The Concept of Celestial Beings: Origins, Development and Reception*, ed. by F. V. Reiterer, T. Nicklas, and K. Schöpflin, Berlin – New York, NY 2007; O. AFINOGENOVA, *Кульм архангела Михаила в Византийской империи* (*The Cult of Archangel Michael in the Byzantine Empire*), Moskva 2008; E. JASTRZEBOWSKA, *New Testament Angels in Early Christian Art: Origin and Sources*, *Światowit* 8/49, 2009–2010, pp. 153–64; E. MUEHLBERGER, *Angels in Late Ancient Christianity*, New York, NY 2013. See also n. 4.

4. G. PEERS, *Subtle Bodies. Representing Angels in Byzantium*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA – London 2001.

5. STUHLFAUTH, *Die Engel*, pp. 203–33 (quoted n. 3).



Fig. 1 – Apse decoration, San Michele in Africisco in Ravenna, mosaic, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst / Bode Museum inv. 6642, 19th-c. reconstruction of a 6th-c. decoration – photograph by © Maria Lidova.

beardless man standing between two archangels—Gabriel and Michael—equal in size and dressed in white garments (fig. 1).⁶ The mosaic, exhibited at the Bode Museum in Berlin, is basically a nineteenth-century reconstruction but it is generally accepted that it faithfully reproduces the iconography and the original design of the late antique decoration.⁷ Above the apse is another representation of Jesus, this time as a mature man with a beard depicted solemnly seated on a jewelled throne and holding a codex. Two winged guardians were represented standing at the sides of the throne while seven more angels holding trumpets appeared approaching Christ from both sides: three from the right and four from the left. Apart from images of Christ, who is depicted twice along the main axis of the apse and as many as eleven angelic representations, only two other figures were part of this

6. A. EFFENBERGER, *Das Mosaik aus der Kirche San Michele in Africisco zu Ravenna: Ein Kunstwerk in der frühchristlich-byzantinischen Sammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 1989; *San Michele in Africisco e l'età giustiniana a Ravenna*, a cura di C. Spadoni e L. Kniffitz, Milano 2007; D. DELIYANNIS, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2010, pp. 250–4.

7. I. ANDREESCU-TREADGOLD, The Wall Mosaics of San Michele in Africisco, Ravenna, Rediscovered, *CCARB* 37, 1990, pp. 13–57; I. ANDREESCU-TREADGOLD, I mosaici parietali antichi e quelli otto-centeschi di S. Michele in Africisco: l'analisi filologica, in *San Michele in Africisco* (quoted n. 6), pp. 113–49.

decoration—the holy healers SS. Cosmas and Damian, who were originally placed on each side of the apsidal niche. The programme of the Ravenna church is quite outstanding in the particular importance it grants to the representations of angels. The heavenly beings playing the trumpets were usually interpreted as a reference to the seven angels described in the Book of Revelation 8:2 and thus allude to the day of the Second coming and Last Judgement, most likely as an eschatological response to the devastation and multiple deaths caused by the sixth-century plague.⁸ The commissioning of the programme may have been intended as a sign of gratitude for salvation on the part of the donors whose names were mentioned in the dedicatory inscription.

Although, as we will see, the garments or attitudes of angels could vary, the primary role of the retinue and heavenly guardians would remain unchanged over the centuries. Once placed at the sides of the Virgin with Child, angels would highlight the importance of Marian figure on the one hand and, on the other, would interact with the image of Baby Jesus so as to underline his heavenly, otherworldly, divine nature.⁹ In earlier scholarship it has been argued that the very appearance and significance of angelic figures in Christian art was primarily connected to theological issues and the need to substantiate the divine nature of Christ.¹⁰ The famous fifth-century mosaic decoration of Santa Maria Maggiore church in Rome, traditionally believed to have been connected to the theological discussions of the Ephesus council (431) with regard to the natures of Christ and the role of Mary, could help to substantiate this idea. The decoration of the Esquiline church offers one of the most detailed late antique Christological cycles.¹¹ A narrative focusing on the Infancy of Christ unfolds across a number of horizontal friezes which, together, frame the arch above the altar. The scenes which feature Mary and the Infant Christ alongside the main characters all include four winged attendants, whose white garments serve to highlight them amongst the bright multicoloured ‘palette’ of the mosaics.¹² The celestial nature of

8. C. RIZZARDI, I mosaici parietali di Ravenna di età giustiniana e la coeva pittura occidentale e orientale, in *San Michele in Africisco* (quoted n. 6), p. 83–97; D. DELIYANNIS, *Ravenna*, pp. 252–4 (quoted n. 6).

9. F. RADEMACHER, *Die Regina Angelorum in der Kunst des frühen Mittelalters*, Düsseldorf 1972; J. BARCLAY LLOYD, Mary, Queen of the Angels: Byzantine and Roman Images of the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Attendant Angels, *Melbourne Art Journal* 5, 2001, pp. 5–24; M. LIDOVA, The Heavenly Guard of the Mother of God: Mary between the Angels in Early Byzantine Art, in *The Early Middle Ages (Bible and Women 6.1)*, ed. by J. Herrin and F. R. Consolino, Atlanta, GA 2020, pp. 121–66.

10. J. A. MARTIGNY, *Dictionnaire des antiquités chrétiennes*, Paris 1865, p. 41: “...l’Église [...] adopta l’usage de représenter Notre-Seigneur assisté de deux anges, pour marquer sa foi à la divinité et à la consubstantialité du Verbe.”

11. B. BRENNK, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, Wiesbaden 1975; V. SAXER, *Sainte-Marie-Majeure: une basilique de Rome dans l’histoire de la ville et de son église (V^e-XIII^e siècle)*, Rome 2001; *L’orizzonte tardoantico e le nuove immagini: 312–468. Corpus della Pittura Medievale a Roma*, I, a cura di M. Andaloro, Roma 2006, pp. 306–46; G. STEIGERWALD, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken des Triumphbogens von S. Maria Maggiore in Rom*, Regensburg 2016.

12. PROVERBIO, *La figura dell’angelo* (quoted n. 3), pp. 71–3; LIDOVA, Heavenly Guard (quoted n. 9), pp. 124–8; pp. 142–5.



Fig. 2 – The Presentation to the Temple and Encounter with Aphrodisius (?), mosaics, Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, 5th c. – photograph by © Maria Lidova.

the heavenly beings is revealed through the presence of wings and halos, while the red and orange tesserae used for their faces and hands most probably reflect the wide-spread conception that the nature of angels is that of the ‘devouring fire’ (fig. 2).

While certain angelic representations in the Infancy cycle of Santa Maria Maggiore—such as the descending Gabriel in the scene of the Annunciation and the angel instructing Joseph in a dream—derive from the texts, the appearance of other winged attendants is the result of artistic elaboration. This modification transforms a standard narrative plot into sacred history, indicating the continual presence of divine assistance alongside the protagonists of the holy story. Furthermore, pairs of angels positioned at the sides serve to stress the regal and authoritative nature of the Incarnate Logos and of his mother, who is depicted wearing princely robes.¹³

This tradition continues in the famous representation of Mary seated on the throne and flanked by four angels in Sant’Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (early 6th c.) (fig. 3),¹⁴ the white garments of the angels correlate with the attire of the Baby Jesus who is seated on Mary’s lap. The significance of this similarity within the Arian milieu that commissioned this part of decoration is open to debate, but this kind of visual link between Christ and heavenly guards seems to be intentional and worth emphasizing.

13. M. LIDOVA, *The Imperial Theotokos: Revealing the Concept of Early Christian Imagery in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome*, *Convivium* II/2, 2015, pp. 60–81.

14. E. PENNI IACCO, *La basilica di S. Apollinare Nuovo di Ravenna attraverso i secoli*, Bologna 2004; DELIYANNIS, *Ravenna* (quoted n. 6), pp. 146–74.



Fig. 3 – The Mother of God flanked by four angels, mosaic, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, early 6th-c.
– photograph by © Maria Lidova.

The visual formula of the Virgin Mary flanked by angels would become central to Byzantine art and, beginning from the early Byzantine period, would define the decoration of the apse in the vast majority of churches (fig. 4).¹⁵ Situated above the altar, the heavenly beings would inevitably be integrated into a complex set of liturgical associations and would form a parallel to the priests and deacons officiating in the sanctuary, emphasizing the sacred nature of the sacraments and mysteries taking place in the church. This interpretation was enhanced and rendered almost explicit in those cases when angels were represented swinging censers in the direction of Mary and Child on the throne. The late antique representations of angels with censers mainly survive in Egypt, with the chapel XXVIII in Bawit and the northern lateral apse in the decoration of the Red monastery church offering good examples of this imagery (fig. 5).¹⁶ However, later Byzantine sanctuary decorations

15. B. BRENNK, *The Apse, the Image and the Icon. An Historical Perspective of the Apse as a Space for Images*, Wiesbaden 2010; M. LIDOVA, Virgin Mary and the Adoration of the Magi: From Iconic Space to Icon in Space, in *Icons of Space: Advances in Hierotopy*, ed. by J. Bogdanović, London 2021, pp. 214–38. For the monuments in Cappadocia: C. JOLIVET-LÉVY, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce. Le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords*, Paris 1991, pp. 343–4.

16. C. IHM *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom 4. Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden [1960] repr. 1992, p. 61; 203; E. BOLMAN, *Monastic Visions. Wall Paintings in*



Fig. 4 – The Virgin Mary and two archangels, apse decoration, mosaic, Panaghia Angeloktisti, Kiti, Cyprus, late 6th - early 7th c. – photograph by © Ekaterina Smit.



Fig. 5 – The Virgin Mary and two officiating angels, Bawit, chapel XXVIII, watercolour reproduction of the mural by Jean Clédet – ill. taken from ROCHARD, *Le culte des archanges* (quoted n. 40), p. 128.

could also include officiating angels with liturgical attributes, perhaps indicating that a much greater geographical dissemination of this iconography had already begun to take place in the pre-iconoclastic period.

It is noteworthy that angels-deacons are almost always depicted at the sides of the Mother of God or a representation of an altar in the scenes depicting the heavenly liturgy, but there are no examples of officiating angels flanking the figure of Christ in early Byzantine art. The censers point to the angelic performance of liturgical actions and allow for various associations to be drawn in connection with the images of Mary and Child depicted between them. They highlight the holiness of the figures but also allude more concretely to the Virgin as the throne of God and as an altar serving as the footstool for the Divine Word. Furthermore, they bring to mind the use of incense during the liturgy which was regularly, although not exclusively, performed before the reading of the Gospels in front of the codex containing the excerpts from the Evangelion which lay on top of the altar.¹⁷ The censers in the hand of the angels could also be taken as a reference to the three natures of Christ, an interpretation offered in the *Ecclesiastical History* attributed to Patriarch Germanos,¹⁸ and point to a more concrete reading of the image of Mary as an altar table,¹⁹ a censer, a burning coal and a recipient of the Holy Spirit.²⁰

Another occasion when Mary is represented in the company of two winged guardians is the scene of the Ascension of Christ.²¹ In the lower part of the composition, which, by the sixth century, had already acquired its definitive and well-recognizable form, the Mother of God would appear standing with her hands raised upwards in direction of the figure of Christ ascending into Heaven. The apostles, distributed into two groups on each side of the Virgin, would be depicted reacting to the event. In this scene, Mary was regularly portrayed flanked by two angels who served to create the effect of a spatial interval, a kind of *caesura*, between the Virgin and the apostles. The most famous early example of this arrangement is the Ascension scene in the sixth-century Rabbula Gospels from the Laurenziana Library in Florence (Laurent. Plut. I. 56. fol. 13v)²² (fig. 6) and it is this iconographic pattern that

the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea, New Haven, CT 2002, pp. 141–6. I am very grateful to Hélène Rochard for sharing with me the scan of the watercolour reproduction from the chapel XXVIII in Bawit.

17. R. TAFT, *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Pre-Anaphoral Rites*, Rome 1978, pp. 149–62.

18. Germanus I. *On the Divine Liturgy*, transl. by J. Meyendorff, Crestwood, NY 1984, pp. 78–81.

19. BOLMAN, *Monastic Visions* (quoted n. 16), p. 144.

20. M. EVANGELATOU, Krater of Nectar and Altar of the Bread of Life: The Theotokos as Provider of the Eucharist in Byzantine Culture, in *The Reception of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Marian Narratives in Texts and Images*, ed. by Th. Arentzen and M. B. Cunningham, Cambridge 2019, pp. 77–119, here pp. 83–5.

21. E. T. DEWALD, The Iconography of the Ascension, *AJA* 19/3, 1915, pp. 277–319.

22. *The Rabbula Gospels: facsimile edition of the miniatures of the Syriac manuscript Plut. I.56 in the Medicean-Laurentian Library*, ed. by C. Cecchelli, G. Furlani, and M. Salmi, Olten 1959; *Il tetravangelo di Rabbula: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. I.56. L'illustrazione del nuovo testamento nella Siria del VI secolo*, a cura di M. Bernabò, Roma 2008.



Fig. 6 – Ascension of Christ, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Rabbula Gospels (Laur. Plut. I. 56, fol. 13v) – Wikimedia Commons, Public domain, author: Dsmgold, file: RabulaGospelsFol13vAscension.jpg

would later on predominate in Byzantine art. The Virgin herself is absent from the accounts of the Ascension but, nonetheless, appears in representations of the scene together with a selection of heavenly beings whose various roles including witnesses of Christ's glory,

attendants of the Lord and men directing the attention of the apostles, were variously and most insistently emphasized in the late antique homiletic tradition.²³

Angels also appear in pairs alongside the figures of certain saints. We can often find them next to images of St. Symeon the Stylite, both the Elder and the Younger.²⁴ A late antique clay token (AN1980.47) from the Ashmolean museum offers an image based on a traditional iconography for St. Symeon the Stylite which represents him on top of a pillar flanked by two flying angels, each carrying a wreath (fig. 7).²⁵ Underneath the pillar, the scene is complemented by two further compositions: on the right, Mary and Child, perhaps part of a scene representing the Adoration of the Magi, and on the left, the Baptism. Heavenly beings with their wings spread wide emphasize the importance of St. Symeon's figure and fit in well with the characteristics of the saint in literary sources, in particular in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius the Scholasticus, in which the saint is proclaimed 'an angel upon earth' and 'as a man, endeavouring to realize in the flesh the existence of the



Fig. 7 – St. Symeon the Stylite (the Elder), clay pilgrim token, Ashmolean Museum AN1980.47, Oxford – photograph by © Maria Lidova.

23. See a series of contributions on late antique homiletic tradition with regard to the Ascension: N. RAMBAULT, La fête de l'Ascension à Antioche d'après l'homélie de Jean Chrysostome in *Ascensionem Christi*, in *Preaching after Easter. Mid-Pentecost, Ascension, and Pentecost in Late Antiquity*, ed. by R. W. Bishop, J. Leemans, and H. Tamas, Leiden 2016, pp. 141–57; A. DUPONT, Augustine's Homiletic Appreciation of the Feast of the Ascension, in *ibid.*, pp. 158–84; R. W. BISHOP, The Authorship, Thematics, and Reception of an Ascension Sermon Attributed to Proclus of Constantinople (CPG 5820), in *ibid.*, pp. 185–216, here p. 193.

24. P. NOWAKOWSKI, Cult of Saints, E01648 – <http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk>.

25. The tradition of clay tokens representing the saint on a pillar would continue on, with lead pilgrim medallions depicting a similar iconography. The earlier artefacts are usually associated with St. Symeon the Elder, while the later ones with St. Symeon the Younger: J. LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE *Itinéraires archéologiques dans la région d'Antioche. Recherches sur le monastère et sur l'iconographie de Saint Syméon Stylite le Jeune*, Bruxelles 1967; D. BOERO – C. KUPER, Steps toward a Study of Symeon the Stylite the Younger and His Saint's Cult, *Studies in Late Antiquity* 4/4, 2020, pp. 370–407; H. HUNTER-CRAWLEY, Divinity Refracted: Extended Agency and the Cult of Symeon Stylites the Elder, in *Lived Religion in the Ancient Mediterranean World: Approaching Religious Transformations from Archaeology*, Berlin – Boston, MA 2020, pp. 261–86.

heavenly hosts', with whom he 'unites in praising' God.²⁶ A limestone roundel relief in the Nelson Gallery—Atkins Museum in Kansas City (no. 48.10) offers yet another example, this time in relation to St. Thecla, who is depicted standing front-on with the beasts at her feet and two figures of half-length angels on each side.²⁷

Angels play an active role in numerous hagiographical accounts, appearing at the most crucial moments and saving the saint from death or public disgrace, for example when an angel descends from heaven to help St. Agnes as an attempt is made to send her to the brothel and when the Roman saint was deprived of all her clothes.²⁸ According to the martyrdom, the angel kills the son of the Roman prefect who tries to take advantage of the situation and violate the saint. Subsequently, the heavenly protector appears in bright light and offers Agnes shining white garments, described in some accounts as 'surely made by angels'.²⁹ However, we rarely see angels depicted in connection with saints in response to a particular hagiographical account. In other words, the appearance of angels besides the saints in art was not predetermined by the possibilities of a narrative plot. It can also be argued that, in the case of saints, in contrast to representations of Mary and Christ, the role of the two angels depicted on each side shifted from that of solemn guardians and official retinue to that of testimonies of holiness.³⁰ This kind of artistic rendering was primarily inspired by homilies and hagiographic texts glorifying martyrs and saints through comparison with angels.

Finally, angels could also appear flanking an altar or an empty throne or standing at the sides of the Cross, the symbol of Salvation. A silver plate from Syria dated to the sixth-seventh century and held at the Hermitage museum (inv. no. ѿ 209) offers a beautiful example of such an arrangement (fig. 8).³¹ The presence of angels pointed to the heavenly realm and emphasized the sacredness of any object placed in between. As far as the image of the altar is concerned, representations of heavenly beings could also call to mind the Holy of Holies of the Jerusalem temple and the Ark of the Covenant, which, according to the Scriptures, was decorated with the representations of cherubim. The importance

26. *Evagrius Scholasticus. Ecclesiastical History*, transl. by E. Walford, London 1846, 1.13.

27. *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, ed. by K. Weitzmann, New York, NY 1979, pp. 574–5. <https://art.nelson-atkins.org>.

28. On St. Agnes and the hagiographical accounts of the saint most recently: C. LANÉRY, *Ambroise de Milan hagiographe*, Paris 2008, pp. 357–61; ID., La légende de sainte Agnès: quelques réflexions sur la genèse d'un dossier hagiographique (IV^e–VI^e s.), *MEFR Moyen Âge* 126/1, 2014, pp. 17–26; M. LAPIDGE, *The Roman Martyrs: Introduction, Translations, and Commentary*, Oxford 2017, pp. 348–62.

29. M. PIGNOT, *Cult of Saints*, E02475 – <http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk>.

30. The echo of this visual tradition is attested in a famous representation of St. Neophytos, portrayed in a company of two winged companions in the murals decorating the Enkleistra of St. Neophytos in Paphos: C. MANGO – E. J. W. HAWKINS, *The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings*, *DOP* 20, 1966, pp. 119–206.

31. V. ZALESSKAYA, *Памятники византийского прикладного искусства IV–VII веков (Early Byzantine Minor Artworks of the 4th–7th C.)*, St. Petersburg 2006, pp. 67–8.



Fig. 8 – Silver plate from Syria, The State Hermitage museum, St. Petersburg, inv. n° ω 209
– photograph by © Maria Lidova.

of this reference in Christian art is well exemplified by the mosaic decoration of Germigny-des-Prés (early 9th c.).³² In Sant'Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna, we find two angels wearing military garments at the right and left edge of the arch framing the apse, this way the celestial guards appear flanking the real altar and the sanctuary space of the sixth-century

32. P. MEYVAERT – A. FREEMAN, The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés, *Gesta* 40/2, 2001, pp. 125–39; G. V. MACKIE, Theodulf of Orléans and the Ark of the Covenant: A New Allegorical Interpretation at Germigny-des-Prés, *Racar* 32 (1-2), 2007, pp. 45–58; I. FOLETTI, Germigny-des-Prés, il Santo Sepolcro e la Gerusalemme celeste, *Convivium* 1, 2014, pp. 32–49; A.-O. POILPRÉ, Le décor intérieur de l'oratoire de Germigny-des-Prés et son iconographie, *Bulletin du Centre d'études médiévales. Auxerre* 11, 2019 <http://journals.openedition.org/cem/16158>.

church (fig.9).³³ The tradition of placing the representations of angels in proximity to the altar must have inspired the later tendency to depict two winged creatures at the side of the doorway or near the entrance of the church which is often encountered in late Byzantine and post Byzantine church decoration.³⁴ This shift from the space of the sanctuary to the entrance may have been partially connected to changing liturgical practices. The murals of the Faras cathedral (10th c.) offer one the earliest surviving attestations of this arrangement.³⁵ Hence, the angels could serve as protectors at the entrance to the church, signalling the other-worldly dimension the beholder was expected to experience at the liturgy. While maintaining a single basic form, with two winged guardians flanking a central motif, the significance of heavenly beings could nevertheless change, evolve over time, and offer different insights in light of the particular motif in question, be it a holy figure, a sacred object or an ecclesiastical space.

The treatment of angelic figures could also vary depending on the minor nuances that the artists wanted to implement or highlight within their work.³⁶ The pose, the likeness and the interaction with other



Fig.9 – Archangel Michael, placed at the left edge of the apse in Sant'Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna – photograph by © Maria Lidova.

33. O. VON SIMSON, *Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna*, Princeton, NJ 1987, pp. 40–62; F. W. DEICHMANN, *Ravenna. Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, Wiesbaden 1969–89, I, pp. 257–77; II/2, pp. 245–80; DELIYANNIS, *Ravenna* (quoted n. 6), pp. 259–74.

34. G. GEROV, Angels – Entrance Guardians, *Zbornik radova Vizantoloskog instituta* 46, 2009, pp. 435–42; O. V. SILINA, Archangels in Mural Painting of the Façade of the Ferapontov Convent's Cathedral. On the Problem of the Developing Pictorial Tradition, *Gramota* 10 (84), 2017, pp. 148–52.

35. K. MICHALOWSKI, *Faras, Die Kathedrale aus dem Wüstensand*, Zürich – Köln 1967; M. ŁAPTAŚ, A Sphere, an Orb or a Disc? The Object Held by the Archangels in the Faras Cathedral Wall Paintings, *BMNV* 38, 1997, pp. 24–42, here pp. 32–4.

36. LIDOVA, *The Heavenly Guard* (quoted n. 9).

elements of the composition could bear different meanings and convey slightly different messages to the viewer. The bending figures prostrating their hands and depicted as if offering the gifts produced an impression dissimilar to the front-on appearances and stiffness of angels in other contexts. Officiating angels caught as they swing the incense-burner conveyed ideas of liturgical performance, which had minor relevance for when angels were depicted alongside the throne of Christ or standing at the sides of the Virgin Mary and acting as intermediaries.

The greatest distinction lies in the choice of angelic costumes, ranging from high-ranking military attire often characterized by the presence of a chlamys or loros to traditional pallia and tunics. These seemingly minor differences in the outfit were an issue of debate for early Christian theologians,³⁷ as attested in the famous passage from the homily of Severus of Antioch (d. 538), whose views were later used or, better, misconstrued in the polemics of the Nicaea II Council in 787. In the Homily 72, believed to have been pronounced in the church of St. Michael on the occasion of the deposition of relics of holy martyrs Procopius and Phocas, Severus discusses the pagan and Christian ways and offers, as an example, the futile attempts of some painters to enhance the importance of angels by representing them in imperial robes:

But the ministering, intelligible, and heavenly spirits are not of these kinds. For they have within themselves such an intense fear that they are near to God, and they tremble at his awesome sublimity. [...] But the presumptuous hand of the painters, being a law unto itself since it condones the fictions of pagan illusions regarding idolatry, and planning everything for profit, clothes Michael and Gabriel in the manner of lords or kings with a royal robe of purple, adorns them with a crown, and places in their right hand the sign of rulership and universal authority [this refers to a sceptre or an orb]. For these reasons, and ones which are like them, those who so senselessly honour the angels depart from the church and transgress her laws: those who ordered and set in place the holy canons have placed these people under anathema.³⁸

It is worth pointing out that the particular attention of Severus to the role and figure of angels in this particular homily was most probably predetermined by the location, which was consecrated in the honour of Archangel Michael.³⁹ His rhetoric was very much inspired by the desire to draw a link between martyrs and heavenly beings, as well as to instruct the congregation in the appropriate conduct that would keep them safe from violating the laws and grant them the protection of the church. Notwithstanding the opposition against the royal treatment of angelic figures and the concrete earthly associations that it brings,

37. See also: PEERS, *Subtle Bodies* (quoted n. 4)

38. Sev. Ant., Homily 72, P. ALLEN and C. T. R. HAYWOOD, *Severus of Antioch*, London 2004, pp. 126–32.

39. PEERS, *Subtle Bodies* (quoted n. 4), pp. 74–8.

this type of imagery became particularly popular all over the Byzantine empire.⁴⁰ The nature of the depicted attire would also imply the use of varying attributes: the spear and labarum for the loros-bearing type and sceptres for the white classicizing garments; while the spheres or discs were used interchangeably starting from the sixth century onwards.⁴¹ To sum up, the approach to angelic figures as guardians in early Byzantine art was much more variegated and context-specific than it has generally been assumed. When represented in pairs, the role of angels was confined to as the role of significant, but still complementary motif. In contrast—as will be discussed in the next section—the angels who appeared in narrative compositions served as the conveyers of God's will and divine agents who set the story in motion.

II. ANGELS AS DIVINE AGENTS IN THE IVORY RELIEFS OF THE MURANO DIPTYCH

Byzantine art offers a wide range of images and pictorial contexts in its depictions of heavenly beings. In order to avoid overly-extensive discussion of this abundance of monuments, I have chosen to concentrate on one particular artwork that, in my view, offers an opportunity to analyse the various roles assigned to angels in Byzantine visual culture and narrative compositions. The artefact in question is an ivory relief, known as the Murano diptych, a name deriving from the attested provenance of one of the parts of the diptych, currently held at the Ravenna National Museum (inv. no. 1002).⁴²

40. C. LAMY-LASSALLE, Les archanges en costume impérial dans la peinture murale italienne, in *Synthronon. Art et archéologie de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, Paris 1968, pp. 189–98; C. MANGO, St. Michael and Attis, *Δελτιον* 12, 1984–1986, pp. 39–45; G. PEERS, Patriarchal Politics in the Paris Gregory (B.N. gr. 510), *JÖB* 47, 1997, pp. 51–71, here pp. 53–7; C. JOLIVET-LÉVY, Note sur la représentation des archanges en costume impérial dans l'iconographie byzantine, *CArch* 46, 1998, pp. 121–8; H. ROCHARD, Le culte des archanges en Égypte byzantine et au début de l'époque arabe: le témoignage des peintures de Baouît, *Études Coptes* 15, 2018, pp. 117–36, here pp. 124–7.

41. On the role of this attribute and its various and changing identifications: M. ŁAPTAŚ, A Sphere, an Orb or a Disc? (quoted n. 35) For loros: N. P. ŠEVČENKO, *Loros*, in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, dir. by A. P. Kazhdan, II, pp. 1251–2; M. G. PARANI, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography, 11th–15th Centuries*, Leiden 2003, pp. 18–27. For the role of loros in the representations of angels: M. ŁAPTAŚ, Byzantine Influence on Nubian Painting: The *Loroi* and the Gender of the Archangels, *BZ* 114/1, 2021, pp. 241–56.

42. One of the first authors discussing the Ravenna part of the ivory in relation to representations of angels was STUHLFAUTH, *Die Engel* (quoted n. 3), p. 227. On the Ravenna relief: K. WESSEL, Il dittico di Murano dalle cinque parti e la sua cerchia, *CCARB* 1, 1958, pp. 111–27; W. F. VOLBACH, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, Mainz [1916] 1976, no. 127, p. 87; *Age of Spirituality* (quoted n. 27), pp. 531–2; E. CRISTOFERI, Il restauro del « Dittico di Murano ». Studio per la ricomposizione strutturale di un avorio del Museo Nazionale di Ravenna, *Kermes* 12, 1991, pp. 34–9; C. RIZZARDI, Osservazioni sull'iconografia del dittico di Murano, *Felix Ravenna* 82, 1994, pp. 142–51; ID., Il « Dittico di Murano » conservato nel museo nazionale di Ravenna: aspetti e problematiche, in *Historiam pictura refert. Miscellanea in onore di padre Alejandro Recio Véganzones*, Città del Vaticano

The association of the ivory with one of the Venetian islands is based on testimony from a three-volume edition of diptychs and various religious ivory artefacts produced by Antonio Francesco Gori in the eighteenth century, in which the author indicates that the relief belonged to the collection of the Camaldolese monastery of St. Michael on Murano.⁴³

Originally, the Ravenna ivory, measuring 35.7 by 30.8 cm, served as one part of a book cover, attached, most probably, to a liturgical codex containing the Gospels (fig. 10). The relief is composed of five parts and focuses on the figure of Christ, who is depicted in the central panel seated on a throne and surrounded by four male figures. These figures consist of two bearded men, usually identified as SS. Peter and Paul, and two youths, who appear as if standing behind Christ, with their curly hair and beardless chins conveying the characteristic likeness of angels. On the same panel, beneath the figure of Christ, a separate rectangular section comprises an Old Testament scene depicting the Three Hebrews in the Furnace, whilst another biblical subject—the story of Jonah—occupies the horizontal ivory board placed at the bottom of the Ravenna relief. Both sides of the central panel are flanked by vertically-oriented rectangular plaques, each containing two scenes depicting the Miracles of Christ: the Healing of the Blind and the Possessed on the left, and the Raising of Lazarus and the Healing of the Paralytic, on the right. Jesus is represented in each scene as a young man holding a staff topped with a cross, and his healing action is indicated by the raised gesture of his right hand, with two pointing fingers.

The second side of the cover did not survive intact, but was divided into a number of separate fragments. Four of the five original ivory panels survive, and are now distributed between the Rylands library in Manchester (central panel),⁴⁴ the Louvre in Paris (bottom board),⁴⁵ the Bode Museum in Berlin (top board) and the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg (two narrative scenes once adjoining the central panel, most likely

1994, pp. 485–96. On early Byzantine ivory covers: J. LOWDEN, *The Word Made Visible: The Exterior of the Early Christian Books as Visual Argument*, in *The Early Christian Book*, Washington, DC 2007, pp. 13–47, here pp. 41–3. For Ravenna as a centre of ivory production: M. C. CARILE, *Ivory Production: Commerce, Culture and Power*, in *Ravenna and the Traditions of Late Antique Craftsmanship*, ed. by S. Cosentino, Berlin 2020, pp. 115–52.

43. A. F. GORI, *Thesaurus veterum diptychorum consularium et ecclesiasticorum, tum eiusdem auctoris cum aliorum lucubrationibus inlustratus ac in tres tomos divisus*, Florentiae 1759, III, tab. VIII, pp. 41–68. The evidence found in this volume was based on the Anselmo Costadoni's description of the ivory compiled in 1748.

44. D. V. AINALOV, *Chast' Ravenskogo diptikha v sobranii grafa Krauforda* (Part of the Ravenna Diptych in the Count Crawford Collection), *Византийский временник* 5/1–2, 1898, pp. 153–86; VOLBACH, *Elfenbeinarbeiten* (quoted n. 42), no. 127, p. 88.

45. D. V. AINALOV, *Chast' Ravenskogo diptikha v sobranii grafa G.S. Stroganova* (Part of the Ravenna Diptych in the collection of Count G. S. Stroganov), *Византийский временник* 4/1–2, 1897, pp. 128–42; VOLBACH, *Elfenbeinarbeiten* (quoted n. 42), no. 128, p. 88 (quoted n. 42); *Ivoires médiévaux, V^e-XV^e siècle*, éd. par D. Gaborit-Chopin, Paris 2003, pp. 60–2.



Fig. 10 – The panel of the so-called Murano diptych, ivory, The Ravenna National Museum, inv. n. 1002, 6th c.
– photograph by © Maria Lidova.

on the left) (fig. 11).⁴⁶ The identification of these fragments as parts of the Ravenna relief was—with the exception of the Berlin fragment—already established by the late nineteenth century thanks to the undertakings of two leading byzantinists of the time—Dmitry Ainalov and Josef Strzygowski.⁴⁷

This dismembered panel of the Murano diptych is Marian in character, since the Mother of God features as the central image of its complex programme.⁴⁸ The differentiation between the two leaves of the diptych, one focusing on Christ and the other one on the Virgin, was common in the sixth century and is encountered in two other early examples of early Byzantine ivory covers—the Bible of St. Lupicin (BNF, MS lat. 9384) and the Etchmiadzin Gospel in Matenadaran in Erevan (MS 2374).⁴⁹ The Murano diptych shares a lot of similarities with these two artefacts, but at the same time it stands out with regard to style, overall programme, and a range of iconographical details. The differences may be connected to the place of production, which, in the case of the Murano diptych, remains unknown since the reliefs and its various constituent parts are variously attributed to Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Asia Minor and, more specifically, Constantinople.⁵⁰

While the central image of the Marian sides of the Paris and Erevan covers consists of a representation of the Virgin flanked by two angels, the Murano diptych places the figure of the Mother of God within a narrative composition—the scene of the Adoration of the Magi. On each side of Mary appears a male figure, offering gift with outstretched hands,

46. J. STRZYGOWSKI, Zwei weitere Stücke der Marientafel zum Diptychon von Murano, *BZ* 8, 1899, pp. 678–81; A. V. BANK, *Byzantine Art in Soviet Collections*, Leningrad 1966, I, pp. 129–30; V. N. ZALESSKAYA, Памятники византийского прикладного искусства (quoted in n. 31), p. 147.

47. M. LIDOVA, The Murano Diptych. A Late Nineteenth-Century Quest for Early Byzantine Ivory Cover, in *Actual Problems of History and Theory of Art* 11, 2021, forthcoming.

48. On Marian imagery in ivory: A. CUTLER, The Mother of God in Ivory, in *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. by M. Vassilaki, Milan 2000, pp. 167–75. Although it is hard to agree with Cutler's opinion that in ivories, such as that of St. Lupicin, Mother of God "is a pendant to her son rather than the object of single-minded devotion," p. 167.

49. J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Das Etchmiadzin-Evangeliar. Beiträge zur Geschichte der armenischen, raven-natischen und syro-ägyptischen Kunst*, Wien 1891; LOWDEN, The Word Made Visible (quoted n. 42), pp. 38–41; Th. F. MATHEWS, The Early Armenian Iconographic Program of the Ejmiacin Gospel (Erevan, Matenadaran Ms 2374, Olim 229), in *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, ed. by N. G. Garsoïan, Th. F. Matthews, and R. W. Thomson, Washington, DC 1982, pp. 199–215; V. NERSESSIAN, *Treasures from the Ark. 1700 Years of Armenian Christian Art*, Los Angeles, CA 2001, pp. 157–8. On St. Lupicin Gospel, with detailed bibliography: <https://archivesetmanuscrs.bnf.fr>, Évangiles dits de Saint-Lupicin.

50. J.-P. Caillet argues in favor of the idea that all surviving five-part ivories belong to the middle of the sixth century and must have been produced in Constantinople: J.-P. CAILLET, Remarques sur l'iconographie Christo-Mariale des grands diptyques d'ivoire du VI^e siècle. Incidences éventuelles quant à leur datation et origine, in *Spätantike und byzantinische Elfenbeinbildwerke im Diskurs*, hrsg. von G. Bühl, A. Cutler und A. Effenberger, Wiesbaden 2008, pp. 17–29. However, this proposition requires further investigation and holistic analysis of the available material evidence.



Fig. 11 – Reconstruction of the Marian panel of the so-called Murano Gospel book cover, ivory, 6th c.
 = The Rylands library in Manchester, the Louvre Museum in Paris, the Bode Museum in Berlin,
 the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg – photographs and assemblage by © Maria Lidova.

which are covered with a cloth. On the right, behind the left shoulder of the Mother of God, it is possible to see the third Magus awaiting his turn. His figure is counterbalanced on the other side by a winged angel assisting one of the Magi in his offering. In the lower part of this panel are the events leading up to the Adoration, with a Nativity scene depicting Mary, who is lying on a mattress, Joseph, who is standing beside her, and the Baby Jesus, who appears wrapped in swaddling clothes and lying in a crib made of bricks. The ox and the ass direct their gazes towards the Infant while, in front of the crib, the midwife Salomé stretches out her withered right hand with remorse for her doubts regarding Mary's virginity, just before she is about to receive a miraculous cure.⁵¹

The other narrative scenes on this side of the ivory cover all represent some kind of temporal flash back, depicting the series of events leading up to the Nativity and the Adoration which appear in the central panel. On the board which now is in the Louvre, and was once to be found at the bottom of the relief, three different scenes were combined together reading from left to right: the Annunciation, the Ordeal of the Bitter Water, and the Flight to Egypt. Two further compositions, which were once to be found on a vertical panel flanking the central element, are quite unique in nature, since they offer one of the earliest artistic examples of the apocryphal narrative focusing on St. Anna, the mother of Mary.⁵² Here again the chronological principle is reversed, with the subject of the lower scene preceding the one appearing above. In the first composition, a servant belonging to St. Anna addresses her mistress, offering her a headband and saying that 'the great day of the Lord is near' and that it is no longer the right time to mourn.⁵³ In the scene which was once placed above it, Anna is represented seated at the feet of a laurel tree addressing the Lord and pointing to the birds singing in the branches in a manner which corresponds to her words that 'even the birds of the heaven are fruitful before Lord.'⁵⁴ On the right, a winged messenger appears to St. Anna, announcing that she will soon become a mother. Two further scenes which once formed part of this extensive narrative have been lost, together with the side panel, but it can be tentatively suggested that these would have featured either Joachim or Mary as a child, complementing the existing selection of scenes taken from the apocrypha.

51. G. J. M. VAN LOON, *The Virgin and the Midwife Salomé*, *ECA* 3, 2006, pp. 81–104; M. M. MAT-TISON, *Responsible Midwifery or Reckless Disbelief? Revisiting Salomé's Examination of Mary in "The Protevangelium Jacobi"*, in *Mary, the Apostle, and the Last Judgment. Apocryphal Representations from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, ed. by S. Kuzmová and A.-B. Znorovsky, Budapest 2020, pp. 3–22.

52. Unfortunately, the imagery of the Murano diptych was not included in the selection of visual sources in relation to the figures of St. Anna collected in the recent monograph by Eirini Panou, but this offers a very rich and important discussion of the saint's cult and imagery: E. Panou, *The Cult of St Anna in Byzantium*, London 2018.

53. J. K. ELLIOT, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*, Oxford, 1994, pp. 57–8.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

Both parts of the Murano cover were topped by a horizontal ivory board occupied entirely by angelic figures. The central motif, depicting a pair of flying winged figures holding a wreath with a cross, was a common choice for the sixth-century ivory covers and is also encountered in the St. Lupicin Bible and the Etchmiadzin Gospel.⁵⁵ Although the overall visual rendering is very similar in the case of all three ivories, minor but significant differences can be observed within what seems to be the same iconographic scheme. In the Paris cover, the angels are represented holding codices in their hands covered with pieces of ornamented cloth—a potential reference to the book that the ivory reliefs were decorating, among other things. The codices are entirely missing in the Etchmiadzin Gospel cover and the angels are represented with their arms spread open to grasp the upper and lower edges of the wreath containing the image of the cross. At the edges of the scene, however, we find two minor allegorical representations, embodying the Sun and the Moon in the form of half-length figures. This brings an additional heavenly dimension to the representation of angels and serves to evoke the idea of time and the perpetual interchanging of day and night. In the case of the Murano ivory, the angels closely resemble the positioning and gestures of the bodiless figures on the Etchmiadzin Gospel, but the planetary symbols are missing.

The triumphant nature of this representation, showing the two angels holding a wreath, was clearly inspired by Roman iconography of the flying Victories (Nikae). This image was particularly popular in late antiquity, appearing in ivories, on sarcophagi and textiles and, most importantly, in church decoration.⁵⁶ Here, the image of flying angels would often take its place above the altar, clearly alluding to heavenly hierarchies and visually glorifying the symbol of the cross at the summit of the arch encompassing the sanctuary. The most significant surviving visual testimony for this kind of arrangement is to be found in the sixth-century mosaics of St. Catherine's monastery at Sinai.⁵⁷ The glorious character of the scene, and the dynamic rendering of the flying figures which serves to convey a sense of motion and of the flow of the air, emphasize the curve of the arch and draw a distinctive borderline between different parts of the apse decoration. It can be argued that the ivories follow a similar principle, placing the flying messengers at the top and thus establishing a sense of hierarchy within the distribution of scenes which, on the panel kept in Ravenna, appear to descend progressively downwards from the heavenly realm, beginning with depictions of angelic figures, before moving on to an atemporal image of Christ as ruler, an image which is complemented by the earthly history of the Gospel narratives, before concluding with the representations of scriptural events located at the bottom. Furthermore, the angels

55. For the discussion of this motif: STRZYGOWSKI, *Das Etschmiadzin-Evangeliar* (quoted n. 48), pp. 33–5.

56. See the discussion of this imagery in D. Lauritzen's paper in this volume.

57. H. G. FORSYTH – K. WEITZMANN, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Church and Fortress of Justinian*, Ann Arbor, MI 1965.

holding a wreath were placed directly on the central axis so that this symbol of victory appears above the image of Christ enthroned and above the Baby Jesus seated on the lap of the Virgin, thus enhancing the idea of the glorification on the part of divine forces.

The upper boards of the Murano diptychs are distinguished by the fact that each includes not just two but four angelic representations. In addition to the pair elevating the cross within a wreath, we find figures of angels wearing military garments and holding spheres and long staffs in the form of a long pole with a cross.⁵⁸ Placed at the edges, they appear as heavenly guards, in stiff frontal poses with wings held open behind their backs. Despite the tiny dimensions of the figures, the carver paid special attention to the military costumes which consist of a long chlamys falling down from the right shoulder, a girdle, and boots. The way in which these angels are rendered differs significantly from the elegant, classicizing, contrapposto poses of the flying celestial beings represented in between them, indicating the ability of the artists to draw a clear distinction between different types of angels. The conceptions and ideas that would have determined the use and reading of these representations in the sixth century often elude the attention of scholars, but their significance is clearly evident in works such as the Ravenna diptych and calls for a more nuanced differentiation between angelic representations in early Byzantine art.

In the narrative cycle dedicated to the miracles of Christ the angels are missing and each scene is composed of just two figures. However, both Old Testament scenes include the representation of an angel (fig. 12). The appearance of the divine messenger alongside the three Babylonian youths who were condemned to death because of their refusal to worship the statue of a false god is quite common in late antique art and follows the biblical text, according to which “the angel of the Lord went down unto with Azarias and his companions into the furnace: and he drove the flame of fire out...and made the midst of the furnace like the blowing of a wind bringing dew” (Dan. 3:49-50).⁵⁹ Late antique examples characterized by the iconography similar to the one found on the Murano ivory include the famous Sinai icon (7th c.?) and the carved stone relief in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (inv. no. 6495, dated to the 6th-7th c.).⁶⁰ They all attest to an early Byzantine visual tradition in which the representation of the celestial intervener acquired distinctive Christological features,⁶¹ manifested in the presence of the cross atop a staff with the help of which the angel is depicted extinguishing the fire.

58. Ainalov believed that they must represent four archangels: Michael, Gabriel, Rafael and Uriel.

59. C. CARLETTI, *I tre giovani ebrei di Babilonia nell'arte cristiana antica*, Brescia 1975.

60. M. RASSART-DEBERGH, Les trois hébreux dans la fournaise en Égypte et en Nubie chrétiennes, *RSO* 58, 1984 (1987), pp. 141-51; *Coptic Art in the Coptic Museum*, Cat. no. 16; K. CORRIGAN, The Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace. An Early Byzantine Icon at Mt. Sinai, in *Anathēmata eortika. Studies in Honor of Thomas F. Mathews*, ed. by J. D. Alchermes, H. C. Evans, and Th. K. Thomas, Mainz 2009, pp. 93-103.

61. For general discussion on Christology of angels: D. D. HANNAH, *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity*, Tübingen 1999.



Fig. 12 – The Healing of the Possessed, the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, Jonah under the Gourd plant, ivory, fragment of the so-called Murano diptych in Ravenna (fig. 10) – photograph by © Maria Lidova.

The lower panel of the Ravenna relief ‘narrates’ the story of Jonah divided into two separate scenes.⁶² On the right of the panel, Jonah is depicted being thrown away from the boat and into the sea where the sea monster is awaiting ready to swallow him up. The monster appears again on the left, as if tamed by Jonah, who is lying on top of the monster and under the gourd plant which has sprung up to shelter him from the sun. Right at the centre, between two scenes, one defined by a marine landscape, the other alluding to rural context, a winged messenger is represented addressing Jonah. Any mention of an angel is absent from the Book of Jonah and, as a rule, the figure of the angel is omitted in representations of Jonah under the gourd in early Christian art. However, there are several exceptions which follow the same iconographic pattern as that found on the

62. On iconography of Jonah in early Christian Art: B. NARKLISS, The Sign of Jonah, *Gesta* 18/1, 1979, pp. 63–76, on angels p. 68; S. J. DAVIS, Jonah in Early Christian Art: Allegorical Exegesis and the Roman Funerary Context, *Australian Religion Studies Review* 13/1, 2000, pp. 72–83.

Murano ivory.⁶³ In these, the angel takes the place of the Lord of Israel, addressing Jonah in an attempt to explain the mercy granted to the citizens of Nineveh. The pose of the heavenly messenger on the Ravenna relief and the gesture of the raised right hand, not to mention the likeness, echo the figure of Christ in the scenes of the Miracles. Both subjects—the Three Youths in the Furnace and the story of Jonah—have been read and interpreted by early Christian writers as prefiguring the coming of Christ, his death on the Cross and his resurrection. Thus, within the narrative unfolding in the ivory, angels act not only as the conveyers of the divine will in accordance with the biblical text, but also serve as counterpart representations of Christ himself, linking the realities of the Old and New Testament into a single narrative and bringing all the events together as a continuous realization of the divine plan.

In the narrative compositions of the Marian side of the Murano diptych the figure of an angel takes up the role of the divine messenger announcing the Lord's will to Mary and St. Anna, and that of celestial companion assisting the magi approaching Mary in the central panel whilst also guiding the ass that carries the Virgin Mary in the representation of the Flight into Egypt. The visual similarity offers the possibility to draw a parallel between St. Anna receiving the news of her forthcoming pregnancy and the depiction of the Virgin Mary, since both are represented in a sitting position as they are addressed by angels who are approaching them from the right. The presence of the divine messenger is justified in both instances by the Gospel narratives and apocryphal texts. More peculiar is the situation with other compositions. Depictions of the angel who leads the ass and guides the Holy Family on their journey to Egypt or who appears at the moment of Adoration does not rely on a specific textual evidence, but more on inferences surrounding the active participation of angels in the Nativity events and the journey to Egypt. In a similar manner to the presence of angels as accompanying guardians alongside the Mother of God or Christ, the integration of divine agents in the scene of the Adoration of the Magi or the Flight to Egypt was the result of artistic elaboration and modification of existing visual patterns in order to convey the sacred nature of the events and the presence of divine assistance at every stage of the sacred history.

The overall programme of the Murano ivory diptych originally consisted of 16 compositions, of which 14 survive and include as many as 15 angelic representations, ranging from narrative compositions based on biblical and apocryphal accounts to scenes in which the presence of bodiless beings is justified in its own right and evokes the heavenly realm or the celestial protection. The density of the angelic presence distinguishes the Murano diptych from other surviving ivory covers of the time. However, a comparison with an ivory

63. For example, the 6th-century pyxis at the Hermitage Museum: K. SANDIN, *Salvation, Correctness, and Healing: Aspects of the Reception of a Sixth-Century Jonah Pyxis in St. Petersburg*, *Studies in Iconography* 17, 1998, pp. 67–93, on presence of angels in this scene and other examples—here pp. 77–8; p. 80; ZALESSKAYA, *Памятники византийского прикладного искусства* (quoted n. 31), p. 148.

recently purchased by the Cluny Museum in Paris (inv. Cl. 23898), although known to the researchers as the Trebizond ivory for a long time, can supply further evidence.⁶⁴ The panel in question most probably represents a central piece from a dismembered five-part diptych and its iconography and style bear comparison to the imagery of the Ravenna relief. Christ is represented enthroned surrounded by two angels and two apostles. In the small scene below his feet, however, two approaching angels carrying gifts are depicted adoring the figure of a cross. The Cluny ivory serves as an additional testimony to the existence of ivory covers similar to the so-called Murano diptych and to the significant role that angels could play in the carved decoration of these artworks. Taking into account that the narrative cycle of the Murano diptych reproduces detailed pictorial monumental programmes on a smaller scale, it becomes an important testimony to the role that angels played in church decoration of the time.

Even a selective analysis of the surviving imagery allows to suggest that the population of scenes depicting the events of the Old and New Testament with angelic presence was one of the distinguishing features of Early Christian art: on the one hand, celestial beings took the place previously assigned to various allegorical figures and secondary members of the composition, on the other, the integration of winged, bodiless, supernatural beings into a visual narrative of earthly events was quite unprecedented and daring on the part of late antique artists.

Very few narrative cycles survive from the fifth-sixth century, many more are known thanks to textual evidence.⁶⁵ The sequences of images which appear on ivory reliefs of the Gospel book covers such as the Murano diptych provide further evidence for the detailed narrative cycles that once formed part of the visual experience and everyday life of a late antique viewer. In a similar manner to the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, some of these decorations must have included a great number of angelic representations. As these representations migrated from one scene to another and from one part of the building to another, they would have filled the church with an angelic presence. It is this exaltation of celestial beings and their prominence in an ecclesiastical environment that must have sparked a resistance on the part of early theologians,⁶⁶ such as Severus of Antioch, especially when it was not justified by practical reasons or need to follow a concrete gospel account.

64. VOLBACH, *Elfenbeinarbeiten* (quoted n. 41), p. 90. <https://www.musee-moyenage.fr>, Plaque d'ivoire dit de Trébizonde.

65. The bishop of Gaza Chorikios wrote a detailed description of the sixth-century decoration that he saw on the walls of the St. Sergius church in Gaza. Neither the church nor its murals and mosaics have survived, but they are known exclusively via this written record. F.-M. ABEL, *Gaza au VI^e siècle d'après le rhéteur Chorikios*, *Revue biblique* 40/1, 1931, pp. 5–31; G. DOWNEY, *Gaza in the Sixth Century*, Norman, OK 1963, pp. 127–9; C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453: Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1972, pp. 60–8.

66. Canon 35 of the fourth-century Council of Laodicea outlawed angelolatry, see R. H. CLINE, *Ancient Angels: Conceptualizing Angeloi in the Roman Empire*, Leiden 2011, ch. 6.

On the walls of churches, angels acted as messengers of the divine will and as guardians flanking Jesus and the Mother of God, they also acted as divine agents whose role was not restricted simply to conveyance of the story and revealing its hidden meaning, but could also engage the beholder standing in the church. Angels take the role of intermediaries which is not limited to the two-dimensional realm, since their gestures and actions also served to address the viewer and to engage the worshiper. By directing the gaze of the apostles in the Ascension, or by assisting the magi approaching Mary and Christ in the Epiphany, angels conveyed a message to the beholder. In a similar manner, angels highlight a symbol, an object or a figure to be venerated when appearing at its sides. They also bring together the realities of the Old and New Testament into an uninterrupted sequence, marking both with the same heavenly presence. We can see, then, that angels played an additional subtle and seldom acknowledged function in art—that of role-models unobtrusively shaping the perception and appropriate conduct of the worshipper.⁶⁷ This becomes particularly relevant if we consider the importance of becoming like angels within early Christian culture.⁶⁸ We can see this on a number of different levels: from the personal, often monastic,⁶⁹ path to salvation in which the individual hoped to approach the immaterial state of heavenly beings through fasting, prayer and denial of the flesh to allusions to the presence of angels alongside the congregation at the liturgy,⁷⁰ where human and celestial mystically interact in their joint worship of God. The latter aspect, in particular, adds new meaning to the role of angelic representations in a church and offers additional insights with regard to visual strategies that aimed to cross the boundaries between the divine and earthly dimensions in Christian art.

Maria Lidova

Moscow, Russian Academy of Sciences

67. Similar, although not identical, to the function of the ‘pathetic figures of framing’ introduced by Louis Marin: L. MARIN, *On Representation*, transl. by C. Porter, Stanford 2001, p. 358. For the application of Marin’s theory to Byzantine artworks: G. PEERS, *Sacred Shock: Framing Visual Experience in Byzantium*, University Park, PA 2004.

68. See for example the discussion concerning ‘the equality with angels’ and ‘human-angelic collaboration’ in E. KLEIN, *Augustine’s Theology of Angels*, Cambridge 2018, pp. 72–109.

69. ROCHARD, *Le culte des archanges* (quoted n. 40), pp. 127–31. See also the paper by Marie-Emanuelle Torres in this volume.

70. In addition to already cited bibliography: E. PETERSON, *The Angels and the Liturgy*, transl. by R. Walls, New York, NY 1964. Originally published as *Das Buch von den Engeln: Stellung und Bedeutung der heiligen Engel im Kultus*, Leipzig 1935. See also the paper by Eirini Afentoulidou in this volume.

RÉSUMÉS – ABSTRACTS

Komait ABDALLAH, *L'iconographie des anges en Syrie à l'époque byzantine* p. 521

The archaeological work in Syria has revealed evidence about the existence of angel's cult in Late Antiquity, well attested by the texts of the Syriac church fathers. The majority are epigraphic documents. Less known than epigraphy, iconography also testify the spread of this cult. The image of the angels is found on buildings, especially in churches, and on devotional objects. These iconographic documents confirm widespread use of the images of the angels in Syria in the Byzantine era and the relations with the propagation of their cult in the region at that time.

Eirini AFENTOULIDOU, *Ministering spirits, guardians, intercessors: the discourse of angels in Byzantine liturgical texts* p. 631

This chapter focuses on Christian ritual texts encountered in the liturgical books of the Byzantine Church, notably priestly prayers, and hymns. These texts bear witness to different angelologies. Angels are not equally present in all these texts and whenever they are present, their function varies. In priestly prayers, angels appear as ministering spirits at the throne of God and they protect human beings at God's command, according to the angelology codified by church authorities. Some prayers for protection in lay spaces go a step further in asking for protection through guardian angels, appropriating elements from non-liturgical traditions. From the 7th-8th centuries onwards hymns dedicated to the angels, notably Michael and Gabriel, proliferate. In these, angels become more and more humanised, and their veneration resembles the cult of saints.

Stéphanie ANTHONIOZ, *Mutations angéliques ?* p. 3

Written in the 2nd century BCE, the book of Daniel testifies to an unprecedented angelic interest (Dn 9:2Salamyeh; 10:5-6.13.21), confirmed by Qumran manuscripts, the Gospels and the apocryphal literature as a whole. Though angels are little known in the Hebrew Bible, they become the object of new theological speculations. The question of the birth of an angelology is not new, but it is not easy to write its history. It is clearly concentrated between the period of the closure of the Torah/Pentateuch, in the Persian-Achaemenid period, and the first centuries of the Christian era. This birth seems to be related to some particular traditions and not all texts reflect this new interest. In order to shed light on these developments, we first consider the etymology and semantics of the root *l'k. We then study the angel *mal'āk* among other mediating entities of the divine. This will allow us to propose an in-depth examination of the biblical angels, before questioning the historical and theological conditions of these evolutions.

Inventer les anges de l'Antiquité à Byzance : conception, représentation, perception.
éd. par D. LAURITZEN (Travaux et mémoires 25/2), Paris 2021.

Luc BRISSON, *Les anges chez Proclus*

p. 173

In his *Elements of Theology*, Proclus (5th c.) situates angels, along with demons and heroes, at a specific level of the hierarchy of his metaphysical system, seemingly adopting a tripartition derived from the Chaldean Oracles. In so doing, he remains faithful to the project of the Neoplatonic School of Athens, which aimed at demonstrating the agreement between the scientific theology of Plato, as set forth in the second part of the *Parmenides*, and the *Orphic Rhapsodies* and the *Chaldean Oracles*. We are thus in a context in which philosophy has become theology: a scientific theology opposed to Christianity, and derived from the allegorical interpretation of the central myth of the *Phaedrus* and the Myth of Er in Book X of the *Republic*.

Béatrice CASEAU, Jean-Claude CHEYNET, *La place des anges dans l'iconographie des sceaux*

p. 307

This chapter focuses on Byzantine seals and analyses the presence of angels, comparing their iconography with other types of artistic representations. Angels appear on imperial seals of the late 6th century. They replace Victories, winged figures close to angels in iconography. They are also found in biblical scenes, such as the Annunciation, the baptism of Christ, the Crucifixion, the Women at the Tomb, the Ascension and the Dormition. These scenes are rare on mediaeval seals, except for the Annunciation. After the period of Iconoclasm, Archangel Michael is quite frequently depicted on seals, because he is perceived as an effective protector, his shrines are popular and have been developing since the High Middle Ages. The archangel is often chosen by sigillants who bear his first name. He does not seem to be particularly chosen by eunuchs.

François CASSINGENA-TRÉVEDY, *Les messagers du haut silence : l'angélogie d'Ephrem de Nisibe (Hymnes sur la Foi) : entre fonction liturgique et apophatisme exemplaire*

p. 617

Ephraem de Nisibis, a Syriac writer in the middle of the 4th century, employs a rich angelology throughout his hymns. In his collection of "Hymns on the Faith", he attacks the rationalist posture of Arian theology by relying on scriptural examples and the referring to the model of the silent and reverent angels. They therefore appear as models of the apophatic theology that he promotes. They are also actors in a celestial liturgy of which earth is a reflection, according to the concept widely shared by the Syro-Antiochian liturgical tradition.

Paolo CESARETTI, Basema HAMARNEH, *Visualising angels in the Life of Andrew, the Holy Fool (BHG 115z). Its sources and parallels*

p. 695

This chapter examines the various ways in which angels are sketched in the *Life of Andrew salos* (BHG 115z). The composition of the hagiographic narrative concerning this fictional Holy Fool, whose life is set in an artificial 5th century Constantinopolitan context, is dated to the 10th century. It is characterized, in general, by alternating episodes with a strong

visual impact, long conceptual—even abstract—digressions, and more specifically, by the ascendancy and authority of its protagonist, Andrew, on angels. This aspect is relevant when the text is compared to its 7th century model, the *Life of Symeon salos* (BHG 1677) by Leontios of Neapolis, and in parallel to the *Life of Basil the Younger* (BHG 264), one more fictional saint whose life is a product of 10th century Constantinopolitan hagiography. These texts, despite differences in authorship and settings, address various patterns of the reception of angels, especially seen from the perspective of human interaction with God, and the strive towards a proper Christian life and behaviour. The life of Andrew delineates the effective power of angels in the struggle against demons, and in fending off evil spirits. However, the stories and episodes in which angels are outlined seem to respond to a specific instructive intent, and touch upon a wide range of eschatological concerns in which angels appear to be utterly decisive.

Jean-Charles COULON, *Le développement de la légende de Hārūt et Mārūt et des origines de la magie dans les premiers siècles de l'islam*

p. 891

Hārūt and Mārūt are two angels ambiguously mentioned in a single verse of the Qurʾān. While angels are supposed to be created of light, inhabiting the heavens and totally subservient to the divine order, Hārūt and Mārūt are notably accused of teaching magic and the art of separating spouses in Babylon. This verse thus poses a number of problems, which have been reflected in an abundant exegesis that has attempted both to identify these angels and to develop their story in order to answer the theological questions they raise, including the question of the angels' sinfulness or their relationship to human beings. One account includes two angels who descended to earth and were seduced by Venus, who caused them to commit sins, for which they were punished in Babylon. Studies have been made of the possible ancient sources of these two angels in the Qurʾān (Indian, Zoroastrian, Hebrew, etc.), but the aim of this chapter is to trace the development of the exegesis of these verses in the early centuries of Islam, to see how the story was formed and how exegetes tried to reconcile this verse with the rest of the Qurʾān and its theological issues.

Korshi DOSOO, *Ministers of fire and spirit: knowing angels in the Coptic magical papyri*

p. 403

The Christianisation of Egypt, completed by the fifth century, produced a shift in the conception of the superhuman world found in magical texts, with the traditional Greek and Egyptian gods being almost entirely replaced by divine beings of the Christian religion—the Trinity, the saints, and, above all, the angels. This discussion surveys the role of angels in Christian magical texts written in Coptic, dating to between the fourth and twelfth centuries, focusing on two aspects—their role as agents of the divine will, which may be experienced positively or negatively by human beings; and the ways in which these (normally) unseen beings make their presence felt through their effects upon the material world. Beginning with a survey of the role of angels in older Graeco-Egyptian and Jewish magic, we then turn to the key roles of angels in Coptic magical texts—the gathering angel, the angelic name, the helping angel, and the dangerous angel.

Philippe FAURE, *Le rayonnement angélique de Byzance en Occident (x^e-xiii^e siècle)* p. 809

This study attempts to identify the modalities of the Byzantine influence on Western medieval art from the 10th to the 13th century in the field of the representation of angels, through the analysis of some major iconographic themes and motives. The main artistic centres concerned (Italy, Sicily, Catalonia) show that the Byzantine representation of angels is closely linked to the visionary, glorious and theophanic dimension of Christianity, which is expressed in particular in the conceptions of the kingdom of God and the heavenly court. The spread of this inspiration is so powerful that it can be found in works painted in Germany, France, and even Great Britain. The treatment of themes such as the angels beside Christ or the Virgin, the heavenly Jerusalem, the celestial hierarchy and the Last Judgement bear witness to this inspiration, but also to a work of appropriation and adaptation. The figures of the archangels are particularly significant in this process: as prince of heaven, Michael appears to be associated with the dramaturgy, eschatology and liturgical celebration. Gabriel, on the other hand, benefited from the promotion of the founding scene of the Annunciation. The creative process led to the integration of Byzantine models in the active form of quotation and the invention of new works. The orientation of Western piety in the 13th century, which tended to focus on the humanity and the Passion of Christ, was accompanied by a gradual retreat from Byzantine inspiration. However, the hieratic nature of the angelic figures tended to be maintained, within the framework of another pole of devotion, the representations of the Virgin in majesty, inseparable from her angelic escort.

Ryan HAECKER, *Origen's speculative angelology* p. 95

Origen of Alexandria (fl. AD 184-253/4) should be acknowledged as the founder of a Christian science of angels, or angelology. In 'On First Principles' (1.5-8), he introduces angels as the first created 'rational beings' who, in contemplating the divine Logos, freely choose to direct their will as holy angels in service to or as wicked demons in antagonism against the love of God. The angels and demons thereafter guide the movements of all spirits, substances, and signs in the created world. Origen's angelology has been regarded as an early Christian alternative to Middle Platonic daemonologies. After Karl Barth, his angelology has often been dispensed from Christian theology. However, as Jean Daniélou has observed, Origen departs from the principles of Platonic daemonology in affirming that angelic mediacy must pass away like the light of the stars before the Logos of Christ. He had assimilated the relative mediacy of the angels to the absolute mediation of Christ. And in assimilating angelic to Christic mediacy, Origen also assimilates the reason with which the world is moved to the divine Logos of Christ in God as Trinity. Origen's angelology can thus be read before and after Barth to recommend a new speculative angelology.

Magdalena ŁAPTAŚ, *The apotropaic function of the archangels in Nubian art* p. 479

People in the Nile Valley lived in the constant fear of monsters, demons and other misfortunes threatening them. Therefore, they had to turn to God for protection. God however was far in the Heavens, while his angelic messengers were closer, moving between celestial and earthly spaces. To ensure their protection, their images and names were placed wherever the exposure to the evil forces was the greatest. An attribution of these protective functions is not always clear

from the way the archangels were depicted in art. The figures are shown frontally, frequently freestanding. For the most part, it is the context or accompanying inscriptions that allow an image to be identified as an archangel in its apotropaic function. Therefore, for this chapter, three groups have been chosen connected with the protection of buildings and their interiors; protection of the bodies of living Nubians and finally with deceased. Writing this paper, the author was aware that the subject is so rich that the presented material and its interpretations are only an introduction to further research, which will be gradually undertaken.

Delphine LAURITZEN, *Des Amours et des anges dans l'art de l'Antiquité tardive* p. 207

Angels are usually depicted anthropomorphically. We argue here that this appearance was drawn from Eros/Cupid, the god of love in Ancient Classical mythology. The paper compares and contrasts five main features: wings, age, genre, clothing, and number. Both cupids and angels are intermediaries. Two horizontal figures flying on each side of a central medallion is a favourite theme of Roman sarcophagi. In a funerary context, it symbolizes the transition from life to death. Transposed to angels, the motive encompasses a broader meaning. Angels (*angeloi*) are messengers who cross both ways between the divine and the human level. Moreover, angels never supplant cupids in Late Antique art. One may think that they served different purposes: decorative *vs* religious. The reality appears more nuanced. The meaning of cupids and angels' images is therefore reconsidered on the ground of their common, protective function.

Frederick LAURITZEN, *Psellos' angels between Homer, Proclus, and Dionysius*
(Phil. Min. 1.42 Duffy) p. 739

Psellos' essay on Homer's *Iliad* 4.1-4 offers one an insight into his angelology. He interprets Homer's gods as being God's angels. He achieves this identification by combining his reading of Plato's *Cratylus* with the *Gospel* of John. Moreover, he associates the angels with imperial courtiers. The analysis is the result of his reading of Proclus and specifically his commentary on the *Timaeus* of Plato. His analysis also appears to be in tune with the recent treaty of hierarchy written by Nicetas Stethatos. Thus, Psellos interprets the essay, not as an allegory, but as a transposition (μεταπόιησις) of myth into truth.

Maria LIDOVA, *Divine Presence: gazing upon the angels in Early Byzantine art* p. 241

This chapter focuses on the selection of roles played by angels in early Byzantine visual culture. In church decorations, the winged beings regularly appeared in pairs as guardians, assuming the likeness of courtiers or military officials. It is argued that within related depictions which show two winged guardians flanking a central motif, the significance of heavenly beings could vary depending on what was placed at the centre, be it a holy figure, a sacred object, or even an ecclesiastical space. Angels could also be depicted in narrative compositions representing the events of the Old and New Testaments. In these compositions, they often performed the role of divine agents enabling the realization of God's will. The chapter analyses the significance of angelic representations in visual rendering of the scriptural and apocryphal events using the rich and detailed programme of the so-called Murano ivory diptych (6th c.) as an example.

Jean-Pierre MAHÉ, *Anges d'Arménie : gloire divine, liturgie, hiérarchie* p. 847

In the Armenian tradition, angels are the emissaries of divine glory, that is to say, not mere envoys, but the living substance of the radiance of the divinity. Angels and glory are closely associated in the liturgy and in the decoration of the vessels, instruments and fabrics of the celebration. By representing the wonder of the angels before the Eucharist, this mystagogy stages the salutary effect of the Incarnation, the restoration of the first glory of Adam, created in the image of God. According to the Areopagite, the nine degrees of the angelic orders are the heavenly archetype of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. At the end of the seventh century, the Armenian Church structured itself accordingly to justify its autocephaly.

Marc MALEVEZ, *The angels in Late Egyptian Antiquity: a study mainly based on two travelogues* p. 341

After an introduction to the monastic spiritual approach described by Evagrius Ponticus, we evoke the travelogues in general, then more specifically *The Mission of Paphnutius / Life of Onnophrius*, of which we will present the various manuscripts and fragments of the Nile tradition known to this day, before we turn to the second travelogue analysed in this chapter, the *Story of Pambo / Life of Cyrus*, less famous and whose Coptic and Ethiopian versions we have studied to date. This will allow us to question the angelic nature, before focusing on the functions of angels in the world of Coptic desert monks, through our two texts. The conclusion is followed by quotations from the studied manuscripts not mentioned in the body of the chapter.

Jérôme MOREAU, *Les anges, λόγοι de Dieu dans l'exégèse de Philon d'Alexandrie* p. 43

Philo of Alexandria presents the angels (*angeloi*) as *logoi*. While he carefully dismisses the word *daimon* for the superstition it carries, he still refers to a Platonic demonology, where the angels are intermediary beings, messengers to and from God, but only insofar as it is confirmed by an exegesis of Scripture. Indeed, as always in his works, his conceptions lie only on the (little) information about angels he can find in the Pentateuch. His system allows him to claim that perfect human souls may also be qualified as angels, as they truly act as intermediaries between God and human beings, and that the Logos in itself, as well as God's Pneuma, are *angeloi*. However, Philo's intellectual angelology does not allow him to fully explain texts in which the angels are told to appear sensibly to someone, despite their purely intellectual nature: he is compelled to avoid this problem rather than addressing it directly.

Cécile MORRISON, *Les anges sur la monnaie byzantine : de l'omniprésence à la personnalisation* p. 293

The image of the angel on coins replaces that of the Victory starting from the *solidi* of Justin I in 522. Its assimilation to the Eternal Victory of Rome gave it the wings that would become its characteristic feature. It also completed the slow Christianisation of this element

derived from Hellenistic and Imperial coinage. In the 5th century numerous Christian attributes (*labarum*, *globus cruciger*, cross) were added and later disappeared completely at the beginning of the 6th century. From the 11th century onwards, the predominant image is that of the Archangel Michael, the patron saint of the military aristocracy. The archangel remains associated with the ideal of power and illustrates the protection granted to the emperor by the Pantocrator of whom he is, after the angels, another winged envoy. The late numismatics of the Thessaloniki workshop made the wings, attached to an effigy of the sovereign or alone, an imperial attribute, symbol of power and legitimacy.

François PACHA-MIRAN, *Images des anges dans l'enluminure syriaque de l'Antiquité tardive*

p. 267

Images of angels rarely appear in Late Antique Syriac manuscripts. Only two witnesses dating back to the 6th century contain such representations: Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Plut. I 56, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. syr. 33. Yet, the evidence of Syriac angels turns out to be essential to a better understanding of the formation and diffusion of iconographic patterns that marked Medieval art, such as the Annunciation and the Resurrection. These two manuscripts firstly attest the existence of a common visual language, shared among the Eastern Christian communities. The angels simultaneously adopt a role of messengers, witnesses, and heralds, that originates both in Christian literature and Classical art. The images also allow us to examine the different methods of layout and illustration used by Syriac artists, and the close relationships that linked the miniatures to the biblical texts. The presence of inscriptions on and around the miniatures reveals an astonishing concern for the creation of an ‘iconographic soundspace’. Through a careful depiction of the dialogues, the angels thereby embody the pronounced sensitivity of Syriac Christianity toward the written word and the dialogue. Between the lines, they finally evoke the vocal performance of hymns and canticles, sung during the main liturgical celebrations.

Ilaria L.E. RAMELLI, *Conceptualities of angels in Imperial and Late Antiquity: nature and bodies of angels, degrees of corporeality, and comparative angelologies / daemonologies in “Pagan” and Christian Platonism*

p. 115

The chapter studies the ways in which angels were conceptualised in Imperial and Late Antiquity, their nature or essence (for Origen, the same as that of all rational creatures), and their bodies. The reflection on their corporeality or incorporeality will be framed within the theories of degrees of corporeality in both “pagan” and Christian Platonism and within the relativity of notions such as “corporeal/incorporeal” and “material/immaterial.” Attention will be paid to the genderlessness of angels, contrasted with the apparent descriptions of Satan as a male creature. Finally, a brief comparative study will be offered of d(a)emonologies in “pagan” and Christian Platonism. This will point out, among other interesting elements, the partial overlap of angels and good δαίμονες.

Denis J.-J. ROBICHAUD, *The Star of the Magi or the afterlife of Chaldean angels in Iamblichus, Proclus, Psellos, Pletho, and Ficino* p. 763

This chapter studies how angelic epiphanies are understood in the exegetical tradition on the *Chaldean Oracles* in the writings of the Syrian Iamblichus, the Greek Proclus, two Byzantines, Michael Psellos and Georgius Gemistus Pletho, and the Florentine Marsilio Ficino. Working backwards from Ficino, the culmination of this philosophical approach to the *Chaldean Oracles*, it reconstructs this tradition through Ficino's sources for his sermon the *De stella magorum* and his eighteen-volume *Platonic Theology*. Examining new manuscript evidence, it demonstrates how this tradition of Chaldean epiphanies is central to Ficino's understanding of the Star of the Magi in the Gospel of Matthew and the angelic apparition to the shepherds in the Gospel of Luke, as well as the philosophical considerations on angels in Ficino's *Platonic Theology*.

Hélène ROCHARD, *Le trône divin et les quatre Vivants dans la peinture égyptienne (VI^e-XIII^e siècle)* p. 435

The depiction of Christ surrounded by the four living creatures is a widespread image of medieval art and a well-studied theme of Christian iconography. This type known as *Maiestas Domini* and principally based on the John's vision of the throne of God in Heaven and the vision of the Old Testament prophet Ezekiel is one way to visualize the divine. Christ in Majesty occurs in various forms in the Early Byzantine world and Egyptian examples provide several variants among which are the oldest remains of Christian art. In most early Egyptian wall paintings, the throne of Christ is carried by four beasts and four wheels. This chapter focuses on the allegorical interpretation of the divine throne and the living creatures in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt.

Artur RODZIEWICZ, *Heft Sur – the Seven Angels of the Yezidi tradition and Harran* p. 943

The chapter, based mainly on field research conducted by the author in Iraq, Turkey, and Georgia, is devoted to the Yezidi cult of the Seven Angels and their leader, called the Peacock Angel. Following an introduction to the Yezidi religion, it focuses on the relationship between the Yezidi concept of God's essence (*sur*) and the Seven Angels, who, like the seven Yezidi saints and the seven planets, are its manifestations and objects of religious worship. Apart from an attempt to answer the question which of the heavenly bodies the Peacock Angel is connected with and to which angel it corresponds to in other religious traditions, another object representing him, the *sanjak*, is discussed. The search for the origins of the Yezidi cult points to several other religions which also refer to the seven angels, and concludes with the Harranian 'Sabians', whose beliefs were a mixture of elements of Platonism and local traditions. The preserved accounts about them allow the conclusion that, after the destruction of their temples, when the last representatives of the Sabians migrated to the area of Mardin and Mosul, they could have joined the religious community that was forming there between the 12th and 14th centuries and which became known as Yezidis.

Anna SALSANO, *The archangel Michael in Coptic homilies*

p. 383

On the basis of the roles of the archangels Michael and Raphael in Coptic tradition and specifically fifteen Coptic homilies on the archangel Michael, one can say that he has different functions including devil's antagonist, intercessor, avenger, healer, rescuer, guardian, messenger, guide, encourager, archistrategus, tamer of beasts, Christ's fellow and psychopomp. Some roles show a specialization towards a particular aspect, others are more diversified. This chapter will analyse these roles and the related epithets applied to the archangel Michael. It will also include the comparison of these homilies with other types of literary texts such as hagiographic and apocryphal sources.

Georges SIDÉRIS, *Quelques remarques sur les anges eunuques dans le*
Récit sur la construction de Sainte-Sophie

p. 721

Through an analysis of the presence of eunuch angels and eunuchs in the *Narrative on the Construction of Hagia Sophia* and the sources used by the anonymous author, the chapter proposes to date the writing of the *Narrative* during the reign of Leo VI the Wise (886-912), in the circles close to the emperor. It also argues that the work was perhaps written by an imperial eunuch. Concerning the eunuch angels, the author was inspired in particular by the *Life of John the Chaplain* composed by Leontios of Neapolis in the 7th century and known at the time in Byzantium. For the eunuchs he consulted sources dating from the reigns of Justinian I and Justin II, from which he drew an onomastic reserve. He was able to consult these sources in the Palace library. The aim of the *Narrative* is to exalt Leo VI, the new Justinian, to assert his authority over Hagia Sophia and the Imperial Church, to promote and legitimise the court eunuchs through the angels, their role with the Emperor and in the imperial ceremonial, as well as their presence in Constantinople, the city of eunuchs. The *Narrative* is presented as a historical and patriographic text, composed according to the technique of *ekphrasis*, the art of description, but it is in fact a work of propaganda.

Michel TARDIEU, *Les anges du bouddhisme*

p. 921

The god-kings of Buddhist mythology are recognisable by the name of angels, given to them in the non-Christianised epilogues of the Arabic versions of the History of Barlaam and Jehoshaphat. There are four of them, installed at the cardinal points as guardians of the universe, they intervene in dreams and transport their protégés in the air. What environment favoured the passage of the god-kings from the polytheistic Indian world to a monotheistic system or systems? The transfer cannot depend on Byzantine Greek writing, since it derives from Arabic via Georgian. Nor can it come from Qur'anic angelology, since the narrative, transmitted by the Ismaili and Shi'a Imamite compilations, is only superficially Islamised. The study compares the representations of the infant oracle with the biographical episodes of the Buddhist legend, as attested by the Barlaamian literature, by Rashid al-Din and in the Chinese Manichean iconography preserved in Japan. It follows from the comparison that the transfer of the god-kings into angels took place through contact with the Eastern Manichaeans.

Sipana TCHAKERIAN, *Anges de pierre en Géorgie et en Arménie tardo-antiques : le témoignage des monuments crucifères à stèle quadrilatérale*

p. 547

In Late Antique Armenia and Iberia, the cult of the Cross was materialized through an original type of carved architecture: the cross-bearing monument with a four-sided stela. This paper investigates the role of the angels in the decorative program of these monuments and in the experience of the faithful praying before them. After evoking the depictions of angels represented on diverse media throughout the region, the various types of angels identified on monumental crosses (angels, archangels, seraphim, cherubim) and their iconography are analysed. It appears that the angel contributes to the primary function of these peculiar monuments, namely the exaltation of the Cross of Christ. Moreover, the study of the angels' iconographical formulas and their display on the monument provides noteworthy information for a better understanding of these structures, especially when it comes to the hierarchization of their decorative program and to their functions as objects of prayer and sacred space. These monuments take advantage of their morphology, both vertical and polygonal, to offer the faithful a dual dynamic space, both circular and ascending. Through its plural presence, the angel accompanied the ritual apprehension of these monumental crosses.

Marie-Emmanuelle TORRES, « Chanter comme les anges ». *Discours et pratiques d'une sensorialité « isangelique » dans les monastères cénobitiques (IX^e-XV^e siècle)*

p. 665

From the 8th–9th century onwards, the Stoudios monastery required the coenobite monk to “live like the angels.” In this way, the monk could win divine favour for the Empire and for the founders. In fact, the imitation of the angels through chanting occupies most of the monk's life, providing him with a reason for being, an ascetic practice and an effective spiritual exercise. This chanting wins divine favour, contributes to the sanctification of the monk and allows him to approach the angelic model. This support in asceticism makes the isangelic transformation possible. To be effective, this chanting must be carried out without error, and each founder acts as a “vocal coach.” He chooses the songs, the places, the voices... but also the state of mind, the sensations, the emotions, the body attitude that are appropriate. This definition of the singer's body and voice is directly inspired by the common perception of angels. All these musical indications shed light on the way the angels' senses and body are understood. These *typika* thus show how to make an anthropomorphic angel.

Antonis TSAKALOS, Χιλιάδες ἀρχαγγέλων καὶ μυριάδες ἀγγέλων.
Angels in the painted decoration of Karanlık kilise, Cappadocia

p. 577

In the *katholikon* of the Cappadocian monastery of Karanlık kilise, the abundance of angelic portraits is in perfect accordance with the *topos* of the “angelic life” in monastic practice—the moral perfection monks and ascetics seek to achieve. Our analysis underlines the diversity of the archangels' functions as healers, protectors, guardians, and intercessors during life and at the moment of death, as well as intermediaries between the faithful and God. Two major themes are highlighted in the sophisticated iconographic programme: the

reality of the Incarnation of the Logos and Christ's dual nature, in combination with the idea of defending the Orthodox faith against heretics or other religious apostates (which is unsurprising for the border region of Cappadocia during the agitated period of the second half of the 11th c.). The innovative arrangements in Karanlık kilise's painted decoration are so numerous that they should not be considered as simple confusion or random coincidence. The dynamic network of interactions among the images constitutes an important indication of the seven donors' interventions in shaping the architectural setting and the layout of this exceptional iconographic programme, connected with certain liturgical practices.

Alexandros TSAKOS, *Invoking graphically archangels: the case study of the Archangel Michael in Christian Nubia*

p. 461

The role of intermediate beings in the belief system of African Christianity cannot be overestimated. In the Sudanese Nile Valley, three Christian kingdoms thrived during the period that is termed "Medieval" or "Christian Nubia", and from the rich archaeological record that they have produced it appears that the most popular intermediate being was the Archangel Michael. The intermediation of Michael was manifested in his culturally conditioned appearances to humans, according to theological norms or by expressions of art and language. All manifestations of this archangel—as of all angels—were a message, either from God to the humans or from the humans to God. The study offers a qualitative presentation of the forms that these messages take, with a focus on the letter-shaped ones, and especially monograms and cryptograms. These are perceived as "grapho-linguistic techniques" which knowledgeable individuals use on the basis of a set of skills that has been termed "graphicacy". In some cases, the message is the archangel himself. New interpretations for understanding Nubian Christianity—as well as related Oriental Christianities—open up by investigating this possibility.

Françoise VINEL, *Les anges, proches de Dieu, proches des hommes : jalons d'une réflexion, du livre de Tobit à la littérature chrétienne des premiers siècles*

p. 69

The Old Testament's Book of *Tobit* was probably written during the 2nd century BCE. The short tale facilitates a comprehensive understanding of the angelic nature and qualities in the Biblical and Christian tradition. In the context of the development of Jewish angelology, Raphael's role with Tobit and his family reveals an angelic invisible people who are both close to God and close to the believer people who need some help. In Early Christian literature, especially in Origen's *De oratione*, the idea of guardian angels is formed. An important aspect of these celestial beings is their eschatological and liturgical missions. According to biblical images, the angelic army inhabits the whole universe and is ready to fight against evil's powers, as well as never stops praising God and inviting human beings to join its prayer. If we keep also in mind the legacy of the Greek *daimones*, there is some evidence that, from Origen to Augustine, the angelic Christian doctrine takes consistency, before Dionysius' developments and synthesis.

Marilena VLAD, *Dionysius' concept of Hierarchy*

p. 189

The chapter concerns both Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Proclus, specifically the idea of a structured reality. Dionysius' *Celestial Hierarchy*, even if influenced by Proclus' perspective, transforms the understanding the structure of the reality, namely as a *hierarchy*, or sacred governing of the reality. There is a double act of revelation at work between the *hierarchy* and the divine principle or *thearchy*, so that the role of the angelic hierarchy can only be understood inside this reciprocal manifestation. The difference between Dionysius' celestial hierarchy and Proclus' structure of the intelligible world, reveals that the hierarchy is not the highest object of knowledge, but rather a system through which God transmits knowledge and manifests his presence throughout the reality. In Dionysius' perspective, there is no knowledge about the hierarchy, but only knowledge transmitted inside the hierarchy, so that his own interpretative activity becomes a hierarchical act.

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GLENN PEERS

Subtle Bodies

Representing Angels in Byzantium

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , 71 vols., Paris, 1863–1940.
<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>ArtB</i>	<i>Art Bulletin</i>
<i>B</i>	<i>Byzantion</i>
<i>BF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
Blondel	<i>Macarii Magnetis quae supersunt ex inedito codice</i> , ed. C. Blondel, Paris, 1876.
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
Bonnet	M. Bonnet, <i>Narratio de miraculo a Michaelae</i> <i>Archangelo Chonis patrato</i> , Paris, 1890.
<i>BS</i>	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> .
<i>CA</i>	<i>Cahiers Archéologiques</i> .
Cameron, “The Language of Images”	Averil Cameron, “The Language of Images: The Rise of Icons and Christian Representation,” in <i>The Church and the Arts</i> , Studies in Church History, vol. 25, ed. D. Wood, London, 1992, 1–42.

<i>DACL</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, Paris, 1924–.
<i>DChAE</i>	Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας.
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> .
<i>DTC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i> , ed. A. Vacant and E. Magenot, Paris, 1899–1950.
<i>EEBS</i>	Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν Ἐπετηρὶς.
Fisher, <i>Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae</i>	Michael Psellus, <i>Oratio in Archangelum Michaellem</i> , in <i>Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae</i> , ed. E. A. Fisher, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1994, 230–56.
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.
Holl	“Die Schriften des Epiphanius gegen die Bilderverehrung,” ed. K. Holl, <i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> 35.2(1916):828–68 [= K. Holl, <i>Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte</i> , Tübingen, 1928; rp. Darmstadt, 1964, II:351–87].
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i> .
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i> .
<i>JöB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i> .
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i> .
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> .
Leanza	S. Leanza, “Una versione greca inedita dell’ <i>Apparitio S. Michaelis</i> in monte Gargano,” <i>VetChr</i> 22(1985):291–316.
Mansi	G. D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , 53 vols. in 58 pts., Paris and Leipzig, 1901–1927.

<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX</i> , Hannover, 1878.
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i> .
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia cursus completus, Series graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 pts., Paris, 1857–1866.
Pitra	J. B. Pitra, <i>Spicilegio Solesmense complectens sanctorum patrum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum anecdota hactenus opera</i> , 4 vols., Paris, 1852–1858.
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia cursus completus, Series latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. in 222 pts., Paris, 1844–1880.
<i>PO</i>	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> .
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien.
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , Stuttgart, 1950–.
<i>RBK</i>	<i>Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst</i> , Stuttgart, 1963–.
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i> .
<i>RivAC</i>	<i>Rivista d'archeologia cristiana</i> .
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumkunde und für Kunstgeschichte</i> .
<i>RSBN</i>	<i>Rivista de studi bizantini e neollenico</i> .
SC	Sources Chrétiennes.
Settimane	Settimane di studi del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo.
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i> .
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen.
<i>VetChr</i>	<i>Vetera Christianorum</i> .

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INTRODUCTION

On the Tension between Theology and Cult

Angel, literally “messenger,” can designate all manner of negotiation between heaven and earth and refer to any member of God’s spiritual host. Scripture is unequivocal in stating the existence of an angelic host and is full of diverse examples of the appearance of these transcendental creatures. But the difficulties of perceiving and identifying angels are signaled in scripture simply by the number of guises they assume and impressions they make. Angels appear in scriptural accounts as multiform, awful beings before whom such witnesses as Zacharias are overwhelmed and left speechless (Luke 1:20–22). They appear as clouds and fire (Ex. 13:21–22, 23:20–23), formless voices (Gen. 21:17) and, in the visions of Ezekiel (Ez. 10) and Isaiah (Is. 6), as complex and ultimately unfathomable creatures. The identity of these manifestations in scripture is often obscure; and Christian exegesis with its typological interpretation only compounded the difficulty when it discerned identities not overt in Hebrew scripture.

The scriptural definition of angelic nature as fire and wind (Ps. 104:4) established the belief in the immaterial and enigmatic qualities of angelic beings. Incorporated into the Epistle to Hebrews—“And of the angels he saith, Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire” (1:7)—this definition became the

exegetical cornerstone of Christian angelology. But although the general definition was settled by scripture, the precise nature of the proportion and blend of elemental forces was never fully explained; angelic nature was held to be beyond humanity's ken.¹

Angelology—as historians have named patristic scrutiny of angels²—is replete with uncertainties, and these uncertainties were the source of the special problems of access and familiarity in devotion.³ For Christians, many questions persisted about angels' nature, organization, duties and comprehension.⁴ Agreement among theologians about the specifics of angelic nature was not possible given the transcendence of the objects of speculation, but angels figure so large in scripture and devotion that the subject could not be avoided.

The fire and spirit composition posited a relative value for angelic nature that placed the angels somewhere between the radically different natures of humanity and God. Such theologians as Theodotus in the second century called the angels “intellectual fire, intellectual spirit,”⁵ distinct in property from material fire and light.⁶ Theodotus thought that angels did have bodies—at least they were seen as such—although these bodies, compared to ours, were without form and without corporeality.⁷ Methodius (d. ca. 311) said that the angelic

1. See the texts gathered by J. Turmel, “Histoire de l'angélologie des temps apostoliques à la fin du Ve siècle,” *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse* 3(1898):411ff.

2. See, for instance, Turmel, “Histoire de l'angélologie,” 289–308, 407–34, 533–52, and also his “L'angélologie depuis le faux Denys l'Aréopagite,” *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse* 4(1899):289–309, 414–34, 536–62.

3. Angelology is the subject of many studies: see, for instance, *DACL* I.2:2080ff., *DTC* I:1189ff., *RAC* V:53ff., *RBK* III:13ff., and M. Bussagli, “Angeli,” *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale* (Rome, 1991–) I:629–38, idem, *Storia degli angeli. Racconto di immagini e di idee* (Milan, 1991), and *Le ali di Dio. Messagerie e guerrieri alati tra oriente e occidente*, ed. M. Bussagli and M. D'Onofrio, Milan, 2000.

4. See R. Roques, “Introduction,” in Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, SC vol. 58, ed. G. Heil and M. de Gandillac (Paris, 1958) lxxi.

5. Preserved in the writings of Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150–d. before 215). See *Excerpta ex scriptis Theodoto*, in *Stromata Buch VII und VIII. Excerpta ex Theodoto. Eclogae propheticae. Quis dives saluetur. Fragmente*, GCS vol. 17, 2d ed., ed. O. Stählin, L. Früchtel and U. Treu (Berlin, 1970) 110.

6. See, for instance, Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, VII.15.15, GCS vol. 43, ed. K. Mras (Berlin, 1956) 393–94. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*, V, PG 28:601C, said that the angels are as different from material creation as the sun from the stars.

7. *Excerpta ex scriptis Theodoto*, in *Stromata Buch VII und VIII*, 110–11.

nature is equally composed of air and fire, like souls.⁸ A writer later identified as Macarius the Great (ca. 300–ca. 390) said that the angels have subtle (λεπτὰ) bodies.⁹ Others stated that the angels are beings without body and without matter, but not *completely* so.¹⁰ Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 330–ca. 394) appears to put the angels out of all contact with matter.¹¹ And Gregory of Nazianzus (329/30–ca. 390) said that the angels can only be perceived by reason because they are composed of pure spirituality or something approaching it—he could not say for certain.¹² Complete agreement concerning the degree of participation of the angels in matter was never possible. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite¹³ and John of Damascus (ca. 675–ca. 750)¹⁴ came down on the side of the essential spirituality of the angels.

Maintaining a distance between the angels and God on the one hand, and angels and humanity on the other, was an important consideration for theologians. In his text praising the Archangel Michael, for example, Chrysippus (ca. 405–479) was careful to establish the similarities and differences of the natures of Michael and God.¹⁵ He deduced the nature of God from Deuteronomy 4:24

8. Photius, *Bibliothèque, Tome V* ('Codices' 230–241), ed. R. Henry (Paris, 1967) 100.10–13.

9. *Homilia*, IV.ix, in *Die fünfzig geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*, PTS vol. 4, ed. H. Dörries, E. Klosterman and M. Kroeger (Berlin, 1964) 33–34.

10. Turmel, "Histoire de l'angélologie," 422ff.

11. *Oratio catechetica magna*, VI, PG 45:28AB.

12. *Orationes xlv*, XLV.5, PG 36:629B.

13. See R. Roques, *L'univers dionysien. Structure hiérarchique du monde selon le Pseudo-Denys* (Paris, 1954; rp. Paris, 1983) 154ff. On the nature of the angels Pseudo-Dionysius himself is almost completely silent. Pseudo-Dionysius took it as an assumption that the angels were essentially spiritual in nature. In the summary of Pseudo-Dionysius's work by George Pachymeres (1242–ca. 1310), angels are described as bodiless and immaterial; they are immaterial, immortal and deiform (*De divinis nominibus*, VI.2, PG 3:856C); and in *De div. nom.*, IV.1, PG 3:693C he states: "It is as bodiless and immaterial that they are perceived by the intelligence; and inasmuch as they are intelligences, they perceive themselves in a manner not of this world. . . ." A defining characteristic is that the celestial hierarchy is more immaterial and more spiritual than the human (e.g., *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, I.4, PG 3:376B). Roques writes (*ibid.*, 155 n9), "C'est surtout par opposition aux caractères de notre hiérarchie humaine que ceux de la hiérarchie céleste prennent tout leur relief."

14. *Expositio fidei*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. II Expositio fidei*, PTS vol. 12, ed. P.B. Kotter (Berlin, 1973) 45–48.

15. A. Sigalas, "Χρυσίππου πρεσβυτέρου Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαήλ," *EEBS* 3(1926):85–93.

(“For the Lord thy God is a consuming fire”) and Deuteronomy 9:3, as well as John 4:24 (“God is a spirit”).¹⁶ But even though Psalm 104:4 and Hebrews 1:7 indicate that the angels are also fire and spirit, Chrysippus said that one must not make the mistake of assuming that the angels are the same as God. They are decidedly not equal in nature or honor, since the creator cannot be equal to his creations. God alone is uncircumscribable, unviewable, and of purer flame.

Chrysippus was mindful to base discussion of angels on scriptural reference;¹⁷ scripture, not cult, was the proper guide.¹⁸ The same ostensible dependence on divine revelation in scripture generally characterized theologians’ descriptions of angels, as well as descriptions in miracle tales of angels’ work. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (fl. ca. 500?), in his elaborate taxonomy of heaven in the *Celestial Hierarchy*, attempted to set his structure on a scriptural foundation, and yet he found that he had to rely on other sources to answer some questions. In a sense, he derived all his orders for his *Celestial Hierarchy* from the Bible,¹⁹ and his hierarchy differed from those of his predecessors in the systematic laws applied to the orders, their positions, actions and interactions.²⁰

Pseudo-Dionysius rigorously examined scripture for disclosures of the heavenly hierarchy so that a precise structure of angelic beings might be advanced. He divided the hierarchy into triads, the first consisting of seraphim, cherubim and thrones, the second of virtues,

16. Sigalas, “Χρυσίππου πρεσβυτέρου,” 89.

17. Sigalas, “Χρυσίππου πρεσβυτέρου,” 86.

18. A. Sigalas, *Des Chrysippos von Jerusalem Enkomion auf den hl. Johannes den Täufer*, Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie, vol. 20 (Athens, 1937) III.

19. Roques, “Introduction,” lxxxi.

20. See Roques, “Introduction,” lvii ff. Pre-Dionysian attempts include the Life of Peter the Iberian, regarding a vision of John the Eunuch (see E. Honigmann, “Pierre l’Ibérien et les écrits du Pseudo-Denys l’Aréopagite,” in *Mémoires de l’Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques* 47/3 (1952):18–19); Cyril of Jerusalem (ca. 315–386), *Catechesis mystagogica*, V.6, in *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, SC vol. 126, ed. A. Piédagnel (Paris, 1966) 154; John Chrysostom, *Homiliae 1–67 in Genesim*, IV, PG 53:44; and the *Constitutiones Apostolicae* (second half of the fourth century), VIII.12.8, in *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum*, ed. F.X. Funk (Paderborn, 1905; rp. Turin, 1962) 498. And see A. Louth, *Denys the Areopagite* (Wilton, Conn., 1989) 35ff.

dominations and principalities, and the last of powers, archangels and angels. His is the best known and most complete attempt at describing the hierarchy, and his symbolic theology influenced at a fundamental level perception of and approaches to angelology from the sixth century on.

Pseudo-Dionysius necessarily depended to some extent on sources other than scripture for the completeness and symmetry of his hierarchy, notably the tradition of the church, Pseudo-Dionysius's own master, Hierotheus, and even his own opinion at particularly difficult junctures.²¹ At one point, for example, Pseudo-Dionysius had to resort to a divergent reading of scripture. In Pseudo-Dionysius's system, only the archangels and angels are in direct contact with humanity. The appearance of the seraphim to Isaiah is, therefore, a direct contradiction of the hierarchical scheme, and Pseudo-Dionysius had to propose a symbolic reading of Isaiah 6:6 wherein the seraphim is actually an angel appearing under symbolic form.²² Clearly, achieving knowledge of God by this method was conditional and subject to personal interpretation.

Pseudo-Dionysius insisted on the inability of human intelligence to understand divine things fully; for him, knowledge only comes through the "truly mysterious darkness of unknowing."²³ Writing about the exegetical possibilities of Isaiah 6:6, he described the necessary process of gaining knowledge of the unknowable as a personal endeavor that is necessarily incomplete.²⁴ Human knowledge of the divine derives in this process largely from personal contemplation of

21. Roques, "Introduction," lxxx ff.

22. Roques, "Introduction," lxxviii–lxxix.

23. *De mystica theologia*, I.3, PG 3:1001A; Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *The Complete Works*, trans. C. Luibheid and P. Rorem (New York, 1987) 137.

24. *De coelesti hierarchia*, XIII.4, in *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, SC vol. 58, ed. G. Heil and M. de Gandillac (Paris, 1958) 161. Roques, "Introduction," lxxvi, commented on this passage in this way, "Il y aura donc, en matière théologique, une part d'hypothèse et d'estimation humaine. Mais, soulignons-le, *la pointe de relativité s'applique ici aux divers types d'explication qui ont essayé de montrer comment le séraphim d'Isaïe pouvait être un ange, mais non point sur le fait même qu'il l'était*: aux yeux de Denys et en vertu de la structure et des lois générales de la hiérarchie, c'est là une vérité absolue qui relève de l'enseignement le plus manifest et le plus sûr de l'illumination théarchique."

symbols or sensible phenomena, but contemplation does not provide final answers, only provisional knowledge.²⁵ For Pseudo-Dionysius, “signs and symbols pointed the seeker of truth on his way, not logical argument.”²⁶

In contrast to the circumspect attempts of theologians to come to terms with angelic nature and activity, popular cult attached great, if not overweening, importance to the near-omnipotence of angelic beings. To be sure, the cult of the Archangel Michael—the most popular of the “personalized” angels in the Byzantine world—did not depend upon these theological speculations for its working premise, although it did share in the fundamental difficulties of comprehension and description inherent in angelology.²⁷ The Christian cult of Michael, and of the angels, was founded on Jewish and pagan beliefs, and it burgeoned naturally out of this wide “power base.” But it also thrived because of its animistic roots. Evidence of Jewish belief in angels who have control over certain natural phenomena is found in the Book of Jubilees (ca. 140–100 B.C.E.), which describes angels, for instance, of fire, wind and darkness;²⁸ in the Book of Enoch (third century B.C.E.), angels have control over frost, snow and other phenomena.²⁹ In short, each natural phenomenon had an angel. Texts that cite Michael in this role as “nature angel” specify his special con-

25. See Roques, *L'univers dionysien*, 158ff.

26. Cameron, “The Language of Images,” 28.

27. L. Heiser, *Die Engel im Glauben der Orthodoxie* (Trier, 1976) 222, states that the liturgy is no more specific about the angels’ nature than the theologians are. In the liturgy the angels are given the general attributes of “insubstantial,” “bodiless,” “immaterial.” However, as he notes, “Nicht in theoretischen Erörterungen wird die Natur der Engel erkannt, sondern aus der heilgeschichtlichen Erfahrung ihres tätigen, hilfreichen Dienens für Gott und die Menschen” (ibid., 226). Appearances in history are the only really dependable factor in cult practice.

28. *The Book of Jubilees or The Little Genesis*, trans. R. H. Charles (London, 1902) 40ff. (c.II).

29. *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch. A New English Edition*, ed. M. Black (Leiden, 1985) 57 (60:17–22), 58 (61:10).

And see J. Daniélou, *Histoire des doctrines chrétiennes avant Nicée. Vol. 1. Théologie du judéo-christianisme* (Tournai, 1958) 140–41; W. v. Rintelen, *Kultgeographische Studien in der Italia Byzantina. Untersuchungen über die Kulte des Erzengels Michael und der Madonna di Costantinopoli in Süditalien* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1968) 29; W. v. Rintelen, “Kult- und Legendenwanderung von Ost nach West im frühen Mittelalter,” *Saeculum* 22(1971):84–85; A. L. Williams, “The Cult of the Angels at Colossae,” *JTS* 10(1909):415–16. The angels are

cerns as water and snow.³⁰ In Egypt, Michael “took over” the role of the Nile God so that he was held responsible for the dew and the rain, and he alone was said to go through the veil to provide life.³¹ Similarly, Michael is described in terms of immanent protection unrestrained by anyone but God.

The sun riseth upon all the world through the supplication of Michael. . . . The earth beareth its fruits through the supplication of Michael. The whole world was reconciled again to God [by Michael], and he it is who delivereth everyone from the snares of the Devil. We find the intercession of Michael in the strenuous work of our hands. . . . We find the intercession of Michael in the body of the vine and of the gladness which is in the wine. . . . For the Archangel standeth by every one who crieth up to God with all his heart and helpeth him.³²

Belief in the elemental character of Michael is not restricted to the Coptic church, although Michael was especially venerated in Egypt.³³ Writing in the late ninth/early tenth century, Pantaleon also remarks on this same elemental character of the Archangel.³⁴ And in his work praising the Archangel Michael, Michael Psellus (1018–1081?) noted the benign immanence of Michael near his shrine: “Such things as the zephyr is able to do for us and breezes

placed over every phenomenon and if named they can offer protection: for example, E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1881; rp. Athens, 1974) II:xviii ff.

30. See W. Lueken, *Michael. Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael* (Göttingen, 1898) 52ff., and 131ff.

31. Lueken, *Michael*, 131–32.

32. E. A. W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1915) 757.

33. See, on Coptic veneration, E. Amélineau, “Le christianisme chez les anciens Coptes,” *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 15(1887):54ff. He cites a large number of legends in Christian tradition in Egypt concerning the angels and the majority of these are about Michael; Michael's also are the most varied, “Cet archange était sans cesse en mouvement, tantôt en guerrier, tantôt en batelier, descendant sur la barque aérienne jusqu'au fond des enfers, trempant son aile dans les lacs de feu et en retirant les damnés” (ibid., 56). See further, Lueken, *Michael*, 70ff., and C. D. G. Müller, *Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der christlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1959) 8ff.

34. *Encomium in maximum et gloriosissimum Michaelem coelestis militiae principem*, PG 98:1265B–8A.

from the north refresh our bodies, these things the Archangel is able to do.”³⁵ Michael is the invisible and propitious force that alleviates heat in this region and lifts the oppression of all kinds of illnesses and sufferings. An important component of the angels’ nature is fire and likewise Michael makes himself manifest in this form, as miracle stories testify.³⁶ In Christian belief, angels command and guard their constituent parts, water, air and fire.

The early Church inherited a flourishing, and in some ways troublesome, cult of angels.³⁷ The warning in the Pauline Epistle to the Colossians about the dangers of untoward worship of the angels is an indication of such a problem.³⁸ The Christian cult of angels seems to have been heavily influenced by certain heterodox Jewish practices, as well as pagan beliefs in divine messengers.³⁹ The famous cult of Michael at Colossae, later Chonae, in western Asia Minor, grew out of this active, syncretistic belief in the angels that was common to Jews and pagans both.⁴⁰

35. Fisher 256.639–43. And see also E.A. Fisher, “Nicomedia or Galatia? Where Was Psellos’ Church of the Archangel Michael?” in *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerlink at 75*, ed. J. Duffy and J. Peradotto (Buffalo, 1988) 179.

36. See chapter 5.

37. The cult of angels, and specifically of the Archangel Michael, was threatening even to the position of Christ in the church. Lueken, *Michael*, 133ff., exhaustively described this problem; but see also J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos. Die Anschauung von Christos als Bote und Engel in der gelehrten und volkstümlichen Literatur des christlichen Altertums*, Theophaneia, vol. 3 (Bonn, 1941) 230ff., Daniélou, *Histoire des doctrines chrétiennes*, 167ff., J. P. Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael. Arzt und Feldherr. Zwei Aspekte des vor- und frühbyzantinischen Michaelkults* (Leiden, 1977) 67ff.

38. Col. 2:18, “Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into these things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshy mind.” This rather obscure prescription has been the subject of debate since the exact nature of this worship at Colossae is not known. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres. Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1904) 79ff., thought this warning was directed at a cult of animistic forces.

39. For the pagan cult of angels, see A.R.R. Shepherd, “Pagan Cults of Angels in Roman Asia Minor,” *Talanta* 12/13(1980/81):77–101; F. Sokolowski, “Sur le culte d’angelos dans le paganisme grec et romain,” *HTR* 53(1960):225–29; and F. Cumont, “Les anges du paganisme,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 72(1915):159–82.

40. See Williams, “The Cult of the Angels at Colossae,” 435ff. R.L. Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1986) 380, 742 n18, suspected “a pagan cult of angels” at Chonae, and he notes indications of worship of angels in pagan contexts nearby. The verb ἐμβάτευσεν (“to enter into, to approach something in order to investigate it”) is used at Col. 2:18, and although this verb is also found in the context of the cult of Apollo at

Local causes for the cult at Chonae would seem equally important, however. The geography of the region was long noted as particularly fertile for gods—or angels—with awesome power over natural phenomena.⁴¹ Local causes and larger questions of improper worship combined at Colossae to create awkwardness over cult activity directed to the angels. The Epistle to the Colossians seems to have been addressed specifically to the sizable Jewish community at Colossae and in the region of Phrygia, where pagans were also in-

Claros, one need not connect its forms of worship with Colossae for that reason alone. F.R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization c. 370–529*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1995) I:153ff., understands a pagan cult of angels behind the worship of Michael at Chonae.

The transition of cult, pagan to Christian, is often difficult to discern and should not be taken at face value, as I have attempted to demonstrate in my “The Sosthenion near Constantinople: John Malalas and Ancient Art,” *B 68*(1998):110–20.

The likeliest course for Michael at Chonae is through hellenised Jews in the area. As Marcel Simon writes, “la substitution a toutes chances d’être pré-chrétienne, et d’avoir été opérée par ces juifs syncrétisants dont on entrevoit l’influence à travers les developements polémiques de l’épître aux Colossiens.” See *Verus Israel. Étude sur le relation entre chrétiens et juifs dans l’empire romain (135–425)* (Paris, 1948) 430–31. F.O. Francis claimed that some form of mystery cult took place at Colossae, but the evidence is slim; see “Humility and Angelic Worship in Col. 2:18,” *Studia Theologica* 16(1963):109–34 [= *Conflict at Colossae. A Problem in the Interpretation of Early Christianity Illustrated by Selected Modern Studies*, ed. F.O. Francis and W.A. Meeks (Missoula, Mont., 1973) 163–95].

41. For example, Williams, “The Cult of the Angels at Colossae,” 435, “The remarkable natural phenomena at and near Colossae must from remote ages have appealed to the human mind, and provided material to which both primitive and later religions could cling.” See, too, O. Rojdestvensky, *Le culte de saint Michel et le moyen age latin* (Paris, 1922) xvi; Rintelen, *Kultgeographische Studien*, 25; Rintelen, “Kult- und Legendenwanderung,” 85; and O.F.A. Meinardus, “St. Michael’s Miracle of Khonae and Its Geographical Setting,” *Εκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία* 1(1980):459–69.

R. Chandler noted in his *Travels in Asia Minor: Or, an account of a tour made at the expense of the Society of Dilettanti* (Dublin, 1775) 230–31, “It is an old observation, that the country about the Maeander, the soil being light and friable, and full of salts generating inflammable matter, was undermined by fire and water. Hence it abounded in hot springs, which, after passing underground from the reservoirs, appeared on the mountain, or were found bubbling up in the plain or in the mud of the river: and hence it was subject to frequent earthquakes; the nitrous vapour, compressed in the cavities, and sublimed by heat or fermentation, bursting its prison with loud explosions, agitating the atmosphere, and shaking the earth and waters with a violence as extensive as destructive; and hence, moreover, the pestilential grottoes, which had subterraneous communications with each other, derived their noisome effluvia; and serving as smaller vents to these furnaces or hollows, were regarded as apertures of hell, as passages for deadly fumes rising up from the realms of Pluto. One or more of these mountains perhaps has burned; and it may be suspected, that the surface of the country has in some places been formed from its own bowels.”

volved in angelolatry.⁴² The local cult of angels was not so easily dislodged, however, and at the Council held in 380 in nearby Laodicea it was singled out for attack:

It is not right for Christians to abandon the church of God and go away and invoke angels and hold conventicles; for these things are forbidden. If, therefore, anyone is found devoting himself to this secret idolatry, let him be anathema, because he abandoned our Lord Jesus Christ and went after idolatry.⁴³

And somewhat later Theodoret of Cyrrhus (ca. 393–ca. 466) again criticized these excesses of angelolatry:

This disease long remained in Phrygia and Pisidia. For this reason also a synod in Laodicea of Phrygia forbade by a decree the offering of prayer to angels; and even to the present time oratories of the holy Michael may be seen among them and their neighbors.⁴⁴

Wilhelm Lueken noted a scholion to this passage that makes it clear that Theodoret was referring to Michael's shrines in and around Colossae.⁴⁵ Evidently, Chonae was the long-standing center of a heterodox devotion to Michael in particular and to angels in general.

42. Williams, "The Cult of the Angels at Colossae," 436ff.; C. Mango, "Germia: A Postscript," *JÖB* 41(1991):297; on the number of Jews in Phrygia, Lueken, *Michael*, 80–81, and K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, vol. 7 (Vienna, 1990) 223, for citations.

It can be inferred that the so-called Epistle to the Colossians was directed at angelolatry in Asia Minor in general, even if the Epistle may not have been directed at the eponymous community. H. Koester, *History and Literature of Early Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1982) 264, denied the possibility of Paul's authorship but still thought that the Epistle was directed to the church at Colossae.

43. See P.-P. Joannou, *Discipline generale antique (IVe-IXe siècles). Tome I.2. Les canons des synodes particuliers* (Grottaferrata, 1962) 144–45. The translation of Canon 35 of the Council of Laodicea is from J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* (London, 1879) 68. See Williams, "The Cult of the Angels at Colossae," 435; Simon, *Verus Israel*, 429–30; L. Robert, *Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques, vol. XI–XII* (Paris, 1960) 432ff. And on the anti-Jewish tendencies of the Council of Laodicea, see Rintelen, *Kultgeographische Studien*, 27, and Lueken, *Michael*, 81.

44. *De providentia orationes* x, II, PG 82:613B; trans. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles*, 68.

45. Lueken, *Michael*, 75.

This composite portrait of devotion to angels in the Early Christian and Byzantine world, as outlined above, reveals conflicting elements. On the one hand, popular, sometimes heterodox devotion to elemental, guardian creatures clearly existed, as the troublesome and flourishing history of the devotion to Michael at Chonae demonstrates; and, on the other, there was an abundance of theological speculation that carefully avoided crossing paths with this popular devotion and instead focused on issues of nature and organization—in other words, on decorous angelology. This study, however, explores how these apparently contradictory approaches to God's invisible multitude could intersect. The possibility of idolatry, a fear of the early church that still acted on the consciences of eighth- and ninth-century Byzantines, was never distant from discussion of angels and their representations. It informed the debates over the appropriateness of representing angels, a debate that began in the early church but was not resolved until the ninth century. The course of this debate as it incriminated material images is the subject of the first three chapters of this book. The worship of angels and of their images is the subject of fourth chapter; this chapter examines theology and miracle stories, and discusses the ways in which both of these genres dealt with the danger of worship of angels and presented seemingly examples of approach instead. The fifth chapter looks at miracle stories of the Archangel Michael at Chonae to examine their verbal representation, that is, how these texts both make Michael more apprehensible to their audience and manage the difficulties of description with which artists also—in their own way—contended.

While this study deals primarily with textual evidence of attitudes towards angels and their images, it is the work of an art historian. It draws on intellectual history, which includes theology, miracle stories, poetry and sermons, and incorporates them into a history of representation. At the center of the study are the cultural conditions of seeing and understanding: an epistemology for which angels are simply the most trying and dangerous case. Transparent images of formless beings made for especially treacherous rapids, which the Byzantines attempted to stop up; this study looks at the shifting waters and dams that having images of angels necessitated.

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One

ISSUES IN REPRESENTING ANGELS

Given the difficult nature of angels and their incorrigible cult, the question arose early in Christianity: How does one make an image of an incorporeal being, and what meaning does that image have for devotion to and comprehension of that being? This question, however, formed part of a larger search for ways of attaining knowledge of God and of things divine. As Averil Cameron's insightful synthesis of different aspects of Byzantine culture demonstrates, it was this search and the distinct approaches to gaining knowledge that led directly to the crisis of Iconoclasm in the eighth and ninth centuries.¹

Iconoclasm arose in the 720s, signaled *perhaps* by the dramatic destruction of the image of Christ on the Chalke Gate of the imperial palace in Constantinople.² Its direct cause was likely political concerns and the personal inclination of the emperor Leo III

1. Cameron, "The Language of Images"; and also her "Byzantium and the Past in the Seventh Century: The Search for Redefinition," in *The Seventh Century. Change and Continuity. Proceedings of a joint French and British Colloquium held at the Warburg Institute 8–9 July 1988*, ed. J. Fontaine and J. N. Hillgarth (London, 1992) 250–76.

2. See M.-F. Auzépy, "Le destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalce par Léon III: Propagande ou réalité," *B* 60(1990):445–92, and G. Peers, "Breathless, Speechless Images: On the Chalke Gate Epigram," *Hommages Margaret Head Thomson*, Cahiers des études anciennes, vol. 34, ed. L. Finnet and A. P. Booth (Trois Rivières, Québec, 1998) 109–12.

(r. 716–740), but its intellectual roots are deep in the early church, in divergent approaches to created matter—primarily images—in Christian life and worship.³ Iconoclasm as imperial policy was continued and reinforced by Leo’s son, Constantine V (r. 740–775) but halted under the regency of Irene who ruled for her son Constantine VI and solely from 797 to 802. Irene convened the last ecumenical council in 787, the second held at Nicaea, which reintroduced image worship in the empire. From 815 to 843, Iconoclasm was again enforced until Michael III (r. 842–867) declared for image worship under the influence of his mother, Theodora. The effect of this prolonged period of Iconoclasm was intense debate over images and worship. This study mines that debate for the information it provides about attitudes towards representing angels.

Cameron’s study provides a framework for a more specific analysis of one aspect of the quest for knowledge of the holy, namely depictions of angels. She delineates the process by which early Byzantine society attempted to define and systematize methods of acquiring knowledge and recognizing truth. In Cameron’s view, Iconoclasm “was a manifestation of an uncertainty which people felt about their own thought world.”⁴ And indeed, the period leading up to Iconoclasm reveals two divergent approaches to gaining knowledge in Byzantine culture: symbolism and literalism in art and worship were the two poles of the debate. These conflicting views on art and worship characterize attitudes toward, and perceptions of, angels and their representations. The debate over symbolism and literalism also involved questions about the place of created things in Christian worship; intellectual devotion and material assistance were mutually exclusive for some of the theologians discussed here. Figurative art

3. On the origins of Iconoclasm under Leo III, see S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources* (Louvain, 1973) and D. Stein, *Der Beginn des byzantinischen Bilderstreits und seine Entwicklung bis in der 40er Jahre des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1980). On the roots of Iconoclasm, see P.C. Finney, *The Invisible God. Early Christians on Art* (Oxford, 1994), E. Kitzinger, “The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm,” *DOP* 8(1954):83–150, and Sister Charles Murray, *Rebirth and Afterlife. A Study of the Transmutation of Some Pagan Imagery in Early Christian Funerary Art* (Oxford, 1981).

4. Cameron, “The Language of Images,” 4.

was one alienating feature within a larger complex of material aids introduced into worship in the period being examined.

The possibility of idolatry that arose from the introduction of material aids into Christian worship was the underlying and central apprehension that united anti-image theologians. The rejection of images of angels was directly related to that fear of idolatry, but it also involved other issues of primary concern in the early church, namely the worship of angels as gods and pagan attempts to equate Christian angels with their own gods. In the late fourth and fifth centuries, canon 35 of the Council of Laodicea and the repeated warning of Theodoret of Cyrrhus aimed at increasing awareness of the problem and at extirpating the embarrassing problem from the Christian community.⁵ Macarius Magnes in the fourth century combatted the pagan attempt at a rapprochement by denying any resemblance between Christian worship of angels and pagan devotion to their gods.⁶ John of Thessalonike continued to fend off just such advances from pagan quarters into the seventh century.⁷ Evidently, the issue maintained a shame-inspiring purchase within the church. Christian practice, likely in the region of Chonae and perhaps far beyond, evidently encouraged the expression of such pagan views, and pagans could draw parallels between the two apparently irreconcilable beliefs. The shrine at Chonae was a prime site for overweening angel worship, and the stories describing the miracles of Michael were directed at cleansing a situation mortifying for church authorities; the emphasis on the blameless character at the center of the story of the miracle at Chonae was intended to counter behavior that was perhaps not normal but at least perceived to be possible within the cult of angels.⁸ A literal approach to worship, therefore, implicated other issues in the early church that are not simply theological abstractions

5. See the Introduction.

6. See chapter 2.

7. See the Conclusion, and also G. Peers, "Imagination and Angelic Epiphany," *BMGS* 21(1997):113–31, and D. Krausmüller, "God or Angels as Impersonators of Saints. A Belief and its Contexts in the 'Refutation' of Eustratius of Constantinople and in the Writings of Anastasius of Sinai," *Gouden Hoorn* 6/2(1998/9):5–16.

8. See chapter 4.

but that involved problems of Christian worship within the material, created world and before insubstantial messengers and guardians of that world.

Before such elusive creatures as angels, Christian artists encountered a representational dilemma. Yet they did not consider this problem of depicting spiritual creatures to be insurmountable, as they represented angels from the earliest period. They based their depictions on scriptural description, and, like theologians such as Chrysippus and Pseudo-Dionysius, they prudently stayed on the path scripture had established for angelic appearances. In many ways, artists avoided problems of representations and described angels straightforwardly as men, thereby ignoring the metaphysical qualities of angels altogether. Yet Christian artists did not always show angels as if they were illustrating the Bible literally. Christian artists developed an iconography of angels that commemorated angelic appearances on earth, most often using wings to indicate the symbolic quality of these appearances. In one important sense, the common iconography of the winged man is reductive: it does not describe the bodiless, immaterial nature of angels; rather, it represents God's messengers generically.

The iconography of angels is unique in Christian art in that it described the difficult flashes of epiphany of the formless angels allusively; the iconography of Christ and the saints presented their human forms, derived from corporeal lives on earth, as the iconography of the angels could not. While it is true that angels appropriated human form for some of their appearances on earth, this form was only one among many forms possible for angels. Christ and the saints had secure and comprehensible forms that persisted with a degree of stability throughout their lives on earth; in contrast, angels were unstable and, in the end, unknowable.

Christian images depended on the life that the subject led on earth for their significance in cult since they stated historical likeness and actual presence in the stead of the person represented. As Hans Belting has demonstrated, images of saints grew directly out of the Late Antique practice of honoring the dead through portraits; images be-

came venerated like relics and were treated like vestiges that had contact with the person represented.⁹ Christ and the Virgin were, of course, difficult cases as both rose bodily into heaven; miraculous images, wondrously imprinted with Christ's face or taken from eyewitness observation such as by the Evangelist Luke, fulfilled this desire for verification of earthly being and for contact with the divine.¹⁰

Representing God—that is, the ability to represent absolute transcendence—was the central issue in the period leading to, and including, Iconoclasm, and it determined the selection and introduction of material concerning angels who are also transcendent, though not, like God, absolutely. The central defense for images of God was the incarnation; supreme divinity assumed human form, and lived, suffered and died in that form. Angels also become comprehensible, though not to this same degree, and for this reason were often a corollary for this primary question of Christian representation. But the issue of angels' images diverges immediately from any direct comparison with images of Christ. The angels were never incarnate, only give the illusion of being so—as, for instance, Raphael deluded Tobias into believing him human. Although angels are comprehensible in some fashion, they present a set of problems different from Christ's representability. Their formless nature and illusory apparitions, so well documented in scripture, apocrypha and miracle stories, define the angels' images as allusive to a spiritual reality not altogether apprehensible. Without the anchor of incarnate being that Christ's images refer to, angels' images are symbolic in a distinct way, necessarily referring to the paradox of bodilessness and immateriality made momentarily and partially known.

Angels, it appears, could not participate in the same process of representation as Christ and the saints: they did not manufacture miraculous images, they did not relinquish relics. Altogether their timeless, near-eternal selves denied historical ratification to their like-

9. H. Belting, *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich, 1990) 42ff., 92ff.

10. On these issues, see the papers in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, Villa Spelman Colloquia, vol. 6, ed. H. L. Kessler and G. Wolf (Bologna, 1998).

Figure 1. Icon of the Archangel Michael (?), Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, sixth century.
Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale.



nesses. Painters of icons of angels relied on tried and true modes of representation for depicting these beings. A sixth-century Coptic panel painting of the archangel Michael (?), now in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (fig. 1), reveals a clear dependence on idealizing funerary portraiture of the Late Antique period: large, staring eyes give a sense of timeless abstraction; the figure faces the viewer frontally, only betraying the impression of immovability by his right hand raised in benediction; the circular nimbus is depicted in front of the rectangular frame in the upper right hand corner, lending a contrapposto effect to the hand below.¹¹ While these elements pro-

11. See Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 110, fig. 47, and J. Durand in *Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises* (Paris, 1992) 144, no. 98.

vide animation, perhaps a notion of activity benevolently directed at the worshipper, the figure itself is anonymous, undistinguished by feature or by inscription; it is so reliant on pagan idealizing portraiture in iconography and style that only the heroic quality of the figure—and not its individuality—is clear. The stumps of wings alone betray a hint of angelic identity and nature; the icon is not, then, unambiguous in its representation of qualities unique to angels.

If Christian artists sidestepped certain problems of angelic nature in frequently representing angels as men, these images of angels raised difficulties of perception and comprehension on the part of the viewer. Angels are formless, bodiless and immaterial, so a true likeness of such beings in material images is impossible. The relation between the image and model is, therefore, problematic, and definition of any relation relied on viewers' ability to discern symbolic rather than literal "likeness." Byzantine viewers did approach images of angels discriminatingly: the tension between material representation and immaterial nature is the compelling and attractive quality of their images. Indeed, this tension is the defining characteristic of angels' images and distinguishes their images from other Christian representations.

On a literal level, the iconography of the angels presents a faithful rendering of certain appearances that God's messengers had made on earth. In Christian art, angels are depicted as youths, most often winged; they are generalized in appearance to the point of anonymity, and only the Archangels are consistently named by inscription in representations. Cherubim and seraphim are often recognizable, though not always distinguishable from each other, by the many wings and eyes that scripture prescribed. Yet cherubim, seraphim and other angelic beings—that is, the thrones, principalities, powers, virtues and dominations mentioned in scripture—could also be represented by the generalized iconography of the winged youth. Clearly, the form of a man with wings not only commemorated the human aspect occasionally made manifest to humanity but also referred, more broadly, to all angelic beings.

Although a degree of anthropomorphism became a consistent iconographic element for angels, anthropomorphism itself was not

predetermined. For instance, scripture advances different agencies behind the cloud of smoke and pillar of fire that led the Israelites out of the desert in Exodus. At one point (13:21–22), “the Lord went before them”; but at other points in the journey, the text specifies that the Lord’s angel guided the people (14:19, 23:20–23, 32:34, 33:2). Although Exodus is ambiguous about these manifestations’ identity, the cloud of smoke and pillar of fire were generally considered to be emanations of God, that is angels.¹² The angels in illustrations of these events in Exodus presented representational possibilities for painters. They could be depicted either in the form made manifest to the Israelites in the desert, or as men, a form revealed elsewhere in scripture.

In the case of the smoke and fire of Exodus, literal adherence to scripture characterizes the depictions of these epiphanies, and painters did not use the iconography of the winged youth to indicate the nature and ultimate identity of the agencies behind the cloud and fire. Frescoes in cubicula C and O in the fourth-century via Latina Catacomb in Rome both represent a column with a blaze on top beside Moses receiving the law; these two columns are placed on a level above a crowd standing before a building.¹³ The *Christian Topography*, written in the sixth century, shows a different context for representing this manifestation of God’s providence. Illuminations accompany passages from Exodus and other biblical books, collated by the author in an attempt at a Christian history prefigured by events in Hebrew Scripture. The context is primarily narrative, although Christian typology is the final concern. This particular manifestation of divinity, the column and cloud, is depicted with faithful attention to scripture and interpreted as a sign of God’s providence fulfilled with the coming of Christ.

12. See M. Barker, *The Great Angel. A Study of Israel’s Second Angel* (London, 1992) 32, 86. Eventually, the Archangel Michael became identified with these manifestations on account of his guardianship of Israel stated at Daniel 12:1. See, for instance, Pantaleon, *Narratio*, IX, PG 140:579C.

13. See W. Tronzo, *The Via Latina Catacomb. Imitation and Discontinuity in Fourth-Century Roman Painting* (University Park and London, 1986) 1, 59, figs. 4, 5.

Rather than depicting an angelic being or God, the illuminators chose a literal depiction of a cloud and a column with a flame atop it (fig. 2).¹⁴ Yet the depictions, like scripture, ultimately refer to enigmatic revelations of God's emanations, that is angels, as the column and cloud in the manuscripts and the frescoes allude to changeable beings, unclear identities and obscure meanings. Both examples, despite their different contexts and literal attention to text, demand an understanding on the part of the viewer that the column and cloud are symbolic of aspects of divine, multiform beings. By avoiding any attempts at visually referring to the nature of the epiphanies, the painter shifts the burden to the viewer who must supply an interpretation based on his or her knowledge of scripture. While this burden is not exclusive to viewing angels, it has a special role since their mutable nature demands special processes of interpretation.

Angels' metaphysical qualities notwithstanding, during the early centuries of Christian art, painters, mosaicists and sculptors depicted angels as men. They first devised an anthropomorphic iconography because angels are sometimes described in scriptural accounts as having made themselves manifest as men. The earliest extant representation of an anthropomorphic angel appeared in the third century in an Annunciation in the Catacomb of Priscilla in

14. See K. Weitzmann and G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts. Volume One: From the Ninth to the Eleventh Century* (Princeton, 1990) 63–64, figs. 141, 142, pls. IXa, Xa; and Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographie chrétienne*, SC vols. 141, 159, 197, ed. W. Wolska-Conus (Paris, 1968–1973) I:47ff.

The column with fire and the cloud are represented in illustrations in the two eleventh-century manuscripts of this sixth-century work at Sinai (cod. 1186, fols. 73r, 73v, 74r) and Florence (Laur. Plut. IX, 28, fols. 103r, 103v, 104r). The illustrations were not invented for these two manuscripts and the eleventh-century recensions rely ultimately on the sixth-century prototype of the *Christian Topography* for their model. The Sinai and Florence versions more faithfully reproduce the illumination tradition of the *Christian Topography* than the other member of this manuscript family, the ninth-century Vaticanus graecus 699, and so these illustrations of Exodus can be safely related to a pre-Iconoclastic model.

One should properly follow the identification of the author of the *Christian Topography* with Constantine of Antioch rather than Cosmas Indicopleustes, as Wanda Wolska-Conus has persuasively argued. See her "Stéphanos d'Athènes et Stéphanos d'Alexandrie. Essai d'identification et de biographie," *REB* 47(1989):28ff.

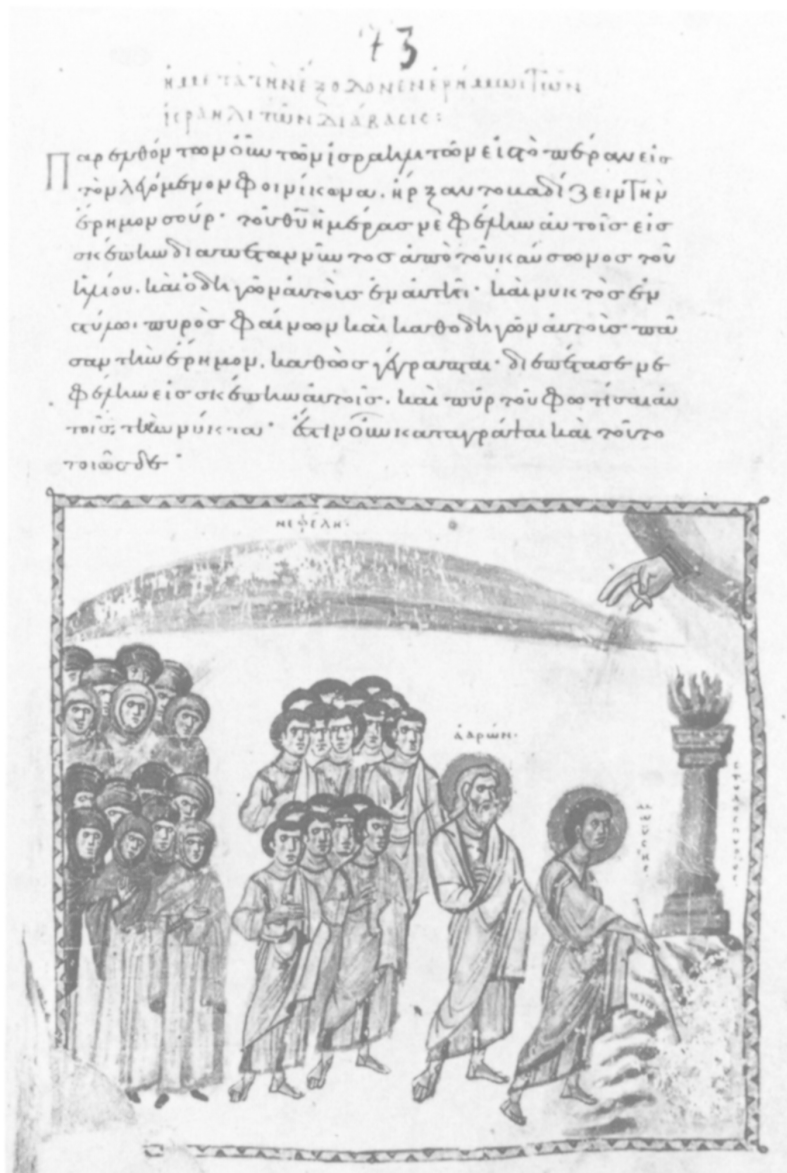


Figure 2. The Israelites at the Twelve Springs, *The Christian Topography* of "Cosmas Indicopleustes," Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai, cod. 1186, fol. 73r, eleventh century. Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan–Princeton–Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

Rome. The scriptural narrative (Luke 1:28–38) describes the messenger of God merely as an “angel,” and the painter chose to represent this messenger as a man wearing a tunic and standing firmly on the earth.¹⁵ This solution to the potential difficulties in representing formless beings was used frequently in the first centuries of Christian art and never disappeared from the Byzantine iconographic tradition. Indeed, it shows that describing the special qualities of angels was felt sometimes not to be possible or not to be of paramount concern. In Early Christian art, angels were most often depicted in this earthly guise, as a man either bearded or unbearded,¹⁶ and in this way artists described one comprehensible aspect out of the many that scripture ascribes to angels. However, in the fresco in the Catacomb of Priscilla, the angel is not explicitly identified by inscription or iconographic peculiarity, and the attribution of the scene as the Annunciation is ambivalent. Clearly, the image of a man did not itself indicate the distinct identity of an angel nor could it describe directly any transcendental element in the event.

For some mosaicists, painters and sculptors, the literal depiction of angels as men was restrictive since anthropomorphism could not express qualities peculiar to angels.¹⁷ But in Late Antique art iconographic means that could indicate the distinct identity and metaphysical nature of angels were available to Christian mosaicists, painters and sculptors: by the end of the fourth century, wings were standard—though not exclusive—attributes of angels. They provided the means for referring to supernatural qualities particular to angels that could not be expressed easily in visual terms: transcendence, velocity, ethereality and uncontained activity. For instance, John Chrysostom (ca. 347–407) wrote:

15. See M. Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli. Racconto di immagini e di idee* (Milan, 1991) 48; and P. Testini, *Archeologia cristiana. Nozioni generali dalle origini alla fine del sec. VI* (Rome, 1958) 258.

16. The bearded angel is found as late as the fifth century, for example, on an ivory representing the Baptism of Christ in the British Museum; see W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 3d ed. (Mainz am Rhein, 1976) pl. 60 (#115).

17. G. Berefelt, *A Study on the Winged Angel. The Origin of a Motif* (Stockholm, 1968) 15.

What do the powers reveal to us by these wings? The exaltedness and ethereality and lightness and speed of their nature. For which reason, Gabriel descends fleet; not that the wings are part of the bodiless power, but that he descends from realms on high and returns to his abode whence he was sent.¹⁸

In Byzantine art, wings became an established and comprehensive distinguishing sign of the offices and nature of angelic beings—and, rarely, of other beings as well, Christ, for instance, or John the Baptist in his angelic guise.¹⁹ In the case of the angels, however, the oc-

18. *In Isaiham dominum* (Is. 6:1), *homiliae* 1–6, II, PG 56:137. And, also, *Ad eos qui scandalizati*, III, PG 52:484, “Therefore when you see the seraphim flying around that exalted and well-fitted throne, their sight walled round by the projection of their wings, hiding their feet, backs and faces, and sending forth fearfully strong cries, do not think wings and feet, and that they are winged. For these are invisible powers. But [it is] on account of the unapproachability of their images, and the incomprehensibility of sitting near an actual throne. For indeed he is incomprehensible and unapproachable to them also, and yet he too condescended.”

19. Christ represented as an angel is a rare iconography based on Isaiah 9:6, “For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given . . . and his name shall be called the Angel of the Great Counsel (Μεγάλης Βουλῆς Ἄγγελος), Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace.” Christ in this guise is depicted winged, and unbearded, but with cross-nimbus or in a mandorla, thereby differentiating him from the heavenly host proper. On this iconography, see S. Der Nersessian, “Note sur quelques images se rattachant au thème du Christ-ange,” *CA* 13(1962):209–16; J. Meyendorff, “Iconographie de la Sagesse divine dans la tradition byzantine,” *CA* 10(1959):269, and also his “Wisdom–Sophia: Contrasting Approaches to a Complex Theme,” *DOP* 41(1987):391–401; and D.I. Pallas, “Ο Χριστός ὡς ἡ θεία Σοφία. Ἡ Εἰκονογραφικὴ Περιπέτεια μιᾶς θεολογικῆς Ἐννοῦς,” *DChAE* 15(1989–1990):127ff., 137ff.

The first extant representation of the winged John the Baptist is found at the church of Sv. Ahilije in Arlije from ca. 1296 (G. Millet, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédonie et Monténégro)*, 4 vols. [Paris, 1954–1969] II: pl. 87.1; and *RBK* III:623ff.). The iconography may very well predate this representation, as Lossky points out instances of seventh-/eighth-century commentary on the angelic nature of John the Baptist. See L. Ouspensky and W. Lossky, *The Meaning of the Icons* (Boston, 1952) 108. The iconography has been examined by J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, “Une icône d’Angélos au Musée de Malines et l’iconographie du St Jean-Baptiste ailé,” *Bulletin de Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire* 48(1976):121–44, and M. Bussagli, “Il Precursore. Giovanni l’angelo, martire della luce,” *Abstracta* 27(1988):23–29.

Rarely, the Virgin Mary may be depicted winged also, but this is generally late and developed perhaps under the influence of the iconography of the winged Christ; see *RBK* III:108. Furthermore, the Angeloi family in the Palaiologan period depicted themselves with wings on coins as a kind of heraldic emblem, and also perhaps to invoke angelic protection; see T. Bertelè, *L’imperatore alato nella numismatica bizantina* (Rome, 1951) 45ff.



Figure 3. Sarigüzel sarcophagus, Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (#5408), late fourth century. Photo: Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

casional need to distinguish these beings iconographically from humanity, including Christ incarnate, was important for the creation of angels' iconography. Angelic beings are distinct from, and servile to, Christ, and they do not participate in human nature. Consequently, the winged, anthropomorphic form became a unique sign for the innumerable, invisible entities that mediate between heaven and earth at God's behest.

The iconographic formulae used to depict angelic beings were derived from pagan models. An important example of this derivation is the late fourth-century Sarigüzel sarcophagus in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (fig. 3). It shows both the dependence of Christian angels on pagan figures, in particular winged victories, and also the distinctions between the Christian and pagan beings.²⁰ On the Sarigüzel sarcophagus, two flying male angels, clad in tunic and *palium*, bear a wreath containing Christ's monogram ("XP"). The pagan iconography of two horizontal winged beings holding a wreath, medallion or inscribed plaque clearly motivated the disposition of the angels on the Sarigüzel sarcophagus. For instance, on a third-century sarcophagus from the via Aurelia Antica now in the Palazzo

20. See N. Firatli, *La sculpture byzantine figurée au Musée Archéologique d'Istanbul* (Paris, 1990) no. 81.

dei Conservatori, Rome, two winged female figures hover horizontally and hold a medallion between them in a manner common in pagan funerary art.²¹

Nevertheless, individual elements used in depictions of Christian angels belie any generalizations about unmediated transmission of iconography from pagan to Christian art.²² Pagan figures, such as nikes and personifications, are invariably female; Christian angels, male. In Greek, “ho angelos” (ὁ ἄγγελος) is masculine in gender, a distinction always followed in iconography; hence the distinction in dress. The angels on the Sarigüzel sarcophagus wear tunic and *pallium*, while nikes wear the female *peplos*, and, in other cases, the chiton, occasionally with one breast exposed.²³

Gender and dress, therefore, constitute the essential identifying features for nike and angel, and the distinctions of nature and function are nowhere more evident than on monuments with both figures. The ivory leaf from the late fifth-/early sixth-century Barberini diptych (Louvre, Paris) shows a female, chiton-clad victory accompanying the emperor; in the register above, two male winged figures wearing tunic and *pallium* bear aloft a medallion containing the unbearded Christ (fig. 4).²⁴

The pagan iconography provided some of the meaning of the Christian iconography of victory proclaiming angels. The pagan nikes signal worldly acclaim and, in such contexts as the sarcophagus from the via Aurelia Antica, laud the achievements of the

21. See Berefelt, *A Study on the Winged Angel*, fig. 15.

22. For instance, O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst* (Munich, 1914) 136, A. C. M. Beck, *Genien und Niken als Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst* (Giessen, 1936), and E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture. Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, ed. H. W. Janson (London, 1964) 43–44: “Victories could become angels without changing in appearance.”

23. G. Stuhlfauth, *Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst* (Freiburg, 1897) 242ff.; K. Felis, “Die Niken und die Engel in altchristlicher Kunst,” *RQ* 26(1912):3–25; and see Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli*, 63ff. and 142ff.

24. See R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*, 2 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929) I:188ff., II: pl. 48, and F. de’ Maffei, “Tradizione ed innovazione nei dittici eburnei: Giuliano, Pulcheria, Giustiniano,” *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 40(1986):129ff. Pallados, writing ca. 400, implies a self-conscious, artistic coexistence for angels and nikes when he describes some painted, Christian nikes. See *The Greek Anthology*, ed. W. R. Paton, 5 vols. (London, 1927), V:282.

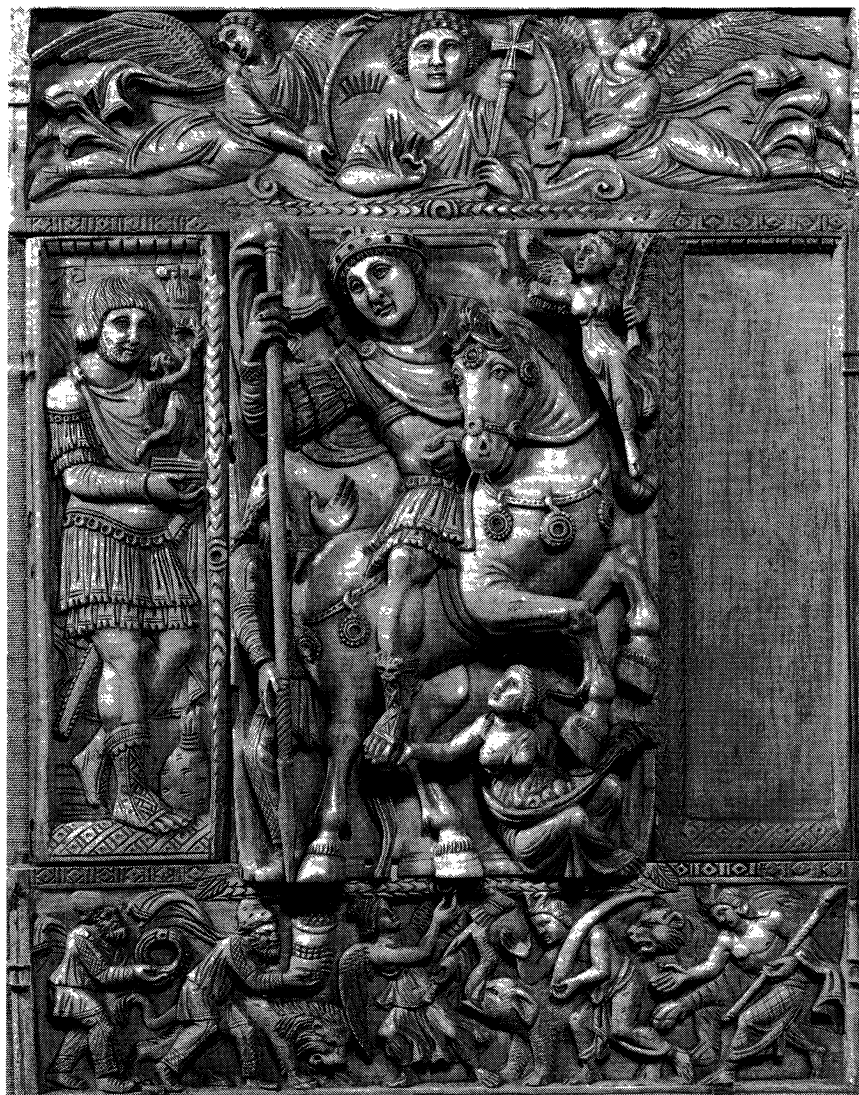


Figure 4. Barberini Diptych, Louvre, Paris, sixth century. Photo: Musée du Louvre.

deceased. In distinction, the Christian iconography attempted to demonstrate the universal claims of that faith. Winged angels demonstrate the metaphysical dimension of Christianity and, on the Sarigüzöl sarcophagus, its victory over death. The angels are the otherworldly heralds of the triumph of Christ throughout the universe and are the celestial counterparts to the saints on the end panels of that sarcophagus.

Other pagan personifications besides nikes played a role in the development of the iconography of Christian angels. A common iconographic feature to mark creatures that occupied the intermediate zone between the heavens and earth, wings were attributes of numerous personifications, such as winds, psychopompic figures, souls and astronomical symbols. Christian art assimilated this widespread motif to denote angels' immaterial and superhuman nature.²⁵ For example, set within a swirling carpet of fruits, plants and birds, four angels hold aloft a medallion containing the Lamb of God in the mosaic of the chancel vault of San Vitale (consecrated 548).²⁶ Although distinguished by gender and dress, the angels owe their disposition and activity to representations of seasons in late Roman art. For example, winged, female personifications of seasons are depicted in the Late Antique period in mosaics from Daphne, near Antioch, (fig. 5) and Halicarnassus.²⁷ These personifications of seasons, with

25. On this question of pagan winged beings generally, see the studies of Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli*, and "Gli angeli e i venti: considerazioni sul simbolismo aereo delle ali angeliche," *Arte medievale* 5(1991):107ff. Even birds may have influenced the iconography of the angels; and, in fact, bird-footed angels on a Palaiologan icon (#157) in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, show that an iconographic assimilation of birds and angels was at least possible. See M. G. Soteriou, "Ἀμὶπρόσωπος εἰκὼν τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Ἀθηνῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἡπειροῦ," *DChAE* 4(1959):137, fig. 54.

26. See H. Maguire, *Earth and Ocean. The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (University Park and London, 1987) 76ff.

27. W. R. Lethaby, "The Painted Book of Genesis in the British Museum," *Archaeological Journal* 69(1912):94, cites a mosaic of the four seasons from Halicarnassus in the British Museum that shows winged female figures wearing tunics; see R. P. Hinks, *Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum* (London, 1933) 127ff. (#51 c-d). And for the fourth-century mosaic from Daphne, now in the Louvre, see A. Grabar, *Early Christian Art. From the Rise of Christianity to the Death of Theodosius*, trans. S. Gilbert and J. Emmons (New York, 1968) fig. 163. Seasons were also depicted as males in pagan art; on an early third-century sarcophagus (Landgrafmuseum, Cassel), and on a sarcophagus dating ca. 300–320 (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.), the seasons are winged nude males. See, respectively, J. Godwin, *Mystery Religions in the Ancient World*, San Francisco, 1981, fig. 100, and G. M. A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1951). Seasons became a significant element in Roman imperial art in the second century, when they were depicted as young males below the female Victories in the spandrels of the triumphal arch of Trajan at Benevento (114–18); see D. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven and London, 1992) figs. 188, 189, and Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus*, I:171ff. Wings are found subsequently on personifications of seasons in the second century for the first time; Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus*, I:136. And since seasons are also found on sarcophagi from the second century on, an assimilation of



Figure 5. Mosaic of the Seasons, detail of Personification of Spring, from Daphne near Antioch, Louvre, Paris, early fourth century. Photo: Musée du Louvre.

arms raised to hold a medallion, clearly influenced the handling of the angels in the chancel vault at San Vitale. Based on this existing iconography, the angels within this area of the church form part of

the nude male figures with the winged and clothed female victories, such as is found on Trajan's arch, may well have resulted in the Late Antique examples of personifications of time found at Aphrodisias, Halicarnassus and ultimately in the Cotton Genesis.

the mosaic program in the sanctuary, the rule of Christ over the entire earth.

The dependence of the iconography of Christian angels on pagan models is complex, and certain pagan models maintained their identities in Christian art and did not influence the angels' iconography in any simple or direct manner. For example, the late fifth-century Cotton Genesis includes representations of both personifications and angels. Dress and gender distinguish the personifications of the days in the creation pages from the angels in such narrative scenes as Abraham entertaining the three angels.²⁸ The former are female and wear garlands in their hair and high girdled chitons that leave their arms bare; the angels in the Philoxenia, on the other hand, are male and wear purple and gold chlamys with a silver tablion over a white tunic.

Yet the identity of these winged figures in the creation pages is still debated by scholars. The figures are often called angels by scholars, despite the clear iconographic distinctions the illuminator made between the figures in the creation pages and in the narrative scenes; for this reason, it is useful to examine the literature on these figures to see the reasoning behind their designation as angels. In 1959, Marie-Thérèse D'Alverny published an article in which she examined the exegetical history of angels in creation, and discerned an affinity between the commentary of Augustine (354–430) on Genesis and the representations of the winged figures in the creation pages of the Cotton Genesis.²⁹ Augustine stated that the creation of light was also the moment of creation for the angels, and so the angels are intellectual creatures, days of creation in his view, who witness and glorify the creations of God. From this exegesis, D'Alverny hypothesized that the winged figures in the Cotton Genesis illuminations,

28. See K. Weitzmann and H. L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis. British Museum Codex Cotton Otho B. VI* (Princeton, 1986) 40, 48 (creation pages), 79–80 (Abraham).

Angels are depicted as men in the scene of Jacob's Dream in the third-century fresco in the synagogue at Dura Europos; as in the Cotton Genesis, the psyches are kept distinct from the angels iconographically as they are depicted as small winged females. See K. Weitzmann and H. L. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Europos Synagogue and Christian Art* (Washington, D.C., 1990) 17ff., fig. 10, and 135ff., fig. 178, respectively.

29. M.-Th. D'Alverny, "Les anges et les jours," *CA* 9(1957):271–300.

who increase in number according to the day of creation, find a direct parallel in this unique exegesis of Genesis by Augustine.³⁰ For this reason, she called them angels.

D'Alverny made an exhaustive survey of the textual tradition of creation and angels, but neglected to specify the iconographic precedents for the winged beings in the creation pages. Furthermore, she accepted the traditional provenance of the Cotton Genesis at Alexandria, and so ran aground on the relation of Augustinian exegesis to a Greek manuscript manufactured in Egypt. Maria Marini Clarelli has offered an hypothesis that attempts to reconcile this provenance with an exegetical tradition.³¹ She proposed that the winged females are angels assimilated to the iconography of pagan psyches; psyches in this view were a fundamental influence on the development of angels' iconography. The winged figures in these illustrations of the Cotton Genesis are, for this reason, depicted wearing chitons, unlike the standard angelic dress of dalmatian and *pal-lium*, in order to state iconographically the connection between soul and angel.³² However, psyches have butterfly wings in pagan iconography, and the winged figures in the Cotton Genesis creation pages have small sickle-shaped wings; the iconographic parallel is not, therefore, convincing.³³

30. References in D'Alverny, "Les anges et les jours," 273ff.

31. See M.V. Marini Clarelli, "I giorni della creazione nel 'Genesi Cotton,'" *OCP* 50(1984):65–93; and Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli*, 72ff.

32. Marini Clarelli, "I giorni della creazione nel 'Genesi Cotton,'" 83ff. She attributed this assimilation to exegesis current at Alexandria in the early Christian period, particularly that of Philo (ca. 20 B.C.E.–ca. 50 C.E.) and Clement (ca. 150–ca. 215). According to the exegesis of Clement of Alexandria, the souls of the just participate in a journey of progressive refinement that leads ultimately to an essential assimilation with the seven first-created angels.

33. An apparent strength of Marini Clarelli's hypothesis is a better contextualization of the manuscript in Alexandria, but Martin Büchsel has recently examined further the Augustinian exegesis on creation with regard to the Cotton Genesis. See M. Büchsel, "Die Schöpfungsmosaiken von San Marco. Die Ikonographie der Erschaffung des Menschen in der frühchristlichen Kunst," *Städte-Jahrbuch* n.s. 13(1991):29–80. Büchsel discerned elements in the creation cycle in the thirteenth-century mosaic program of San Marco, Venice, which is derived from the Cotton Genesis, that are found only in the work of Augustine; this extensive examination advances further the hypothesis of a connection between the Cotton Genesis and Augustine. He also proposed a provenance for the manuscript at Rome, thus taking away an important underpinning of Marini Clarelli's argument and adding strength to the original connection made between Augustine and the Cotton Genesis by D'Alverny. How-

While the manuscript was likely produced in Egypt, either at Alexandria or at Antinoë, the exegetical sources Marini Clarelli adduces have no discernible impact on the invention of the creation day pages.³⁴ Moreover, the iconographic parallels between pagan personifications of days and the winged figures in the creation pages are the most compelling. For example, a panel from a first-century (?) frieze in the north portico of the imperial Sebasteion at Aphrodisias in Asia Minor depicts a personification of Day (Ἡμέρα). The panel shows a woman clad in a high girdled chiton in a manner similar to the winged figures in the creation day pages of the Cotton Genesis.³⁵ The dress, wings and gender of these personifications show the best precedents for the winged figures in the creation day pages of the Cotton Genesis.³⁶ As the Cotton Genesis has other instances of classical borrowings, the most likely solution to the puzzle of the so-called “angels” is the simplest; pagan personifications of time were included to indicate the increase in days of creation as outlined in Genesis.³⁷

ever, the problem of a Greek manuscript produced at Rome but with palaeographic relations to Alexandria (as Büchsel admits) is not dissipated by Büchsel’s hypothesis that the manuscript was a gift from Leo the Great (d. 461) to a Byzantine emperor. The argument for Alexandrian origin, on palaeographic and iconographic grounds, is still the most compelling for this manuscript. See H.L. Kessler, *Studies in Pictorial Narrative* (London, 1994) 552.

34. See Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, 30–31, who contend that palaeographic, stylistic and iconographic evidence points to either of these major Egyptian centers.

35. See K. T. Erim, *Aphrodisias. Ein Führer durch die antike Stadt und das Museum*, trans. E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum (Istanbul, 1990) fig. 90; and also his *Aphrodisias. City of Venus-Aphrodite* (New York and London, 1986) fig. p. 122; and R. R. R. Smith, “Myth and Allegory in the Sebasteion,” *Aphrodisias Papers. Recent Work on Architecture and Sculpture*, ed. C. Rouché and K. T. Erim (Ann Arbor, 1990) 89–92. On the iconography of Day, see *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich and Munich, 1981–) III, 1:774 (#276, #282), 781 (#299).

36. See K. Weitzmann, “Observations on the Cotton Genesis Fragments,” in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann et al. (Princeton, 1955) 127, in which he played down the possibility of the personification of day affecting the manuscript; in “The Genesis Mosaics of San Marco and the Cotton Genesis Miniatures,” in O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco. Part 2: The Thirteenth Century. Volume One: Text* (Chicago and London, 1984) 109, Weitzmann entertained Ἡμέρα as the more likely influence.

37. On other classical borrowings in the Cotton Genesis, see Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, 38ff.

The figures in the creation pages of the Cotton Genesis are plainly different from the angels in the other illustrations of the manuscript, and the differences in identities signal to the viewer that a visual gloss is being made on the creation passages. The winged figures in the creation pages allow an indication of time, thereby revealing an ability on the part of the illuminator to express certain Christian concerns through a pagan iconography. Pagan personifications of time were not direct models for the iconography of angels since figures are differentiated in function and appearance in the Cotton Genesis. The distinctions used reveal that while the iconography of angels owed some debts to pagan models as at San Vitale, Christian painters also perceived differences in these figures and maintained these differences for specific narrative ends.³⁸

Despite the clear iconographic parallels between winged pagan beings and Christian angels, some scholars have sought the origins of the winged angel in a purely Christian context independent of pagan inspiration. In support of this opinion, Georg Stuhlfauth adduced as an early example a fifth-century ivory (Castello Sforzesco, Milan), which depicts a winged man and bull, symbols of the evangelists, hovering above an unwinged angel at the tomb of Christ (fig. 6).³⁹ He also cited the apse mosaic at Sta. Pudenziana, Rome, (401–417) in which evangelist symbols hover in the sky above Christ seated amongst his disciples. These two monuments were his primary pieces of evidence for the contention that the Christian iconography of winged angels was dependent on the evangelist symbol of the winged man.⁴⁰ However, chronology makes it difficult to support an

38. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus*, I:195ff., believed that little evidence existed for a true iconographic lineage from seasons to angels: “At most, we might allow that the tendency to conceive natural forces as angels and *daimones*, coupled with the use of pagan types of personifications for the visual rendering of these concepts, led to an art in which some of the long-winged Seasons have a generic resemblance to the Christian angels.”

39. Grabar, *The Golden Age of Justinian*, fig. 331, and Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, pl. 60 (#III).

40. Stuhlfauth, *Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst*, 244. The tetramorph cherubim of Ezekiel and Revelation initiated typological interpretation of the Gospels and Evangelists among Christian theologians. This symbolic affiliation of tetramorph and Gospels began as early as the second century; for instance, Irenaeus (ca. 130–ca. 200) wrote: “For the cherubim have four faces, and their faces are the images of the dispensation of the Son of

Figure 6. The Tomb of Christ, upper register—Soldiers Asleep at the Tomb; lower register—Marys and Angel at Tomb. Ivory, Castello Sforzesco, Milan, fifth century. Photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource, N.Y.



independent development of this iconography since these earliest monuments are later than the fourth-century appearance of winged angels.⁴¹

Given the fragmentary quality of the archaeological record for this period, the hypothesis of a Christian invention of the iconography of the winged angel cannot be dismissed out of hand. Furthermore, scripture does provide the material for an association of man and wings, for instance in Ezekiel (1:5–6) and Revelation (4:7–8), and early exegetical identification of tetramorph and evangelists suggests—though by no means proves—an equally early appearance in art. Scripture mentions wings and flight at Exodus 25:20, Daniel 9:21, Revelation 14:6, for instance, and descriptions elsewhere make it clear that wings were means for mobility for the cherubim and seraphim. Wings were also symbols of God's unapproachability. For instance, Isaiah's seraphim use two of their wings for flying, and the other two pairs to cover their face and feet (Is. 6:1–3). And third- and fourth-century exegesis by theologians such as Tertullian (ca. 160–ca. 240)⁴² and Chrysostom makes it clear that Christians viewed and discussed wings as symbols of the

God. The one like the lion indicates the efficacious, royal and authoritative nature. The one like the calf presents the sacerdotal and priestly nature. The manlike form depicts the incarnation, and the one like the eagle represents the visitation of the Holy Spirit." Trans. R. S. Nelson, *The Iconography of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels* (New York, 1980) 6. See also O. Wulff, *Cherubim, Throne und Seraphim. Ikonographie der ersten Engelshierarchie in der christlichen Kunst* (Altenburg, 1894) 8ff., 37ff.; M. de Grooth and P. van Moorsel, "The Lion, the Calf, the Man and the Eagle in Early Christian and Coptic Art," *Bulletin Antiecke Beschaving* 52/3 (1977/8):233–45; M. Werner, "On the Origin of Zoanthropomorphic Evangelist Symbols: The Early Christian Background," *Studies in Iconography* 10 (1984–1986): 1–35, and also "On the Origin of Zoanthropomorphic Evangelist Symbols: The Early Medieval and Later Coptic, Nubian, Ethiopian and Latin Evidence," *ibid.* 13 (1989–1990): 1–47; and D. Kinney, "The Apocalypse in Early Christian Monumental Decoration," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. K. Emerson and B. McGinn (Ithaca and London, 1992) 200–16.

41. See Kinney, "The Apocalypse in Early Christian Monumental Decoration," 208ff.

42. *Apologeticum adversus gentes pro Christianis*, XXII, 8, in *Tertulliani Opera. Pars I. Opera Catholica, Adversus Marcionem*. Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, vol. 1, ed. E. Dekkers (Turnhout, 1954) 129: "Every spirit is winged, both angels and demons. In this way, in a moment they are everywhere: all the world is for them one place; what is taking place everywhere is as easy for them to know as to tell. It is thought that their velocity is divine, because their substance is not known."

angels' transcendental nature.⁴³ These texts reveal that Christians were able to provide their own meanings to angels' wings, and they must have encouraged the manipulation of the iconography of pagan winged beings and made such an iconography acceptable in Christian contexts. In the final analysis, the evidence for a Christian invention of the winged angels is simply too scanty and the influence of pagan iconography too manifest for pagan art to be discounted as the primary model for angels.

Although the debt that Christian iconography owed pagan models is clear, Christian painters and mosaicists were able to judge the appropriateness of depictions of winged figures and did not simply absorb an existing iconography. The addition or omission of wings in depictions of angels in Christian art likewise reveals a symbolic quality of wings and the ability of these appendages to signal terrestrial or celestial modes or sites of activity. Anthropomorphic figures, winged or unwinged, could help express orthodox dogma, as well as Christian interpretations of scripture not overt in Hebrew scripture itself.

Christian painters and mosaicists sometimes contended with the problems of apprehension and description of angels in art, and in this way paralleled the attempts of theologians who were concerned with deciphering the meanings behind the obscure appearances of angels in scripture, particularly in the Hebrew Testament. The appearance of the angels of the Lord as "men" to Abraham (Gen. 18) has an important iconographic history from this point of view. Ambiguities present in the account are difficult to reconcile; within the same chapter, the angels are described as "men," "he" and the "Lord." The Greek fathers offered various interpretations of the puzzling appearance of the angels to Abraham at Mamre: simply as three angels, Christ and two angels, or as the Trinity itself.⁴⁴

43. See also Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli*, 57ff.; Stuhlfauth, *Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst*, 51ff.; *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (Paris, 1924–) I, 2:2080ff.; and the *Martyrium Bartholomaei* in *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, ed. C. Tischendorf (Leipzig, 1861) 257.

44. See, for instance, Justin Martyr (ca. 100–ca. 165), *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*, 59, J. Archimbault, ed., *Justin. Dialogue avec Tryphon*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1909) 276, J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten* (Göttingen, 1915; rp. New York, 1950) 164; Athanasius (ca. 296–373), *Orationes contra Arianos*, PG 26:352AB; and Procopius of Gaza (ca. 475–ca. 538), *Commen-*

Painters and mosaicists also offered various visual interpretations of the true meaning behind this Old Testament epiphany. The first extant example of a representation of the epiphany to Abraham, a fresco in the fourth-century via Latina Catacomb in Rome, simply depicts three young men approaching the seated Abraham.⁴⁵ The painter did not overtly signal the identity of the three men by iconography or inscription. The angels are unwinged, in keeping with the earthly nature of their manifestation to Abraham. The viewer can interpret the fresco literally as describing in a direct fashion the three men who appeared to Abraham; on the other hand, the viewer can infer the spiritual nature of the visitors in the fresco through knowledge of scripture.

In contrast to this literal representation of the three men of the scriptural passage, the mosaicist at Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome, (ca. 435) offered a more complicated visual exegesis. The middle angel appears in a transparent aureole of light that overlaps and excludes the two flanking angels. By singling out one figure as more powerful and divine than his companions, the mosaicist has signified a Christological interpretation of this epiphany.⁴⁶ The appearance of the “men” to Abraham and Sarah at Mamre is also a typology of the Annunciation to the Virgin. Traditionally, the scene in the upper left-hand portion of the arch mosaic has been interpreted as an Annunciation to the Virgin; in this scene, an angel descends from the sky to announce the news to an enthroned Mary. The angels flanking the Virgin and the angel descending are all shown winged, in distinction to the angels in the Philoxenia scene who are depicted without wings. In providing wings to the angels with the Virgin, the

tarii in Genesim, XVIII, PG 87/1:364AB. These various interpretations have been examined more broadly by L. Thunberg, “Early Christian Interpretations of the Three Angels in Gen. 18,” *Studia Patristica* 8(1966):560–70.

45. See A. Ferrua, *La pittura della nuova Catacomba di via Latina*, Vatican City, 1960, fig. 24.

46. See C. Cecchelli, *I mosaici della Basilica S. Maria Maggiore* (Turin, 1956) pl. XV, O. Perler, “Les théophanies dans les mosaïques de Sainte-Marie-Majeure à Rome,” *RivAC* 50(1974):281ff., B. Brenk, *Die frühchristliche Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Wiesbaden, 1975) 108ff., and also W. Loerke, “Observations on the Representation of *Doxa* in the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, and St. Catherine’s, Sinai,” *Gesta* 20(1981):18ff.

mosaicist signifies the overtly spiritual nature of this Annunciation and the eternal setting of the Virgin's court. In contrast, the wingless angels before Abraham and Sarah literally signal the terrestrial quality of that epiphany; the singling out of the central angel reveals that the latent meaning of this appearance is believed to lie in its prophecy of the coming of Christ.⁴⁷

Unlike the mosaicist of the Philoxenia at Sta. Maria Maggiore, the illustrator of the Cotton Genesis chose to depict the angels in the same scene with wings.⁴⁸ The wings, not mentioned in the account, signal to the viewer the identity of Abraham's visitors; believing his visitors to be simply three strangers, Abraham has not yet apprehended that they are angels. Again unlike the case at Sta. Maria Maggiore, the illuminator did not distinguish the angels one from another, and may have wished to express the Trinitarian symbolism often given the event by Christians. Indeed, this same typological interpretation determined other aspects of the manuscript's iconographic program, such as the portrayal of Christ as Logos in the creation pages; in orthodox belief, Christ is co-eternal and consubstantial with God and the Holy Spirit, and by showing Christ at creation, the illuminator stressed this crucial aspect of Trinitarian dogma.⁴⁹

These monuments do not trace a development of an iconography that becomes increasingly settled over the first centuries of Christian art. For example, the sixth-century mosaic of the Philoxenia at San Vitale, Ravenna, also depicts the angels as young, wingless men (fig. 7). The angels are represented seated at table and they indicate the repast Abraham has gathered. Coupled in the same lunette with a depiction of the sacrifice of Isaac, and placed opposite a mosaic of the sacrifices of Abel and Melchizedek, the depiction of the three

47. See S. Spain, "The Promised Blessing: The Iconography of the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore," *ArtB* 61(1979):518–40, especially 537ff.

48. Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, 79–80.

49. See Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, 37, and on the Trinitarian issues of the fourth and fifth centuries and art, see C. von Schönborn, *L'icône du Christ. Fondements théologiques élaborées entre le Ier et le IIer Concile de Nicée (325–787)* (Fribourg, 1976) 22ff.



Figure 7. Philoxenia of Abraham, Mosaic, S. Vitale, Ravenna, ca. 540. Photo: Alinari / Art Resource, N.Y.

men from heaven forms part of a program of eucharistic typology in the sanctuary of the church.⁵⁰

As these examples show, Christian painters and mosaicists determined the appropriateness of wings to represent the epiphany made to Abraham according to the context: they often manipulated iconographic elements in order to express specific interpretations of scriptural passages.⁵¹ In the context of the apse program at San Vitale, God's universal dominion is stated; and the attendance of spiritual servants, their spirituality and distinction from human nature signaled by their wings, is a sign of the all-embracing nature of that dominion. And above the apse, the winged angels on the arch further demonstrate the cosmic acclamation of Christ's rule. While these angels derive their wings and horizontal disposition from pagan triumphal imagery, the winged angels in the chancel vault form part of the program's symbolism of the extent of Christ's mastery over the earth; their wings and unworldly appearance symbolize the ubiquity of Christ's dominion. However, the angels in the Philoxenia scene are distinct from the eternal and metaphysical nature of these angels in the chancel vault, apse and on the principal arch. In contrast, they were depicted without wings, and this distinction provides the viewer with a clue as to the temporal nature of that epiphany. Possi-

50. *RBK* I:18, and O. von Simson, *Sacred Fortress. Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna*, 2d ed. (Chicago, 1976) 25. On the question of this scene's relation to the anti-Arian beliefs of the Byzantine conquerors, see R. Sörries, *Die Bilder der Orthodoxen im Kampf gegen den Arianismus. Eine Apologie der orthodoxen Christologie und Trinitätslehre gegenüber der arianischen Häresie dargestellt an den ravenattischen Mosaiken und Bildern des 6. Jahrhunderts* (Bern, 1983) 161ff. And on the iconography of the Trinity, see J. Engemann, "Zu den Dreifaltigkeit darstellungen der frühchristlichen Kunst: Gab es in 4. Jahrhundert anthropomorphe Trinitätsbilder?" *JAC* 19(1976):157–72.

51. Similarly, in the sixth-century Vienna Genesis, as well, the illustration of the calling of Abraham depicts a winged angel descending from the sky (fol. 11r), while Jacob wrestles with a wingless angel on another folio (24r). K. Clausberg, *Die Wiener Genesis. Eine Kunstwissenschaftliche Bilderbuchgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 1984) 13, figs. 44 and 8, respectively.

It ought to be noted that the iconography of wingless angels is found as late as the Palaiologan period, for instance, in an icon of the Virgin and Child in the Museo di San Giorgio degli Greci in Venice, in which a group of wingless angels clusters in the upper left corner. See N. V. Drandakes, "Παλαιολόγειος εἰκὼν Βρεφοκρατοῦσης τοῦ εἰς Βενετίου Ἑλληνικοῦ ναοῦ, *Θεολογία* 28(1957):244, figs. 1, 2 and 5.

bly as foreshadowings of the Trinity and the eucharistic sacrifice, the Philoxenia is depicted literally. The scene's latent meanings are not indicated by the iconographic attributes of the other angels' transcendental guise. The program at San Vitale demonstrates that different modes of presentation of angels can describe their changeable nature and areas of activity.

The iconography of the winged youth, used in these cases just discussed to symbolize otherworldly nature and activity, was used for other angelic beings as well. Scripture mentions other angelic creatures besides archangels and angels, and these led to the depiction of other ranks of an angelic hierarchy.⁵² Yet, because of the lack of full descriptions in scripture of the members of this hierarchy, the iconography of the winged youth was employed to represent any angelic being. The use of this symbolic iconography must have originated at an early point in the creation of a Christian iconography of angels. Methodius of Olympus (d. ca. 311) provided a precedent for extant representations in his description of an image figured with "likenesses fashioned from gold of his angels, who are the Principalities and the Powers, [which] we make in honour and faith in him."⁵³ Paralleling Methodius' description, examples of images survive in which the winged youth serves as a sign for different angelic orders. A seventh-century Constantinopolitan cameo (#119) from the collection of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., bears the inscription "ΕΞΟΥΧΙΕ" ("Powers"), and depicts two winged men (fig. 8).⁵⁴

52. See Colossians 1:16 and Ephesians 1:21. Scripture mentions nine orders in total: seraphim (Is. 6), cherubim (Gen. 3:24, Ex. 25:22), thrones (Col. 1:16), virtues (Eph. 1:21), dominations, principalities, powers (Eph. 1:21, Col. 1:16), archangels (1 Thess. 4:16, Jude 9), angels (Gen. 16:7, for example).

53. Preserved in the writings of John of Damascus, *Orationes de imaginibus tres*, III. 138, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres*, PTS vol. 17, ed. P. B. Kotter (Berlin, 1975) 200.

54. M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Volume One. Metalwork, Ceramics, Glass, Glyptics, Painting* (Washington, D.C., 1962) 98–99, fig. 57. This iconography continues to be used throughout the Byzantine period. For example, among the fifteenth-century frescoes of the church of the Metropolitan at Mistra, the angelic orders are collectively described by winged men, that is, the angel type; see G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris, 1910) pl. 64.1.

Figure 8. Two winged men
inscribed "EZOTCIE"
("Powers"), Constantinopolitan cameo,
Dumbarton Oaks,
Washington, D.C., seventh
century. Photo: Dumbarton
Oaks, Washington, D.C.



Faced with a lack of scriptural description—as only the existence of this rank is mentioned—the engraver fell back on this iconography of the winged man; skirting any iconographic complexity or difficulty, the winged man stands in as a generic type.

The mosaics in the bema arch of the destroyed church of the Dormition at Nicaea (Iznik) were an example of this generic iconography of the winged youth within a full-scale program. These original mosaics of the angels have been dated to the late sixth and seventh centuries.⁵⁵ Although the inscriptions state that the figures represented different orders of the angelic hierarchy, the Principalities, Virtues, Dominations and Powers, mentioned together at

55. Fernanda de' Maffei hypothesized that the angelic powers belonged to a different mosaic phase than the Virgin and Child and that they date stylistically to the late sixth century. For this dating, she sought support in the stylistic analysis of G. de Francovich, "I mosaici del bema della chiesa della Dormizione di Nicea," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Lionello Venturi*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1956) I: 3–27. She conjectured that the mosaics had been covered during Iconoclasm, not erased as is generally thought, and the repair evident is not connected to the restoration of images in 843. See F. de' Maffei, "L'Unigenito consostanziale al Padre nel programma trinitario dei perduti mosaici del bema della Dormizione di Nicea e il Cristo trasfigurato del Sinai I," *Storia dell'arte* 45(1982):91ff., and also her *Icona, pittore e arte al Concilio Niceno II* (Rome, 1974) 99ff. However, the restorations apparent in the areas around the angels and the replacing of the cross in the apse likely belong to the same phase,

Colossians 1:16, the angelic beings were depicted as identical winged youths wearing the *loros* and carrying orbs and standards (figs. 9, 10). Scripture is the primary source for revelation of these divine beings but only the existence of the angels, the Principalities, Virtues, Dominations and Powers, are attested in scripture, not any of their individual qualities. Lacking specific scriptural description, the mosaists repeated the iconographic type, the winged youth. The angels are nominally different from one another but they share the same nature generally, and they are visually indistinguishable from one another.

Other angelic powers are also represented by an anthropomorphic figure with wings, even the cherubim and seraphim for which extensive scriptural descriptions could be drawn upon. Passages describing the Ark of the Covenant and the Solomonic Temple provide information on representations of cherubim (for example, Ex. 37:7–9, I Kings 6:23–28, Ez. 41:18–20); and the prophets' visions supplied long, if obscure, descriptions of angels. Yet anthropomorphism was used in early Byzantine art to represent these angelic beings in contradiction of scriptural accounts of these angels' appearances. For example, in the sixth-century Vienna Genesis (fol. 2v), a winged man represents the cherubim guarding the gates of paradise with a flaming sword (Gen. 3:24); this winged man diverges from Ezekiel's full description of the cherubim as a six-winged tetramorph (1:4–28,

probably post 843, paid for by the otherwise unknown Naukratios, as stated in an inscription between the two angels on the south bema arch.

The precise date of the original foundation by Hyacinthos is not settled. Most scholars prefer the late seventh / early eighth century for the construction of the church and, following this, the mosaics in the apse area. See F.I. Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia, das Bauwerk und die Mosaiken* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), U. Peschlow, "Neue Beobachtungen zur Architektur und Ausstattung der Koimesiskirche in Iznik," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 22(1972):145–87, and C. Barber, "The Koimesis Church, Nicaea: The Limits of Representation on the Eve of Iconoclasm," *JöB* 41(1991):43–60. However, arguments have been made, through comparisons of sculptural decoration in the church, that the foundation dates to the second half of the sixth century. See C. Barsanti, "Una nota sulle sculture del Tempio di Giacinto nella Chiesa della Dormizione (Koimesis) di Iznik-Nicea," *Storia dell'arte* 46(1982):210–18, and C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (London, 1986) 90. Mango has added his voice more recently to the number of scholars who call for a date around 700. See his "Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie: Constantinople, Nicée," *TM* 12(1994):35off.



Figure 9. Angelic Powers, south side, Bema Mosaic (destroyed), Church of the Dormition, Iznik (formerly Nicaea), ninth century. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

10:12).⁵⁶ And, despite Isaiah's revelation (6:1–3), the seraphim were also depicted as winged men in early representations, for example,

56. This anthropomorphic iconography never entirely disappears; see the thirteenth-century sculpted façade of the Church of Hagia Sophia, Trebizond, where an anthropomorphic cherubim guards paradise. See D. Talbot Rice et al., *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond* (Edinburgh, 1968) 48, pl. 17d.



Figure 10. Angelic Powers, north side, Bema Mosaic (destroyed), Church of the Dormition, Iznik (formerly Nicaea), ninth century. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

on the entrance gate at the fifth-century complex at Alahan in Seleucia in southeast Asia Minor.⁵⁷

57. See Mary Gough, ed., *Alahan. An Early Christian Monastery in Southeastern Turkey* (Toronto, 1985) 87ff., pl. 20.

Ninth-century examples include the illustration of the appearance of the seraphim as a winged youth to Isaiah in the Vatican “Cosmas Indicopleustes” (Vat. gr. 699, fol. 72v). See

The most exalted members of the hierarchy, the cherubim and seraphim, were most often depicted in Early Christian and Byzantine art in liturgical contexts. Occasionally represented in symbolic form as winged men, despite clear and distinct descriptions in scripture for each creature, cherubim and seraphim also diverge iconographically from scriptural accounts. Christian artists and theologians often used the visions of cherubim and seraphim to express eschatological and cosmological themes. The earliest depiction of the seraphim and the tetramorph cherubim, the fifth-/sixth-century apse mosaic in the church of Hosios David, Thessalonike, conflates the visions of Ezekiel's cherubim (1:4–28, 10:12), Isaiah's seraphim (6:1–3) and the six-winged creatures of Revelation (4:2–10).⁵⁸ Christ appears in a mandorla, supported by the four creatures of Ezekiel and Revelation. The four beasts each have wings with many eyes; yet no fiery wheels are depicted, while the inscription in the scroll held by Christ quotes Isaiah 25:9.⁵⁹ Christa Ihm has called this iconography at Hosios David the liturgical *maiestas*.⁶⁰

Topographie chrétienne, SC vols. 141, 159, 197, ed. W. Wolska-Conus (Paris, 1968–1973) II:249. See, too, the Reliquary of the True Cross, from Limburg an-der-Lahn, dating in its last reworking to 963, on which the iconography of the four-winged cherubim and the six-winged seraphim applies respectively to the principalities and powers. See J. Rauch, "Die Limburger Staurothek," *Das Münster* 8(1955):201ff., especially figs. 5, 16–18, and J.M. Wilm, *ibid.*, 234ff., and H. Wilsdorf, "Zur Staurothek vom Limburg," *BF* 18(1992): 197–208. de' Maffei, "L'Unigenito consustanziale," 100 n52, cites Gregory of Nyssa on the identification of thrones and powers with seraphim and cherubim (*Refutatio confessionis Eunomii*, PG 45:556C).

58. See C. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1960) 42ff. On the establishment of the Book of Revelation in the eastern Church, see G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels* (Vienna, 1979) 48, especially n49. On Hosios David, see Ihm, *Die Programme*, 182–84, pl. XIII, 1, and T.F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods. A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*, rev. ed. (Princeton, 1999) 115ff.

59. The fifth-/seventh-century fresco in the apse niche of Chapel XXVI, Bawît, also reveals elements of each of these three visions; although the depiction conforms generally to Ezekiel's vision, the cherubim have six wings, one face, and many eyes as in Isaiah and Revelation, rather than Ezekiel's four-winged, four-faced creatures with hands and feet. See Ihm, *Die Programme*, 202–203, pl. XIII, 2. And in the Monastery of Dodo, David-Garedja, Georgia, dating to the seventh/ninth century, two archangels, Michael and Gabriel, flank the enthroned Christ, while two tetramorphs hover underneath. The tetramorphs have four faces and four wings, and they are standing on fiery wheels, referring to Ezekiel, while a Trisagion inscription recalls Isaiah and the liturgy. See Ihm, *Die Programme*, pl. XIV, 2, and

The Trisagion, the “Holy, holy, holy” chanted by the seraphim in Isaiah (6:3) and Revelation (4:8), influenced the representations of cherubim and seraphim in artistic milieux strongly influenced by liturgical practice.⁶¹ The liturgy also encouraged a certain amount of

A. Alpag0-Novello et al., *Art and Architecture in Medieval Georgia*, trans. N. Holloway (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980) 88, figs. 94, 95. And in the crucifixion in the apse of Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome (705–707), the cherubim and seraphim are identical in that they both have six wings and stand on flaming wheels; see P. Romanelli and P. J. Nordhagen, *S. Maria Antiqua* (Rome, 1964) pls. 22, 23.

In the period following Iconoclasm, the liturgical *maiestas* remained popular, particularly in the monastic setting of the churches of Cappadocia. The fresco in the prothesis apse of the New Church at Tokali Kilise, dating from the middle of the tenth century, is typical of this Cappadocian iconography. See A. Wharton Epstein, *Tokali Kilise. Tenth-century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 68–69, figs. 102, 103. Christ sits enthroned in the middle of the apse, and he is flanked by two pairs of fiery wheels, a seraphim, a cherubim, and two Archangels, Michael and Gabriel. On either side of Christ is an inscription based on the liturgy, “Holy, holy, holy Lord / of Hosts, Heaven and earth are filled with your glory.” The depictions of the seraphim and cherubim generally follow scripture. The seraphim, to Christ’s right, has six eyeless wings, the face of a man in the center of the wings, and hands and feet protruding from the wings; the cherubim has the heads of an ox and a lion to either side, and a man’s head in the middle of four many-eyed wings. Inscriptions above the seraphim and cherubim provide apocalyptic titles for the beasts, also used in the liturgy, “bellowing” (ΒΩΝΤΑ) and “calling” (ΚΕΛΕΤΟΝΤΑ), which are associated with the ox and man figures, respectively.

On the liturgy and the references to the apocalyptic beasts, see F. E. Brightman, “The *Historia Mystagogica* and Other Greek Commentaries on the Byzantine Liturgy,” *JTS* 9(1908):248–67, 387–97; G. de Jerphanion, “Les noms des quatre animaux et le commentaire liturgique de Pseudo-Germain,” in his *Les voix des monuments. Notes et études d’archéologie chrétienne* (Paris, 1930) 250–59; A. Wharton Epstein, “The Problem of Provincialism: Byzantine Monasteries in Cappadocia and Monks in South Italy,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42(1979):39–40; and Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels*, 86ff.

60. Mathews has raised objections about the imperial connotations of the term *maiestas*, but the liturgical function is stressed here, not the pagan antecedents of the iconography. See Mathews, *The Clash of Gods*, 117.

61. André Grabar noted examples, on the other hand, where Christ is enthroned, with the Trisagion printed on the pages of the book he holds; the cherubim and seraphim are not present in these examples. Grabar stresses the importance of theophanic vision, rather than of liturgical texts, in the formation of the iconography of the *maiestas*. See *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l’art chrétien antique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1943–1946; rp. London, 1972) II:306ff. Yet the number of examples cited above indicate that liturgy also played a fundamental part in the formation of this iconography.

The Trisagion appears to be a very early element in piety and liturgy. See V. Saxer, “Jalons pour servir à l’histoire du culte de l’archange Saint Michel en orient jusqu’à l’iconoclisme,” in *Noscere sancta. Miscellanea in memoria di Agostino Amore* (Rome, 1985) 362–63; and, more comprehensively, B. D. Sparks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (Cambridge, 1991).

confusion of these two angelic ranks. For example, Christ is addressed in the liturgy:

... for before thee stand thy two living creatures honourable exceedingly, the sixwinged and manyeyed, seraphim and cherubim, with two wings covering their faces by reason of thy godhead which none can gaze on nor comprehend, and with twain covering their feet, with twain also flying....⁶²

The liturgy of John Chrysostom, which mentions “the cherubim, the seraphim, six-winged and many-eyed” (τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ Σεραφίμ, ἑξαπτέρυγα, πολυόμματα), may also have contributed to the iconographic confusion of seraphim and cherubim, and artists often represented the cherubim and seraphim in identical fashion, with six, many-eyed wings.⁶³

Liturgy, therefore, influenced the development of the Christian iconography of these angelic beings, and furthermore encouraged

62. Translation from F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Vol. 1 (Oxford, 1896), 175. And see also the *Historia ecclesiastica*, a liturgical commentary written by the Patriarch Germanus (ca. 634–ca. 733): “You who sit upon the cherubim, manifest yourself to us” (Brightman, “The *Historia Mystagogica*,” 387).

63. J. Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale graecorum* (Venice, 1730; rp. Graz, 1960) 61; Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 385; Wulff, *Cherubim, Throne und Seraphim*, 19ff.; *RBK* III:84.

For example, one must look ahead to the early tenth-century chapel (#3) at Güllü Dere, which contains a composite representation in the apse of visions of the seraphim, cherubim and tetramorphs, deriving from Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and Revelation. The program includes two tetramorphs (ΠΟΛΥΩΜΜΑΤΟΝ [*sic*]), with eye-filled wings, flanking Christ who is enthroned in a mandorla held by the four beasts of Ezekiel and Revelation; two seraphim (ΕΞΑΠΤΕΡΥΤΟΝ) meanwhile give Isaiah and Ezekiel a coal and a book, respectively, to eat. Both of these seraphim have six many-eyed wings. See J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, “Théophanie-visions auxquelles participent les prophètes dans l’art byzantin après la restauration des images,” in *Synthronon. Art et archéologie de la fin de l’Antiquité et du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1968) 138ff.; D.I. Pallas, “Eine Differenzierung unter den himmlischen Ordnungen (Ikonographische Analyse),” *BZ* 44(1971):55–60; and N. Thierry, *Haut moyen-âge en Cappadoce. Les églises de la région de Çavuşin* (Paris, 1983) 126ff., and pls. 52, 53.

A six-winged tetramorph guards paradise in the ninth-century Paris Gregory; L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium. Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge, 1999) fig. 10, and also 282–83. This iconography of a tetramorph with an extra pair of wings is not uncommon; see Wulff, *Cherubim, Throne und Seraphim*, 32ff.

the iconography's dissemination. Neither Pseudo-Dionysius's speculations on the angelic hierarchy nor the increasing interest in the cherubim found in the *contra Judaeos* literature reveal any direct influence on the iconography of these beings.⁶⁴ Extant representations of cherubim and seraphim betray direct inspiration from liturgical descriptions. Because of this influence, mixing of the iconography of cherubim and seraphim is the rule by the Middle Byzantine period, and differentiation of the angelic beings is often possible only through inscriptions.⁶⁵ The iconography was, in fact, never settled, and this ambiguity indicates that the patrons and artists did not always see the need to distinguish the beings.

In pre-Iconoclastic art, style was a notable expression of iconographic meaning.⁶⁶ The manipulation of style by Christian painters, mosaicists and sculptors has particular interest in this context as style came to be an important means to communicate the difficult nature of angels. If pagan art provided antecedents for the creation of a Christian iconography of angels, it also furnished diverse stylistic modes.⁶⁷ In particular, stylistic analyses show that in the period before Iconoclasm painters and mosaicists used a more naturalistic "classical" style to indicate the distinct qualities of angels.

An examination of the icon of the Virgin and Child flanked by Saints Theodore and George in the Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai (sixth/seventh century) reveals stylistic distinctions in the de-

64. The influence of the theological work of Pseudo-Dionysius is clearly perceptible in texts that discuss images in the period before Iconoclasm and is equally prevalent throughout the writings of iconophiles. The cherubim, as cited in the *contra Judaeos* literature, assumed an equally important place in iconophile theory. Both of these topics are treated in chapter 3.

65. For instance, it is unclear in the fourteenth-century mosaics whether the pendentives of the central dome of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul represented seraphim or cherubim. Although these creatures had six wings, neither the number of wings nor even the presence and absence of wings can be relied upon for general identification. On these mosaics, see C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1962) 83ff.; and on this issue of confusion, see Wulff, *Cherubim, Throne und Seraphim*, 26ff., and *RBK*III:85.

66. See, for instance, Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, 32ff., and also E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making* (London, 1977).

67. See O.J. Brendel, *Prolegomena to the Study of Roman Art* (New Haven and London, 1979) 125ff., on the use of disparate styles within the same monument in Roman art.

piction of angels and humans that communicate the dissimilar natures of these different categories of beings (fig. 11).⁶⁸ Ernst Kitzinger has considered the stylistic treatment of the angels on the icon who stand behind the Virgin's throne and look over their shoulders at the descent of the Holy Spirit. His interpretation stresses the use of "hellenistic" survivals in the handling of the angels, and the rift between angelic and human natures that this hellenistic style expresses.

At times it appears as though a bold, sketchy manner were, so to speak, in the nature of an "iconographic attribute" of angels. An obvious explanation is that it was a means of expressing the fact that they belong to a different order of beings, that they are incorporeal, ἀσώματοι. Hellenistic pictorial technique in these cases serves as a means not of actualizing physical, but of accentuating spiritual existence.⁶⁹

68. K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons. Volume One: From the Sixth to the Tenth Century* (Princeton, 1976) 18ff., and pls. IV, V, VI, XLIII, XLIV, XLV, XLVI.

69. Kitzinger, "Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm," in *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinischen-Kongress, München, 1958* (Munich, 1958) 47. See also his "On Some Icons of the Seventh Century," in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann et al. (Princeton, 1955) 134, on the seventh-century fragment of the head of an angel from Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome. See also H. Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies. Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1996) 70–71.

Andrei Cornea offers a complementary interpretation of the meaning of style in this image. See A. Cornea, "On 'Fiction' and 'Authenticity' in Byzantine Pre-Iconoclastic Painting," *Revue roumaine d'histoire de l'art* 17(1980):6. Cornea questions the assumption that communicating a sense of life and motion is the aim of the "hellenistic pictorial technique" in the depiction of angels. Cornea proposes two different modes of depiction that he calls "a symbol-image based on fiction" and "a history-image based on truth." The Virgin and Child and the saints are depicted in a frontal, hierarchic manner to indicate their essential historicity; this abstract manner is in direct opposition to the fictional, illusionistic depiction of the angels, which signifies their incomprehensibility. For Cornea, artists used this "hellenistic" manner because, "the naturalistic style could automatically awake in the spectators' minds the stereotypic link, indicating that the image was a fiction lacking a real bodily model, as the statues of gods were, according to the Christians, mere fictions having no anthropomorphic referent they could imitate" (ibid., 7). In other words, the fictional quality of naturalistic depiction of the angels is not an "iconographic attribute" for Cornea, but rather a "classification-index" that warns that any relation to reality is purely coincidental. See also the remarks of Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 148ff.

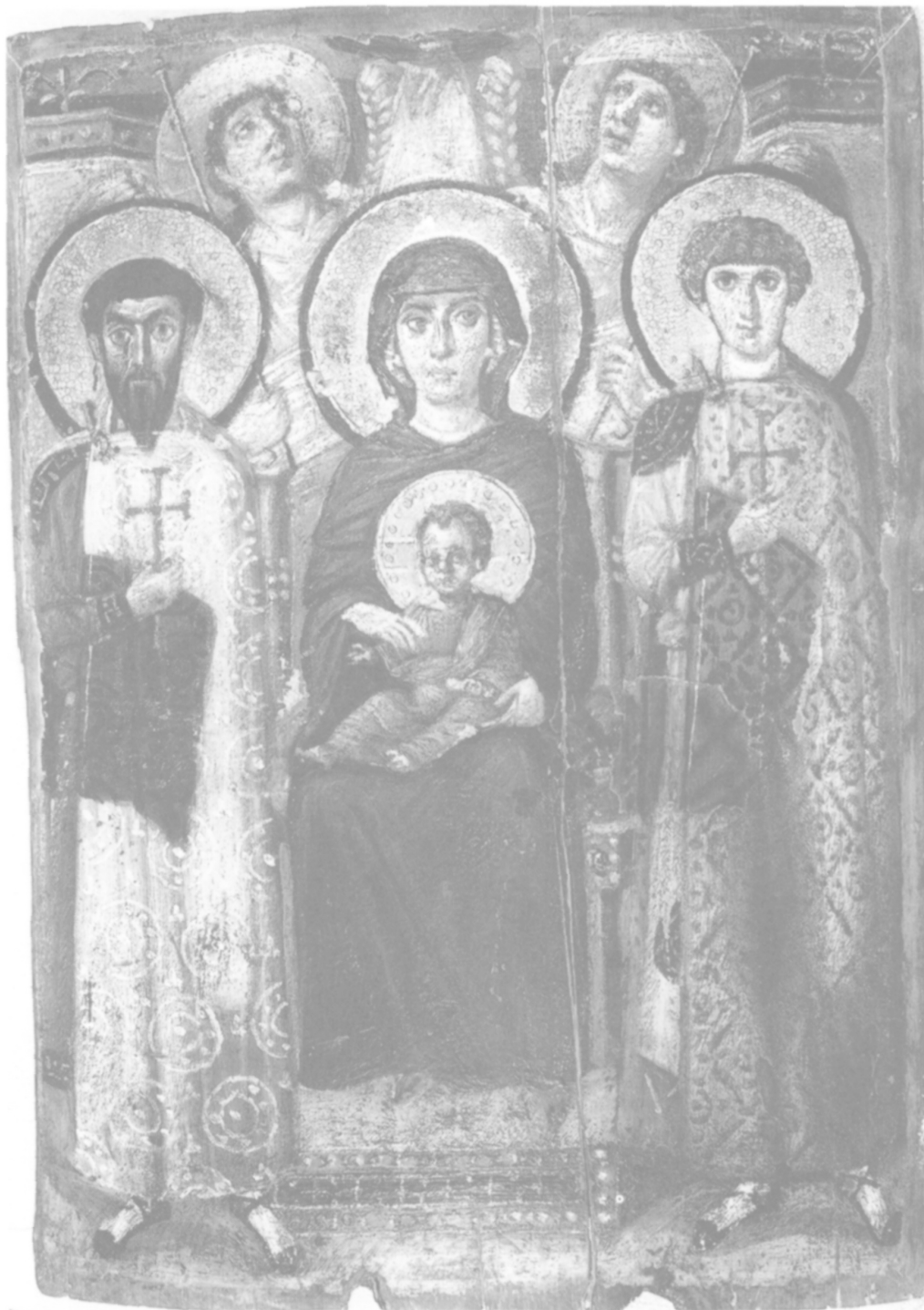


Figure 11. Icon of the Virgin and Child, flanked by Saints Theodore and George, Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai, sixth / seventh century. Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan–Princeton–Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

According to this interpretation, the viewer must make a judgment on the distinct handling of the angels compared to the other figures on this icon, and discern differences in nature from differences in style. The delicate handling of the angels' features and their believable turning, even in the small space allowed, distinguishes the angels from the hieratic figures of the saints; as opposed to these static saints, the central figures of the Virgin and Child in the foreground appear more animated, less frontal, and thus more dynamically alert than the mortal saints to the descending Holy Spirit. Ultimately, analysis reveals that, in this case, the relatively naturalistic depiction of the angels has a paradoxical ability to indicate to the viewer a nature different from that of humanity.

In the hands of painters and mosaicists, style continued throughout the Early and Middle Byzantine periods to be a means of establishing a distinction between human and angelic nature. Two examples of middle Byzantine images reveal that a different style was, in fact, used to represent angels for different ends. For instance, Henry Maguire has contrasted the ninth-century mosaic of the Archangel Gabriel, found in the bema arch of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, with the Virgin and Child in the apse (figs. 12, 13): "the bodies of the archangels in heaven tended to be rendered as flat and without modeling, because of their lack of materiality."⁷⁰ In the mosaic, the Archangel is set within a gold field that dematerializes his form, and his robes are unmodeled sheets, unrevealing of any substantial form beneath. In contrast, the faces of the Virgin and Child in the apse are naturalistically formed, and they are fashioned three-dimensionally, settled coherently on a substantial throne.

The angels are depicted in an abstract manner to denote the impalpable quality of the heavenly realm; conversely, a more naturalistic style in representations is the complement of angelic activity on earth. An example contemporary with the bema mosaic of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople is a depiction of the epiphany of the

70. "Style and Ideology in Byzantine Imperial Art," *Gesta* 28(1989):223. The dating of the apse mosaics at Hagia Sophia to the ninth century is not uncontested; for an alternate view, see N. Oikonomidès, "Some Remarks on the Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia," *DOP* 39(1985):III–15.

seraphim to Isaiah in the Vatican “Cosmas” (fig. 14).⁷¹ In contrast to the stationary, flat seraphim flanking Christ, the human, winged seraphim is clearly occupying a different sphere; the single seraphim strides toward Isaiah in a lively manner, and his torso bends at the waist as his outstretched hand inserts the coal into Isaiah’s mouth. The stylistic distinction between the celestial activities of the seraphim and their rare manifestations on earth is convincingly conveyed by the illusionistic handling of the appearance of the angel before Isaiah, distinct from the seraphim hieratically flanking Christ.

Painters and mosaicists continued to be able to indicate through style the qualities of angels’ nature, as well as their mode of activity. The illustration of Isaiah’s epiphany in the Vatican “Cosmas” is particularly telling because iconography and style work in unison to suggest the earthly and unearthly activities of formless beings. On earth, the seraphim can take on a guise different from their heavenly “form,” and the difference between the seraphim’s anthropomorphism and their many-winged form reveals their fluid formlessness. Iconography can, therefore, distinguish modes of activity in the same illustration, while abstract and naturalistic styles further demonstrate the angels’ different capacities, both attendance in heaven and service on earth.

A more classical modeling can be employed after the ninth century, just the same, to show the earthly movement and work of the angels. Kurt Weitzmann has described the twelfth-century icon of the miracle of the Archangel Michael at Chonae from the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai (fig. 15), as an example of classical modeling indicating corporeality and immediacy:

[Michael is] rendered as a youth of Apollonian beauty, gracious in the movement of the body which is shown in full plasticity under a garment which, in classical fashion, clings to the body and whose folds combine a rhythmic flow with modeling power.⁷²

71. See *Topographie chrétienne*, ed. Wolska-Conus, II: 249.

72. See K. Weitzmann, “The Classical in Byzantine Art as a Mode of Individual Expression,” in *Byzantine Art. An European Art. Lectures* (Athens, 1966) 166–67 [= K. Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. L. Kessler (Chicago, 1971) 166–67].



Figure 12. Archangel Gabriel, Mosaic, Bema arch, Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, ninth century. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

In contrast, cordoned by the ropey water descending, the bantam hermit opposite Michael is insubstantial and hidden within the monastic carapace. The fuller angelic corporeality, perhaps an oxymoron, lends a sense of presence and actuality, while the self-denial practiced so arduously by the hermit effaces his physical being. The two fields denoted by the joining streams in the middle therefore



Figure 13. Virgin and Child, Apse Mosaic, Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, ninth century. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

create two areas of existence, the angelic one occupied by a full-bodied angel and the mortal one almost evacuated by the dematerializing body of the hermit.

This brief examination of representation of angels in the early Christian and Byzantine periods has revealed only an occasional engagement on the part of mosaicists, painters and sculptors with is-



Figure 14. Vision of Isaiah, *The Christian Topography* of “Cosmas Indicopleustes,” Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 699, fol. 72v, ninth century. Photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

sues of nature and identity in art. The issues were never resolved as the subjects, that is the angels, were not open to autopsy by artists, since knowledge of angels was derived primarily through descriptions of their enigmatic epiphanies in scripture. Because of the distance of these subjects, painters, mosaicists and sculptors were forced to sidestep problems of making apprehensible something only partially seen and known in the past. Their circumvention of real description is most clearly evident in the straightforward use of an anthropomorphic form for angels. Evidently, the artist was abdicating responsibility for describing nature or identity and was placing the burden of recognizing the being depicted on the shoulders of the

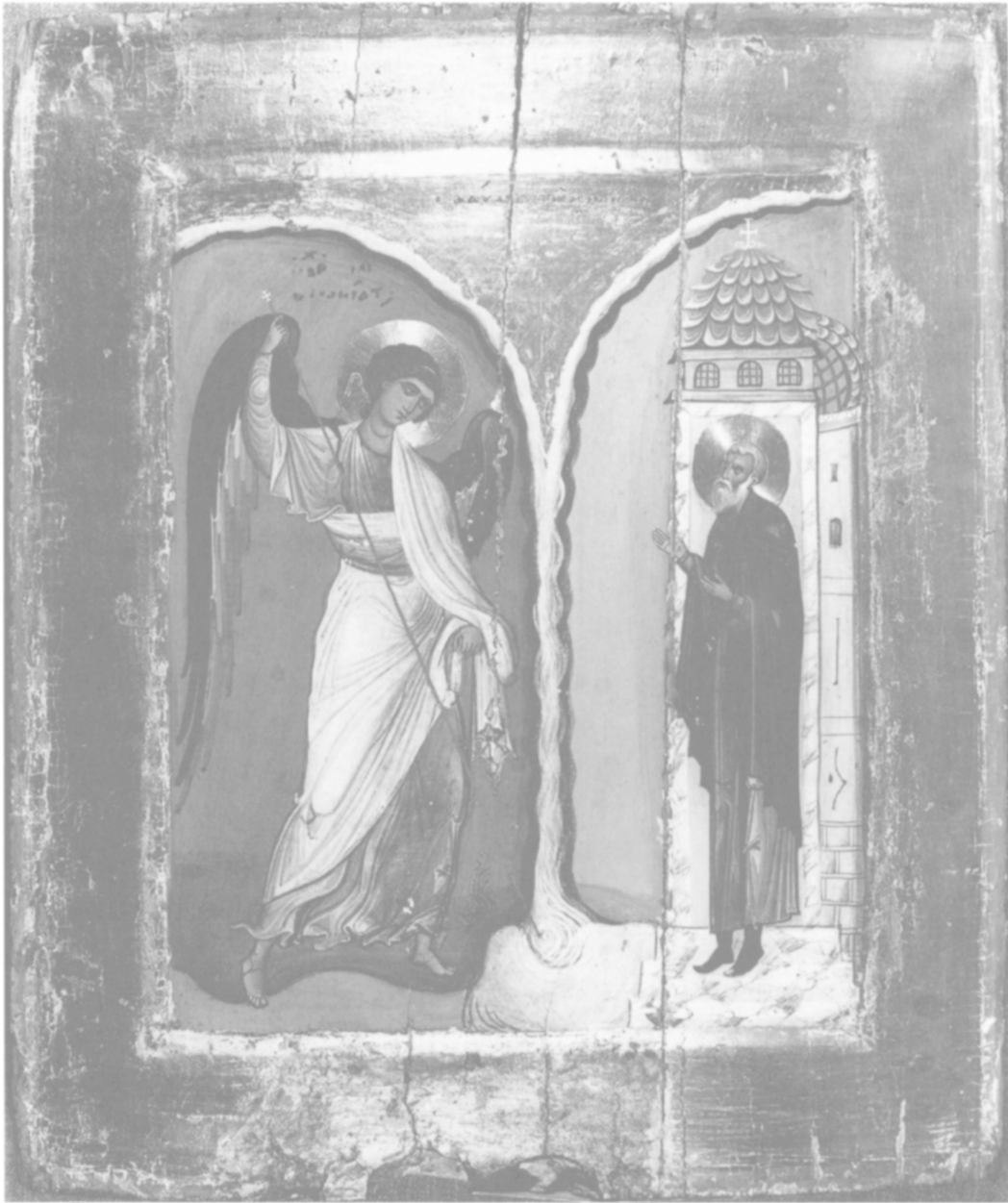


Figure 15. Icon of the Miracle at Chonae, Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai, twelfth century. Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan–Princeton–Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

viewer. The iconography of the angels is only, then, occasionally complex in its exegesis of spiritual nature and appearances as in the important series of scenes describing the Philoxenia. This series shows that painters and mosaicists—or programmers—recognized the enigmatic quality of the event and attempted to indicate this quality through the description of the “men” as winged or unwinged.

Wings were used throughout as the primary means to communicate the symbolic nature of the iconography of angels. Color and cloud were also used to indicate the fire and wind composition of angels that scripture prescribed but these solutions were not common.⁷³ Preeminently, the winged youth is an expansive iconography that is allusive to all angels, corresponding to the semantic range of the word “angelos” (ἄγγελος), and not descriptive in any essential way of their nature or appearance. Theological writings furthermore show that Christians generally interpreted angelic epiphany as dissimulation, unrelated to the true nature and form of angels.⁷⁴ In the

73. For instance, a sixth-century mosaic in the Church of St. Demetrius in Thessalonike shows an angel seamlessly emerging from a cloud; the mosaic does not correspond to any episode in the surviving hagiographic narratives, although it may depict the martyrdom of the saint. See R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold. Byzantine Society and Its Icons* (London, 1985) 79–80, fig. 22; Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli*, 97ff. Christian painters, mosaicists and sculptors also attempted to indicate the fiery quality of angels iconographically. For example, an early sixth-century mosaic in the church of San Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, represents Christ as the shepherd and judge of Matthew 25. Two standing angels flank the seated Christ, one of whom is red, denoting fire and light, while the other is cobalt blue, denoting the tenebrous nature of a fallen angel. See E. Kirschbaum, “L’angelo rosso e l’angelo turchino,” *RivAC* 17(1940):209–48, and G. Bovini, *Mosaici di S. Apollinare di Ravenna: Il ciclo cristologico* (Florence, 1958) 37ff., fig. 4, pl. X. And at Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome, the hands, feet and faces of the angels are depicted “meravigliosamente rosso” in the fifth-century mosaics; see Kirschbaum, “L’angelo rosso e l’angelo turchino,” 215, C. Cecchelli, *I mosaici della Basilica S. Maria Maggiore* (Turin, 1956) pls. XLIX, LIII, and Grabar, *The Golden Age of Justinian*, figs. 157, 161, 162. And, more generally, see A. Petzold, “‘His Face Like Lightning’: Colour as Signifier in Representations of the Holy Women at the Tomb,” *Arte medievale* 6/2(1992): 149–55.

74. For instance, Basil of Caesarea wrote, “For just as the brand is known through the fire, the one the underlying matter, the other the fire; so with the heavenly powers, they are in essence aerial spirit, if you would, or immaterial fire according to scripture, ‘Who maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a flaming fire’ (Ps. 104:4). Wherefore they are in a place, and become visible, they appear in an image of their own bodies, in this way, to the worthy. But the source of their holiness being outside of their nature is brought to fulfillment by contact with the Spirit” (*De Spiritu Sancto*, XVI.38, in *Traité du Saint-Esprit*, SC vol. 17 bis, ed. B. Pruche [Paris, 1968] 380–82).

same way, visual representations are allusions to this angelic dissimulation, and the apparently straightforward representation of winged anthropomorphic figures paradoxically signifies the angels' multi-form constitution.

The assimilation of pagan iconography of winged personifications described in this chapter did not go unnoticed or unopposed by certain figures within the church. Theodoret of Cyrrhus noted that the use of imperial models for Christian art was in keeping with the dignity owed to God.⁷⁵ Although subsequent chapters examine this dialogue in greater depth, the assertion made by the pagan in the pagan-Christian "dialogue," the *Apocriticus*, is also relevant here. The pagan stated that the gods and the angels were alike in everything, their proximity to God, their spirituality and service; only their names were different.⁷⁶ His opponent, Macarius Magnes, rejected any such connection between the dignity and nature of false gods and true servants; furthermore, he denied the ability of art to depict beings so pure and transcendent.⁷⁷ To Christians who held views similar to Macarius Magnes on angels and art, such connections between pagan and Christian iconography must have appeared as debasing to the spiritual beings and a dangerous invitation to pagan idolatry.

75. *Orationes de imaginibus tres*, III.80, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III*, 176: "And just as the Romans in painting imperial images surrounded [the emperor] with spear-bearers and depicted subject peoples, so Christians depict by similar means. Since the emperor through his appearance assumes the form of God, as borne upon a throne, they reveal the images to all people on earth, and in his form they confer on him what is fitting, the ruler according to the teachings of God." See de' Maffei, *Icona, pittore e arte al Concilio Niceno II*, 74.

76. Blondel 200.1–12: "If therefore you say that the angels who are stationed near God are passionless and immortal and by nature incorruptible, which we ourselves call gods, on account of their nearness to God on high, what is there that should be disputed about the name or is it only a distinction brought out in the naming? For as far as the name goes the Romans call Minerva what the Greeks call Athena, and the Egyptians and the Syrians and the Thracians call her something else again. Is it not true that they conform despite the difference in names or removed from the name of the god? Some therefore call these angels, or either some call them gods, but there is not very much difference, since their divine nature is testified for, when Matthew wrote thus, 'But Jesus answered and said unto them, Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God. For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as angels in heaven' (22:29–30)."

77. Blondel 214–15.

The assimilation of pagan iconography into Christian art was not, therefore, universally approved, and in the first half of the sixth century Severus of Antioch delivered a sermon against the depiction of angels as “princes or kings, in a purple and royal robe, holding marks of universal power.” Despite the differences between pagan and Christian iconography, he evidently believed that the distinctions were not clear enough. Moreover, according to Severus, worshippers were led to think that these intangible servants were God’s co-rulers.⁷⁸ Depicting angels as terrestrial, temporal creatures appeared to opponents of images of angels to be a humiliation of spiritual qualities, and for some the pagan parallels for winged beings were potentially misleading.

The sixth-century epigrams, examined in chapters 2 and 3, display a degree of defensiveness that would certainly support this conclusion. The occasional attempts by mosaicists, painters and sculptors to come to terms with the nature and identity of angels were apparently not effective in the eyes of all Christians. Although these artists added wings to an anthropomorphic form in order to indicate certain symbolic alterations of form that angels accomplished, they could not describe angels in any definitive sense. Representation of angels potentially involved a number of unpalatable issues, idolatry, angelolatry and, at the very least, disrespect for profoundly spiritual beings. The anti-image accusations and iconophile answers to these accusations and the ways in which writers about angels, particularly in miracle stories, approached these issues are the subjects of the following chapters.

78. See chapter 2.

Two

ARGUMENTS AGAINST IMAGES OF ANGELS

Adherents to a literal interpretation of scripture and to intellectual worship simply could not reconcile angelic nature—which is essentially incomprehensible—with material, allusive representations in art. The best-known opponent of artistic representation in the period leading up to Iconoclasm in the eighth century was Epiphanius of Salamis (ca. 315–403). Epiphanius's theology developed from his anti-allegorical stance; and his opposition to religious imagery later made him a natural champion for the iconoclastic party.¹

Elaborate written defenses of images of angels evidently did not arise in the period between Epiphanius and Iconoclasm. However, epigrams are extant from the sixth century that reveal a development

1. On Epiphanius and Iconoclasm, see P. Maraval, "Épiphanes, 'Docteur des Iconoclastes,'" *Nicée II, 787–1987. Douze siècles d'images religieuses. Actes du colloque international Nicée II tenu au Collège de France, Paris les 2, 3, 4 Octobre 1986*, ed. F. Boespflug and N. Lossky (Paris, 1987) 51–62; on the anti-Origenist theology of Epiphanius, see E. A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy. The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, 1992) 86ff.

G. Ostrogorsky, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites* (Breslau, 1929) 69ff., doubted the authenticity of some of the texts, while Holl showed that they are all Epiphanius's own writings. This study takes the position that the texts of Epiphanius as collected by iconoclasts and refuted by iconophiles reflects a real concern on the part of the fourth-century theologian concerning material representation.

in a direction quite different from Epiphanius's interpretation of angels' images. These show affinities with a symbolic, materialist theology that finds its most detailed and articulate defense in the eighth and ninth centuries. For instance, Agathias (ca. 532–ca. 580) wrote on an image of the Archangel Michael on the island of Plate in the Sea of Marmara, south of Constantinople:

The wax, greatly daring, has represented the invisible, the incorporeal chief of the angels in the semblance of his form. Yet it was no thankless [task] since the mortal who beholds the image directs his mind to a higher contemplation. His veneration is no longer distracted: engraving within himself the [archangel's] traits, he trembles as if he were in the latter's presence. The eyes encourage deep thoughts, and art is able by means of colours to ferry over [to its object] the prayer of the mind.²

Agathias's description of an approach to images of angels is antithetical to Epiphanius's literal position and reveals an ability to interpret material images as the symbolic means to knowledge of an incomprehensible creature. In this description of the image of the archangel, the difficulty of comprehension derives from the incorporeal nature which would seem to be incompatible with material representation; but in Agathias's conception the image also provides the viewer with the means to approach knowledge of the distant and immaterial archangel by way of contemplation of the colors and outlines on the surface of the image. The material image is therefore the bridge between mundane reality and spiritual truths otherwise unattainable. No less intellectual than Epiphanius's, this approach nonetheless admits and encourages material, symbolic aids for worship and contemplation. These two opposing methods of gaining knowledge of God characterize the two sides of a long-standing debate in Byzantine society leading to the convulsive conflict of the Iconoclastic period.

2. *The Greek Anthology*, ed. W.R. Paton, 5 vols. (London, 1927) I:34; trans. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire. 312–1453. Sources and Documents* (Toronto, 1986) 115.

Debate over the proper means to a comprehension of divine things, in this case angels, characterizes the period leading up to Iconoclasm in the eighth century.³ Art was part of this debate because it generated discussion over seemly worship and appropriate avenues to gaining knowledge. The angels' iconography is essentially symbolic in that it relates a human form sometimes assumed by angels but not descriptive of their real nature. The addition of wings is a significant marker in this iconography since wings signal transcendence and ethereality and inhuman speed, all characteristics of the angelic host. This symbolic iconography was evidently not suitable to all Christians, and texts from the fourth century on reveal that such images of angels had excited opposition. Moreover, the dangers of idolatry that attached to material images and to angels themselves were important considerations. This chapter seeks to isolate these strands of theological discussion concerning images of angels and, furthermore, argues that these strands influenced one aspect of iconoclastic opposition to symbolic images of angels. The extant opposition to images of angels falls into two general categories: fourth-century anti-imagist theology and the Monophysitism of fifth-/sixth-century Syria. This chapter examines the particular historical context for these sources and concludes with an examination of the common concerns that allowed their authors to be harnessed to the iconoclastic cause.

Earlier evidence for opposition to images is known mainly through the marshaling of patristic precedents to support the iconoclasts' position on images. A sifting of iconophile texts provides firm documentation of the nature of pre-Iconoclastic opposition to symbolic images, particularly those of angels. Long-standing theological divisions manifest themselves in part by the choice of patristic precedent in the arguments of the opposing sides of the controversy.⁴ Iconoclasts argued that image worship was a recent re-introduction of the idolatry that Christians had overcome but to which they had again

3. See Cameron, "The Language of Images."

4. See the recent survey by A. Giakalis, *Images of the Divine. The Theology of Icons at the Seventh Ecumenical Council* (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1994) 22ff.

succumbed. Iconophiles, on the other hand, claimed their own patristic support in favor of their position of a long-standing and proper worship of icons, initiated and sanctioned by scripture.⁵ The traditions of the Church were thus understood in completely divergent ways by each camp. Both parties, therefore, claimed a distinct line of tradition within the church, written and unwritten, and this chapter examines the development of an anti-image, intellectual theology that motivated certain iconoclastic beliefs concerning representations of angels.

Evidence for the effects of this theology on material objects is scanty; one assumes that before Iconoclasm some images may have been removed because of philosophical differences but that on the whole images were produced and opponents simply avoided such material aids. However, at the end of this chapter, mosaics of the angelic powers in the bema arch of the church of the Dormition at Nicaea (Iznik) will furnish examples of how iconoclasts viewed—and corrected—angels' images.

Both sides of the Iconoclastic controversy claimed the great father of the early Church and renowned opponent of heretics, Epiphanius of Salamis. Iconoclasts declared him a paragon because of his writings against the manufacture and worship of images.⁶ Epiphanius was a particularly difficult case for iconophiles since he was a theologian of unassailable orthodoxy, having written two influential works, the *Panarion*, a famous anti-heretical treatise, and the doctrinal study *An-*

5. A certain disregard for scruples of historical research is evident, and indeed charges of falsification of texts were traded by both sides. P.J. Alexander described the collection and confirmation of patristic sources by the iconoclast faction in the preparation for the iconoclastic Council of Hagia Sophia in 815 as more painstaking and scrupulous than the first iconoclastic Council of Hiereia, held in 754. For this reason, the patristic citations of the later council were expanded and more accurately cited than the sources adduced at Hiereia. See P.J. Alexander, "Church Councils and Patristic Authority. The Iconoclastic Council of Hiereia (754) and St. Sophia (815)," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 63(1958):493–505.

6. These survive only in the fragments found in the rebuttal of Nicephorus, in the *Adversus Epiphaniidem*, part of his *Antirrhetics*, written in the period 818–20; see Pitra IV:292–380. See Maraval, "Épiphanie, 'Docteur des Iconoclastes,'" 61, and H.G. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit vor dem Bilderstreit*, TU vol. 139 (Berlin, 1992) 65ff.

coratus, the “Anchor of Faith.” Rather than making a frontal attack, iconophiles leveled the charge, often repeated in this period, of willful falsification.

Epiphanius’s position is the clearest and earliest statement of an opposition to images based on a literal reading of art and a spiritual mode of worship. His active iconoclasm with regard to Christian images is still in doubt,⁷ but his attitude to art is clear from the extant fragments. In short, Epiphanius rejected the ability of art to convey any truth about divine nature: “If someone endeavours to perceive the divine character of the holy Logos in the flesh, out of material colours.... [let him be anathema].”⁸ A corollary for Epiphanius is that angels who are spiritual, bodiless and immaterial—though not to the same extent as God—cannot be depicted materially. As he wrote, images, dead and lifeless matter, debase and diminish the angels.⁹ Epiphanius could not countenance the representation of Christ as man since this representation merely reduced Christ to one aspect of his duophysite nature; nor would he allow angels to be depicted as men with mortal traits of “bone and sinew,” because angels are essentially spiritual beings whose nature is like a “devouring fire.” Representations of angels in dead and lifeless matter degrade the prototypes and diminish their nature.

Furthermore, Epiphanius was a fervent opponent of artists’ “deceptions.” Artists’ handiwork is not purely spiritual and, therefore, misleading in his view. It follows that all worship based on material images is essentially idolatrous. According to Epiphanius, artists created empty inventions according to their own fancies, in a medium

7. The well-known incident of the destruction of a curtain covering a door in a church has been interpreted traditionally as a sign of Epiphanius’s active opposition to Christian art. See, for instance, E. Kitzinger, “The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm,” *DOP* 8(1954):92ff. However, Sister Charles Murray, *Rebirth and Afterlife. A Study of the Transmutation of Some Pagan Imagery in Early Christian Funerary Art* (Oxford, 1981) 31ff., convincingly analyzed this passage as proof of Epiphanius’s vigorous antagonism simply towards pagan art. The curtain, in her view, depicted a pagan figure, perhaps a god, that Epiphanius felt to be inconsistent with the decoration of a place of worship. Indeed, the event is related within the context of Epiphanius’s apology for not having sent a replacement sooner.

8. Holl 363 (#34) = *Adv. Epi.*, V.14, Pitra IV:303.18–20.

9. Holl 357 (#4) = *Adv. Epi.*, VI.16, Pitra IV:306.35–307.1.

clearly inadequate to the subject. On the representations of Christ and the saints, all Epiphanius saw was irrelevant whimsy that cannot be substantiated by witness.¹⁰ Epiphanius based his position on images of the saints on a pragmatic distinction: the saints lived on earth, had mortal form and so have a single likeness; nonetheless, artists cannot and do not retrieve this likeness because they did not see the subjects with their own eyes. With regard to angels and Christ, the difficulty is of a different order since they are essentially spiritual and comprehensible only in spiritual terms.¹¹ Furthermore, the images of angels falsely attempt to communicate another level of the unknowable which is misrepresented by anthropomorphic forms on material images. Distinct even from representing Christ as man, artists who attempt to contain angelic nature in “bone and sinew” are guilty of deceit since they are not capable of knowing or seeing angels properly; likeness in any meaningful sense is simply out of reach.

Epiphanius’s position on images was based on an anti-allegorical, anti-Origenist stance that could not conceive of an image relating symbolically to its prototype.¹² For Epiphanius, the image and the

10. Holl 361 (#24) = *Adv. Epi.*, XVIII.79, Pitra IV:352.12–22: “At the same time they mislead by their strange notions, representing the appearance of the saints in this or that manner, sometimes as old men and sometimes as youths, such things as they had never seen, they make their own. For they paint the Savior with long hair by some fancy (ὑπονοίας), on account of his being called the Nazarene, as Nazarenes have long hair. And they fail who attempt to bind these types to him. For the Savior drank wine, whereas the Nazarenes did not drink.” And Epiphanius leveled the same accusation at painters of images of the apostles: “And again believing according to their own notions what they make, they deceive. For these deceivers portray Peter the holy apostle as an old man with hair and beard cut close. And also some describe Saint Paul as balding and some bald pated and with a beard, while the other apostles as cropped” (Holl 362 [#26] = *Adv. Epi.*, XIX.86, Pitra IV:357.25–32).

11. Christ’s divine nature made likeness impossible: Epiphanius rejected the ability of art to represent “the unknowable, the inexpressible, the incomprehensible, the unspeakable, whom only Moses was able to face” (Holl 359 [#12]).

12. George Florovsky, in “Origen, Eusebius, and the Iconoclastic Controversy,” *Church History* 19(1950):77–96, and C. von Schönborn, *L’icône du Christ. Fondements théologiques élaborées entre le Ier et le IIer Concile de Nicée (325–787)* (Fribourg, 1976) 55ff., 164ff., have described the parallels between iconoclast theology and Origenism. The human nature of Christ was, in Origenist terms, overcome and superseded by the transcendental reality of Christ risen, and so his nature is beyond description in any material depiction or description. Certainly, this position has analogies with that of the iconoclasts, as well as that of

prototype were fundamentally distinct and any defense that linked the two would inevitably demean the prototype. The only real worship is founded on intellectual approaches to spiritual truths and not on material aids consisting of images. Images of angels pose particular problems of the relation between material image and immaterial prototype, and seemed to Epiphanius to be more of an obstacle than a clarification and facilitation of worship.

A text relating a dialogue between the fourth-century theologian Macarius Magnes and a pagan opponent shows similar mistrust of material representations, once again in the case of angels.¹³ The exchange over angels formed part of a work known as the *Apocriticus*, likely an invented dialogue between Macarius and a pagan. The texts of Macarius Magnes and the pagan with whom he is engaged in discussion find their earliest testimony in the work of Nicephorus (ca. 750–828), patriarch of Constantinople at the second outbreak of Iconoclasm in 815.¹⁴ Despite Macarius Magnes's allegiances to the allegorical methods of Origen (ca. 185–254) which iconoclasts es-

Epiphanius; Epiphanius's position, which the iconoclasts found so attractive, was that Christ's divinity is essentially unknowable and can only be demeaned and made separate by merely depicting the human Christ. It must also be said, however, that Epiphanius's anti-Origenism lies primarily in his opposition to Origen's heterodox views on the Trinity; more importantly for this study, Epiphanius's rejection of Origen's method of allegorical interpretation was also an important part of his dissent. On this question, see Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, 86ff. Moreover, it is just this openness to symbolic interpretations that characterizes the iconophile approach to images, especially those of angels; see chapter 3.

13. A. Harnack, *Kritik des Neues Testaments von einem griechischen Philosophen des 3. Jahrhunderts. Die in Apocriticus des Macarius Magnes enthaltene Streitschrift*, TU vol. 37/3 (Leipzig, 1911) and G. Bardy, in *DTC IX*:1456ff., put Macarius Magnes in the late fourth-century. Harnack identified the opponent as the pagan neo-Platonist Porphyry (ca. 232–ca. 303), the writer of a famous anti-Christian treatise in fifteen volumes, the *Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*.

The full text is found in Blondel who reconstructed the original text from a manuscript found in Athens; we can now be certain of the author's original intent. See also L. Duchesne, *Macario Magne et scriptis eius* (Paris, 1877) and P.J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople. Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1958) 165ff.

14. *De Magne*, Pitra I:302–35. Nicephorus apparently knew little of the author and gleaned whatever information he had from internal evidence; he found firm evidence of Origenism in the texts, but he also charged Macarius Magnes with Nestorian and Manichaean sympathies. See T. W. Crafer, "Macarius Magnes, A Neglected Apologist," *JTS* 8(1907):402.

chewed, iconoclasts had invoked Macarius Magnes for his kindred approach to intellectual and non-material worship.

Two texts in the dialogue, one by the pagan and one by Macarius Magnes himself, have special bearing on this discussion of angels. In this portion of the dialogue, Macarius Magnes defended Christian worship from parallels with paganism that his opponent attempted to draw, particularly with regard to idols and representations of angels. The “angelic way of life,” a common epithet of the followers of the monastic vocation, was introduced by Macarius Magnes as an answer to the pagan opponent who is made to equate the angels and the gods of the Greeks.¹⁵ Macarius Magnes proceeded to counter the pagan’s arguments with a denial of any similarity between Christian angels and pagan gods. Pagan gods simply do not exist and furthermore, he stated, the idols of the pagans have no resemblance to the Christian images because God is incomprehensible, and Christians know better than to think that deity can reside in such matter. Macarius brought up images of angels as a means of providing a concrete example of the distinctions between pagan idolatry and purer Christian veneration. Macarius Magnes wrote:

So that if someone who is right thinking should hear of a spiritual existence in heaven, he rejoices in the word of immortality, [and] he himself emulates [the excellence of angels] in his deeds, and zealously affects their merit, by avoiding marriage and fleeing the symbols of corruption, and coming to the passage of death, he is lifted up in the end into the court of the blessed, that is to say, of the angels. But certainly [the good Christian] does not depict the form [of angels], as you yourself say, and [he] does not speak to the shadow or is delighted with the phantoms, conversing with soulless matter as if it had a soul, delighting in dead visions of forms, directing prayer to voiceless matter, imagining that the divine law giver inhabits stone or wood, or pretending to subjugate the insubjugable being in bronze or iron, thinking to capture the uncapturable, he unthinkingly sketches a vague image in a dead vision.¹⁶

15. Blondel 200.1–12.

16. Blondel 214.10–20.

Later, confronted with this text, clearly antagonistic to material images, Nicephorus argued that it misrepresented Macarius Magnes since iconoclasts had indubitably falsified the text and had confused Macarius Magnes's argument against paganism and idolatry with a denial of Christian images. However, Macarius Magnes clearly stated his opinion in this dialogue that a holy person makes a true and godly image by modeling himself after paragons of holiness in the past. For Macarius, the real image is ethical and not a material representation. Furthermore, false and misleading images made after illusory visions must be shunned.

Both Macarius Magnes and Epiphanius belong to a general debate that took place in the fourth century over images, intellectual and material, in worship. Moreover, both form part of an early tradition of spiritual, anti-image worship that was resurrected in the eighth and ninth centuries during renewed debates over worship. Epiphanius stated that divinity is unrepresentable, and can be worshipped only "in spirit and truth," quoting John 4:24.¹⁷ Both theologians were suspicious of the knowledge derived through sight, especially through the viewing of deceptive images.¹⁸ Epiphanius's strong iconoclastic stance, based on the incomprehensibility of God and the essential deceptiveness of images, has parallels with the anti-image theology of Evagrius Ponticus (ca. 345–399), and Macarius's advocacy of intellectual worship is akin to Evagrius's practice of "pure prayer."¹⁹ Evagrius taught that prayer must be rid of emotions and images that are derived from the sensual world; he called this process "apatheia" (ἀπάθεια), involving a resistance to mental image-making and a worship of God only "in spirit and in truth."²⁰ Evagrius advised dis-

17. See P.J. Alexander, "The Iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia (815) and Its Definition (*Horos*)," *DOP* 7(1953):43, on Epiphanius's "Treatise against Those who are engaged in making, after the fashion of idols, images in the likeness of Christ, the Mother of God, Martyrs, Angels and Prophets" (frag. 30b; for text, see 63–64).

18. See, for instance, Holl 363 (#33).

19. See Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, 102ff., on Epiphanius, and Schönborn, *L'icône du Christ*, 168, on the affinities of the anti-image theology of Evagrius and iconoclasts.

20. See Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, 60ff.; A. Guillaumont, *Les "Képhalaia Gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'Origénisme chez les Grecs et chez les Syriens*, *Patristica Sorbonensis*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1962) 37ff., 59ff.; Evagrius Ponticus, *Traité Pratique ou Le Moine*, 2 vols., SC vols. 170, 171, ed. A. Guillaumont and C. Guillaumont (Paris, 1971) I:98ff. Accord-

engagement from all distractions: “Do not represent the divine in itself when you pray and do not permit your intellect to receive the impression of any form; but go from immaterial to immaterial, and you will comprehend.”²¹ In this sense, Epiphanius, Evagrius and Macarius share comparable positions with regard to approaches to knowledge of things divine: only intellectual and non-material routes were seemly and fruitful in their view.²²

Elizabeth Clark has described the “constellation” of practice and theory in the late fourth century that connects Epiphanius’s own iconoclasm, Evagrius’s anti-imagistic theology, and the destruction of idols in Egypt led by Theophilus (d. 412), patriarch of Alexandria from 385.²³ Epiphanius’s tearing down of a curtain depicting “some form of a man” and produced perhaps by a pagan workshop, and Macarius’s opposition to parallels made between the images of Christian angels and pagan gods must be seen in this context of the general struggle against the profane art of the pagan religion, as each theologian combated the possibility of idolatry inherent in images. Epiphanius recalled precisely the idolatrous practices censured by the Council of Laodicea in his dismissal of making images; and, indeed, that the writer of the *Apocriticus* has the pagan equate pagan idols with images of angels reveals the special fear that angels aroused in some theologians. Angels were divine creatures, certainly, but they attracted worship that was too easily equated with pagan practice. In the fourth and fifth centuries, angels and their images posed clear threats to proper approach and seemly worship as the *Apocriticus*, the Council of Laodicea and Theodoret of Cyrrhus demonstrate.

ing to Evagrius, only Moses had seen God in “his proper form and without enigma” and spoke with him “mouth to mouth”; see R. Draguet, “L’Histoire Lausiaque: Une oeuvre écrite dans l’esprit d’Evagre,” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 41(1946):330ff.

21. *De oratione*, LXVI, PG 79:1181A.

22. The general affinities are noted by J. Gouillard, “Fragments inédits d’un antirrétique de Jean le Grammairien,” *REB* 24(1966):174–75, with regard to some fragments attributed to John the Grammarian, the iconoclastic patriarch of Constantinople from 837–43.

23. *The Origenist Controversy*, 43ff.; the thesis of the interaction of theology, politics and social practice of the fourth/fifth centuries is key to her description of these texts and events.

Some scholars cite Monophysitism as an important element in iconoclastic theology, and the accusations of iconoclastic beliefs leveled against Philoxenus of Mabbug and Severus of Antioch at the Second Council of Nicaea (787) would seem to suggest at least a theological affinity between iconoclasts and these Monophysite theologians.²⁴ Like Epiphanius and Macarius Magnes, Philoxenus of Mabbug (ca. 440–523), a bishop of Hierapolis-Mabbug in Syria, strongly opposed symbolic images in Christian worship. The opposition to allusive representations was consistent with Philoxenus's theology that emphasized the absolute transcendence and incomprehensibility of Christ's divinity; iconophiles often accused iconoclasts of just such an emphasis that led them into Monophysite error.²⁵ As an extension of this belief, Philoxenus appears to have objected to anthropomorphic images of Christ and the angels, as well as to representations of the Holy Spirit as a dove.²⁶ In a passage taken from the lost *Ecclesiastical History* of Theodore Lector or Anagnostes (d. after 527), Theophanes the Confessor (ca. 760–817/8) described the malignant Monophysite roots of Philoxenus of Mabbug's position on images:

Xenaias, the servant of Satan, taught that images of the Lord and of the angels should not be accepted. He was a Persian by extraction

24. See Mansi XIII:317–18. And secondary sources include Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 52, and S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources* (Louvain, 1973) 127. Sebastian Brock argued for a complete dissociation of Monophysitism and iconoclastic theology in "Iconoclasm and Monophysitism," in *Iconoclasm. Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977) 53–57.

25. On Philoxenus of Mabbug's theology, see A. de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabboug. Sa vie, ses écrits, sa théologie* (Louvain, 1963); C. N. Tsirpanlis, "Some Reflections on Philoxenos' Christology," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 25(1980):152–62; R. C. Chesnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies: Severus of Antioch, Philoxenus of Mabbug, and Jacob of Sarug* (Oxford, 1976) 57ff.; and G. Lardreau, *Discours philosophique et discours spirituel. Autour de la philosophie spirituelle de Philoxène de Mabboug* (Paris, 1985).

26. See Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 44–45, "[Philoxenus of Mabbug's] position on images then was a logical corollary to his theological views: the angels and the Holy Spirit were clearly incorporeal and in Philoxenus' monophysite theology, Jesus Christ was first and foremost God." See also Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm," 131, and S. Der Nersessian, "Une apologie des images du septième siècle," *B 17*(1944/5):70.

and, by station, a slave. Having fled from his master and being unbaptised, although he called himself a cleric, he was at the time of Calandion perverting from the [true] faith the villages around Antioch. He was expelled by Calandion, but Peter the Fuller consecrated him bishop of Hierapolis and renamed him Philoxenus.²⁷

Despite unsympathetic descriptions, no evidence exists in the extant texts ascribed to Philoxenus of an unambiguous iconoclastic position.²⁸ However, other texts of Philoxenus can provide testimony concerning his position regarding images and worship. These at least substantiate the charge of fundamental suspicion of images and perhaps also active iconoclasm described in the text read at Nicaea.

Judging by extant texts, Philoxenus of Mabbug held strong views on the images of Christ, the angels and the Holy Spirit in particular, on account of their essential incomprehensibility. Because of the transcendence of these beings, only worship that is intellectual and

27. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883–1885) I:134; trans. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 43. I have changed Mango's "saints" to "angels." This alteration is in accordance with an extract found in J.A. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae regiae parisiensis*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1839–1841; rp. Hildesheim, 1967) II:109.1–2, and is in agreement with de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbug*, 88 n86, and Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 44–45. See also the reading given by E. Miller, "Fragments inédits de Théodore Le Lecteur et de Jean d'Égée," *Revue archéologique* 26(1873):402, "Ξεναίαις ὁ Φιλόξενος οὔτε Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὔτε ἀγγέλου εἰκόνας ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ συνεχώρει ἀνατίθεσθαι."

At the Second Council of Nicaea, an excerpt was read from John Diakrinomenus's *Ecclesiastical History* of ca. 500 which more fully describes the reasoning behind Philoxenus of Mabbug's opposition to images of incorporeal beings and the affinities he had with Epiphanius and Macarius Magnes before him: "For Philoxenus said that it is not proper to give the angels, who are bodiless, bodies and thus in human-like shapes to depict them in a type of embodiment, and not to believe that one offers honour and faith to Christ through making an inscribed image; only that which is worship in spirit and in truth is acceptable to him. And a few lines below: he says to note this too, that [Philoxenus says] it is a childish mind that fashions the holy and venerable spirit in an image, despite the fact that the Gospels in no place teach that the Holy Spirit became a dove, but that at some point it appeared in the shape of a dove. Because it is by God's dispensation that it appeared one time in this way and not essentially, it is by no means fitting to make images of a body for the faithful. Philoxenus taught these things and followed this teaching in practice, too. In many places, he cast down the images of angels and hid the painted images of Christ in secret places." See Mansi XIII:180E–1B.

28. On this question, see de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbug*, 88ff.

unhindered by material images is possible. By faith alone, Philoxenus wrote, is humanity able to accept and understand the contradictory and difficult nature of angels:

And thus also it is in respect of the spiritual natures and orders of celestial beings, and it is faith which maketh it possible to receive every word which is spoken concerning them; for otherwise there must necessarily be unbelief, since the Book calleth them “absolute spiritual beings” [in one place], and in another it speaketh of them as “compacted bodies” to which it attributeth forms which are different from each other.²⁹

Philoxenus held that angelic appearances were not “real” but of a spiritual nature. These epiphanies consist of an appearance (φαντασία) or form (σχῆμα) intellectually accessible in some incomplete way. This formulation—in fact, not so very different from iconophile description of angelic appearances—led to a complete disregard for any images of the immaterial angels. Because angels appear in spiritual alterations, images of the angels in symbolic guise can only be defamations and distortions of transcendent, spiritual beings.³⁰

29. From Philoxenus’s sermon “On Faith,” trans. E.A.W. Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenus Bishop of Mabbôgh, A.D. 485–519. Vol. II. Introduction, Translation, etc.* (London, 1894) 29–31, which continues, “... but [the angels] possess all the service of the members, although they have no compacted members. And how the operation of the members is established without the members themselves we have no power in our own knowledge to understand; but by this [power] which is given to us by God, I mean faith, we understand these things, and although they do not at all fall under the investigation of human thoughts they are accepted by us without any doubt.”

30. With regard to the particular case of images of Christ, the basis of Philoxenus’s resistance is ethical in that a true Christian ought to make him or herself a true image rather than worship material objects. Brock, “Iconoclasm and Monophysitism,” 54, saw the causes of Philoxenus’s hostility to images rooted in his “puritan asceticism.” Concerning the last charge made by John Diakrinomenos, Philoxenus does state in a commentary on Luke that the Holy Spirit was an intellectual vision, perceived by the intelligence of John the Baptist (Luke 3:22), and was in no way to be interpreted as an essential transformation of the Spirit itself; the Holy Spirit cannot, then, be depicted after John the Baptist’s vision since the vision was spiritual and not material. Brock hypothesized that Philoxenus’s resistance to images of doves was based on an antipathy to the local worship of Atargatis whose cult image was a dove. However, the resistance is theologically consistent with Philoxenus’s position on

Philoxenus's theological positions on intellectual worship and ethical guides are fully consistent with charges of antagonism to images, thereby substantiating his opponents' assessments of his position on art. It is noteworthy that the charges center on Philoxenus's rejection of a relation between image and model, and so any honor due the image; the charges also indicate opposition to a symbolic rendering of spiritual creatures which would make this relation of image and model untenable in Philoxenus's eyes. Moreover, writings by Philoxenus on imagination reveal affinities with the anti-image theology of Epiphanius, Macarius Magnes and Evagrius. Philoxenus believed that imagination naturally forms mental images but that these images lead one away from contemplation of true things; imagination must, therefore, be resisted and, by emptying the mind of thought and images, the spiritual path to true things can be opened.³¹ These views of Philoxenus clearly presage iconoclastic tenets. By tarring iconoclasts with the same brush as the Monophysite Philoxenus, iconophiles reinforced the frequently repeated accusation that iconoclasts were new Monophysites who rejected the incarnation in favor of Christ's divinity.³²

More ambiguous is the passage from the Second Council at Nicaea which impugned the Monophysite bishop Severus of Antioch (ca. 465–538) for his disapproval of the iconography of angels. An unsympathetic portrait of Severus's purposes in his homily on the Archangels Michael and Gabriel is given in a fragment taken from a lost *Vita* of Severus, written by John, bishop of Gabala, and read at Nicaea II. Iconophiles accused Severus of inappropriate attention to the appearance of angels in art, not iconoclasm strictly speaking:

[Severus of Antioch] used to stand in the bema and deliver long addresses, and he often attempted to persuade the multitude in the very church of the most-holy Michael that white vestments, not

the incomprehensibility of wholly spiritual entities, like the Holy Spirit and Christ, and, to a lesser degree, angels.

31. See Lardreau, *Discours philosophique et discours spirituel*, 125ff., and R. Kearney, *The Wake of Imagination. Ideas of Creativity in Western Culture* (London, 1988) 144ff.

32. See, for example, K. Parry, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Leiden, 1996) 137, 144.

purple ones, were appropriate to angels. He was not ignorant of the fact that the holy [angelic] host had no concern with vestments, but tried by this device to cause division and to urge against one another people who had this or that opinion.³³

Fortunately, the homily to which John of Gabala refers is extant and the nature of Severus's antagonism can be ascertained. Rather than urging outright iconoclasm, the homily was largely concerned with the cult of angels and the unseemly excesses to which this devotion had been prone. Severus is not unusual for having this concern; as the Epistle to the Colossians (2:18), the Council of Laodicea and Theodoret of Cyrrhus bear witness, excessive worship of the angels had created anxiety within the Church since the first centuries of the Christian era. Severus began his sermon by recalling the pagan errors of angelolatry that had been forbidden under both the Old and the New Covenants.

But, forgetting their condition as soldiers and servants, let us not dishonour them for that reason, through a pagan error, by honours which are beyond their due. For all that which is taken from that glory, which alone is God's, is a dishonour to them. That is why the angel who spoke to Manoah said, "... if thou wilt offer a burnt offering, thou must offer it unto the Lord" (Judges 13:16). And this is why also Barnabas and Paul, those servants as faithful as the angels, prevented the Lycaonian worshippers of demons from offering them a sacrifice as to gods (Acts 14).³⁴

33. Mansi XIII:184C; trans. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 44. The response to the reading by the patriarch Tarasius (ca. 730?–806) at Nicaea is interesting because it ends in agreement with the heretic Severus of Antioch; Tarasius states that white vestments must be advocated, despite John of Gabala's assertion that iconographic detail is not a concern of the angels: "Tarasius, the holy patriarch, said, We shall consider, because he has been brought to this very thing by [the question of] relics, as he has said, that it is not befitting for angels to wear purple vestments, but they ought to wear white vestments instead" (Mansi XIII:184C). The iconographic particulars are, nonetheless, irrelevant to Tarasius's intention since in his statement he made it clear that the church takes an interest in artistic practice, to the point of managing and determining it. On this issue of ecclesiastical control of artistic production after Iconoclasm, see H. Maguire, "Magic and the Christian Image," in *Byzantine Magic*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1995) 51–71.

34. Severus of Antioch, *Les homiliae cathedrales*, PO vol. 8/2, ed. M. Brière (Paris, 1919; rp. Turnhout, 1971) 82. Severus's work survives only in a Syriac translation by James of

Severus of Antioch then lashed out at the effrontery of the painters who lead Christian worshippers to pagan idolatry by their unsuitable depictions of the angels. It is worth noting that the improper worship is the really contentious issue for Severus of Antioch.

But the hand of the painters, which is insolent and which is a law unto itself, favouring the pagan inventions or the imagination and things connected to idolatry and arranging everything to that end, clothe Michael and Gabriel, as princes or kings, with a purple and royal robe, adorning them with a crown and placing in their right hand the mark of authority and universal power. It is for these reasons and others like them that those who honour the angels in such excesses abandon the Church and transgress its laws and are anathematised by those who are ordained and establish the holy canons.³⁵

Although the passage from John of Gabala says that Severus defended white robes over purple for angels, the sermon clearly does not offer an alternative iconography; Severus denigrated the current iconography of purple-clad angels as strictly untoward and overweening for servants. Justinian's garb in the mosaic at San Vitale (consecrated 548), for example, is the same as that worn by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel in mosaics of the bema arch in the contemporary church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe.³⁶ The late fifth-century Cotton Genesis, moreover, shows the angels before Lot dressed in rich vermillion, one with gold highlights.³⁷ The program for which Severus provided his ekphrasis is, of course, lost, but unquestionably Severus was opposing just this kind of incorporation

Edessa. On this sermon, see the remarks of C. Mango, "St. Michael and Attis," *DChAE* 12(1984):39ff.

35. *Les homiliae cathedrales*, 83–84.

36. See A. Grabar, *The Golden Age of Justinian. From the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam*, trans. S. Gilbert and J. Emmons (New York, 1967) figs. 171 and 11, respectively, and O. von Simson, *Sacred Fortress. Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna*, 2d ed. (Chicago, 1976) 60ff.

37. K. Weitzmann and H.L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis. British Museum Codex Cotton Otho B. VI* (Princeton, 1986) 81–82. For other examples, see *RBK* III:29–32.

of purple-clad, worldly rulers into the iconography of angels.³⁸ Severus then raised another issue surrounding the dangerous worship of angels, as an inoculation of the cult was also being carried out. The reason for their gathering, Severus went on to state, was the decorous consecration of the new church of the Archangel Michael by means of the introduction of the relics of human saints into the church.³⁹

Severus of Antioch proceeded to the charges of insolence he made against painters of angels. He made it clear that he was only speaking figuratively since the images of the angels are not in any sense representative of the real angelic nature, but only symbols.

No one, in effect, can judge that which has rapport [with the angels] by the aspects under which they appear sometimes to saintly men; for these [aspects] are various and they are known differently according to the time, according to the appropriateness of the circumstance and in some appearances such as the eyes of sensible beings are able to perceive.⁴⁰

As the nature of the angels is so difficult to perceive, their images are in a fundamental sense misleading as well as debasing. Artistic independence, and the presumptions this leads to, is also an important theme of the homily. Severus railed against “the hand of the painters who are insolent and are a law unto themselves,” and the affinities to paganism that this kind of practice encouraged in artists.

38. On the imperial garments worn by archangels, see G. Peers, “Patriarchal Politics in the Paris Gregory (B.N. gr. 510),” *JöB* 47(1997):53–57, and, covering some similar ground, C. Jolivet-Lévy, “Note sur la représentation des archanges en costume impérial dans l’iconographie byzantine,” *CA* 46(1998):121–28.

39. Relics of saints were apparently introduced into shrines in order to make more palatable this angelic cult with a dubious history. See P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d’Orient. Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1985) 56. And P. Canivet has proposed that a crypt at the fifth-century church of the Archangel Michael at Huarte in Syria had been added to provide relics and stability to a potentially excessive cult. The connection proposed by Canivet, in “Le *Michaelion* de Huarte (Ve s.) et le culte syrien des anges,” *B* 50(1980):110ff., must remain tentative.

40. *Les homiliae cathedrales*, 76–78.

In summation, Severus of Antioch was attacking the worldliness of the angels' iconography, and he concluded that this iconography led worshippers to overlook the angels' bodiless and spiritual qualities. According to Severus, angels alter their forms according to the demands of the occasion in their appearances to just men. They are never seen according to their real nature, in fact, which has nothing of the coarseness of our bodies, but in an alteration of their real form. This alteration is necessary because of the unviewability of the angelic beings. Therefore, Severus is essentially unsympathetic to material images rendered by the artistic means derived from the deceitful pagans.

Severus was not an active iconoclast but, like Philoxenus of Mabbug, interpreted angelic appearances as symbolic transformations; and the natural conclusion holds for Severus, as for Philoxenus, that images cannot express the difficulties of comprehension and nature of angels.⁴¹ Sebastian Brock is right to point out that Severus was not aggressively iconoclastic and that, in fact, his conversion may have been influenced by a fresco of Paradise. However, the principal point of the sermon is not, as Brock maintains, the depiction of angels in purple. Severus had larger issues in mind in this homily, namely the inability of art to represent angels in any essential or descriptive way and art's misleading qualities, therefore, in the context of worship.

The theological perspective represented by these four theologians, Epiphanius, Macarius, Philoxenus and Severus, is based on an ultimate spirituality of angels that cannot be communicated by any material image. Painters cannot provide appropriate means for contemplating divine things since they are misled by pagan practice into producing figured matter wholly inadequate to describe transcendent beings. In this anti-imagistic theology, an emphasis on the ethical mode of worship is characteristic; John's dictum on worship "in spirit and in truth" (4:24) is a *leitmotiv* in the works of these theologians, as it was for iconoclasts themselves who gathered the writings of these earlier theologians for their own purposes. These theologians, there-

41. Brock, "Monophysitism and Iconoclasm," 53–54.

fore, represent a distinct position with regard to approaches to knowledge of God's bodiless creations; their common approach eschewed tangible, manufactured aids in favor of more intellectual methods that avoided the production of mental or material images.

In the fragmentary texts of Epiphanius and Philoxenus, angels appear to have been adduced as corollaries to the undepictability of Christ. For Epiphanius, just the same, the angels are differentiated from Christ by their special nature, "a devouring fire," at once less exalted than the divine nature of Christ and less tangible than the human saints. Epiphanius also stated the difficulties of rendering the humanity of Christ since artists describe Christ as man out of caprice rather than out of any attempt at true likeness. The fact that Epiphanius is able to make a double calumny against Christ's images, which are equally unable to manifest any truth about either of Christ's natures, indicates the essential distinction between Christ's and angels' images: to "bone and sinew" they cannot claim any likeness at all, as Christ as human could conceivably, since angels' assumptions of human form have only been momentary and illusory.

In the fuller texts of Macarius and Severus, the special distinctions of angels' images are clearer. These theologians saw angels as unique problems since they were concerned exclusively with the issue of angelic appearances and the manufacture of images deriving from these occasions. Both of these theologians viewed material commemorations of angelic epiphany as diminishing such difficult intellectual experiences to base, misleading caricature. The angels—unlike Christ, it ought to be stressed once again—appear in a semblance of their ethereal nature, and depicting the angels in human form, only one of many forms they have assumed, can in no way communicate their immaterial nature and activity.

The danger of idolatry represented by angels' images is also a common feature of these theologians' concerns. The nature and activities of angels allowed parallels to be drawn by pagans to their own deities. Moreover, Christians themselves were evidently not immune to the attraction that angels held for their direct worship separate from God. Severus certainly feared just this possibility and the deceitful allure that angels depicted as princes possessed.

The approach represented by these four theologians influenced the position taken by iconoclasts in the eighth and ninth centuries and reveals a continuity in this anti-imagistic, intellectual theology from the fourth century on. Therefore, an understanding of the iconoclastic position with respect to angels is properly derived from these theologians; it must, in fact, depend upon their limited testimony, since a particular iconoclastic theology of angels from the eighth and ninth centuries is not extant. As only iconophile rebuttals of certain texts survive, one must assume that iconophile dialogues, for instance Nicephorus against Epiphanius and Macarius Magnes, attack positions taken by iconoclasts, who collected and defended this patristic documentation in the first place.

The theological position that expressed considerable anxiety over both idolatry and angelolatry was the formative background for the eighth-/ninth-century iconoclastic opposition to depicting angels. It explains the concern the later anti-image theologians had for the inherent difficulties in representing angels, of course, but also for the dangers of worship of created things in general and angels in particular. As created beings, angels were not worthy of worship in and of themselves, but representing angels, as Severus pointed out, increased the likelihood of Christians mistakenly directing veneration at angels. Images in that view were the necessary nexus of idolatry and angelolatry. This association of idolatry with angelolatry reveals the primitive origins of iconoclasm, since an iconoclastic position on angels appears to be firmly rooted not only in an intellectual approach to worship but also in pastoral care for Christians who were easily led to immoderate worship of God's creature servants.⁴²

After 752, Constantine V (r. 740–775) seems to have begun a concerted assault against the iconophile position on both theological and political fronts. The strength of this attack, some twenty years after his father had initiated iconoclasm as government policy, indicates a delay in formulation of any truly radical reform. Constantine V, however, produced in the 750s an articulate expression of icono-

42. That the problem of dangerous devotion to angels still existed during Iconoclasm is likely revealed by the reworking of the Chonae miracle story in this period; see chapter 4.

clastic theology much beyond the apparent literalism and bluster of his father's theological convictions. Nicephorus discussed selections from the iconoclastic Πεύσεις, or "Inquiries," and specifically attributed them to Constantine's pen, and in this way he was able to impute personal initiative to the emperor in formulating an iconoclastic theology.⁴³

The iconoclastic theology revealed through the "Inquiries" and "Definition" of the council convened by iconoclasts in 754 is the culmination of one particular strand of theological interpretation of proper Christian worship and comprehension. Clearly, the common ground of these iconoclastic texts and of the patristic sources iconoclasts adduced is an agreement that the images of angels—like those of Christ—are impossible because of the subjects' immaterial, divine nature. Like Christ's image, an image of the angels' earthly appearance would merely separate one manifestation of their nature from their real formless nature.⁴⁴ Epiphanius made an important distinction since the angels—unlike Christ—cannot be depicted simply as "bones and sinew"; the angels have never taken human form, only assumed it symbolically. Therefore, the image of an angel cannot even have a stable visual relation to its prototype, let alone an essential relation. It is strictly a misleading invention by deceitful artists. Iconoclasts, augured by theologians like Epiphanius and Severus, possessed a fundamental distrust of artistic practice; since the angels are so distant from our comprehension, and indeed so rarely seen at all, artists cannot be expected to represent these spiritual beings in an accurate or meaningful way.⁴⁵

Here the shape of the theological debate may unlock the history of an important set of images, representations of angels significantly

43. *Contra Eusebium*, III, Pitra I:375–77. On the *Peuseis*, see S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Constantine V with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources* (Louvain, 1977) 37ff.

44. See Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Constantine V*, 39ff., on iconoclastic Christology.

45. See Mansi XIII:336E; Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Constantine V*, 89, and, also, 91 (#16); M. V. Anastos, "The Argument for Iconoclasm as Presented by the Iconoclastic Council of 754," in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann et al. (Princeton, 1955) 185.

altered during Iconoclasm. Admittedly, the evidence for the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea, now Iznik, is not secure: first, destroyed in 1922, the church is lost and so unexaminable, and second, the sequence of creation of mosaics in the seventh century, emendation in the eighth / ninth century and finally restoration in the ninth depends on scholarly argument founded on probabilities. Nonetheless, the position assumed here conforms to general scholarly opinion that the Church of the Dormition reflected the changes in attitudes to images from the seventh to the ninth century. Located on the arch that separates the sanctuary or bema from the nave, these mosaics of angels in the Church of the Dormition have been variously dated in their initial phase to the sixth or seventh century.⁴⁶ Although the inscriptions stated that the figures represented different orders of the angelic hierarchy, the Principalities, Virtues, Dominations and Powers, mentioned together at Colossians 1:16, the angelic beings were depicted as identical winged youths wearing the *loros* and carrying orbs and standards (figs. 9, 10). A pair occupied both the north and south portion of the arch. The subject of the pre-Iconoclastic mosaic in the apse is still an open question, and an enthroned Christ, an *orans* Virgin and a seated Virgin and Child have been suggested (fig. 16).⁴⁷

46. Fernanda de' Maffei conjectured that the mosaics had been covered during Iconoclasm, not erased as is generally thought, and the repair evident is not connected to the restoration of images in 843. See F. de' Maffei, "L'Unigenito consostanziale al Padre nel programma trinitario dei perduti mosaici del bema della Dormizione di Nicea e il Cristo trasfigurato del Sinai I," *Storia dell'arte* 45(1982):91ff., and also her *Icona, pittore e arte al Concilio Niceno II* (Rome, 1974) 99ff. However, the restorations apparent in the areas around the angels and the replacing of the cross in the apse likely belong to the same phase, probably post-843, paid for by the otherwise unknown Naucratis, as stated in an inscription between the two angels on the south bema arch. For discussion and bibliography, see Peers, "Patriarchal Politics in the Paris Gregory," 54–56, and chapter 1.

47. de' Maffei hypothesized an enthroned Christ in the apse of the church at Iznik flanked by angelic powers. See "L'Unigenito consostanziale," 91ff. By tracing the exegetical history of the psalms (110:3, 93:5, 97:7) and Col. 1:16, de' Maffei attempted to reconstruct a christological program in the apse, which centered on an enthroned Christ. While ultimately untenable, her argument is compelling, especially as it is the only one, to my knowledge, to take into consideration the angelic powers and their relation to Christ, but she finds difficulty in overcoming the art-historical evidence. The only parallel she is able to cite is in the ninth-century Chludov Psalter in which the enthroned Christ is approached by



Figure 16. Virgin and Child, Apse Mosaic (destroyed), Church of the Dormition, Iznik (formerly Nicaea), ninth century.
Photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

David (Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. 129, fol. 114v, ps. 110). See K. A. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992) 44–45, fig. 54.

The illustration in the Chludov Psalter asserts the divinity of Christ, as the inscription accompanying the marginal illustration reads, “David prophesies concerning the son of God.” The assertion of Christ’s divine nature in this typological context derives from *contra Judaeos* literature of the sixth and seventh centuries, for example the *Trophies of Damascus*,

Such figured representations as found in the bema arch at Nicaea did not conform to the iconoclastic notion of the proper image of angels, and the figured portions of the bema arch were eliminated during Iconoclasm. Iconoclasts, of course, found representations of angels distasteful, as they found all figural religious imagery to be contrary to their beliefs concerning appropriate worship.⁴⁸ The distinguishing features of the iconoclastic alterations made on the bema arch at Nicaea were that the inscriptions and standards were left untouched. Evidently, iconoclasts did not object to every aspect of the program and felt that with editing the mosaics at Nicaea could provide proper “images” of angels that were non-figurative and relied on inscribed words.

That conversion provides vital information on attitudes toward, and meanings of, material representations of angels from the iconoclastic point of view. The sutures around the restored angelic powers reveal that the figures were erased and the mosaic field was left blank

in which the same psalm (110) is adduced to defend the divine nature of Christ. See *Les Trophées de Damas*, PO vol. 15 / 2, ed. G. Bardy (Paris, 1920; rp. Turnhout, 1973) 32.12–33.6. Bardy points out that this psalm is a topos of Jewish-Christian debates from an early date. The currency that this psalm had for the defense of Christ’s divine nature in the period before Iconoclasm, both in exegesis and apologetic literature, lends support to de’ Maffei’s reconstruction of the apse program of Christ as Lord surrounded by his heavenly servants.

The general assumption, however—which moreover has the greater attraction of plausibility—is that the Virgin and child placed in the apse after the end of Iconoclasm was a replacement for a pre-Iconoclastic composition with the same subject. This premise informs C. Barber’s analysis, for example, in “The Koimesis Church, Nicaea: The Limits of Representation on the Eve of Iconoclasm,” *JöB* 41(1991):43–60.

48. In a review of T. Schmit’s *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia, das Bauwerk und die Mosaiken* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), E. Wiegand claimed that making symbolic images of angels did not warrant opprobrium from the iconoclastic point of view and the bema mosaics could have been produced during Iconoclasm; see *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 53(1927):2607. E. Kitzinger, “Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm,” in *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinischen-Kongress, München, 1958* (Munich, 1958) 13, dismissed Wiegand’s hypothesis and suggested himself that the angelic powers belonged originally to a pre-iconoclastic phase. P.A. Underwood, “The Evidence of Restorations in the Sanctuary Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea,” *DOP* 13(1959):235ff., followed up this suggestion and demonstrated conclusively—to my mind—that the church underwent three phases of mosaic decoration: pre-iconoclastic (before the 720s), iconoclastic (that is, without figured images of angels but with inscriptions and standards left intact, likely effected between the 720s and 787 but possibly also between 815 and 843), and post-iconoclastic, that is to say after the “Triumph of Orthodoxy” in 843.

during Iconoclasm. However, the inscriptions designating each of the powers, the standards that bore the inscribed Trisagion and the passage taken from Psalm 97:7 (“To him all the angels of God offer worship”) were apparently left intact and on view during this entire period.⁴⁹ Furthermore, a mosaic cross replaced either the figure of Christ or of the Virgin and Child in the apse.

This iconoclastic program demonstrates the practical limits of the depiction of angels during Iconoclasm and provides concrete form to the iconoclastic theology of angels. Given the preceding discussion of the views of iconoclasts and their predecessors, the elimination of the figural depictions of the angelic powers must be viewed as a natural extension of anti-image theory. The void outlined by the sutures, that is the absence of images, demonstrates iconoclastic belief in the inability of figural description to render angels. The preservation of the inscriptions of the angelic powers, then, marks the limit of representation according to this theory. The presence of the inscriptions, of course, was a happy coincidence for the iconoclasts since it served their purposes so well. The inscription shows that the route to contemplation of these beings must be attempted through meditation on the scriptural designations for angelic powers (Col. 1:16), the nominating inscriptions that signify the beings directly and without figural confusion.

Iconoclasts and their forbears believed that verbal worship was most appropriate.⁵⁰ Words signify purely, with none of the dissimulation or distraction of material images. Iconoclasts held that words were proper signifiers since they were capable of describing intellectually without the contamination and distraction of matter. At the iconoclastic council of 754, iconoclasts stated that “Christ” is a name that refers simultaneously to God and man; therefore, the name “Christ” is an “image” that contains reference to Christ as God and man with none of the futility and deception of the painters’ craft.⁵¹

49. See Underwood, “The Evidence for Restorations,” 240.

50. On this issue, see J.-M. Sansterre, “La parole, le texte et l’image selon les auteurs byzantins des époques iconoclastes et posticonoclastes,” in *Testo e immagine nell’alto medioevo*, Settimane vol. 41, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1994) I:197–243.

51. Mansi XIII:252A. See de’ Maffei, *Icona, pittore e arte*, 26ff.

The names of angels are also images in this view in that they refer as pure signifiers to transcendence and incomprehensibility.

The angels' standards with the Trisagion illustrate—paradoxically—other important tenets of iconoclastic theology. The Trisagion is derived from the seraphim of Isaiah (6:3) and Revelation (4:8), and very early entered Christian piety and liturgy. In the context of Nicaea, it denotes the iconoclastic definition of the seemingly verbal and ethical character of worship that iconoclasts held to be the essential elements in devotion.⁵² Iconoclasts had stated that meditation on scripture and divine words contained therein, at Nicaea Psalm 97:7, was the most appropriate and purest approach to knowledge of divine things. The priests were the fitting custodians of such truths, and iconoclasts cited approvingly Malachi 2:7: "For the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth: for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts."⁵³ The pastoral care of priests is emphasized here at Nicaea precisely in the public setting once decorated with figural images so denigrated by Severus. The communal aspect ought to be stressed here: the iconoclastic revisionists reveal themselves to be guardians of the "truth," that is, in this church they demonstrate their guidance, not just an intellectual ministering but an active, collective attendance. The danger of idolatry diminished considerably, and, their care therefore demonstrated, the iconoclastic clergy—presumably—at Nicaea also indicated the locus of their power and the source of their authority, the words of the gospels left untouched in the mosaic surface.

Finally, the program centered on a cross placed over earlier figural depiction. The cross has been interpreted as the iconoclastic sign *par excellence*, although it was not exclusive to the iconoclastic cause.⁵⁴

52. See M. V. Anastos, "The Ethical Theory of Images Formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815," *DOP* 8(1954):151–60.

53. See Mansi XIII:229E. On the issue of role of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in disseminating knowledge, see Sansterre, "La parole, le texte et l'image."

54. Bibliography and discussion found in L. Brubaker, "To Legitimize an Emperor: Constantine and Visual Authority in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," in *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries, Papers from the Twenty-sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St. Andrews, March 1992*, ed. P. Magdalino (Aldershot, 1994) 139–58.

The cross was a venerable sign of victory established by the unassailable precedent of Constantine the Great.⁵⁵ An epigram later quoted by the iconophile leader Theodore of Stoudios (759–826)⁵⁶ demonstrates both the political and devotional meanings of the cross for iconoclasts.⁵⁷ The epigram stated that the image (εἶδος) of Christ, voiceless, breathless and material has been taken down and replaced with the sign (τύπον) of the cross, thrice-blessed and glory of the faithful.

In this discussion of Nicaea, the opposition of image and sign on the bema arch and in the apse is of particular relevance. The illusionistic image of Christ, in an iconoclast's view, deceives through its attempts at describing a living, breathing being out of matter, and misleads the worshipper into adoring the image itself. The cross is an abstract sign, a true image, with no danger of devotional attachment that would lead to iconophile idolatry. The program in the church of the Dormition was altered in this way so that no risk existed of attachment to figured symbols—a paradoxical affinity that iconoclasts appear to have with the seminal theology of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (fl. ca. 500?). And, since no such abstract sign exists for angels, the inscriptions referring to angelic beings provided intellectual modes of comprehension and worship of bodiless beings.

At Nicaea, it is possible to see practice paralleling theory; the illusions of artists abhorred by iconoclasts were displaced in favor of purer signs, inscribed words. According to the iconoclastic definition of the real image, the image must be consubstantial with its prototype and this is clearly not possible for images of angels, given interpretations of their nature; only the eucharist can be a real image in

55. See A. Grabar, *L'iconoclisme byzantin. Dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957) 134ff. and J. Moorhead, "Iconoclasm, the Cross, and the Imperial Image," *B* 55(1985):65–79.

56. *Refutatio et subversio impiorum poematum*, PG 99:437C.

57. See Grabar, *L'iconoclisme byzantin*, 130, and Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III*, 113ff.: "The ruler does not tolerate that Christ be depicted [as] a voiceless shape and bereft of breath, with earthly matter, [which is] condemned by the Scriptures; Leo, with his son Constantine, marks the thrice-blessed image of the cross, the glory of the believers, upon the gates of the royal palaces" (trans. *ibid.*, 114–15). The first portion of the epigram is examined briefly in G. Peers, "Breathless, Speechless Images: On the Chalke Gate Epigram," in *Hommages Margaret Head Thomson*, Cahiers des études anciennes, vol. 32, ed. L. Finnette and A. P. Booth (Trois Rivières, Québec, 1998) 109–12.

this view.⁵⁸ Approach and worship must be intellectual, spiritual and verbal. Symbolic interpretation of images of formless beings has no place in this theology, only direct contemplation and ethical worth. A coherent theology of angels' representations can, therefore, be derived from the fragments of iconoclasts and their forerunners, and the traces of iconoclastic "images" of angelic beings at Nicaea. This theology is literal in its attitude to symbolic manifestation: as Macarius Magnes described it, angelic epiphanies are intellectual and dissembling, and it behooves the good Christian to behave as Abraham and worship these revelations through scripture, inwardly in the soul, and not bow down before any image or creature.

58. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Constantine V*, 45ff.

Three

REPRESENTING ANGELS

Images and Theory

The practice of image worship excited opposition in certain quarters, and the theologians examined in the previous chapter were reacting to existing images that they could not reconcile with their beliefs about worship and contemplation. The preceding chapter described a process of gaining knowledge of God and things divine that had great importance for the formation of the intellectual and theological climate in the period leading up to and including Iconoclasm. This process, recounted here in terms of its relation to one kind of image, namely of angels, depended primarily on intellectual, non-material avenues to spiritual truths; it is essentially non-figural.¹ The influential theologian Evagrius Ponticus (ca. 345–399) was convinced that the mind's impulse to representation was a hindrance to proper devotion. In the opinion of Evagrius—and iconoclasts who belonged to the same theological tradition—material images were insurmountable hurdles to contemplation of divinity.²

1. Contrary to Cameron's contention in "The Language of Images," 28, not all Christian discourse was figural. The preceding chapter sought to demonstrate the slippery character of angels' appearances and nature, and the resistance this excited among certain theologians with regard to figuring angels intellectually and materially.

2. See E.A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy. The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, 1992) 80ff.

Yet many Christians clearly accepted figured, material signs for contemplation and worship. This acceptance represents a mode of approach completely separate from the literalist, intellectual conception described in chapter 2. Moreover, it finds no defender of the magnitude of Epiphanius and, indeed, texts defending images of angels date only to the sixth century, after the death of Severus of Antioch. The development of attitudes to images of angels, then, would appear to conform to a pattern of practice first, followed by opposition and defense.³ However, Methodius of Olympus (d. ca. 311) described images of angels as positive testimony of honor and faith in God.⁴ The pattern of practice, opposition and defense is perhaps too generalized, then, to be allowed to characterize the period of the rise of icons. Nonetheless, this chapter seeks to outline the defense in examining texts concerning images of angels, beginning in the sixth century and concluding with a longer examination of the articulate and extensive justification of images of eighth- and ninth-century iconophiles.

APPROACHES TO SYMBOLIC IMAGES

The most influential theologian for the defense of symbolic images is Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (fl. ca. 500?). Despite the fact that these writings deal with verbal images and the comprehension of divine things through these images, all subsequent discussion of symbolic images, both verbal and visual, relied on his seminal theology.⁵ Pseudo-Dionysius explored the diverse scriptural passages that mentioned angelic epiphanies for pattern, unity and meaning, and, in his *Celestial Hierarchy*, he offered a comprehensive examination of God's spiritual creations within a highly structured and essentially allegorical framework. His work helped articulate approaches to material

3. The classic formulation of this point of view is E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm," *DOP* 8(1954):83–150.

4. See chapter 1.

5. See the Introduction, and Cameron, "The Language of Images," 24ff., and also her, "Byzantium and the Past in the Seventh Century: The Search for Redefinition," in *The Seventh Century. Change and Continuity. Proceedings of a joint French and British Colloquium held at the Warburg Institute 8–9 July 1988*, ed. J. Fontaine and J.N. Hillgarth (London, 1992) 268.

images found in the epigrams examined in this chapter, and it provided a framework within which iconophile theologians could rationalize non-representational, symbolic images of angels.

Pseudo-Dionysius stated that the angels are represented in scripture as a “concession to the nature of our own mind.”⁶ He was not speaking of images, but supporters of images understood a clear link between verbal and visual symbolism.⁷ Discussion of both verbal and visual symbolism concerns the negotiation of the means by which a Christian can come to a comprehension of God. Pseudo-Dionysius discussed one such means at great length, that is the symbolic significance of the angels and their appearances. In describing the meaning of Ezekiel’s angel which appeared in the form of four animals, for instance, Pseudo-Dionysius wrote an excursus on the meaning of their appearances as these varied beasts.⁸ The celestial intelligences took these forms, he says, because they intended to communicate obliquely some knowledge of their nature and duty. The angel took the form of a lion, for instance, to express domination, strength and unconquerability; the angel is represented as an ox because it had the “ability to plough deeply the furrows of knowledge”; the form of an eagle was assumed because of the angel’s “contemplation which is freely, directly, and unswervingly turned” to the divine light; and the form of the horse was taken on because of its “obedience and docility” which corresponds to the character of the angels.⁹ By this means, the angels imitate, as much as they are able, the secret of the ineffable divinity, and envelop themselves mysteriously so as to yield divine illumination.

6. *De coelesti hierarchia*, II.1, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, SC vol. 58, ed. G. Heil and M. de Gandillac (Paris, 1958) 74; Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *The Complete Works*, trans. C. Luibheid and P. Rorem (New York, 1987) 148. This contemplation of condescending symbols is also discussed in a question and answer guide from the second half of the sixth century; see J.-C. Guy, “Un *Entretien* monastique sur la contemplation,” *Recherches des sciences religieuses* 50(1962):234–35, 238–39.

7. See, for example, Kitzinger, “The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm,” 137ff., and U. Jeck, “Ps. Dionysios Areopagites und der Bilderstreit in Byzanz: Überlegungen zur Dionysiosrezeption des Johannes von Damaskos,” *Hermeneia. Zeitschrift für ostkirchliche Kunst* 8/2(1992):71–80.

8. *De coel. hier.*, XV.8, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 184–88.

9. *De coel. hier.*, XV.8, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 185–87.

According to Pseudo-Dionysius, symbols offer the primary access to God, as they are condescendences that render God accessible to incarnate intelligences. The angels then take on forms, figures and schemata that can fall to our senses and be more readily grasped and interpreted.¹⁰

That one has reason to attribute figures to that which is without figure, and forms to that which has no form ... is not sufficient. ... They require some appropriate elevations and that which has some affinity with our nature, so that consequently we are capable of gaining ourselves the figurations, which are accessible for us. ... But it must be said also that the thing which is hidden under unrevealable and sacred enigmas is suited most perfectly to the mysterious words, and to rendering inaccessible to most people, the holy and secret truth of the otherworldly spirits. For all persons are not saints, and, as scripture informs us, not all have knowledge (I Cor. 8:7).¹¹

The symbols provided by the celestial intelligences have, therefore, an educative role for those seeking greater knowledge of God. This process of contemplation is a simultaneous act of resistance to a complacency attached to matter, and it also involves a full engagement with the symbol itself, rather than a literal interpretation of the symbol.¹² By resistance to complacency, Pseudo-Dionysius meant that one must disengage the sensible images from all signification that is base or vulgar or simply natural which could alter or obscure the divine revelation borne by the images.¹³ The correct play of the

10. See R. Roques, "Introduction," in *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, xxi ff.

11. *De coel. hier.*, II.2, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 76–77.

12. Roques, "Introduction," xxi; A. Louth, *Denys the Areopagite* (Wilton, Conn., 1989) 46.

13. And see J. Derrida, "How to Avoid Speaking: Denials," in *Languages of the Unsayable. The Play of Negativity in Literature and Literary Theory*, ed. S. Budick and W. Iser, trans. K. Friedan (New York, 1989) 44: "A predicate can always conceal another predicate, or rather the nakedness of an absence of predicate—as the (sometimes indispensable) veil of a garment can at once dissimulate and reveal the very fact that it dissimulates and renders attractive at the same time. Hence the voice of an utterance can conceal another, which it then appears to quote without quoting it, presenting itself as another form, namely as a quotation of the other."

symbolism demands that the intelligence adhere openly and exclusively to the intelligible richness of the sensible images. This operation requires an effort of lucidity that discerns the true intelligible value of the image.¹⁴

The exigencies of catharsis and anagogy make humanity prefer the dissembling symbols to symbols that resemble.¹⁵ For the latter places humanity in danger of becoming attached to these things and therefore misled. With dissembling symbols, the effort of anagogy is almost inevitable and so there is no seduction or bonding. With these dissembling symbols of the angelic beings the means of interpretation is a prudent but difficult, and necessarily provisional, act of anagogy.

Every being, every element and every sensible quality can serve as a point of departure to intelligible contemplation and reveal some character of the celestial essences. The anthropomorphism of the angels is, properly speaking, a symbolic dissimulation. The angels take human form for symbolic reasons, that is, on account of humanity's powers of intellect.

But [the angels] are described in human form on account of [human] intelligence, and they have powers of sight directed upwards, and because [humans] have the upright . . . form, and the ability to lead and command according to nature, [because humans live] the least according to sensation as opposed to the other powers that lead illogical lives, and [human nature] masters all of it by the strength of its spirit, and by the dominance of the logical knowledge, and according to the free and unfettered nature of [the human] soul.¹⁶

Each symbol, then, is accessible by an act of exegesis and imparts an amount of intelligible information according to the worth and effort of the person contemplating.¹⁷ The value and the level of the symbol

14. Roques, "Introduction," xxii.

15. *De coel. hier.*, II, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 73–87.

16. *De coel. hier.*, XV.3, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 171–73.

17. *De coel. hier.*, XV, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 163–91.

are bound to the value and the level of the intelligence that uses it. Symbols are, therefore, essentially “cursive” and “mobile,” varying according to the order and receptivity of the intelligence.¹⁸ Pseudo-Dionysius’s position is based on an openness to symbolic interpretation; indeed, his theology demands it.

The ultimate goal of this process of symbolic interpretation is the empty and obscure site of incomprehension, “the brilliant darkness of a hidden silence,” “the truly mysterious darkness of unknowing.”¹⁹ The goal of Pseudo-Dionysius’s negative theology has striking parallels with Evagrius’s desired state of “apatheia” (ἀπάθεια).²⁰ Evagrius stated that the proper preparation for true contemplation of God and things divine was a humble emptying of the mind of all emotion and thought, especially of the figural kind.²¹ Pure prayer and contemplation can thus be accomplished in theory but only after all contaminating sensual “images” have been vanquished. For Pseudo-Dionysius, prayer too is necessary, as “a passage, a transfer, a translation.”²² Silent contemplation of scriptural signs, “secret manifestations” of God, is the route to knowledge of transcendent reality.

The two processes of Evagrius and Pseudo-Dionysius share similar goals in silent, empty contemplation of God, but Evagrius’s absolute

18. Roques, “Introduction,” xc.

19. Respectively, *De divinis nominibus*, XIII.1, PG 3:977B, *The Complete Works*, trans. C. Luibheid and P. Roemer, 135; and *De mystica theologia*, I.3, PG 3:1001A, *The Complete Works*, trans. C. Luibheid and P. Roemer, 137. And see, in general, on the negative theology of Pseudo-Dionysius, R. Mortley, *From Word to Silence. Vol. II. The Way of Negation, Christian and Greek*, Theophaneia, vol. 31 (Bonn, 1986) 229ff.

20. It might be said that Maximus Confessor (ca. 580–662) was a natural heir to both of these Church Fathers, indicating that the two systems of thought were reconcilable. Maximus was largely responsible for the dissemination of Areopagite theology in the east; see J. Pelikan, “Introduction,” in Maximus Confessor, *Selected Writings* (New York, 1985) 6. And in his description of the spiritual life and of pure prayer, Maximus clearly owed a debt to Evagrius; see M. Viller, “Aux sources de la spiritualité de S. Maxime: les oeuvres d’Evagre le Pontique,” *Revue d’ascétique et de mystique* 11(1930):156–84, 239–68, 331–36.

21. See Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, 83ff.

22. See, for example, *De div. nom.*, III.1, PG 3:680D. Quote in text from Derrida, “How to Avoid Speaking,” 41, and further: “Here prayer is not a preamble, an accessory mode of access. It constitutes an essential moment, it adjusts discursive asceticism, the passage through the desert of discourse, the apparent referential vacuity which will only avoid empty deliria and prattling by addressing itself from the start to the other, to you. But to you as ‘hyperessential and more than divine Trinity.’”

eschewing of signs and images as the steps to this goal is the point of departure from Pseudo-Dionysius's process of meditation on unknowable things. Pseudo-Dionysius marks a distinct path, therefore, in his simultaneous process of engagement with a symbol and denial of its literal worth. The path he described was widely influential in the sixth century and beyond. Indeed, the operations he describes influenced much of the theology developed in subsequent centuries, and later iconophile theories of devotion before material images clearly relied on Pseudo-Dionysius's description of approaches to divine things. Moreover, the influence of Pseudo-Dionysius was not restricted to abstract theological speculation; traces of his theology can also be discerned in actual practice as gleaned from a set of sixth-century epigrams.

Written about images of the Archangel Michael, these epigrams illustrate in a concrete way perceptions of images in the period immediately following Pseudo-Dionysius. They reveal a thematic thread linking Pseudo-Dionysius's theology concerning symbolic approaches to images of angels and perceptions of tangible material images. The theology and more popular understanding represented by these epigrams occupy the same conceptual ground: that an image makes material in a dissembling way an immaterial being for contemplative rather than descriptive purposes. This group of epigrams, therefore, parallels positions described in abstruse terms by iconophile theologians, and taken as a whole these different texts show a mode of gaining knowledge through images common to both theory and practice.

This small group of epigrams was composed as part of a larger anthology, gathered during the reign of Justin II, perhaps around 568, by Agathias (ca. 532–ca. 580).²³ Based on the antique model of the

23. See Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford, 1993) 16. However, R. C. McCail thought that this group of epigrams on images of angels originated outside of the cycle proper; see his "The *Cycle* of Agathias: New Identifications Scrutinised," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 89(1969):92ff. Furthermore, McCail dates the epigrams from a period ranging from 555 to 570, against Cameron who sees them as a coherent and contemporary group. See R. C. McCail, "On the Early Career of Agathias Scholasticus," *REB* 28(1970):142.

Garland written by Meleager (fl. ca. 60 B.C.E.), the epigrams were apparently written by a group of educated men on set topics and in similar styles. The collection is extant only because of a compilation made in about 900 by Constantine Cephalas. Its survival is of great importance as this cycle of epigrams provides remarkable evidence of attitudes to images of angels from the period preceding Iconoclasm.

In the first place, an image of the Archangel may be intended as a thank-offering for past benefit and as a request for future aid. Agathias wrote this epigram for an image of the Archangel at the Sosthenium near Constantinople:

Aemilianus of Caria and John with him, Rufinus of Alexandria and Agathias of Asia having completed the fourth year of their legal studies, O Archangel, dedicated to thee, O Blessed One, thy painted image, praying that their future may be happy. Make thyself manifest in the direction of their hopes.²⁴

The question of materiality is raised in this epigram to the extent that the Archangel's benign presence is beseeched through the lawyers' gift of depiction. The aim of materiality, the devotional goal of this epigram, is expressed more forcefully and more paradoxically in another epigram in the group. An epigram by Agathias on another image of the Archangel also expresses gratitude for the Archangel's intervention and protection but raises important issues of perception and depiction not brought up in the Sosthenium epigram:

24. *The Greek Anthology*, ed. W.R. Paton, 5 vols. (London, 1927) I:35. And see Averil Cameron, *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970) 5. Robin Cormack has discussed this epigram in connection with a newly discovered fresco from the theatre at Aphrodisias that he dates to the sixth century; see his "The Wall Painting of St. Michael in the Theatre," in *Aphrodisias Papers 2. The Theatre, a Sculptor's Workshop, Philosophers, and Coin Types*, ed. R.R.R. Smith and K. T. Erim (Ann Arbor, 1991) 115. And T.F. Mathews used this epigram to describe the creation of an "interior imprint" of a spiritual reality in the Byzantine viewer; however, he neglects the symbolic quality of likenesses of angels in favor of visual engagement and involvement. See his "Psychological Dimensions in the Art of Eastern Christendom," in *Art and Religion: Faith, Form and Reform, 1984 Paine Lectures in Religion*, ed. O. Overby (Columbia, Mo., 1986) 12ff.

“On a picture of Theodorus the Illustrious and twice Proconsul, in which he is shown receiving the insignia of office from the Archangel in Ephesus”: Forgive us, O Archangel, for picturing thee, for thy face is invisible; this is but an offering of men. For by thy grace Theodorus hath his girdle of a Magister, and twice won for his prize the Proconsular chair. The picture testifies to his gratitude, for in return he expressed the image of thy beauty.²⁵

The difficulty inherent in depicting the Archangel, and the referential quality that necessarily results in such depictions, is significant. Although the Archangel is by nature invisible, and in this way unperceivable, the image is made according to the means available to humanity. For this reason, the image is conditional and incomplete, but the image’s provisional quality, which the epigram states, is the crucial issue. The donor apologizes for the presumption of manufacturing an undepictable subject, since the image is only an approximation, but the image was made because the Archangel has made himself manifest, in some fashion, on the donor’s behalf. Commemorating the Archangel’s invisible guidance and protection, the image was clearly an emblem of angelic aid. The iconography of the Archangel—which one may safely assume was of the winged youth as celestial minister—is a sign for this watchful and benevolent presence.

The epigrams’ significant operation is the spiritual or intellectual contemplation that the material image initiates.²⁶ Agathias’s epigram

25. *The Greek Anthology*, I:36. See also P. Speck, “Ein Bild des Erzengels Michael in Ephesos (*Anthologia Palatina* I,36),” *Varia II, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑ*, vol. 6 (Bonn, 1987) 355–62; and also Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology*, 72ff. and 152ff.

26. R.C. McCail, “The Erotic and Ascetic Poetry of Agathias Scholasticus,” *B* 41(1971):246, rightly questions Kitzinger’s view of the process of comprehension that Agathias describes. For Kitzinger, the viewer looks at the image “as if” the figure represented were there. See “The Cult of Images Before Iconoclasm,” 147 n268. Clearly, however, Agathias’s intellectual approach uses the image as a bridge over which one travels for knowledge and communication, not as an embodiment of the model. McCail also points out that Agathias’s formulation of the passage of honor from image to prototype relies on sound patristic foundations, like the statement of Basil of Caesarea (ca. 329–379), “ἡ τῆς εἰκόνας τιμὴ ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει” (*De Spiritu Sancto*, XVIII, *Traité du Saint-Esprit*, SC vol. 17 bis, ed. B. Pruche [Paris, 1968] 406).

is significant in this regard since the image is explicitly said to incite the mind to a “higher contemplation” by means of the image’s colors.²⁷ Agathias’s description of approach is paralleled by a contemporary epigram of Nilus Scholasticus. Nilus is equally aware of the difficulties involved in the capturing of a likeness and notes the “daring” quality of representation: “‘On an image of the Archangel’: How daring it is to picture the incorporeal! But yet the image leads us up to spiritual recollection of celestial beings.”²⁸ The process by which the mind is ferried to higher contemplation is stated succinctly in this epigram. The image, Nilus and Agathias both assert, is not a representation of the form of the Archangel in any essential way, but only an approximation of the formless Archangel. But by this representation of an unviewable being the image allows the viewer to reflect on the being itself. In fact, the image maintains a tentative, intellectual proximity of the ineffable being, otherwise unknowable and unapproachable. The image gives Agathias’s “confused veneration” a focus and an object. The material image provides, therefore, a paradoxical ability to conduct through the eyes a lucid contemplation of the unviewable, incomprehensible Archangel.

These epigrams ought to be seen, moreover, in the context of the increasing number of formulations of art’s role in worship in the course of the sixth century. The anagogical function of images of angels as described in these epigrams parallels the function of images in Christian worship that Hypatius of Ephesus (d. ca. 541) describes in a letter written to Julian, bishop of Atramyntium.²⁹ In Hypatius’s view, images should be admitted, albeit grudgingly, into Christian worship because they are a means by which the weaker and less spiri-

27. *The Greek Anthology*, I:34. On this epigram, see chapter 2.

28. *The Greek Anthology*, I:33.

29. See P.J. Alexander, “Hypatius of Ephesus: A Note on Worship in the Sixth Century,” *HTR* 45(1952):177–84, and S. Gero, “Hypatius of Ephesus on the Cult of Images,” in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults. Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, 4 vols. (Leiden, 1975) II:208–16; and G. Lange, *Bild und Wort. Die katechetischen Funktionen des Bildes in der griechischen Theologie des sechsten bis neunten Jahrhunderts*, Würzburg, 1969, 44ff. The text is found in F. Diekamp, *Analecta patristica. Texte und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Patristik*, *Orientalia christiana analecta*, vol. 117 (Rome, 1938) 127ff., and in H. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit vor dem Bilderstreit*, TU vol. 139 (Berlin, 1992) 320–21.

tually advanced in the community might come to some introductory knowledge of divine things. For this reason, Hypatius told his correspondent, he shuns material aids, but admits images into worship,

... because we permit each order of the faithful to be guided and led up to the divine being in a manner appropriate to it [the order] because we think that some people are guided even by these [gold, silver, etc.] towards the intelligible beauty and from the abundant light in the sanctuaries to the intelligible and immaterial light.³⁰

Hypatius also stated that the cherubim on the Ark of the Covenant were one example of God's providence condescending for the sake of the weaker members of his chosen people; in this way, God gave material guidance to know him better.³¹ The anagogical function of images as described in this letter bears striking similarities to the epigrams discussed above, and also in a general way to the neo-Platonism of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.³² These texts describe the spiritual elevation to divinity that signs, material and verbal, can provide for Christians. Yet Hypatius clearly saw a dichotomy between more advanced spirituality and the less perfect that depends upon these material signs, which Pseudo-Dionysius does not distinguish.

Evidently, sixth-century ecclesiastics and laymen alike, taking Hypatius and Agathias as examples, were grappling with the function and meaning of images in Christian worship. Hypatius was clearly

30. Diekamp, *Analecta patristica*, 128.26–30; trans. Alexander, "Hypatius of Ephesus," 180.

31. Alexander, "Hypatius of Ephesus," 179–80. The example of the cherubim presages the iconophile emphasis on God's prescription for the construction of the Ark and the cherubim; see below.

32. Kitzinger thought the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius an important factor in the formulation of image theory such as Hypatius expounded in this letter to Julian. See "The Cult of Images Before Iconoclasm," 137–38. Jean Gouillard, "Hypatios d'Éphèse ou du Pseudo-Denys à Théodore Studite," *REB* 19(1961):72ff., was also struck by the coincidence in thought regarding symbolism and ascent to higher mysteries in both Hypatius and Pseudo-Dionysius. However, Gero sees only a general knowledge of platonic concepts in Hypatius, and concluded that Hypatius was drawing from the same well without direct dependence on Pseudo-Dionysius. See "Hypatius of Ephesus on the Cult of Images," 211–12.

ambivalent on the ultimate value of images but open-minded and willing to admit the usefulness of images in Christian pedagogy. Slightly later, Agathias is quite certain of the purpose of images in the elevation of the Christian mind toward divine things. The use of images as a means by which the worshipper remembers and venerates the person depicted is also a theme of the anti-Jewish literature of the seventh century, and it becomes a standard response to accusations of idolatry from non-Christians and iconoclasts alike. Pseudo-Athanasius, for instance, wrote that Christians do not honor the icons themselves, “But we only show forth our soul’s condition (σχέσιν) and love toward the form seen on the icon.”³³ And in his *Disputatio adversus Judaeos*, Anastasius Sinaïtes (d. ca. 700) said that Christians honor and imitate Christ and the saints through a material image as the Jews honor the power of the word through a material book.³⁴

The epigrams of Agathias and Nilus take a similar position with regard to honor passing to the prototype. They also show in their emphasis on “higher contemplation” of incomprehensible angels certain affinities with philosophical ideas associated with pagan neo-Platonism. For example, the language used by Porphyry (ca. 232–ca. 303) to rationalize the worship of pagan statues in his treatise

33. *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, XXXIX, PG 28:621B–D. See also Leontius of Neapolis, preserved in the writings of John of Damascus, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres*, PTS vol. 17, ed. P.B. Kotter (Berlin, 1975) 156–58; V. Déroche, “L’Apologie contre les Juifs de Léontios de Néapolis,” *TM* 12(1994):79ff.; *On the Divine Images. Three Apologies Against Those Who Attack the Divine Images*, trans. D. Anderson (Crestwood, N.Y., 1980) 41–42; *Trophies of Damascus (Les Trophées de Damas*, PO vol. 15/2, ed. G. Bardy [Paris, 1920; rp. Louvain, 1973] 78.11ff.); the Armenian John Mayragometsi (S. Der Nersessian, “Une apologie des images du septième siècle,” *B* 17[1944/5]:60; and the Dialogue between the Jews, Papiscus and Philo, and a Monk (*Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew entitled ANTIBOLH ΠΑΠΙΣΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΩΝΟΥ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΝ ΤΙΝΑ*, ed. A.C. McGiffert [Marburg, 1889] 51–52).

See Lange, *Bild und Wort*, 188ff., K.A. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992) 40ff., and V. Déroche, “L’authenticité de l’Apologie contre les Juifs de Léontios de Néapolis,” *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 110(1986):661ff.

34. PG 89:1233C–6A. John Mayragometsi compares the ink used to write scripture and the pigments used to depict the saints. See Der Nersessian, “Une apologie des images du septième siècle,” 66–67.

“Concerning Idols” is closer to the epigrams’ conception of images of angels than the down-to-earth polemic of texts against Jews. Porphyry stated that pagan statues are simply wood and stone, but also images suited for human perception through which the learned are able to comprehend the deity.³⁵ This formulation of the use of images for gaining knowledge of transcendent beings is a clear forerunner of the philosophical defense of images of the sixth-century epigrams.³⁶ As he may well have been Macarius Magnes’s “opponent” in the *Apocriticus*, Porphyry’s views on symbolic images are directly relevant here. One can clearly discern in this pagan-Christian dialogue of the fourth century the beginnings of the later disagreement between neo-Platonic ideas of symbolic images and intellectual, non-material worship.³⁷ In fact, the differences between Porphyry and Macarius Magnes seen in that dialogue can be taken as emblematic

35. See J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre. Le philosophe néoplatonicien* (Gand and Leipzig, 1913; rp. Hildesheim and New York, 1980) 143ff., text 1*–23*, F. Börtzler, *Porphyrius’ Schrift von den Götterbildern* (Erlangen, 1908) and C. Clerc, *Les théories relatives au culte des images chez les auteurs grecs du II^e siècle après J.-C.* (Paris, 1915) 253ff. The text on pagan statues is preserved in the third book of Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Praeparatio Evangelica*, GCS vol. 43, 2d ed., ed. K. Mras (Berlin, 1975). The connection between pagan defense of statues and Christian defense of image worship was noted by A. Grabar, *L’iconoclasm byzantin. Dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957) 138ff., and P.J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople. Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1958) 27ff.

36. See Lange, *Bild und Wort*, 182ff. Leslie Brubaker, “Icons Before Iconoclasm?” in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo*, *Settimane* vol. 45, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1998) II:1226–27, 1231, argues for the increased importance of the transparent image in the mid-sixth century, but a case can surely be made for continuity of this idea in Late Antiquity.

37. A. Harnack, *Kritik des Neues Testaments von einem griechischen Philosophen des 3. Jahrhunderts. Die in Apocriticus des Macarius Magnes enthaltene Streitschrift*, TU vol. 37/3 (Leipzig, 1911); G. Bardy, in *DTC* IX:1459. Macarius’s opponent defended pagan statues in this way: “Since it is then acknowledged that the angels share in the divine nature, those that make proper reverence to the respected gods do not think that it is the god, the image that is fashioned out of wood or stone or bronze, nor if some portion of the image should be cut off, do they believe that a portion of God’s power is subtracted. It should be called to mind that the images and temples were constructed by the ancients, that on account of coming hither the believers were brought to remembrance of God, when they go there, and being purified generally and offering devotion and supplication, and for what things they desired they asked from the gods. For even if someone makes an image of a friend, certainly one does not think that his friend is in it nor does one think that a part of the body is enclosed in the sections of the representation, but honour for the friend is shown through the image” (Blondel 200.12–22).

as the conceptual differences generally separating the defenders and opponents of images of angels under discussion in this study. The writers of the epigrams were clearly influenced by neo-Platonic ideas on images in their emphasis on the ascent of the mind to a higher reality through matter; in particular, Pseudo-Dionysius provided these writers with a suitably Christian framework for these neo-Platonic concepts. While these writers of the sixth-century epigrams, as well as Hypatius of Ephesus, have real affinities with the anti-Jewish theologians of the seventh century, they used more rarefied and subtle descriptions of intellectual processes involved in viewing images derived from direct contact with neo-Platonist ideas.³⁸

Agathias's epigrams are also marked by an element of defensiveness that leads one to think that the place of images in worship and devotion was not resolved in every Christian's mind. Images had been perceived more and more as incontrovertible proofs and venerable recollections by some Christians,³⁹ but the opposition discussed in the previous chapter reveals that certain church officials resisted with equal force the use of images in worship.⁴⁰ In this context, Agathias was not alone in seeing the representation of angels as "daring." And in the sixth century, John of Gaza also wrote of the undaunted artists who strove to depict such bodiless beings. In his description of paintings in a bath house at Gaza, John describes the artists as "boiling with boldness" and "made drunk in mind" in delineating the

38. The relation between pagan apologetics, such as Porphyry's defense of images, and Byzantine image theory was described with great economy by N. H. Baynes, "Idolatry and the Early Church," in his *Byzantine and Other Studies* (London, 1955) 116–43.

39. For example, A. D. Kartsonis, in *Anastasis. The Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986) 58–59, discusses Anastasius Sinaïtes's view that images are theological proofs that cannot be falsified. Also, Canon 82 of the Council of Trullo (692) stated a belief in the ability of art to express truths about the divinity and incarnation of Christ: "in order that the perfect should be set down before everybody's eyes even in painting, we decree that [the figure of] the Lamb, Christ our God, who removes the sins of the world, should henceforward be set up in human form on images also, in the place of the ancient lamb, inasmuch as we comprehend thereby the sublimity of the humiliation of God's Word, and are guided to the recollection of His life in flesh, His Passion and His salutary Death and the redemption which has thence accrued to the world." See Mansi XI:977BC; trans. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire. 312–1453. Sources and Documents* (Toronto, 1986) 139–40.

40. See Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm," 139, and McCail, "The Erotic and Ascetic Poetry of Agathias Scholasticus," 241ff.

heavenly powers, that is “to lend body to bodiless nature.”⁴¹ Clearly, in the minds of some Christians, representing angels existed as an issue that was propelled by material images on view and in devotion. The embodying of angelic powers, begun in Christian art as early as the second century, remained an issue into the sixth century and grew in importance as images became increasingly prominent in cult practice. The issue of how one came to knowledge of angelic beings persisted as an element in the debates over worship and images of the period preceding Iconoclasm, and drew particular attention when the debates reached a head in the mid-eighth century as iconophile theologians turned their attention to the theory and practice of devotion to images.

THE ICONOPHILE THEORY OF SYMBOLIC IMAGES OF ANGELS

Commentary on images of angels did not appear again until the eighth-/ninth-century iconophile defense arose in reaction to the iconoclastic attack on religious images. The elaborate defense of images arose as circumstances demanded, but the striking parallels between iconophile theology and the epigrams discussed above must be seen as a sign of continuity in basic approach to images of angels. In the debates over worship and symbolism that were central to the development of Byzantine theology in the sixth and seventh centuries, a consistent feature was an acceptance of images of angels as means, albeit partial, to a comprehension of God’s spiritual servants. Dependent on earlier writings, iconophile theology is the most comprehen-

41. See P. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius. Kunstbeschreibungen justinianischer Zeit* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912; rp. Hildesheim and New York, 1969) 135.12–136.25. Abstract theological concepts, like the Trinity, are also depicted in this program. According to John of Gaza, a cross within three concentric circles referred to the Trinity. See Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius*, 137.41–138.44; and H. Maguire, *Earth and Ocean. The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (University Park and London, 1987) 12–13, 20–21. This symbolic mode of depicting the Trinity parallels Philoxenus’s scruples concerning depiction of the Holy Spirit, as discussed in the previous chapter; see McCail, “The Erotic and Ascetic Poetry of Agathias Scholasticus,” 245, who speculated that the misgivings of Philoxenus of Mabbug, Severus of Antioch and John of Gaza concerning images of angels may have derived from the influence of the Christian university at Gaza.

sive treatment of the significance of such images in worship, and because of its articulation and extensiveness this image theory needs detailed examination. Moreover, theory helps shed light on the meaning of the ninth-century restoration of the mosaics of the angelic powers in the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea (Iznik), and this chapter ends by examining these mosaics with regard to the exchange between word and image.

That images could lead viewers from the visible to knowledge of the invisible, however incomplete, was a primary defense of images for iconophiles.⁴² The faculty of sight was a necessary element in iconophile justifications of images in worship, and, although the ultimate goal was to transcend the material assistance that images afforded, vision was defined as a fundamental means of facilitating

42. For instance, in the eighth-century *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, the process is set out in one passage in the form of a fictional dialogue between an iconophile and an iconoclast. In the dialogue, the iconophile rhetorically asks the iconoclast how he himself would teach a stranger all the mysteries of their faith. The iconophile protests that one cannot be led to the higher mysteries of the invisible things without some kind of material prop or demonstration, "For if you said to him, 'It is invisible,' what has he seen that he should put trust in your conscience and faith?" The first thing one must do is build on sensible things so that in this way, little by little, one is led to invisible things. The didactic function of the material image is clearly emphasized in this passage, since the education and conversion of the stranger is accomplished by means of the images themselves. See *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, X, PG 95:325C–8B, and also P. Speck, *Ich bin's nicht, Kaiser Konstantin ist es gewesen. Die Legenden vom Einfluß des Teufels, des Juden und des Moslem auf den Ikonoklasmus*, *ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑ*, vol. 10 (Bonn, 1990) 402. The text begins this way: "You take him into the church. You reveal to him the world which surrounds him. You open up for him the forms of the figures of the holy icons. This unbeliever sees and he says, 'Who is this crucified? Who is this rising and who is trampling upon the head of this old man?' Do you not teach him from the icons, saying, 'This crucified man, he is the son of God, who was crucified for the sins of the world? This risen man, it is he who raises the forefather of the world, Adam, who fell because of disobedience, and he went into Hades, where he was held these many years kept in chains and by unbreakable bars in these nether regions?' And in this way do you lead this man in to the knowledge of God. Again, you lead him to the font of the baptistery. And he sees only water in the font, you the faithful one behold the water, and see light and spirit. When he has partaken of baptism, then he takes the truth from the senses, and applies them to the invisible ungenerated. If you offer the mystery of the body and blood of the Saviour, he sees bread and wine only. And you see the body and blood of Christ which flows from the undefiled source. And if he becomes worthy, he partakes with you." On this text, see also M.-F. Auzépy, "L'*Adversus Constantinum Caballinum* et Jean de Jérusalem," *BS* 56(1995):323–38.

knowledge. John of Damascus (ca. 675–ca. 750), for instance, was strongly in favor of the comprehension that comes through the faculty of sight: “Sensation is the strength of the soul returned from matter, and therefore discernment. Sensory moreover are the organs.... The first sense is sight.”⁴³ Hearing and the other faculties follow in descending order of importance. John of Damascus was the first great opponent of iconoclastic doctrine and for that was anathematized at the iconoclastic council of Hieria in 754. John of Damascus’s image theory was perhaps not as sophisticated as that of such later opponents of iconoclasm as Nicephorus (ca. 750–828), Theodore of Stoudios (759–826) and Photius (ca. 810–d. after 893), but almost all the arguments regarding angels found in these ninth-century theologians can be seen in some form in John of Damascus’s work. Through John of Damascus, the general reliance on the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius is evident in iconophile theory. As John and other iconophiles stated, images may serve as sensible symbols, as Pseudo-Dionysius put it, that lead the worshipper to comprehension of the divine, because of the particular qualities of the sense of the sight.

43. *Expositio fidei*, II.18, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. II Expositio fidei*, PTS vol. 12, ed. P.B. Kotter (Berlin, 1973) 83–84. John of Damascus is typical, in this way, of iconophile stress on the importance of the sense of sight. For instance, the author of the *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, again, is explicit about the importance of sight and images for convincing the viewer of the truth and magnitude of doctrine; the means is again an engagement with an “iconic imprint,” but with real emotional compulsion. See VIII, *PG* 95:324C–5A. The Second Council of Nicaea in 787 was equally explicit about the role of the images and sight in spiritual development. The Fathers of the Council stated that the outlines and the representations of the apostles, martyrs, saints and holy persons are there “so we are led to remember, attend, and participate in their holiness.” See Mansi XIII:132E. Elsewhere it is stated that hearing of the appearance of the angel to the Virgin we call the event to mind, and yet “seeing the icon in this way we consider the consequences of the thing more manifestly.” See Mansi XIII:269C. And, finally, Nicephorus defended visual perception but in a more “scholastic” way, according to his method of discourse, “For we all know that sight is the most honoured and necessary of the senses and it may allow apprehension of what falls under perception more distinctly and sharply; for ‘it is the nature of that which is heard to travel less quickly than that which is seen,’ and seeing will attract faster than the other senses since it also has the attractive power to a larger degree.” See *Refutatio et eversio*, 119, *Nicephori patriarchae constantinopolitani Refutatio et eversio definitionis synodalis anni 815*, *Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*, vol. 33, ed. J. Featherstone (Louvain, 1997) 211.56–62, trans. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 211.

If iconophiles considered the anagogical and didactic function of images to be securely established, they needed to address other equally pressing iconoclastic accusations. In particular, Christological issues, which iconoclasts had already raised, became central for iconophiles;⁴⁴ and images of angels were used primarily as supports for the iconophile position on representing Christ. If this central Christological issue was the reason for the introduction of angels into these arguments, defense of images of angels soon diverged from the Christological path into new territory. It will become clear in the course of this chapter that this divergence occurred because of Christ's earthly life which the angels could not share.

In John of Damascus's theology, which typifies iconophile writing, Christ's life incarnate is the primary justification for representation. In turn, the incarnation had renewed a bond between God and humanity and initiated a new dispensation that images of Christ assert. The angels were brought into these arguments because they too appeared on earth and were apprehended in time and place. Description of the means by which their formless and immaterial nature was apprehended is the point at which justification of their images parts from the defense of Christ's images.

Important for the defense of Christ's representability was the definition of circumscription. The opponents of images had equated circumscription and painting so that the two were inseparable. This equation effectively ruled out the possibility of making images of Christ since the making of an image would presume that an essential aspect of the subject had been captured. And for God who is ineffable, capturing any part of his essence on an image is clearly impossible: God is simply uncircumscribable. From the beginning, then, the iconophile counterattack was centered on the definition of circumscription as distinct from painting, and circumscription, therefore, became a primary support in iconophile theory for the ability to represent spiritual beings.

44. Christology was central for western image theory, too, although anagogy was not a prescribed method of viewing. See H. L. Kessler, "Real Absence: Early Medieval Art and the Metamorphosis of Vision," in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo*, Settimane vol. 45, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1998) II:1157–1213.

John of Damascus first discussed circumscription as a chief defense for the representations of Christ.⁴⁵ Angels were invoked and discussed in this connection in order to support the Christological argument for images. Angels substantiated the depiction of Christ because they are intellectual and bodiless, but apprehended in time and space, and thus circumscribable. Despite their nature, therefore, they can be depicted. John of Damascus wrote:

They are circumscribable. For when they are in heaven they are not on earth; and when they are sent to earth by God, they do not remain in heaven. They are not bound by walls or doors or keys or seals. For they are unbounded. I say that they are invisible; for not as they are do they appear to the worthy to whom God desires that they appear, but they see [the angels] altered, just as they are able to perceive. For only [God] is truly unbounded, only he is uncreated. For all creation is made finite by being created by God.⁴⁶

However, angels have particular problems attendant upon their nature since they have no visible form and change according to the situation:

God created them in his own image, of nature bodiless, wind, as it were, or immaterial fire, as the divine David said, “[God] who

45. *Orationes de imaginibus tres*, II.5, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. III, 71–72; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 52–53: “If we attempted to make an image of the invisible God, this would be sinful indeed. It is impossible to portray one who is without body: invisible, uncircumscribed, and without form. Again if we made images of humans and believed them to be gods, and adored them as if they were so, we would be truly impious. We do neither of these things. But we are not mistaken if we make the image of God incarnate, who was seen on earth in the flesh, associated with humanity, and in his unspeakable goodness assumed the nature, feeling, form, and colour of our flesh. For we yearn to see how he looked, as the apostle says, ‘Now we see through a glass darkly’ (I Cor. 13:12). Now the icon is also a dark glass, fashioned according to the limitations of our physical nature.”

46. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. II, 45. And also, “Physical things which have shape, bodies which are circumscribed, and have colour, are suitable subjects for image-making. Nevertheless, even if nothing physical or fleshly may be attributed to an angel, or a soul, or a demon, it is still possible to depict and circumscribe them according to their nature. For they are intellectual beings, and are believed to be present invisibly and to operate spiritually” (*De imag. or.*, III.24, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. III, 130–31; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 78).

maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a flaming fire” (Ps. 104:4). [And he made them] ethereal, and ardent, and fervent, and incisive, and penetrating, according to the divine will, calling them servants, and ascendent, and free from all knowledge of material things.⁴⁷

According to John of Damascus, the angels are intellects, ceaselessly moving, who are in places which are intelligible. But their nature is such that they cannot be circumscribed corporeally, he said, as they are not formed corporeally by nature, nor are they three dimensional. Rather, they appear and perform intellectually where they are commanded to be by God, and nowhere else.⁴⁸ Unlike Christ they have no stable, earthly form, and yet, since they are still within the boundaries of John of Damascus’s definition of circumscription, they may be depicted. John of Damascus’s definition depends largely on the ability of the angels to occupy place, that is, to be corporeal enough to have limit and circumference:

And the angel while he is contained in a place somatically, has form and outline. It is said that he is in a place, because he is present intellectually and operates according to his nature, and is not elsewhere, but is circumscribed in that way intellectually, there in that place where he operates. For it is not possible according to this for him to operate in different places. Only God can operate everywhere at once. And the angel, quick by nature, and traveling speedily and readily, operates in different places. God being ubiquitous and over everything, by this operates differently by a single, simple operation.⁴⁹

It is characteristic of angelology, and iconophiles were no exception, that the distinction between God and his messengers must be maintained, as well as the discrimination of the nature of humanity and of the angels.

47. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. II*, 45.

48. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. II*, 47.

49. *Exp. fid.*, I.13, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. II*, 38.

Therefore the angel is an intellectual being in perpetual motion, of free will, bodiless, serving God, having received an immortal nature according to grace, of which nature the form and definition is known only to the Creator. It is said that an angel is bodiless and immaterial but only in relation to us. For everything measured against God, who alone is incomparable, is found base and material. God alone is naturally immaterial and bodiless.⁵⁰

Because they share some spiritual characteristics with the divine nature, however, angels were useful parallels for the entry of Christ into the world. This parallel supported the iconophile contention that divinity can be represented because it had appeared on earth. Angels occupy the middle area—as a kind of third body—in nature somewhere between God and humanity, but with a nature not fully determinable. If beings as immaterial and unparticipating as the angels can be circumscribed and depicted, then Christ incarnate should surely be circumscribed as human, and depicted as such.

The notion of circumscribability of the angels was derived from a context not properly concerned with iconophile theology nor properly speaking with Christology, but rather with the problematic nature and role of the angels.⁵¹ John of Damascus's innovation was to

50. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, II, 45.

51. For instance, Gennadius of Marseilles, who died between 492 and 505, wrote that all creatures are to some extent corporeal, even the intellectual creatures of God. The proof of this is that all these creatures can be circumscribed in place, just as the soul which is enclosed in flesh and the demons who are in nature similar to the angels. Only God however is truly incorporeal and invisible by nature. God is rightly thought to be incorporeal because he is everywhere and infuses all creation with his presence (*De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, XI, *PL* 58:984A).

And in the fifth century, Faustus Rhegiensis wrote in a similar vein, "I would not even doubt that the angels are in places, who are certainly now compassed by the heavens, now borne by the empty space of the ether, now descending to earth; who the divine sermon describes in the vision of the patriarch ascending and descending, at any rate as if they were not in one place; but they are not able to be present everywhere and by ascent and descent depart. The most blessed Gabriel himself, who is known to stand before God himself, when he announced to Mary that the Lord was to be mingled with flesh, and when he assisted the mother under divine vigilance, without a doubt he was not in heaven, he was not flying somewhere over Mary, and he was not filling that great diffuse emptiness of the endless ether, but he was occupying that place, in which he was. Since it is like that, anything that occupies space is a body, how could someone not be confined to a place who is sent from

recognize the angels and their circumscription as a positive support for Christ's circumscription. The link with these qualities of circumscription and the making of images had not yet been developed to the same degree as it would be by ninth-century theologians, but the essential link had been made by John of Damascus a century or so previously.

The iconophiles arrived at a conclusion concerning the relation of angels' images to their bodiless models by examining art authorized and produced under the Old Covenant. They established an iconophile argument of the divinely ordained worship of images, and the relation of image and prototype that God himself stated, by referring to God's commands to Moses in Exodus. Iconoclasts had cited God's injunction not to make graven images (Ex. 20:4) as an argument against Christian images at the first stage of Iconoclasm in the second quarter of the eighth century. This charge, and the iconophile response, is not particular to the Iconoclast controversy but was an extension of the pagan-Jewish "debates," as argued in such seventh-century anti-Jewish texts of Stephen of Bostra and Leontius of Neapolis.⁵² Indeed, John of Damascus cited both these theologians in his treatise directed against the attackers of images.⁵³

place to place, and as if the body is transported by movement and ascent, descends with effort, moves with mobility, goes, returns, is remote, and descends again" (*Epistolae*, III, in *Fausti Reiensis Praeter sermones pseudo-eusebianos opera*, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vol. 21, ed. A. Engelbrecht [Prague, Vienna and Leipzig, 1891] 178).

The issue of circumscription continued to be discussed throughout the Byzantine period in examinations of angels' nature and their role in the cosmic hierarchy. For instance, see Nicetas Stethatos (1005?–ca. 1090), in *Opusculum et lettres*, SC vol. 81, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1961) 252, and Symeon of Thessalonike (d. 1429), *Responsa ad Gabrielem Pentapolitanum*, III, PG 155:841A.

52. See Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 33ff.

53. Stephen of Bostra in *De imag. or.*, III.71–73, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III*, 174. See also G. Mercati, *Opere minori*, Studi e testi, vol. 76 (Vatican City, 1937) 202–206, and A. Alexakis, "Stephen of Bostra: *Fragmenta Contra Judaeos* (CPG 7790). A New Edition," *JöB* 43(1993):45–60, text at 51ff.

Leontius of Neapolis in *De imag. or.*, III.84–89, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III*, 178–81, Déroche, "L'Apologie contre les Juifs," 79ff. Leontius was also cited at Nicaea II; see Mansi XIII:44B ff., and Déroche, "L'Apologie contre les Juifs," 66ff.

See also the seventh-century Armenian defense of John Mayragometsi, in Der Nersessian, "Une apologie des images du septième siècle," 59.

The cherubim, as paradigms of angelic beings, occupy a central place in iconophile rationalizations of images, and angels generally become implicated in these rationalizations because of the cherubim's prominent role in the iconophile version of the Christian history of art. The responses of both the Christian combatants in these anti-Jewish texts and the iconophile theologians directly implicate images of angels and so brought the example of the cherubim to the fore in iconophile responses. The iconophile rebuttal, as in the anti-Jewish texts, was to cite scripture in return, principally God's command to Moses to construct the Ark of the Covenant (Ex. 25:22): "And there will I meet with thee, and I will commune with thee from above the mercy seat from between the two cherubims which are upon the Ark of the testimony, of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel." God's specific command for the Ark, with lengthy, explicit instructions on its manufacture, was presented as a typology of Christian art. John of Damascus cited the tabernacle as an injunction for the creation of material images for Christians, and he introduced Bezaleel as the archetypical artist inspired by the spirit of God. John of Damascus referred to Exodus (31:1–5) for support:

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, See, I have called by name Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah: and I have filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver and in brass, and in cutting of stones for setting, and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship.

And John of Damascus continued by citing the gathering of the material for Moses's construction of the Ark (Ex. 35:4–10), and then rhetorically asked if this manufacture of images was not done according to God's will: "Behold the handiwork of humanity becoming the likeness of the cherubim! How can you make the law a reason for refusing to do what the law itself commands?" He concluded that be-

cause Christ had become human the ancient commandment against idols had been annulled.⁵⁴

The cherubim were directly mentioned by God in his specifications for the Ark (Ex. 25:18–20), and the cherubim were the most important example for iconophiles generally of an explicit command by God to produce figured images.⁵⁵ Nicephorus used the artistic typology of the Ark as a sign of the divine origins of image making. The cherubim that were placed upon the Ark, in this way, became for Nicephorus a primary focus in the argument for images deriving from scriptural precedent. Moreover, Nicephorus in his discussion of the cherubim used them as the paradigms of the nature of angelic beings. The cherubim were placed high in his heavenly hierarchy by the necessity of his argument, in a position which is closest to God in station and image. At certain points in his discussion of cherubim, Nicephorus skated dangerously close to heretical angelology since Christ was seriously underestimated as the principal agent of mediation between God and humanity.⁵⁶

Yet the consequent immateriality of the cherubim's nature was another way for Nicephorus to bridge the gap between the difficulty of

54. *De imag. or.*, I.16, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III*, 92; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 25. And see also, in the same vein, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III*, 96–101. And on the question of the Tabernacle and the iconophile defense of images, see S. Dufrenne, “Une illustration ‘historique,’ inconnue, du Psautier du Mont-Athos, Pantocrator No. 61,” *CA* 15(1965):83–95, H. L. Kessler, “Through the Temple Veil: The Holy Image in Judaism and Christianity,” *Kairos* 32/33(1990/1):60ff., and Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 33ff.

55. For a use of the cherubim to underpin iconophile arguments, beyond those discussed *infra*, see *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilus and Related Texts*, ed. J. A. Munitiz, J. Chrysostomides, E. Harvalia-Crook and Ch. Dendrinos (Camberley, 1997) 33.5–16 (7.e).

The cherubim were also a concern of western programmers and theologians. See L. Nees, “Image and Text: Excerpts from Jerome’s ‘De Trinitate’ and the *Maestas Domini* Miniature of the Gundohinus Gospels,” *Viator* 18(1987):11–17, A. Grabar, “Les mosaïques de Germigny-des-Prés,” in his *L’art de la fin de l’Antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1968) II:995–1006, and A. Freeman, “Theodulf of Orleans and the Libri Carolini,” *Speculum* 32(1957):663–705.

56. See V. N. Giannopoulos, “Η περὶ ἁγγέλων διδασκαλία τοῦ Πατριάρχου καὶ Ὁμολογητοῦ Νικηφόρου Α΄ (+829),” *Θεολογία* 44(1973):328. On Nicephorus’s angelology, see also J. Travis, *In Defense of the Faith. The Theology of Patriarch Nikephoros of Constantinople* (Brookline, Mass., 1984) 30–43.

apprehension, which might seem to be incompatible with circumscription, and the fact of representation as commanded by God himself. The quality of the cherubim, and the rest of the angelic hierarchy, is such that humanity is incapable of perceiving them directly; their true nature is unviewable.⁵⁷ And yet God has allowed them, by means of a divine condescension, to be depicted in a “terrestrial impression.”⁵⁸ These “impressions” are clearly distinct from Christ’s own appearance on earth in which he was really made flesh and suffered as a human being.⁵⁹ In this view, images of angels are transcriptions of angelic appearances in a dissimulating way; they denote only the symbolic condescension and alteration of form for inferior human perception.

Aware of the distinctions between images of angels and Christ, John of Damascus and Nicephorus and other iconophile theologians were compelled to rationalize the obvious disjuncture between angels’ formlessness and their form on images. John of Damascus described the mutability of the angels in this way, “Therefore [the angelic nature] is a logical nature, both intellectual and autonomous, changeable at will or inclination.”⁶⁰ And also, “They are transformed for such things as the Lord God wills, and in this way they appear to humanity and reveal holy mysteries to it.”⁶¹ Despite the fact that the angels are changeable, unpredictable and ultimately un-

57. *Apologeticus pro sacris imaginibus*, 70, PG 100:769A, “For you might say somehow like this, as we know well, that the godly cherubim since they are invisible by nature, are scarcely perceptible by humanity.”

58. Humanity is incapable of seeing intelligible beings like the angels directly, and out of his beneficence God has commanded, “that the most blessed aspects of the heavenly powers are made manifest in symbolic impressions” (*Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:777C). Furthermore the command given to Moses in Ex. 25:40 is an example of God’s providence. The cherubim mediate “the beneficent progressions of divine providence to others positioned below them and take on likenesses because of the function they perform, and in these, which are likenesses made on earth, are allowed due to divine condescension” (*Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:776A).

59. On the opacity of images of Christ for Theodore of Stoudios, see G. Peers, “Breathless, Speechless Images: On the Chalke Gate Epigram,” in *Hommages Margaret Head Thomson*, Cahiers des études anciennes, vol. 32, ed. L. Finnette and A. P. Booth (Trois Rivières, Québec, 1998) 111–12.

60. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, II, 45.

61. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, II, 47.

knowable, John of Damascus justified their images as allusive and symbolic signs.

God wills that we should not be totally ignorant of bodiless creatures, and so he clothed them with forms and shapes, and used images comprehensible to our nature, material forms which could be seen by the spiritual nature of the mind. From these we make images and representations, for how else could the cherubim be shown as having form?⁶²

According to John of Damascus, images of angels are made with wings because these images are comprehensible to inferior human perception. Human perception is able to approach the image at a spiritual and not a literal level, in order to unlock the meaning behind its enigmatic demonstration of angelic nature. In this passage, John of Damascus gave a definition of relation of image and prototype wherein images have no ability to describe their model visually, only to provide intellectual means for the viewer to apprehend spiritually an otherwise unknowable creature.

Defining the precise quality of the relation between images and their prototypes, and consequently what this quality meant for understanding images, was an especially knotty problem in defending the representations of angels. John of Damascus's definition of relation determined, to a certain extent, the course of the theological discussion. For iconoclasts, of course, any relation of prototype to image was considered impossible because iconoclasts defined a true image as consubstantial with the prototype. John of Damascus, in contrast, denied that the image was able to have any essential relation with its prototype.

An image is of like character with its prototype, but with a certain difference. It is not like the archetype in every way. The Son is the living, essential, and precisely similar image of the invisible God,

62. *De imag. or.*, III.24, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 132; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 79.

bearing the entire father within himself, equal to him in all things, except that he is begotten by him, the begetter.⁶³

The first kind of image for John of Damascus is the natural image.⁶⁴ The other images, and John of Damascus enumerated six more, are non-essential, artificial images.⁶⁵ The fourth kind includes the angels who do not relate to their images essentially, but rather symbolically and intangibly:

These [images] give us a faint apprehension of God and the angels where otherwise we would have none, because it is impossible for us to think immaterial things unless we can envision analogous shapes, as the great and holy Dionysius the Areopagite has said.⁶⁶

John of Damascus stated that the image and prototype are related in the case of the angels and God only in an indistinct and referential way, that affords human intellect some glimpse of incomprehensible matters. Images are therefore an important means by which knowledge of God, and of his manifestations and creations, is initiated and increased. According to John of Damascus, images are an incomplete but necessary reference and aid to better knowledge of the unknowable things of God:

Again, visible things are corporeal models which provide a vague understanding of intangible things. Holy scripture describes God and the angels as having descriptive form, and the same blessed Dionysius teaches us why. Anyone would say that our inability im-

63. *De imag. or.*, I.11, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III*, 83–84; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 19.

64. *De imag. or.*, III.15ff., *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III*, 126ff.; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 74ff.

65. On these types, see the remarks of M. Barasch, *Icon. Studies in the History of an Idea* (New York and London, 1992) 220–36. One should add that his discussion of angels, *ibid.*, 236–43, along with J. Pelikan, *Imago Dei. The Byzantine Apologia for Icons* (Princeton, 1990) 153–82, has much usefulness.

66. *De imag. or.*, III.21, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III*, 128; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 76.

mediately to direct our thoughts to contemplation of higher things makes it necessary that familiar everyday media be utilized to give suitable form to what is formless, and make visible what cannot be depicted, so that we are able to construct understandable analogies.⁶⁷

Like Pseudo-Dionysius, John of Damascus argued for material signs as a necessary step to intellectual contemplation of immaterial reality. Paradoxically, “descriptive form” which does not have an essential relation to angels or God is provided for humanity’s weak understanding so that analogies proper to human intellect can be made.

Nicephorus asserted a highly intellectualized association of image and angelic prototype that was stricter and more articulated than that offered by John of Damascus.⁶⁸ He defined the angelic nature as “simple and incomposite”;⁶⁹ furthermore, the angels are “unseeable by corporeal eyes,” and bodiless and invisible and without form.⁷⁰ The angels are invisible exactly because they are “beyond and unparticipating in their shapes and forms.”⁷¹ However, the angels’ special quality of unviewability compelled Nicephorus to reconcile the many instances of appearances in scripture and angelic nature.⁷² Nicephorus thus claimed that the angels did not reveal their real nature, but rather effected a symbolic transformation that was analogous to the particular need of the moment.⁷³ God himself has ordained and created the angels because he knows well humanity’s

67. *De imag. or.*, I.11, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. III, 84–85; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 20.

68. See C. von Schönborn, *L’icône du Christ. Fondements théologiques élaborées entre le Ier et le IIer Concile de Nicée (325–787)* (Fribourg, 1976) 206ff.

69. *Antirrheticus II adversus Constantinum Copronymum*, ix, PG 100:349B. See M.-J. Mondzain[-Baudinet], *Nicéphore le Patriarche: Discours contre les iconoclastes* (Paris, 1990) and *Image, icône, économie. Les sources byzantines de l’imaginaire contemporain* (Paris, 1996) 281–92, for translations of this text.

70. *Ant. II adv. Const. Cop.*, xi, PG 100:353A; and see Giannopoulos, “Η περί ἀγγέλων διδασκαλία,” 314ff.

71. See *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:769C.

72. Giannopoulos, “Η περί ἀγγέλων διδασκαλία,” 329ff.

73. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:781AB, “Yet the holy cherubim, being simple and immaterial, imageless and formless, and therefore bodiless, and circumscribed in a sense perceptible place. . . . For if someone should hear somewhere that at some time the holy angels are

weakness; ruling and guiding our affairs he knows fully our capacities for knowledge.⁷⁴ The forms of angels are disguised and vary according to circumstance and occasion. Likewise, the images are equally obscure, since they are unable to correspond visually and essentially.

For it must not be thought that in the forms of wild beasts or oxen or winged birds the nature of the other worldly powers is characterised. Nevertheless, it is by divine commands, because God wished it, that all these things are seen easily and readily, and the angels are depicted and painted.⁷⁵

The forms of angels are symbolic manifestations apprehended intellectually; and in a similar way the images of angels must be perceived symbolically, by intellectual and not only visual processes. Nicephorus described the representations of the angels as an approach to knowledge of God through a contemplation of their invisible formlessness. Furthermore, this approach, he stated, is imperative, in that “the forms of the formless ones and the figures of those without figures are to be laid before us justly.”⁷⁶ Images are non-descriptive but necessary aids to worship and comprehension of God’s formless ministers.

[B]ecause for us the comparison is impossible directly, with respect to an intellectual perception to be offered, . . . [the images of the angels] offer to us attainable forms of the formless and supernatural sights. For this is the work of divine goodness and of fatherly care

seen embodied, one should not understand anything but that they manifest themselves symbolically, having transformed themselves, in such forms according to the matter in hand in which they perform their charges on earth; therefore their nature is unknown to us.”

74. *Antir. II adv. Const. Cop.*, ix, PG 100:349C, “Many angelophanies have occurred in the services of God. The angels have not appeared according to their nature, but in the degree of sanctity and purity is it measured for him who is granted so great a vision, or for the matter in hand, necessity, and time required. In this way, the shapes and the forms of the shapeless and formless ones are formed and they make themselves manifest differently to those worthy of the vision with pure eyes of intellect.”

75. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:781B.

76. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:777B.

on our behalf, that the most blessed things are made manifest in the figured symbols of heavenly powers, and made comprehensible for us, matter worked by hand which leads us to an accessible imitation and contemplation of their proper nature.⁷⁷

The “figured symbols” are the means by which comprehension of the angelic powers are then conceded to weaker, mortal intellects by God. The symbols are entirely referential since they cannot capture any truth about the real nature or appearance of the angels. Following Pseudo-Dionysius and John of Damascus, Nicephorus concluded that the representations are an approachable and essential means to a spiritual contemplation of an invisible reality.

Nicephorus went on to state that no essential relationship exists between the prototype and the image, that “pictorial representation is an external factor and has nothing in common with the definition of essence.”⁷⁸ However, a direct relationship between image and prototype can be posited. The image and prototype possess resemblance

77. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:777BC. See, too, John of Damascus in a similar vein: “We know that it is impossible to look upon God, or a spirit, or a demon, as they are by nature. We would be able to see them, however, if they appeared in forms alien to their nature. Therefore God in His providence has clothed in forms and shapes things which are bodiless and without form, in order to lead us to more particular knowledge, lest we should be totally ignorant of God and of bodiless creatures. Only God by nature is utterly without a body, but an angel, or a soul, or a demon, when compared to God (who alone cannot be compared to anything) does have a body, but when these are compared to material bodies, they are bodiless” (*De imag. or.*, III.26, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III*, 130–31; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 79).

78. *Antir. I adv. Const. Cop.*, 29–30, PG 100:277C–80C; trans. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 200–201, “Therefore necessarily it belongs to, and is called, a relative [notion]. . . . If somehow the pattern should disappear, the relation does not end together with it: the law of mutual cancellation does not pertain to all such [notions], for sometimes the relations remain and survive although deprived of their object . . . for by the similarity and remembrance and form, it [the image] shows even the deceased as if he were present and it preserves the relation as time goes along. Now likeness is an intermediate relation and mediates between the extremes, I mean, the person represented and the representation. It unites and connects [them] through the form even though they differ in nature. . . . In addition likeness bestows also equivocallness, for the appellation is the same for both . . . it does not have identity of essence, nor can we in all respects predicate what is predicated of the pattern as pattern also of the image derived from it.”

not through essential relation, materially or visually, but through equivocation. “Although the matter from which an image is made is soulless and senseless and motionless, the image is addressed by the same name as the prototype and so worthy of glory and grace.”⁷⁹ The images, therefore, have an unlikeness to the archetype but have, nonetheless, relational qualities and are not then irrelevant.⁸⁰ It follows from this reasoning that the name determines resemblance for images of angels, and any question of similarity in nature and appearance is beside the point.

It is seen that nothing there is enigma, nothing obscure, nothing presented obliquely or wrapped in allegory, that these things which are soulless, unfeeling, entirely motionless, made out of soulless and illogical matter, merely carved and brilliant in appearance, and in the purest of material, are wisely different from those most holy cherubim, who are living, energised, eternally moving powers, named as the God of all deemed proper. For the images of the cherubim are neither similitudes nor are they direct impressions but God used the name in equivocity by his own command when he called them cherubim by voice purely and directly.⁸¹

As Nicephorus stated, the images of the cherubim are not of the same nature nor do they have any real resemblance, but the images are clearly they, because they are called so by God himself, as Exodus testifies. The images partake of the name of cherubim and also of the glory which is the share of the archetype.⁸² Therefore, “these things made of gold are images of images, quite obscure, quite dissimilar, and very much distinct from the paradigmatic cause.” The images do

79. *Antir. II adv. Const. Cop.*, 8, PG 100:348C.

80. Giannopoulos, “Ἡ περὶ ἀγγέλων διδασκαλία,” 334ff.

81. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:776CD. And also: “But may it be conceded that the cherubim on the Ark were given their name by God, whence the possession of glory presaged by them? Indeed this was the first command of God, which God announced and made venerable. For nothing is in vain or empty that proceeded from him” (*Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:777C).

82. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 71, PG 100:780AB.

not participate substantially with their prototypes, yet God himself formed the relation.⁸³

The ninth-century mosaics of the angelic powers in the bema arch of the destroyed church of the Dormition at Nicaea (Iznik) demonstrate the relationship of image and inscription discussed in iconophile theory. The mosaics were restored—in all probability—to their original state, a direct consequence of the restoration of images in 843, and this reinstatement attests to active iconophile involvement on both practical and theoretical levels in the mosaic program.⁸⁴ The four angelic powers, identical in appearance, were clearly differentiated by the (imperfect) inscriptions which refer to distinct angelic ranks based on Colossians 1:16: on the south side, the Principality (APXE) and Power (ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ) (fig. 9), and on the north side, the Domination (ΚΤΠΙΟΤΙΤΕΣ) and Virtue (ΕΞΟΥΣΙΕ) (fig. 10). As this chapter contends, iconophile theory holds that images of angels cannot claim likeness, only a relation made through equivocation; in fact, the lack of likeness, the symbolic nature of the depiction, is the characteristic that exhorts the viewer to spiritual engagement. The mosaics at Nicaea were demonstrations of this characteristic, developed before Iconoclasm and fully articulated by iconophiles. The redundant and generalized nature of the depictions of these beings might lead the viewer to believe that only one category of angel is represented; yet, the inscriptions deny this interpretation by stating instead that the beings are distinct in office, aspect and character. In other words, with beings who possess no likeness, the inscription does not determine likeness. On the contrary, in representations of different angelic beings with identical forms, the possibility of individual resemblance is constantly thwarted.

83. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:773C.

84. The inscription in the bema stated that Naukratius restored the figural portions of the mosaics. Naukratius has been identified as a disciple of Theodore of Stoudios who died in 848. See E. Wiegand, "Zur Monogramminschrift der Theotokos-(Koimesis)Kirche von Nicaea," *B* 6(1931):411–20, E. E. Lipsić, "Naukratij i Nikeiskie Mozaikij," *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta* 8/ 2(1964):241–46, and R. Cormack, "Painting After Iconoclasm," in *Iconoclasm. Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977) 147.

The meaning of the restoration of the figural portions of this mosaic has been undervalued as an important statement on the significance of the visual in ninth-century Byzantium. Iconophile theory has partly contributed to this misunderstanding; it laid stress on the ability of inscription not only to establish the identity of images but also to maintain an essential distinction between prototype and image. This stress on the policing nature of words has led to a miscomprehension of the value and role of the visual; moreover, it has led to a neglect of the visual quality of the word in actual Byzantine images.

Not only did the mosaics of the angelic powers at Nicaea preserve the marks of restoration, the sutures revealing earlier editing, they also showed material words: on the one hand, the earlier inscriptions (psalms and nominations) and, on the other, a new cluster of letters between the powers on the south side (fig. 9). The latter reveal that a certain Naucrati^{us} (d. 848), probably a follower of Theodore of Stoudios, has returned a proper balance of figuration and inscription to the mosaics. This balance is the other important issue the mosaics raise: that the symbiosis of figuration and inscription worked as a negation, mutually denying these visual components any resemblance to the prototype. Unlike the literal—one might even say natural—quality of the images of the Virgin and Child in the apse (fig. 16), the powers were absolutely conventional signs since all aspects of description on the bema arch denied resemblance to their models; instead, they were prospective, transparent to a transcendental reality.

The Byzantine images of angels, such as those at Nicaea, relate to the angels themselves as negations and contradictions: the angels were represented in the mosaics only in a symbolic, allusive sense, and they did not correspond essentially or visually with that mosaic. The nominating inscriptions on these mosaics stated that the image “is” in a relative way an angelic being. At the same time, the inscriptions stated that the image “is not,” indeed cannot be, a likeness of this being. The inscriptions then pronounced a provisional state of correspondence, a series of possible relations between material images and the angels’ immaterial formlessness.

This quality of relation might be construed as an uneven association of text and image since the representation has no independent

ability to state a visual resemblance.⁸⁵ Interpreting the iconophile definition of equivocation as logocentric would be mistaken, however, as the iconophile texts adduced at the beginning of this section demonstrate the fundamental importance of vision, of viewing images, for proper teaching and contemplation of God by Christians. Indeed, images of Christ depend primarily on the power of vision, that is, the ability of Christians to see God in his human form; viewing Christ's form literally is essential for understanding its meaning, as Theodore of Stoudios stated.

In contrast, both the epigrams and iconophile theory concerning angels showed that the compelling power of vision leads the viewer of images of angels into higher meditation because of the very lack of any possibility of resemblance in these images. In these cases, the inscriptions were also "images" since iconophiles did not hold to the exclusive notion of images that iconoclasts defended. Inscriptions *and* representations were brought equally to the fore in this mosaic of the angelic powers since the flat gold ground simulated no depth or, at least, equal depth, on the surface. No division was constructed for real or represented space, for word and image, that might prioritize one or the other.⁸⁶ Both nominating inscription and figures of powers are inclusive, complementary "images."

85. Gilbert Dagron has claimed that the image becomes redundant in iconophile image theory since the word, the name applied to the image, determines the likeness of the image. See G. Dagron, "Mots, images, icônes," *Nouvelle revue de psychanalyse* 44(1991):160ff. However, Dagron equated this iconophile notion of equivocalness with the earlier handbooks describing "εἰκονισμός." "Εἰκονισμός" involved a process of verbal delineation of visual appearance which relied upon direct equivalences of word and image; in this way, Dagron says one could convert a proper name into a visualizable formula. Yet this parallel only explains one aspect of the iconophile theologians' position since these theologians also viewed images with more complexity and allegorical insight and did not admit a simple equivalency of name and image in every case. The angels, of course, belie any simple equivalence of name and image by which Dagron might characterize the iconophile position and the methods of "εἰκονισμός": verbal delineation of angels, as well as the visual description, is allusive and imprecise.

In short, the image resembles only itself through the inscribed name on the image, "L'image de culte est un *nomen sacrum*. Elle possède une sacralité intrinsèque." See *ibid.*, 162. Yet this formulation leaves the image as a merely reflexive sign, wholly determined by the inscription's verbal affirmation of likeness.

86. See L. Marin, "The Order of Words and the Order of Things in Painting," *Visible Language* 23(1989):197ff.



Figure 17. René Magritte, *The Treachery of Images* (*Ceci n'est pas une pipe*), c. 1928–29. Photo: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, purchased with funds provided by the Mr. and Mrs. William Preston Harrison Collection.

Looking at similar issues in different periods is sometimes helpful for casting new light on problems, and I propose here to use certain elements of Michel Foucault's analysis of René Magritte's *The Treachery of Images* from 1929 (fig. 17).⁸⁷ Foucault scrutinized a relationship of word and image that has striking parallels with Byzantine theory and practice of representing angels. In Magritte's painting, the likeness of a pipe is convincing in its realistic depiction of a pipe set against a stark background, but the inscription, "Ceci n'est pas une pipe," obstructs the mimetic quality that the depiction can claim. Foucault maintained that the relation of text and image becomes a

87. M. Foucault, *This Is Not a Pipe*, trans. J. Harkness (Berkeley, 1982). M.-J. Baudinet, "L'incarnation, l'image, la voix," *Esprit* (Feb. 1982):194–95, also discerned an affinity between Magritte's painting and the iconophile theory of equivocation.

“subtle and instable dependency” since the image is detached from the possibility of mimesis by the inscription.⁸⁸

On the inscription and representation in Magritte’s painting, Foucault wrote that they “annul the intrinsic resemblance they seem to bear within themselves, and gradually sketch an open network of similitudes.”⁸⁹ The inscribed image of the angelic powers also worked on the level of symbiosis of text and representation, whose mutual denial of real resemblance constituted a meaningful, material referent, at once opposed and complementary to the prototype. Moreover, each element of the inscription and the representation “denies along with resemblance the assertion of reality resemblance conveys,” to use Foucault’s terms,⁹⁰ and so the image provided a material sign which the viewer cannot interpret literally. The representation and inscription do not affirm one another.

Negation in the case of these mosaics was not only a function of language, here inscribed words; figuration was also negative. Distinct from these powers’ representations, resemblance is unavoidable in Magritte’s banal pipe. As Carlo Ginzburg has recently asserted, “In order to say, ‘Ceci n’est pas une pipe,’ we need words. Images are what they are.”⁹¹ Not so for images of angels: both figures and inscriptions are equal, non-resembling referents. All iconophile theory rested on the belief that angels as winged men were simply symbols that relied on their prospective nature to excite the viewer’s desire to explore the enigmatic transparency of the images.⁹²

88. Foucault, *This Is Not a Pipe*, 29: “No longer can anything pass between them save the decree of divorce, the statement at once contesting the name of the drawing and the reference of the text. Nowhere is there a pipe.”

89. Foucault, *This Is Not a Pipe*, 47. On this passage, see G. Shapiro, “Pipe Dreams: Eternal Recurrence and Simulacrum in Foucault’s Ekphrasis of Magritte,” *Word & Image* 13(1997):74, and D. Chateau, “De la ressemblance: un dialogue Foucault-Magritte,” in *L’image Deleuze, Foucault, Lyotard*, ed. T. Lenain (Paris, 1998), 95–108.

90. Foucault, *This Is Not a Pipe*, 47.

91. C. Ginzburg, “Idols and Likenesses: Origen, *Homilies on Exodus VIII.3*, and Its Reception,” in *Sight and Insight. Essays in Honour of E. H. Gombrich at 85*, ed. J. Onians (London, 1994) 67.

92. See, for instance, L. Marin, *To Destroy Painting*, trans. M. Hjort (Chicago and London, 1995) 7: “I am thinking of the desire to know the enigma that opens up the space of desire only to withhold all gratification; the desire to decipher the secret, to identify the let-

This definition of a simultaneous act of denying resemblance and engaging symbols is a primary mode of comprehension according to Pseudo-Dionysius, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter.⁹³ For Pseudo-Dionysius, proper symbols are not distracting in their resemblances or material quality, but allow the intelligence to interpret them as it is able. And, moreover, this play of the intelligence on a material image is described in practice outside abstract theological discourse in the epigrams of Agathias and Nilus Scholasticus. In these texts, the dissimilarity of image and model provided the image with a tension by which a “higher contemplation” is encouraged in the viewer. Furthermore, this striving to create a breach between image and model while still maintaining a meaningful relationship between the two has been shown to be of fundamental importance to iconophile theology. Proper worship—in this symbolic theology—is predicated upon the viewer not being seduced into believing that there is a real resemblance between image and model; equivocation provides in this sense a prudent, intellectual relation.

And yet the viewer has to be engaged by the image and believe it has meaning; as the epigrams state, colors and form of the incorporeal being compel the viewer through his or her eyes to direct the “mind to a higher contemplation.” The representation and inscription, rather than affirming one another,⁹⁴ perform just the opposite operation. A viewer of an image of an angel must engage the material object by means of its color and form, and through this engagement realize, in every sense, that “this is not an angel.”

ters (or letter) that constitute(s) the formula providing access to the painting; the desire finally to make explicit the discourse whose origin this formula conceals, the longing to transform the pleasure of painting or its *jouissance* into a pleasure or *jouissance* of language.”

93. And the text in praise of Michael and Gabriel by Michael of Stoudios attests to the currency of the thought of Pseudo-Dionysius in the second half of the ninth century. Furthermore, he adduces Pseudo-Dionysius in support of his pro-image orthodoxy. See “Éloge des archanges Michel et Gabriel par Michel le Moine (BHG 1294a),” ed. T. Matantseva, *JöB* 46(1996):136 (V.4), 145 (XII.1), and 119–20.

94. Dagron, “Mots, images, icônes,” 161.

Four

THE VENERATION OF ANGELS AND THEIR IMAGES

THEOLOGICAL VIEWS

Proper Christian worship was a central issue in the centuries preceding Iconoclasm, and iconophiles and iconoclasts continued this debate during the eighth and ninth centuries. Images dominated discussion during Iconoclasm but the debate naturally implicated long-standing questions of Christian ethics and appropriate devotion. As this chapter will demonstrate, angels figured large in this discussion of images, their worship and function. Iconophiles defended the symbolic representations of angels as a special case, with important historical precedents, both written, as in Hebrew scripture, and unwritten, as ancient Christian practice showed. In keeping with one strand of Christian theology, iconoclasts defended “images” that Christians made by modeling themselves after paragons from the past. The topos of the “angelic life” in monastic practice, as the following section will show, had special meaning in this regard, since an angelic “image” in this context meant a suitably pious life. Iconoclasts abjured worship offered to angels or to their material images, as undesired by these beings and inappropriate for a devout Christian. Miracle stories and theology intersect very intimately,

then, in this chapter; both reveal self-conscious concern with the dangers of angelolatry and idolatry that had always been inherent in the cult of angels.

Because iconophile argumentation is extensive, it is possible to follow iconophile reaction to iconoclastic accusations of idolatry as these accusations implicated angels and their images. Iconophiles' understanding of the relation between image and model was a safeguard, in their view, against any risk of idolatry; and iconophiles established this notion on the firm ground of Christian history and custom.

Particular attention to iconophile sources that aim to combat iconoclastic arguments about the proper place of images in devotion, particularly images of angels, illuminates the history of the veneration of angels in Byzantium. The concept of the equivocal relation of image and model was central to iconoclastic objections to iconophile worship and ethics. Because angels, and particularly the cherubim, figured so prominently in iconophile defense, they emerged in a debate over worship and ethics as cornerstones to iconophile image theory. For this reason, discussion of the notional difficulties of this equivocal relation of spiritual angelic beings to their material representations was central to an iconophile defense of image worship. Moreover, further examination of iconophile texts on worship reveals attitudes of iconoclasts and their predecessors concerning images and angels themselves; these attitudes must be reconstructed from fragments and inference but a clear picture of iconoclastic ideas does indeed emerge from these limited sources.

Image worship invited misinterpretation, and iconoclastic charges forced iconophiles to react to accusations of idolatry. In their contentions over what constituted seemly and worthwhile worship, iconophiles used traditional defenses that derived largely from the anti-Jewish texts of the seventh century.¹ These texts comprise a body of polemical material from the sixth and seventh centuries aimed at combating perceived threats to Christian faith; they are often in the

1. See K.A. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992) 33ff.

form of a dialogue, probably invented in most cases, but corresponding to points of faith which Christian theologians considered misconstrued or misunderstood by outsiders. A principal charge made in this genre was that Christians worship material objects; the authors denied that Christians worship matter, and they answered with the symbolic defense, that honor passed through the object to God.²

Iconoclasts had consistently advanced charges of idolatry against iconophiles and cited Epiphanius of Salamis (ca. 315–403) as their champion in order to malign iconophiles' base and pointless worship of matter. In the course of his counterattack, the *Adversus Epiphaniidem*, one of the *Antirrhetics* written between 818 and 820, Nicephorus, the patriarch of Constantinople at the beginning of Iconoclasm in 815, quoted a number of passages written by Epiphanius that showed the thrust of the iconoclastic argument. The "thoughtless one"—called Epiphanides, a fourth-century Docetist, by Nicephorus, but in reality Epiphanius—posed this question: "How do you worship the angels, who are spirits and living without end, described in dead matter, since the prophet says, '[God] who maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a flaming fire' (Ps. 104:4)?"³ Against this attack Nicephorus first answered with the standard retort: "From these things who would not realise or discover that these are not the words of the holy Epiphanius, unless he were an exceeding disputatious and contentious person?"⁴

2. See Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*, XXXIX, PG 28:621B-D; Leontius of Neapolis, in *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres*, PTS vol. 17, ed. P.B. Kotter (Berlin, 1975) 156–58, V. Déroche, "L'Apologie contre les Juifs de Léontios de Néapolis," *TM* 12(1994):79ff.; the *Trophies of Damascus*, *Les Trophées de Damas*, PO vol. 15/2, ed. G. Bardy (Paris, 1920; rp. Louvain, 1973) 78.11ff.; the Dialogue between the Jews, Papiscus and Philo, and a Monk, *Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew entitled ANTIBOLH ΠΑΠΙΣΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΩΝΟΥ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΝ ΤΙΝΑ*, ed. A.C. McGiffert (Marburg, 1889) 51–52; Hieronymus of Jerusalem, *De effectu baptisimi et notis Christiani*, PG 40:865AB; Anastasius Sinaïtes, *Disputatio adversus Judaeos*, II, PG 89:1233C–6A; and, finally, the Armenian John Mayragometsi, in S. Der Nersessian, "Une apologie des images du septième siècle," *B* 17(1944/5):60. The Διδασκαλία Ἰακωβοῦ stated that the wood of the cross was not venerated but that it was a sign, a type for Christ and that honor passes to him through the object; see *La Didascalie de Jacob*, PO vol. 8/5, ed. F. Nau (Paris, 1912; rp. Turnhout, 1971) 61.12–62.3.

3. In *Adversus Epiphaniidem*, IX.35, Pitra IV:318.2–7; Holl 358, #7.

4. *Adv. Epi.*, IX.35, Pitra IV:318.8–10.

Iconophiles saw God's command for the manufacture of the Ark of the Covenant as a circumvention of any charge of idolatry. Moving from charges of falsification, Nicephorus cited the authority of Exodus 25:22 and the necessary obedience to its strictures:

For Epiphanius did not ignore the things commanded by God to Moses concerning the cherubim, nor did he thrust away and reject the so-called holy of holies; although fashioned out of soulless matter, it was yet honorable. But indeed he believed and always adhered to these things with diligence and honor, especially what derived from the Jewish people, and he esteemed them as commands of God, passing them on as Christian teachings; unless indeed one supposes that the things written about his life were done mendaciously. This noble man appears to reveal the prophet in his words concerning the angels. Yet he speaks against God, and he speaks against Moses, who makes law in vain, since [Epiphanius] does not consider this legislating to constitute law, and [Moses] complies with it, and so [Moses] in vain toils against the making of the cherubim and of other things, such as God has commanded. Certainly [Epiphanius] would have been worthy if he had adhered at least to the letter and the laws of old. But this one is more disobedient than the Jews and more ignorant, not desiring to know that he who made his angels spirits and his ministers a burning fire, commanded by law that the cherubim be made from the purest gold. What then? Has he discarded it and esteemed it little? Yet he does introduce Paul who called these things the holy of holies and the cherubim of glory, truly extolling these things.⁵

For Nicephorus, the fact that Epiphanius could cite the injunction against the making of "graven images" (Ex. 20:4), while ignoring God's more specific charge to make images of angels, showed willful disregard for distinctions God himself had made. The citation of the Second Commandment was, therefore, a false position which was partially blind and wholly irreverent. Dismissing the express desire of God was heretical, and Nicephorus claimed furthermore that it led

5. *Adv. Epi.*, IX.35, Pitra IV:318.13–319.12.

to an alignment with the pagans or the heretical Manichaeans.⁶ Iconoclasts questioned the validity of this injunction to construct the Ark for the New Covenant, as well as its applicability for the figurative arts. Iconoclasts—here represented by Epiphanius—regarded art literally and saw that the material outline of an image of the cherubim could in no way conform to, or in any meaningful way convey, the real nature of the angelic host. Conversely, iconophiles read the injunction at Exodus 25:22 literally but were able to view the worked image as a symbol whose value was activated in an intellectual, spiritual approach to worship.

Iconophiles interpreted the Second Commandment as an injunction against untoward adoration, but at the same time they interpreted it as a law conditional on the initiation of the New Covenant.⁷ In this sense, they again adapted arguments put forward in the anti-Jewish literature of the seventh century. In these texts, the Second Commandment had only been dictated by God because the Jews themselves had been disposed to idolatry, and this Commandment was subsequently made obsolete by the incarnation of Christ.⁸ Iconophiles saw the Second Commandment as a directive from God with a specific historical context. As Ignatius the Deacon (ca. 770/80–d. after 845) wrote in his biography of the patriarch Nicephorus, the patriarch believed that the Second Commandment was addressed to the particular inclinations of the pagan Egyptians by whom the Israelites had been influenced while in captivity.⁹

6. *Antirrheticus II, Adversus Constantinum Copronymum*, 8, PG 100:348C.

7. On this question, see H.L. Kessler, “‘Pictures Fertile with Truth’: How Christians Managed to Make Images of God without Violating the Second Commandment,” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 49 / 50 (1991 / 2):53–65.

8. See the *Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew*, 73–77; *Disputation of Sergius the Stylite against a Jew*, ed. A.P. Hayman, 2 vols. (Louvain, 1973) II:48, 51–52, 54; and Anastasius Sinaïtes, *Dis. adv. Jud.*, II, PG 89:1236A.

9. *Vita Nicephori*, VII, PG 100:93A–C: “Since therefore that law giver led the people entrusted to him by God out of Egypt, wishing to purify from their souls and erase the defilements acquired there, in order that human images not conceive of the divine in humanlike images or in other forms of living things. He exhorted them in this way giving this law: Do not according to the custom of the Egyptians, o humanity, nor learning from them absurdly let an image of god be made by us, nor of these things flying through the air, or moving on earth, or swimming the seas. For these things are not God even if the Egyptians say they are, and he must not be depicted by an image, he who cannot be contemplated. For

Nicephorus then adduced the examples of the temple of Solomon and the Ark that God commanded, also mentioned in the Epistle to Hebrews (9:2ff.). God's commandment, therefore, did not apply to Christian images, which were sanctified by God's own injunction for their manufacture, but only applied to false idols.

The iconoclastic charge that iconophiles worshipped lifeless matter made it essential for iconophiles to render a counter-argument on a meaningful, though clearly demarcated, relation between image and prototype. Again, Exodus and its description of the cherubim provided the defense. As Nicephorus reasoned, Christians did not worship even the holy representations made out of the purest and brightest material, fabricated by human hands at the command of God himself. And yet the angels, intellectual and invisible beings, were "fashioned out of gold and sitting above the Ark, and these are neither intellects nor intellectual nor do they possess visible appearance..." These material images on the Ark were altogether

destitute of life and power and energy, as their bodies are put in matter, even if the plate happens to be the purest and most splendid material. And having been made images and having bodies out of matter, they are alterations and schematisations, and they are not free from corruption and change.¹⁰

Material objects neither distract nor demean Christian worship since the images of angels were simply matter and fundamentally distinct. Nicephorus maintained that good Christians have the ability to discriminate between idols and true images through pious devotion and faith.¹¹ True images were representations of actual beings, ordained

God is unviewable and without form and invisible and is not at all among things seen by human eyes. But he is only perceptible to the mind, if someone somewhere should be capable of this.... Therefore, the law giver forbade that images of God alone be made."

10. Both quotations from *Apologeticus pro sacris imaginibus*, 70, PG 100:769D–72A.

11. *Antirr. I, Adv. Const. Copr.*, 29, PG 100:277B, "An idol is a fictive thing and the representation of a non-existent being, such things as the Hellenes by want of good sense and godlessness make representations of, such as the tritons and the centaurs and other phantasms which do not exist. And in this respect icons and idols are to be distinguished from one another; those not accepting the distinction of these would rightly be called idolaters. And as

by God, and securely related by the epigraphy contained on the images. The inscription on the images stabilized the relationship between image and prototype, and safeguarded against any misapprehension concerning the similarities between the two that might lead to inappropriate worship of the image itself. Therefore, in Nicephorus's view, good Christians had the ability to distinguish between worship directed at matter and veneration that ascends to the prototype through the image.

Iconophiles evoked a long-standing Christian tradition of images in worship as further proof of mature and correct discrimination by Christians. Moreover, Nicephorus claimed that this Christian legacy of images in worship was untainted by falsification of texts or misrepresentation of the past. The materialist worship that iconophiles defended was not an invention, as iconoclasts claimed, but an unbroken tradition of seemly devotion that began in the apostolic era.

Iconophiles fell back on the unwritten tradition that the worship of icons had been practiced and condoned from the church's inception. Against Epiphanius, Nicephorus stated that it was not merely a question of one or two or three or four people who disagreed with Epiphanius's position, but the entire catholic church.¹² Finally, he pointed out that images of angels were found in many churches, and always had been. "Everywhere on earth in the holy churches the stories are full of the powers of the bodiless ones in holy representations, and of the catholic church, through whose strength the tradition was anciently settled."¹³ On the most literal level of defense, Nicephorus offered the indisputable fact of practice: images of the angels exist and have done for the entire history of the Church, "For if someone were not to represent the angels, by reason of their incorporeality, it would have been stated many times previously."¹⁴ Iconoclasts could muster theologians to substantiate their position against

for icons, there are icons of good and trifling sorts, and it is important to distinguish. One should honor the good, reject the worthless, and equally shun idolatry."

12. *Adv. Epi.*, IX.35, Pitra IV:318.8–23.

13. *Antir. II, Adv. Const. Copr.*, 7, PG 100:348A.

14. *Adv. Epi.*, VI.17, Pitra IV:307.1–4.

angels' images, notably Epiphanius, but iconophiles considered their own record unblemished by heresy and falsification: both written and unwritten tradition corroborated their interpretation of images as indispensable to proper worship and understanding of God.

Iconophile and iconoclastic conceptions of proper worship were, therefore, fundamentally distinct: one side was able to posit a relation between image and prototype which was ineluctably binding but not essential, while the other saw any image not of the same substance as fraudulent and unnecessary. The divergence in approach was nowhere clearer than in a dialogue between Stephen the Younger (ca. 713–764?) and the emperor Constantine V (r. 740–775), in the *Vita* of Stephen the Younger written by Stephen the Deacon, perhaps in 806. Although clearly a set piece, as it was preserved in an iconophile saint's vita, this dialogue also gives an indication of the quality and depth of iconoclastic argumentation. The antagonist, Constantine V, offered real intellectual challenges to Stephen; he was not simply a "straw man." In the course of their encounter, Constantine V questioned Stephen about the significance and value of images of unknowable beings:

How is it possible to represent sensually the things announced by humanity to be beyond experience and difficult to see, and not lacking in intellectual quality, and to worship them through matter, when nothing is to be gained by these things in understanding of the being, except the infinity, as Gregory the Theologian said.¹⁵

This question was an example of an iconoclastic equation of prototype and image,¹⁶ and indeed Constantine V had pointed to the really problematic aspect of the iconophile argument, especially as it applied to angels: if material images of immaterial and invisible angels could only indicate their indescribable nature, then what practical use were these images in worship? Searching for the answer to

15. *La vie d'Étienne le Jeune*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, vol. 3, ed. M.-F. Auzépy (Aldershot, 1997) 156 (ch.55).

16. See A. Kazhdan and H. Maguire, "Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art," *DOP* 45(1991):9.

Constantine V's intellectually challenging question in the reply of Stephen the Younger is not entirely satisfying:

Indeed who would say, being in control of their own mind, that worshipping the things in the church, whether they be stone or gold or silver, is a worshipping of material things? Wherefore they are altered by name to holy things. You cannot distinguish between holy and profane, nor are you afraid to state in demented folly that the icon of Christ is an idol, as if it were an image of Apollo, or that an image of the Virgin is the same thing as an image of Artemis, and to trample upon these things and to burn them.

This reply was an interesting, if not entirely persuasive, evasion. Stephen the Younger fastened onto one phrase in Constantine V's question, on the worship of divine things through matter, and made the common claim that proper worship exploited material images to pious ends. And he then proceeded to accuse the emperor of confusing pagan and Christian images.¹⁷ This response was not entirely typical of the quality of iconophile debating skills, and yet it highlighted the difficulties involved in answering all of the implications of iconoclastic attacks. Iconophiles commonly accused iconoclasts of not being able to discern which images were worthy of worship, and in this way they sidestepped some of the conceptual difficulties involved in comprehending Christian images of imperceptible beings.

The argument of equivocation posited an intimate relation between image and prototype that was difficult to sustain fully, and the near identity implied in the proposed relation provoked profound puzzlement among iconoclasts. In the *vita* of Stephen the Younger, after

17. This reply was a standard refutation of the iconoclastic comparison of idols and images. See, for instance, the ninth-century *Vita* of the Patriarch Tarasius (d. 806) by Ignatius the Deacon: "For, if you compare Zeus to our Saviour in that they are both reverently represented and you affirm that without making any distinction, consider whether you attach to Christ's holy form the insult you bestow upon the false-named Zeus." See *The Life of the Patriarch Tarasius by Ignatius the Deacon* (BHG 1698), Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, vol. 4, ed. S. Efthymiadis (Aldershot, 1998) 144.9–12, 197. And see Nicephorus, *Antirr. I, Adv. Const. Copr.*, 28, PG 100:277B, who accused idols of representing what does not exist.

Stephen's claim that trampling upon the image of Christ visits violence upon Christ himself, the emperor exclaimed, "Are you then blinded in your mind, and forget yourself, to say that in treading upon the images of Christ, we are treading upon Christ himself? It would not be so!"¹⁸ Stephen answered him by taking out a coin with a representation of the emperor and his name inscribed, and asked if disrespect directed at the coin was not also directed at the emperor himself.

If Stephen's modest but dramatic act demonstrated that images were related to their prototypes, the iconophile theory of equivocation and relation answered the iconoclastic accusation of full identity of prototype and model with a great deal more philosophical clout. In the *Adversus Epiphanidem*, after he has cited Epiphanius's charge that the angels' images were misleading and essentially irrelevant, Nicephorus returned with the charge that iconoclasts did not have the necessary capability for discrimination that would enable them to distinguish true and false images.¹⁹ He fell back on an argument similar to Stephen the Younger's, that iconoclasts were without the grace that proper faith provided and so they understood Christian images as pagans would. And for both Stephen and Nicephorus, the name applied altered the image through the forging of an intellectual link independent of the material aspects of the image.

The argument of relation of model and image through equivocation sanctioned by usage answered Constantine V's objection to images of angels as pointless and unenlightening material objects. Essential or visual similarity was not necessary for an evaluation of the worth of images in worship. Likeness was established mainly through veneration offered the prototype by means of the image. In common with other Christian images, the images of the angels did not, therefore, rely on witness and skill of the artist but on the value that society put on such images.²⁰ Despite the dissimilarity and ob-

18. *La vie d'Étienne le Jeune*, 156 (ch.55).

19. *Adv. Epi.*, VI.17, Pitra IV:306.24–35, "And he then calls the holy icons pseudonymous, attempting by this to destroy the relation (λόγον)." This passage is part of Nicephorus's answer to Epiphanius: see Holl 357, #4.

20. According to iconophiles, relation does not depend on artistic skill in its ability to render likeness. For Theodore of Stoudios, no need existed for similarity between the two,

curity of the images of the angels in comparison to their models, Christians accepted these objects in worship as worthy of devotion and of spiritual contemplation because of convention.²¹ Tradition and Christian custom sanctioned the devotion offered to images of angels as signs of “infinity,” as Constantine phrased it. As iconophile descriptions of symbolic images asserted, the value of images of angels resided in their necessarily incomplete testimony to the incomprehensible nature of the angels.

Against this iconophile idea of Christian custom and practice, iconoclasts cited precedents for their views on idolatry and the misleading worship advocated by iconophiles. Iconoclasts advanced both Epiphanius and the fourth-century theologian Macarius Magnes because of their positions on scrupulous behavior before angels and their images. Both had defended restraint in honor given to angels; and because of the attendant difficulties in witnessing angels, Christians must abstain from the adoration of images since these could only be reductions and caricatures of the experience. For these reasons, iconoclasts recommended the two theologians and, in turn, iconophiles such as Nicephorus refuted and reinterpreted them. These precedents represent the traditional opposition to images preceding Iconoclasm, as well as the position of iconoclasts themselves, since the oppositional texts are only preserved in iconophile rebuttals.

neither regarding substance, size, dimension, nor genuine resemblance. Indeed, resemblance, in any precise visual sense, is entirely unnecessary. Only the equivocation of name need be applied for relation. See *Antirrheticus adversus iconomachos*, II.iii.5, PG 99:421CD.

Photius argued in the 860s that the recognition of relation was a matter of convention deriving from devotion. He stated that images ought not to be maligned because of dissimilarity in nature or in truth. For resemblance rests not only on the depiction’s outline of form and colors of shapes, but also on such things as arrangements and practice and expression of understanding and placement in holy areas, inscription and choice of symbols. See *Ad Amphilochium*, CCV, PG 101:952AB; *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, ed. B. Laourdas and L. G. Westerink, 6 vols. in 7 pts. (Leipzig, 1983–1988) I:110. He also considered the definition of similarity in the case of the cross; he concluded that the cross to which worship is offered and from which copies are made is most similar to its prototype. See *ibid.*, PG 101:949BC; Laourdas/Westerink, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, I:110. For Photius, and iconophiles generally, a definition of likeness rested on consensus and not on a visual or essential similarity between image and prototype.

21. On this text, see G. Dagron, “Holy Images and Likeness,” *DOP* 45(1991):24–25.

Judging from the iconophile reaction, iconoclasts had objected that the angels, for one, did not desire worship and raised the ethics of worship of angels—and consequently their images—as important issues. They attempted in this way to undermine the iconophiles' defense of a cultural consensus of worship built around the equivocal images of the angels. Again in the *Adversus Epiphanidem*, Nicephorus quoted Epiphanius's objection, "I say that [the angels] do not desire to be worshipped,"²² and exclaimed in response:

Therefore, do they desire to be insulted likewise? And for this reason does the impious one pour down so much scorn on them, at once ordaining these must not be worshipped, on account of his wicked and unthinking view of the glory reserved for them?²³

According to Nicephorus, Epiphanius had associated image and prototype with too little distinction. Indeed, Epiphanius's text revealed iconoclastic prejudices. As iconoclasts believed true images and models to be consubstantial, they had evidently produced Epiphanius's claim that angels did not desire worship as a corollary to their belief that images of angels were likewise not to be worshipped.²⁴ At this point, the intersection of theological discourse with models of worship found in saints' lives becomes clear: iconoclasts had confused angelolatry with idolatry; the two were inseparable in their view because of the belief in the necessary consubstantiality of the model and prototype. This confounding of angel and image into one ethical issue is an interesting strategy by iconoclasts: if angels had always been dangerously venerated, so were their images; if angels do not desire worship, neither do they want images. The answer to this ethical issue—as found in miracle stories of angels—is explored in the following section.

22. *Adv. Epi.*, IX.36, Pitra IV:319.15–16.

23. *Adv. Epi.*, IX.36, Pitra IV:319.17–21.

24. This claim is likely connected with the iconoclast belief in the necessary consubstantiality of image and prototype. Iconoclasts argued that the only true image was of the same matter as its model; therefore, the eucharist was a real image and any image that had only relation to its model was false. On this issue, see K. Parry, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Leiden, 1996) 178–90.

In Nicephorus's view, the angels did not seek veneration for themselves, nor did their images receive it. Epiphanius and his iconoclastic followers simply offered a wrong-headed definition of relation in seeing the angels and their images as equivalent. They sullied the proper non-essential relation of image and model through equivocation that iconophiles defended. Honor given to images did not stop there but proceeded to the prototypes themselves; consequently, "just as the icons are not worshipped, neither are the archetypes honoured."²⁵

A confusion of honor of prototype and image would suggest pagan worship, Nicephorus said. For pagans worship gods that did not exist, so that they were simply worshipping vain objects. In his *De Magnete*, Nicephorus had also defended Macarius Magnes from the charge pressed by his pagan opponent that Christians worshipped angels. The pagan stated that Christian angels were comparable to gods and that honor bestowed on images of angels and gods were similarly appropriate. Nicephorus supported Macarius by insisting on the fundamental distinction between empty pagan idols and authentic Christian images:

Protecting our own worship from these ignoble mysteries that deserve darkness, he does not consider them worthy of Christians, nor does he desire to make images or honour them, such as [the Hellenes] make images and worship.²⁶

Thus, in theory, honor passed through the image, without material obstacle, directly to the prototype and in a way fundamentally different from pagan misapprehension of idols that were destitute of archetypes.

Despite Nicephorus's defense, an ethical definition of the "true" Christian image guided Epiphanius's and Macarius Magnes's arguments, and this fourth-century advocacy for the ethical image must

²⁵ *Adv. Epi.*, IX.41, Pitra IV:323.39–40; and also 324.4–7, "So that since the image of Christ is not honoured, it follows that he would wish that Christ himself not be honoured." In general, see *Adv. Epi.*, IX.36ff., Pitra IV:319.23ff.

²⁶ *De Magnete*, I.14, Pitra I:311.19–23.

certainly have been a compelling precedent for iconoclasts. Nicephorus tried consistently to bring Macarius's arguments into line with iconophile concerns, but in fact Macarius had contended that a virtuous Christian did not make material images. In true worship, Macarius wrote, Christians modeled themselves after paragons of Christianity from the Church's teaching, thereby fashioning a true "image." Against the use of Macarius's writings by iconoclasts, Nicephorus responded with the normal accusation of falsification and stated that, in fact, Macarius Magnes was discussing the pagan position on images and not the Christian view.²⁷

Nicephorus attacked further the perverse use of the text by iconoclasts when discussing a passage by Macarius Magnes concerning the appearance of the angels to Abraham: "As the angels appeared often in the form of men, they were not that which appeared, but that which they were, that is, invisible."²⁸ Nicephorus persisted in his belief in the willful tamperings of iconoclasts when he commented on this passage, "as if compensating for the things not adduced, he introduces in the middle of the passage as an example the person of the patriarch Abraham."²⁹ For iconophiles, Abraham was one of the most venerable instances of witness to angelic epiphany.³⁰ But he did

27. *De Magnete*, I.41, Pitra I:326.35–327.13: "For one must note that after the author has said, 'Certainly [he does not make] their images formed in outline ...' [Blondel 214.15] the Christomachos again willfully takes away the phrase, 'as you yourself say,' [Blondel 214.15–16] in order that he seem credible to the readers. He thereby says that the author believes in the destruction of the holy icons, which the author does not believe. Rather he stands opposed to the faith of the Hellenes, as he said to the Hellene that he did not agree with him, providing the 'as you say' concerning the idols, statues and images of the gods. Moreover, those seeking to imitate the angelic way of life, in this fashion, which forbids and spurns, that is to say, the abominations of the idols, they make an end of the images. For opposing this, they are manifestly taking away the idols, and they have a horror of them, as loathsome and hateful."

28. Blondel 214.21–22, and *De Magnete*, I.42, Pitra I:327.16–19.

29. See *De Magnete*, I.43, Pitra I:327.20–37.

30. One might also expect, given the significance of Abraham's hospitality to the three "men" at Mamre for iconophile defense in the eighth and ninth centuries, a commensurate number of representations of the Philoxenia after Iconoclasm. Yet the Philoxenia is represented in the Chludov Psalter once (fol. 49v), in the context of its eucharistic symbolism and not as an epiphany. See Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 52ff. In the *Sacra Parallela* (Paris. gr. 923, fol. 245r), the middle of the three angels is depicted without a crossed-nimbus and relates the Christological symbolism of the event like the Chludov illustration. See K.

not create a commemorative image, and this oversight needed explaining since iconoclasts could forcefully point to the lack of mention of material testimonial in scripture. Nicephorus explained the lapse between witness in the Old Covenant and their apparent failure to commemorate the event by first citing a passage by Macarius Magnes: "And as these things occurred wisely and in truth, Abraham did not outline the appearance of these visions, nor did he carve an idol in resemblance nor did he paint a panel, thinking to see the strangers in these things."³¹ Nicephorus's subsequent explanation fell back on the belief in a historical lapse into idolatry by the Jews that necessitated the Second Commandment, but ultimately rested on the charge of falsification and misrepresentation of the original text of Macarius's dialogue.³²

Yet the real reason for the discussion of Macarius Magnes must have been iconoclastic emphasis on the ethical, "true" image. According to Milton Anastos, this emphasis dates to the Hieria of 754 and was, therefore, a central argument against material images in worship from the early stages of Iconoclasm.³³ In the iconoclastic formulation of "images," "one should put reliance, not upon pictorial representations, but upon the scriptures and the biographies of the saints."³⁴ As Anastos noted, the Fathers quoted at the Council of 754 dealt primarily with spiritual worship. The Council cited Basil the Great (ca. 330–379):

The study of the holy writings constitutes the best path to the ascertainment of what is proper, because they provide a guide for

Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela. Parisinus graecus 923* (Princeton, 1979) 40, fig. 27.

31. Blondel 215.30–32.

32. *De Magne*, I.43, Pitra I:328.3–17: "For it is not likely that the patriarch being a friend of God would be induced into error of the superstitious persons of that time, only just having risen above the manufacture of idols. And it is necessary to note that one must supply the things there left out, that is to say, 'as you say.' The Hellene, who had been inserted above, after it has, 'Certainly [he does not make] their images formed in outline ...'" (Blondel 214.15–16).

33. See M. V. Anastos, "The Ethical Theory of Images Formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815," *DOP* 8(1954):151–60.

34. Anastos, "The Ethical Theory of Images," 153.

conduct, together with the biographies of the blessed ones, that serve as living images of a godly life and the inspiration for the emulation of god-like behaviour.³⁵

Iconophiles did not oppose this emphasis on spiritual worship, and they even interpreted such worship as a commendable mode of adoration of God. However, iconophiles saw the consequent dismissal of images by iconoclasts as obdurate and willful behavior; by dismissing images, iconoclasts were denying an equally venerable means of adoring and comprehending God. Both sides could, in fact, support the importance of the ethical image, but from entirely divergent perspectives. Moreover, these divergent perspectives on ethics and worship of images of angels parallel practice as seen in miracle stories, as the following section will demonstrate. This long-standing concern over angels and their images influenced image theory and practice both, and it led to serious divergences in opinion during Iconoclasm: suspended between humanity and God, angels demanded particular treatment, and iconophile texts clearly reveal the complexities of this peculiar case.

HAGIOGRAPHICAL VIEWS

Miracle stories of the angels produced before, during and after Iconoclasm were directly influenced by this debate over worship proper to angels and their images. By examining the traces of this debate in miracle stories, this section demonstrates that the concerns of image theory extended beyond limited theological circles into the public realm. Miracle stories of angels, in the hands of either iconoclasts or iconophiles, were intended to provide persuasive examples of correct worship of angels and images through forceful and compelling narratives of divine interventions. In this way, these didactic texts parallel the concerns of the more rarefied image theory.

In the period preceding Iconoclasm, proper worship of angels did include images; in practice, images of angels could express both doc-

35. Mansi XIII:300AB; trans. Anastos, "The Ethical Theory of Images," 154–55.

trinal concerns and exegesis of nature and identity. This incorporation of images into worship likewise appeared in miracle stories. The *Miracles of St. Artemius*, written in the 660s about Artemius's shrine in the church of John the Baptist in Oxeia at Constantinople, contained the earliest description of images of angels in a miracle story. It described, moreover, the complete integration by the seventh century of images of the saints into popular piety.³⁶ In one of the episodes, a young girl, Euphemia, saw two angels in a night vision; in the morning, she identified them by reference to icons hanging in the church.³⁷

The saints' lives of the sixth and seventh centuries testified to an increased importance of images in miracles of healing and other interventions by saints. The miracle story of Artemius is replete with miracles that occurred at his shrine, often effected through his images.³⁸ And other pre-iconoclastic miracle stories attested further the central role images were assuming in devotion; these texts showed that the faithful increasingly perceived images as signs of the presence of the saint and as a means by which Christians could encourage the saints' activity and protection.³⁹ A seventh-century text, once ascribed to Athanasius of Alexandria (ca. 296–373), for one, defended images on the grounds that the miracles performed by images irrefutably demonstrated images' divine qualities. Furthermore, the author ranked images as a match to relics in sanctity and dignity, and as equally able to perform miracles of healing and exorcism.⁴⁰ This

36. On this question, see V. Déroche, "L'authenticité de l'*Apologie contre les Juifs* de Léontios de Neapolis," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 110(1986):658ff., and also his, "L'*Apologie contre les Juifs* de Léontios de Néapolis," *TM* 12(1994):85ff.; and E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm," *DOP* 8(1954):96ff., and, in particular, 107 on Artemius.

37. V. S. Crisafulli and J. W. Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios. A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-Century Byzantium* (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1997) 176–84. And see C. Mango, "On the History of the Templon and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople," *Zograf* 10(1979):40–43.

38. For instance, Crisafulli / Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, 88.7 and 108.4.

39. For example, Cosmas and Damian, L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian. Texte und Einleitung* (Leipzig, 1907) 133.23–24, and Theodore of Sykeon, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1970) I:32.9–13, I:39.5–6.

40. *Quaest. ad Ant. Duc.*, XXXIX, PG 28:621CD.

early devotion included images of angels, as the miracle at the shrine of Artemius showed, but the lives of saints of the eighth and ninth centuries offered alternate models of access to angels, and to the saints more generally.

The miracle story of the Archangel Michael at Chonae, the *Narration of the Miracle Accomplished at Chonae by the Archangel Michael*, re-worked in the eighth century, related a pattern of worship that conformed to the ethical models stressed in the Iconoclastic debates.⁴¹ In so doing, it avoided patterns found in the *Miracles of St Artemius* which relied upon images for access to, and provisional identification of, spiritual beings. The Chonae text offered a paradigm of behavior for approaching an angel and receiving the benefits of that proper approach. The miracle story, and its message, were neither overtly iconoclastic nor iconophile. Yet it has common elements with “non-iconophile” miracle stories analyzed by Marie-France Auzépy, and these common elements provided a discrete iconoclastic context for the Chonae miracle story.⁴²

41. The first recension of the Chonae hagiography, and clearly the model for later texts, was edited with commentary by Bonnet [= *AB* 8(1889):289–307]. Bonnet placed the hagiography between the fifth and seventh century. Examining Bonnet’s evidence, William Ramsay thought the anonymous text was not earlier than the ninth century, citing the local names employed in the text as proof of this date. See W. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire Before 170 A.D.* (New York and London, 1893) 468, 478. However, the name change sometime in the course of the eighth century is the *terminus post quem* because the miracle is said to have occurred at Chonae itself, and the hagiography is most likely from an eighth-century milieu. Other versions survive: Symeon Metaphrastes (d. ca. 1000) produced a version (Bonnet, 20–28 = *AB* 8(1889):308–16), and Sissinius wrote a hagiography of Michael at Chonae in the late tenth century, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, in *AASS*, Sept. 8:41–49). And Pantaleon (late ninth/early tenth century) mentioned the miracle in his *Sermo festo S. Michaelis Archangelis* (*PG* 98:1264A). See, for complete references for the hagiographies of Michael, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, ed. F. Halkin, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1957) II:118–21, nos. #1282ff.

42. M.-F. Auzépy, “L’analyse littéraire et l’historien: l’exemple des vies de saints iconoclastes,” *BS* 53(1992):57–67. She analyzed four hagiographies: the lives of Philaretus (702–792), George of Amastris (d. 802–807), Eudocimus (807–840) and Leo of Catania (fl. second half of the eighth century). The first three were discussed by I. Ševčenko, “Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period,” in *Iconoclasm. Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977) 113–31. The last life has been edited by A. Acconcia Longo, “La vita de S. Leone di Catania e gli incantesimi del mago Eliodoro,” *RBSN* 26(1989):3–98; subsequently, she refuted Auzépy’s interpretations in “A proposito di un articolo recente sul-

The miracle story of the Archangel Michael at Chonae was an apologetic text intended to communicate models of proper and successful devotion to an audience. In the tale, a group of pagans threatened the hermit Archippus and the shrine of the Archangel Michael with a series of destructive plots; eventually, they dammed two local rivers in order to flood the area and overwhelm shrine and inhabitant. With the waters approaching, the Archangel Michael appeared, addressed the hermit and, by striking the rock before the shrine, created a source for the famous healing spring (fig. 15). The miracle story had the basic goal of glorification, edification and conversion of the worshipper to an orthodox position. It lauded the work of the leader of the heavenly host in this world and established a framework of approach for the common worshipper.

The text also worked to convince an audience of access to Michael, and, through Michael, to God. A key term in the text was “*parrêsia*” (παρρησία), which can be rendered as “familiarity” or “patronage” or even “boldness.”⁴³ The classical meaning was “freedom of speech,” but by the Byzantine period the word had taken on a broader meaning that in the devotional context implied mediation between divinity and humanity made successful by proper preparation. At Chonae, the miracle was accomplished “through the grace and familiarity (παρρησία)” (1.6) of Michael with God; at a later stage in the miracle story, the same familiarity was passed on to the distraught hermit, when Michael commanded Archippus, “Be bold, and come towards me so that the approaching rivers will not devour you” (15.11–12).⁴⁴ Thus, the miracle story signaled the completion of the hierarchy, ascending from the holy man to the Archangel to God. To a lesser degree, this familiarity or access was offered to the reader/listener according to his or her worthiness and ability to comprehend.

l’agiografia iconoclasta,” *RSBN* 29(1992):3–17. Auzépy and Acconcia Longo offered final defenses in *RSBN* 30(1993):3–15.

See also V. Déroche, “L’autorité des moines à Byzance du VIII^e siècle au Xe siècle,” *Revue Bénédictine* 103(1993):241–54, on related issues.

43. On *parrêsia*, see C. Mango, *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980) 159.

44. All citations in the text refer to Bonnet.

Although this “familiarity” or “boldness” (παρρησία) was not peculiar to the cult of the Archangel Michael,⁴⁵ the incomprehensible nature of the Archangel made “access” more difficult than to the mortal saints. The unique nature of the angels and the archangels, hovering between heaven and earth, was the basis for this difficulty. The incomprehensible nature of the appearances and the miracles of the Archangel must be understood in ways outside of the purely rational.⁴⁶ As Philoxenus of Mabbug (ca. 440–523) wrote concerning angels, faith was paradoxically the first step to comprehension.⁴⁷ The angels clearly were a special problem in terms of devotion and approach. The angels’ particular nature and qualities demanded individual treatment in theological texts, and miracle stories also acknowledged these distinctions.

In the miracle story, jealous rumblings began among the locals on account of the great success of the spring, and open insurrection against the shrine was not long in appearing. In the meantime, the miracle story introduced a “dishonourable and idolatrous” pagan, from the nearby city of Laodicea (3.14ff.). This pagan had a daughter who was deaf and dumb. Michael appeared in a dream and told him to go to the shrine, and “by my name, if you believe, you will not leave disappointed” (4.5). The pagan then traveled to the spring and questioned those at the spring about the healing process. He was told that one must call on the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,

45. For instance, see Kazhdan / Maguire, “Byzantine Hagiographical Texts,” 14.

46. See Metrophanes, Metropolitan of Smyrna ca. 857–880, who says that the Archangel Michael and Gabriel are great, but small are the means to describe them, “Your [Michael and Gabriel’s] image is broad and elevated in being and manifold in its bodiless and immaterial and entirely splendid shape, but the word, coming from our hearts through corporeal organs, is narrow and humble and artless.” A little below he adds that it is necessary for the archangels “to illuminate the intellectual eyes of our hearts.” The text is found in *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀληθεία* 7(1887):390.

47. See his sermon “On Faith,” trans. E.A.W. Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenus Bishop of Mabbogh, A.D. 485–519. Vol. II. Introduction, Translation, etc.* (London, 1894) 29–31. For Pantaleon, the process of apprehension is also indirect, “You illuminate our intellectual eyes of the heart, so that we should know, and apprehend in the mind and pronounce . . . the miracles of your majesty.” See his *Nar. mir. max. Arch. Mich.*, II, PG 140: 575A. Much later, Damaskenos Stoudite (sixteenth century) wrote, “On account of this, open your spiritual and corporeal eyes, so that you can understand precisely what I am about to say.” (See his *Θησαυρός* [Venice, 1838] 185.)

and to Michael, and then raising one's hands and eyes to heaven say, "O Father, O Son, O Holy Ghost, through the ministry of Michael, help me, a sinful person" (4.11–13). He then poured water into the mouth of his child saying, rather alarmingly, "The God of the Christians, your power is truly great, Michael Archistrategos" (4.15–16).⁴⁸ The daughter of the pagan was forthwith healed, and the pagan with his entire household was baptized on the spot. Finally, he built there a small chapel in the name of Michael in order to shelter the holy source.

The statement of the subservience of Michael to God in the prayers of the pagan was part of the appeal of the miracle story in the eighth- and ninth-century "non-iconophile" context of debate over proper worship. Michael himself at a later point stated the source of his own power as he commanded the water to flow harmlessly into the chasm that he had opened in the name of the Trinity. Michael had made the water halt moments before by making the sign of the cross in the face of the rushing waters. These were statements then of a scale of access or "parrêsia" that communicated to the audience of the miracle story where Michael stood in the divine hierarchy, that is, under the command of God.

The holy man, Archippus, was at the ethical center of the miracle story in the sense that he described, in his faultless way of life and correct appeal to God, the proper model of behavior for the audience. This ethical model was fundamental to the structure of the miracle story in that the large part of the miracle story described the hermit's way of life and qualifications. Moreover, this character study provided the miracle story's "image" for Christians to try to imitate. The epiphany of the Archangel Michael in comparison was not described to the same degree as the character of the hermit, and Archippus also figured significantly in the encounter between angel and man after the epiphany. Nonetheless, nothing about Archippus would appear to be individualized. Even his name would seem to be

48. See the Introduction on the overweening position Michael was put in by certain heterodox adherents at Chonae.

borrowed from the Epistle to the Colossians (4:17).⁴⁹ Archippus came to the shrine of the Archangel, the narrator of the miracle story stated (5.6ff.), when he was only a precocious ten-year-old, having left his parents in Laodicea to take up the ascetic way of life.⁵⁰ In this way, ninety years after its foundation, the shrine got its first caretaker, Archippus.⁵¹ The description of his life after his commitment to Michael's shrine was largely undistinguished. It was apparently cobbled together from various ascetic sources and was mainly a remembrance of other familiar texts.⁵² Archippus's anonymity made him an "everyman" that all Christians could aspire to imitate.⁵³

The Chonae miracle story described a way of life familiar to miracle stories for its guileless devotion and comfortless longevity. The narrator clearly wanted to convince the audience of Archippus's worthiness. Archippus spent the next sixty years perfecting himself in his vocation, his angelic way of life ("ἄσκησις ἀγγελική," 7.11 and 8.7).⁵⁴ He never ate bread or meat, nor did he bathe; he ate boiled wild plants without salt; he sprinkled his honorable body with three

49. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire Before 170 A.D.*, 469. According to P. Batti-fol, *Studiorum patristicorum. Études d'ancienne littérature chrétienne*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1889–1890) I:33, this hermit in the hagiography is perhaps a true survival of the real Archippus mentioned at Col. 4:17.

50. A. G. Elliott, *Roads to Paradise. Reading the Lives of the Early Saints* (Hanover and London, 1987) 77ff., has described certain characteristics of the childhood of hagiographic heroes.

51. See C. Mango, "Germia: A Postscript," in *JöB* 41(1991):298–99, on προσμονᾶριος.

52. Some examples taken from the *Lausiac History* of Palladius (ca. 363–ca. 431): *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, ed. C. Butler, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1898–1904) II:15–16, 16–17, 29, 48, 60–61, and Bonnet xxii n1, for others.

53. I follow this idea in hagiography, liturgy and art in my "Holy Man, Supplicant and Donor: On Representations of the Miracle of the Archangel Michael at Chonae," *Mediaeval Studies* 59(1997):173–82.

54. Elliott, *Roads to Paradise*, 132ff., has noted the opposition of nature and culture with regard to the position of the hermit. On the topos of monks as angels, see P. S. Frank, *ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΟΣ ΒΙΟΣ. Begriffsanalytische und begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum "Engelgleichen Leben" im frühen Mönchtum* (Münster, 1964). And Peter Brown's remarks on the degendering of monks through the simile of angelic qualities has interesting possibilities. See "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity, 1971–1997," *J ECS* 6(1998): 371–72. The confrontation of monk and angel at Chonae, in literature and art, also has a potential for elevation of the everyman Archippus. Raised to exalted company, he joins these celestial ranks through his extra-terrestrial vocation.

measures of water one day out of three, and in this way refreshed his soul; for clothing he wore two sacks and he slept on stones with a pillow filled with thorns; never did he relax, or reveal his body, all the while guarding his stainless soul from belonging to the other one (that is, the devil). The value of such an anonymous portrait at the center of this text lay in Archippus's quality as a model for imitation. Not everyone would be capable of this demanding way of life. At an elevated level, Archippus figured as an exemplar who might be out of reach to many in his worthiness but who at least presented an ideal of approach to the Archangel and, most important, of answered prayer.⁵⁵

Archippus's reaction to the threat of the pagans is instructive. The group of several thousand, seething with hatred and envy of Archippus, the shrine, and their patron, were impressively bestial, and were thus fundamentally distinct from the holy man. They roared like lions (8.15) and gnashed their teeth in working out their wicked designs.⁵⁶ As Archippus saw the designs of the devil and the unclean things of the idolaters, he attempted to counter the base workings of the pagans by going into the church where he fell as if dead. He beseeched God and the Archangel Michael to guard the shrine from the approaching water, and spent ten days neither eating nor drinking nor raising himself from the floor. He said,

I do not depart from this church nor do I leave off from prayer but I will die by this water. For I believe that my God will save me from faintness and tempestuousness through the agency of the Archangel Michael so that it will make no mark either on this holy shrine or on this land . . . (13.10–14).⁵⁷

55. The idea of the holy man as exemplar, of course, has deep roots in Late Antique and Byzantine society, and it also informed the iconoclastic image of the ideal Christian discussed in chapter 2. On the holy man in Late Antiquity, see M. Vessey, "The Demise of the Christian Writer and the Remaking of 'Late Antiquity': From H.-I. Marrou's Saint Augustine (1938) to Peter Brown's Holy Man (1983)," *J ECS* 6(1998):403–11.

56. In the *Menologium Basilianum* (late tenth/early eleventh century), *PG* 117:33C. Also, Bonnet 3.9 and 5.3.

57. Chrysippus (ca. 405–479) described Daniel and his preparations for the epiphany (Dan. 10:2–3): "In those days I Daniel was in mourning three whole weeks. I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all, till

For ten days, the pagans stored up the water behind their dams and on the tenth day they unleashed the rivers. Archippus, hearing the advancing waters crush the rocks, intensified his prayers, and wet with tears called on God once more, reciting Psalm 93, particularly lines 3–5:

The floods have lifted up, O Lord, the floods have lifted up their voice; the floods lift up their waves. The Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea. Thy testimonies are very sure: holiness becometh thine house, O Lord for ever.⁵⁸

When Archippus had finished the Psalm, there came from outside a great clap of thunder and the Archistrategos came “to that place, standing on the head of the impenetrable rock” (14.17–18). Archippus’s access to the Archangel, his recommendation to “parrêsia,” was founded on his unimpeachable way of life, and proved by the Archangel’s intervention on his behalf. Archippus “pursues the angelic life while in the flesh” and, therefore, was worthy of visions (24.7).⁵⁹

The goal in devotion to Michael was an access from which benefit derives, and this access was made possible through the paradigm of approach present in the miracle story. This conclusion was latent in the anonymous version and explicit in later versions of the miracle. “Therefore truly we shall imitate this wondrous Archippus, this worthy one himself, [who] on account of his excellence was made most familiar to the great Archangel Michael and was revealed a vision. . . .”⁶⁰ Only the just and righteous were allowed into the presence of the angels, for protection and revelation, as Paul warned in

three whole weeks were fulfilled.” He then went on to describe what Daniel saw at Dan. 10:5, 12:5, and Michael’s identification at 10:12–13. See A. Sigalas, “Χρυσίππου πρεσβυτέρου Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαήλ,” *EEBS* 3(1926):90.17ff.

58. In the Theodore Psalter (1066), British Museum Add. 19.352, fol. 125r, the scene of the miracle at Chonae illustrates just this passage from Psalm 93. See S. Der Nersessian, *L’illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age. II. Londres, Add. 19.352* (Paris, 1970) 46, fig. 203.

59. Here Sissinius, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 9, *AASS* Sept. 8:44F, “βίον ἰσάγγελον ἐν σαρκὶ μετερχόμενος.”

60. Sissinius, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 18, *AASS* Sept. 8:47B.

1 Corinthians 11:10.⁶¹ The miracle was proof of the promise made on proper approach for all worshippers, exemplified by the generalized but scrupulous Archippus. The only miracle performed by Archippus was the successful answering of his extensive prayer, and for that one power he was worthy of emulation.⁶²

Auzépy has noted the lack of miracles performed by subjects of saints' lives of the eighth and ninth centuries.⁶³ Although Archippus was not himself active in good works in a community, the legend dated from before Iconoclasm, and must have retained some of its original elements. Its rewriting and elaboration in the eighth century must have been connected to the contemporary appeal of the legend. In the Chonae miracle story, it is significant that the central character lacks any miraculous power. Archippus's abilities were restricted to, and made laudable by, a holy life and energetic prayer.

Some modern commentators, typically historians of the nineteenth century, have criticized the miracle story of Chonae for its lack of inventiveness, focusing on the generalized portrait of Archippus, a holy man with no real personality. This generalization works to a purpose, however, presenting a behavior meant to persuade its audience of the best route to fulfilled entreaty. Commentators have accused the narrator of the anonymous version of being artless, rude in style, and incomplete in knowledge of the event and region.⁶⁴ However, repetition of details in miracle stories and saints' lives, often cited derogatorily by modern commentators, comply with audience expectations of recognizable patterns.⁶⁵ In the mind of the writ-

61. See J.A. Fitzmeyer, "A New Feature of Qumrân Angelology and the Angels of 1 Cor. XI:10," *New Testament Studies* n.s. 4(1957/8):55–56. The idea of the unblemished being allowed into the presence of the angels is one found in Jewish apocrypha and the Qumran texts, although with a visionary quality not often found in the Christian texts; see G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1962) 76.

62. Contrast the lack of Archippus's own power with examples of the might some saints do exhibit given by R. Browning, "The 'Low Level' Saint's Life in the Early Byzantine World," in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London, 1981) 122.

63. Auzépy, "L'analyse littéraire et l'historien," 60, and Ševčenko, "The Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period," 120ff.

64. For example, see Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire Before 170 A.D.*, 468, and Bonnet vi.

65. See Elliott, *Roads to Paradise*, and also *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient*, ed. S.A. Harvey and S. Brock (Berkeley, 1987) 13ff.

ers of miracle stories and saints' lives, edification—as well as “access”—was the key to these texts, and ethical truth was far more important than historical accuracy. The aim of the miracle story of Chonae was not to provide a topographical survey or an historically accurate document: rather it was to provide a model for imitation in veneration and a confirmation of the proximity of the Archangel at a given site. For this reason, the later writers of the miracle at Chonae of the ninth and tenth centuries did not alter the basic structure of the anonymous version but merely added their own flourishes to a successful text.⁶⁶ And it must also be stressed that the miracle story could have posed no threat to the church after 843; images and idolatry do not figure, but the text provided a portrait of a holy way of life and seemingly angel worship which became very popular indeed after Iconoclasm.⁶⁷

A further similarity of the Chonae miracle story with “non-iconophile” saints' lives was the importance placed on references to Hebrew scripture. The prophets, patriarchs, and kings of Hebrew scripture figured in the texts Auzépy discussed, rather than models derived from the saints of Church tradition.⁶⁸ The encounter of holy man and angel at Chonae, as described in the miracle story, was very

66. See Bonnet xii, on the working methods of Metaphrastes and Sissinius.

67. Archippus's prayer is a fruitful act for angelic intervention and the active element in his piety is recognized in depictions by his gesture of imprecation, as well as the accompanying inscription. In the representation of the scene in the Church of the Asomatoi at Archanes on Crete from 1315/6, the inscription accompanying the image states that the miracle occurred “because of Archippus's prayers.” See S. Koukiales, *Τὰ θαύματα—Ἐμφάνισεις τῶν Ἀγγέλων καὶ Ἀρχαγγέλων στὴν Βυζαντινὴ Τέχνη τῶν Βαλκανίων* (Athens, 1989) 70, “ΘΑΥΜΑ ΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ Τ(ΑΙΣ) ΧΩΝΑΙΣ <ΝΑΟΝ ΤΟΥ> ΜΙΧΑΗΛ/ΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ> ΔΙ ΕΥΧΩΝ ΑΡΧΙΠΠΙΟΥ.”

Ironically, the sixteenth-century hagiographer, Damaskenos Stoudite, states that Archippus prayed to an icon for the intervention of the Archangel in the face of the pagan floods. See his *Θησαυρός*, 198.

A further irony is evident in the frescoes, ca. 1500, in the Church of Cosmas and Damian, Palaiochorio in the Troodos, Cyprus. In these frescoes, the donor has supplanted Archippus and is represented before the Archangel in the miracle at Chonae. See S. Gabelić, “The Iconography of the Miracle at Chonae. An Unusual Example from Cyprus,” *Zograf* 20(1989):95–103, and Peers, “Holy Man, Supplicant and Donor.”

68. Auzépy, “L'analyse littéraire et l'historien,” 58ff. See, however, the remarks of D. Krueger, “Typological Figuration in Theodoret of Cyrrhus's *Historia Religiosa* and the Art of Postbiblical Narrative,” *J ECS* 5(1997):393–417.

much within the scriptural structure of divine epiphany as found in the accounts of Moses, Joshua, Daniel and Isaiah in Hebrew scripture.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the encounter indicated the difficulties—often described in Hebrew scripture—attendant in confronting and perceiving an angelic being. Archippus weathered this confrontation and emerged as not unworthy of comparison to ancient examples of witnesses to epiphany; he did not worship the Archangel but humbly followed orders, and afterwards expressed gratitude for the safeguarding of the shrine and his own escape.

The *Vita* of Leo of Catania, dating to the first half of the ninth century, presented behavior which contrasts starkly with Archippus's propriety. In this miracle story, a magus by the name of Heliodorus introduced idolatry into the city in the form of an idol (ξόανον) of an aerial deity; the idol was also designated as a "sign" (στοιχείον), recalling a talisman through which a demon works and, more generally, the magic arts Heliodorus practiced.⁷⁰ Auzépy interpreted this episode as an inversion whereby the iconoclastic sympathies of the saint's life were revealed.⁷¹ The antagonist of the saint's life, Heliodorus, was a magician, that is, one who worked wonders or even miracles; significantly, he also worshipped idols. Auzépy sees idols in this context to mean any image, and so denoting all image worshippers, since Heliodorus was intended as an iconophile anti-hero in the saint's life; the aerial deity was also strikingly suggestive of all images of winged beings, notably angels. Although not delineated to the same degree as Heliodorus, Leo of Catania, the real hero of the text, derived his sanctity from his social standing as priest and his good deeds which did not include miracles or image worship. Moreover, Leo replaced the statue which Heliodorus worshipped with a cross, the favored iconoclastic sign.⁷²

69. On this structural similarity, see also chapter 5.

70. Acconcia Longo, "La vita de S. Leone di Catania," 89.21–26 (#8). And see also C. Blum, "The Meaning of στοιχείον and its Derivatives in the Byzantine Age. A Study in Byzantine Magic," *Eranos* 44(1946):315–25.

71. Auzépy, "L'analyse littéraire et l'historien," 62ff.

72. Acconcia Longo, "La vita de S. Leone di Catania," 97.1–7 (#18).

In this sense, too, Archippus could be considered to be a hero of the iconoclastic cause: his way of life was the focus of the miracle story rather than any miraculous deeds or interventions. The standard of behavior and the rigor of his prayer were clearly the persuasive means by which the audience was meant to be won over to a proper and efficacious worship. Moreover, like Abraham, Archippus did not make an image in commemoration.⁷³ He guarded the memory of a difficult but enlightening experience in his soul. Finally, he did not lapse into worship of the Archangel himself, and fall into pagan ways, as iconoclastic sources forewarned.

The patriarch Nicephorus (ca. 750–828) fully agreed with the position on idols and worship expressed by the fourth-century anti-image theologians Macarius Magnes and Epiphanius: one should not make idols of angels after the pagan fashion, neither should one worship them. Yet Nicephorus was unwilling to dismiss images commemorating interventions from worship on this account. On the one hand, for Nicephorus and other iconophiles, material objects were appropriate intermediaries for directing honor toward such spiritual beings as angels. Iconoclasts, on the other hand, denied the value of such distracting intermediaries, particularly in the case of such unrepresentable entities. For them, angels and their images had too many inherent dangers for Christians to negotiate. Rather, listening to the text—scripture or, as here, miracle stories—and hearkening to its message was proper and intellectual worship that allowed the reader/listener to ascend to spiritual truths without hindrance. Iconoclastic theology simply could not countenance any mediating steps, especially material ones, between worshipper and spiritual reality. Ethical instruction through persuasive texts such as miracle stories and saints' lives cre-

73. According to Sissinius, after Michael's disappearance Archippus retired to the shrine and returned to prayer. "The venerable one saw him as if a flame of fire streamed up into the heavens, [and] filled with puzzlement and fear, he went back to sing psalms in the holy shrine, 'God has sent his angel and liberated and saved me from the snares of the beasts, and he guarded his sacred shrine from the inundation of the waters.'" See *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 18, *AASS* Sept. 8:47AB.

ated a “true image” for the behavior and beliefs of conscientious Christians.

Although the Chonae miracle story must have been written or reworked as a consequence of the debates over worship in the eighth century, it was not dismissed after Iconoclasm. The text provided valid models of worship within the iconophile position as well. Indeed, the miracle was retold by Pantaleon in the late ninth/early tenth century and Sissinius and Symeon Metaphrastes in the tenth century; all of these redactions depended upon the anonymous text of the eighth century. Furthermore, the iconography of the miracle is first found in the tenth century, and it became popular thereafter, as the gorgeous twelfth-century icon from Sinai can attest (fig. 15).⁷⁴ The text did not dismiss images, but did describe a successful and orthodox form of worship; in this sense, Archippus was the miracle story’s “true image.” The Chonae story’s models of worship had relevance for both sides of this controversy, and, like the *Vita* of Leo of Catania, they must be seen within the context of debates over images of aerial deities and angels both. And the issue of angelolatry and idolatry are also present in this text as at Chonae since for iconoclasts the two forms of unsuitable worship were inseparable.

One final example of a miracle story including angels serves to show that in the period following Iconoclasm proper worship was again integrated with images, thereby coming full circle with the means of healing described in the seventh-century collection of miracles by Artemius. A miracle that occurred at the church of Michael at Eusebios in Constantinople, described by Pantaleon in his *Narration of the Miracles of the Mighty Archangel Michael*, illustrated this transition from the behavioral model of the Chonae miracle story to

74. The first extant representation of the miracle is found in the Church of St. John, north chapel #4, at Güllü Dere (ca. 900). See N. Thierry, *Haut moyen-âge en Cappadoce. Les églises de la région de Cavusin* (Paris, 1983) 155–56, pl. 71; C. Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce. Le programme iconographique de l’abside et ses abords* (Paris, 1991) 37ff. The earliest example of an illustration of the miracle at Chonae, in the canonical scheme, is found in the late tenth-/early eleventh-century *Menologium* of Basil II (Vat. gr. 1613, page 17). The iconography of the miracle is treated thoroughly by Gabelić, “The Iconography of the Miracle at Chonae,” 96–98.

orthodox worship that includes icons.⁷⁵ The miracle occurred immediately following the reintroduction of images in the reign of Michael III (842–867) under the regency of his mother, Theodora.

The story described Marcianus, a candle maker, and a godly servant of the shrine of Michael. Marcianus was never ill, according to the miracle story, but if he felt the slightest pain he needed only go into the church in order to recover. Once, however, Marcianus became ill and went to the shrine, but not before he was convinced by one of the doctors who congregated around the church to wear a poultice with some medicine. That night Marcianus slept in the church, as was the custom at this shrine, and, as in an ecstasy, he saw a terrifying vision. All the doors of the church were suddenly flung open and towards him came “a fearful man as out of the heaven, with a rush descending on a white and terrible steed.” This man got down from the horse and entered the church with an escort, dressed in the costume of court officials. The church also became suffused with an unworldly odor. After a moment, the man came to Marcianus’s cot and inspecting the recumbent man found the doctor’s medicine. He asked Marcianus what it was and identified himself by demanding who had dared bring such medicine into his house. Marcianus told him, and Michael sent his minions off to find the unfortunate doctor. Michael then took Marcianus to a candle hanging before an icon of the Archangel, dipped his finger in the oil, and made the sign of the cross on the patient’s forehead. Michael got back on his horse and rode off into the heavens. Straightaway all the doors of the church closed by themselves and Marcianus was left to marvel.

In the morning, Marcianus told his vision to the deacon who, seeing the cross on the man’s forehead, believed all he had been told. The deacon then sent to discover what had happened to the doctor

75. Pantaleon, *Narr. mir. max. Arch. Mich.*, XXVI–XXVIII, *PG* 140:586A–8A, and F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins d’Ochrida, Candie et Moscou* (Brussels, 1963) 147ff.

The text in praise of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel by Michael of Stoudios (late ninth century) also described the connection between icons and healing. See “Éloge des archanges Michel et Gabriel par Michel le Moine (*BHG* 1294a),” ed. T. Matantseva, *JöB* 46(1996):145 (XI.8).

and learned that the doctor had taken gravely ill during the night. Marcianus went to the doctor, saw his suffering, and ordered that the doctor be brought on his bed to the shrine of Michael to beg forgiveness and mercy. Marcianus re-enacted the method of healing with the oil and icon shown to him by Michael, and so offered the shrine's model for successful healing; forthwith, the doctor was miraculously relieved of his suffering.

Clearly, this text fully integrated images and worship, a remarkable development when compared to the image-less miracle story of Michael at Chonae, and to the unflattering portrait of iconophile worship of angels' images in the *Vita* of Leo of Catania. Behavior was not in the first place the means of gaining an epiphany in the episode described by Pantaleon, but the Archangel himself demonstrated the methods of efficacious healing; this method of approach was convincing by its results and was henceforth reproduced (we are led to believe) at the shrine of Michael at Eusebios. In fact, the shrine with its icon and oil provided the only proper method, as the unfortunate doctor learned.

The assimilation of proper behavior and images was the outcome of this long-standing debate on worship. Icons did not exclude other approaches, like Christian virtue as a "true image," but they were now an inextricable component in a complete Christian ethic. Indeed, the ancient Christian custom of accepting images in worship that iconophiles defended in the ninth century has been seen in practice through these miracle stories and saints' lives: despite inherent difficulties in gaining likeness in art, images were granted relation to their models through practice, through the consensus of worship and, most dramatically, through the miraculous example of Michael himself in the shrine at Eusebios.

Five

APPREHENDING THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL

MANUFACTURING SIGNS OF PRESENCE

This chapter examines the means by which hagiographical writings, that is, miracle stories, attempt to describe the presence and appearances of the Archangel Michael. Dealing with several miracle stories at some length demonstrates the ways in which each text persuades its audience of the Archangel's benign proximity. The tales of the miracle at Chonae contribute particularly in this examination since the "pre-history" of this cult is relatively clear and the shrine's activities during the Byzantine period were famous. Discussing other miracle stories, namely of the sanctuary at Monte Gargano in southern Italy and of the shrine in Asia Minor described by Michael Psellus (1018–1081?), allows certain structural similarities to emerge: the miracle stories reveal the Archangel Michael's elusive, elemental force active in a landscape and consequently bind him to places to strengthen expectation of worshippers' devotional return.

Several tales of the miracle at Chonae are extant, and, as accounts of the most popular miracle of Michael in the Byzantine world, they deserve special attention. All narrate the same series of events: a group of pagans attempt to destroy the shrine of Michael at Chonae

along with the guardian, Archippus, by flooding the vicinity. At the last moment, Michael appears and creates a chasm into which the water is forced to flow. The shrine and its newly fashioned spring henceforth work wonders.

The dating of the earliest miracle story cannot be decided with any finality, but more weight should be given to a late date, preferably in the eighth century, since the “lapses” in topographic detail in the miracle story point to a place of composition distant from the shrine itself and a time after the cult has been firmly established. This anonymous text, *Narration of the Miracle Accomplished at Chonae by the Archangel Michael*, was surely a reworking, however, of an early legend, since the cult of angels, and especially Michael, had an ancient history around Chonae. That the miracle story was re-worked in the eighth century attests to the popularity of the cult in the Byzantine world, but also to a contemporary relevance of its subject.¹

One can be certain, just the same, that the “inconsistencies” and “lapses” in the miracle story work to a purpose and communicate important information about the cult of the Archangel. Indeed, the stories of the miracle of the Archangel Michael at Chonae were persuasive texts, intended to communicate models of proper and successful devotion to an audience. The texts also worked to convince an audience of access to Michael, and through him God, guaranteed by the miracle and appearance of the Archangel at a holy place.

The quality of familiarity with the Archangel, however, is of a different order than that derived from “lives” of the mortal ranks of saints. As Symeon Metaphrastes (d. ca. 1000) wrote in the prologue to his version of the miracle at Chonae (20.8–12),

It is a great deal more beneficial to describe the details of the bodiless powers, to proclaim their heavenly portents and marvels. For by this how much more is familiarity and consort with God and these [powers] increased, by this how much greater the beneficence we harvest in these narratives concerning these [powers].²

1. See chapter 4.

2. All citations in the text refer to Bonnet.

The key term in this passage is “parrêsia” (παρρησία), which I have translated here as “consort” but which could also be rendered as “access” or “patronage” or even “boldness.”³ Although this “access” is not unique to the cult of the Archangel Michael, the incomprehensible nature of the Archangel made “access” more difficult than to the mortal saints. The cult of the Archangel Michael posed special problems for all aspects of devotion, based upon the unique, difficult nature of the angels and the archangels. The elemental qualities of Michael, which removed him from the more easily understood traits and operations of the once human saints, compounded this difficulty.

A topos of texts about the angels is the incomprehensibility of angelic beings and the insuperable distance that separates the angels from humanity. Despite its commonplace aspect, the topos has real meaning as a defining characteristic of the angels and archangels. Michael Psellus in his narrative in praise of the Archangel Michael stated that it is difficult to describe the deeds of humanity, but having surpassed any of these deeds the Archangel lies above in measure.⁴ Moreover, the Archangel remains beyond the praise deriving from speech, and is beyond the power of both the artful and artless.

3. On *parrêsia*, see E. Peterson, “Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte von παρρησία,” in *Reinhold Seeberg Festschrift*, ed. W. Koepp, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1929) I:283–97; G. Scarpata, *Parresia. Storia del termine e delle sue traduzioni in latino* (Brescia, 1963); P. S. Frank, *ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΟΣ ΒΙΟΣ. Begriffsanalytische und begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum “Engelgleichen Leben” im frühen Mönchtum* (Münster, 1964) 67–68; G. J. M. Bartelink, “Quelques observations sur ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ dans la littérature paléo-chrétienne,” in *Graecitas et latinitas christianorum primaeva*, suppl. 3 (Nijmegen, 1970) 5–57, 155–57; C. Mango, *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980) 159.

4. On this *encomium*, see Michael Psellus, *Oratio in Archangelum Michaellem*, in *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, ed. E. A. Fisher (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1994) 230–56, as well as E. A. Fisher, “Nicomedia or Galatia? Where Was Psellus’ Church of the Archangel Michael?” in *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerlink at 75*, ed. J. Duffy and J. Peradotto (Buffalo, 1988) 175–87, and C. Mango, “La croix dite de Michel le Cérulaire et la croix de Saint-Michel de Sykéon,” *CA* 36(1988): 41–49.

This topos of the author avowing inability to describe is also “an aesthetic choice bearing moral value.” See D. Krueger, “Hagiography as an Ascetic Practice in the Early Christian East,” *The Journal of Religion* 79(1999):216. But “authorial self-denigration” goes one step further for angels.

In other words, Michael surpasses the abilities of language to describe and honor. The difficulties of understanding are crucial since, as Psellus stated, the seeing and the hearing of a paradoxical, incomprehensible event establishes true faith.⁵ The incomprehensible nature of the appearances and the miracles of the Archangel must be understood in ways outside of the purely logical. Faith, in the face of the inexplicable event communicated by the miracle story, is the first step to comprehension. For Pantaleon, the process of apprehension is also indirect, “You illuminate our intellectual eyes of the heart, so that we should know, and apprehend in the mind and pronounce . . . the miracles of your majesty.”⁶ The difficulties inherent in the nature of the Archangel made for special problems of apprehension. For this reason, a textual and devotional footing distinct from the mortal saints determined access (παρρησία) to the Archangel.

Focusing on the generalized portrait of Archippus, a holy man with no real personality, some modern commentators have criticized the anonymous text describing the miracle at Chonae for its lack of inventiveness. Archippus came to the shrine as a boy and, as the miracle story describes it, he led an austere and, with one exception, an uneventful life. This generalization works to a purpose, however, in that it presents a behavior meant to persuade its audience of the best route to fulfilled entreaty. The narrator of the anonymous version has also been charged with being artless, rude in style, and incomplete in knowledge of the event and region.⁷ The burden of nineteenth-century rationalism doubtless blinkered these scholars to some of the positive aspects of the literary tradition of the Chonae miracle. Hopefully, some of these aspects will emerge from the discussion to follow.

5. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 231.3ff. and 240.224–26.

6. *Narratio miraculorum maximi archangeli Michaelis*, II, PG 140:575AB.

7. W. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire Before 170 a.d.* (New York and London, 1893) 468. See also Bonnet, who comments on the lack of coherence and the implausible additions: “nec arte nec ingenio excellentis nec omnino tamen utroque carentis” (vi), and “Genus dicendi tale est fere quale ab eiusmodi narratore expectes, rude et impolitum, modo tritum et volgare modo arcessitum, modo humile et abiectum modo poeticis verbis infucatum, nonnullis locis etiam soloecum aut barbarum” (vii). The hagiography is not, however, without “viribus et nervis” (vii).

The manner in which the anonymous miracle story described the topography of the area of Chonae is undeniably imprecise. For example, the apostles Philip and John appear at Chairetopa, a town otherwise without importance,⁸ and predict the Archangel's appearance in the future; the story places Chairetopa some miles to the southeast of the shrine and is too far distant to be the site where Michael appeared and the famous church was built. The anonymous redactor of the miracle story evidently assumed that Chairetopa was in the vicinity of Chonae.⁹ Yet the etymology of the toponym may be worth remarking because the place name may then refer generally to the place of the encounter, a station then proleptic to the meeting of Michael and his client. Egregious, too, is the way in which the redactor describes the rivers in the area of Chonae.¹⁰ For example, the Lykokapros is a nonsensical combination of two rivers, and the Lykos itself is said to flow in a direction which is clearly errant. Because of these errors, William Ramsay and others have been willing to accept this miracle story as a kind of naive aetiology of a half-forgotten event concerning earthquake and water supplies.¹¹

8. K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, vol. 7 (Vienna, 1990) 221.

9. And this must have been the case, despite the inexactitude of the redactor's description. Chairetopa may have been to the south or west of Colossae. See L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure. Études de géographie antique* (Paris, 1935) 105ff., and further 105–106 n4: "Il n'y a rien à tirer de précis, pour la topographie, de cet absurde babillage; le rédacteur ne connaissait évidemment pas les lieux de façon précise. Sur la valeur topographique nulle de ce récit [cf. Bonnet and Ramsay]. Une fois que j'ai fixé le site de Keretapa, la question ne se pose plus tout à fait de la même manière; l'hypothèse qu'avait d'abord envisagée M. Bonnet ... s'adapte de façon curieuse à la localisation qu'il ne soupçonnait pas; mais je ne crois pas que ce petit problème vaille la peine d'être repris. De ce Miracle on conclura seulement que Chonae et Keretapa devaient être voisines."

10. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 470–71, and see Bonnet xxviii ff.

11. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 471–72, offers three possibilities for the writing of this legend. First, "Some are mere inventions to explain a name. In this way a tale might be made to explain the name Khonai, 'funnels,' as derived from a channel or funnel through which a neighbouring river flows." Second, "In many cases old legends, told originally of some pagan deity, were transferred to a Christian saint." Third, "Some legends were founded on historical facts, which occurred in Christian times." Ramsay favors the last and cites ancient authors on his behalf. Herodotus described Colossae as a place "wherein the

Regardless of the possible historicity of events giving rise to the cult, the anonymous account of the miracle is clearly dependent upon an amount of artifice for its persuasive power.¹² Its purpose is to provide the Archangel with a comprehensive history, an apostolic initiation, and an open ending; in this view, the text is notably successful. The tale takes place in a plausible geography—despite the apparent inconsistencies—which in the course of the story is miraculously altered to a form more or less familiar to contemporaries. At the end of the miracle story, the rivers ran their proper course, the places had the right names, the crevices spewed their healing water—in other words, the actions of the Archangel completely transformed and purified the area (in the text's terms). The text, then, is not a failed document of unlikely aetiology but rather a reinforcement of the object of Michael's cult, which was to make the angel apprehensible and grounded in a specific place from which his bodiless might emanates. Michael assumes, therefore, a "power base" for his cult.¹³

river Lycus plunges into a cleft in the earth out of sight, till it appears again about five furlongs away and issues like the other river into the Maeander" (7.30; trans. A.D. Godley, 7 vols. [London, 1922] III:345). Pliny wrote in the *Natural History*, "At Colossae is a river, and bricks when cast into it are of stone when taken out" (31.20; trans. W.H.S. Jones, 10 vols. [London, 1963] VIII:395).

And Bonnet xxvi, says that this hagiography is not only a fable (of which this is an example "luculentissimum") but also an "αἰτιολογικόν." It is not just for admiration and exhortation, "sed ab uno aliquo homine excogitari, qui, cum ad miraculum aliquod mens conversa sit et causae cognoscendae studio capta, non rem ipsam qualem oculis adspexit et animo exornavit verbis splendidis exprimit, sed quod quaerendo et ratiocinando de rei cause effecisse sibi videtur quasi memoriae proditum et certum exploratumque credulis auditoribus proponit."

12. Evelyn Patlagean warned against those who use a literal approach, seen to some extent in Ramsay's approach to the hagiography, and who see hagiographies "as a mere stringing together, with some variations in their order, of a limited number of legendary themes, among which the authors, who were both stupid and truthful, had inserted certain facts which were the only elements worthy of attention." Using this method exclusively, she adds, "substitutes for the dynamic coherence of a living work a fictive chimera in which cock-and-bull stories and reliable observations are inexplicably interwoven." See E. Patlagean, "Ancient Byzantine Hagiography and Social History," in *Saints and Their Cults. Studies in Religion, Sociology, Folklore, and History*, ed. S. Wilson, trans. J. Hodgkin (Cambridge, 1983) 101 [= "Ancien hagiographie byzantine et histoire sociale," *Annales* 23(1968):106–26, and *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance, IXe-XIe siècle* (London, 1981) item V].

13. See Mango, *Byzantium*, 157.

Localizing the immaterial Archangel was a goal of cult practice, a strategy reflected in the texts of the miracle in several ways. For instance, the miracle takes place at Colossae or Chairetopa, but miracle stories inevitably describe the change of the name of the site. In the so-called *Menologium* of Basil II (late tenth / early eleventh century), a compilation of brief saints' lives according to the liturgical calendar, the tale begins in a deceptively colorless manner. The narrator says, "in a town called Chonae, once Colossae ..." and he then proceeds to explain how this name change took place.¹⁴ Michael appears to his hermit and creates a cleft in the rock into which the water flows, more miraculously than before. The final sentence is, "Thereafter the place was called Chonae." This text is a condensed version of the transformational capabilities of the Archangel, in this case for landscape. The two topographical markers, the setting stated at the outset which signals a change and the final sentence which signals the reason for the change, are parentheses within which Michael's safeguarding of shrine and hermit take place. These markers, furthermore, give the narrative a sense of coherence and, importantly for a healing shrine, continuity.

In the texts, furthermore, the sense of place is also determined at a more fundamental level than narrative. The semantic play on "chone" (funnel) and its verbal form "choneuo" plant Michael's action firmly in the landscape from the moment of his intervention and into the future.¹⁵ The anonymous redactor has Michael commanding the water into its course at the height of the drama, "Fling

14. *Menologium Basilianum*, PG 117:33CD: "In a town called Chonae, once Colossae, there was a man by the name of Archippos, prudent and God fearing. He settled at the spring, which gushed forth on account of the guardianship of the Archistrategos, and because of the many miracles, and conversions and baptisms which occurred at the spring, Archippos provoked the jealousy of the Hellenes, who could not bear to see the wonderful miracles. Gnashing their teeth over the venerable agiasma and over Archippos they gathered a great many sympathisers, and damned two rivers, and mixing them together, unleashed them directly to overturn the church, agiasma and Archippos. As Archippos heard the roaring of the waters, he called on the Archistrategos to help. And straightaway he appeared and struck the rock with his staff which he held and he funneled the water into the opening. Thereafter the place was called Chonae."

15. See H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1968) s.v. *χοανεύω*, iv [= *χονεύω*].

yourself into this funnel, and be funnelled into this chasm, and the splendour of this holy place will be throughout ..." (19.5–7). In the version of the miracle written by Symeon Metaphrastes, Michael, before striking the rock, says to the water, "Funnel yourself into the funnel" (27.24). In the Menologium text, Michael in the penultimate sentence "funnels the water," and in the last the narrator tells us that the place was henceforth called "funnels" or Chonae.

This play is common, in some form, to all versions of the miracle. The pun binds Michael's act precisely to exact properties of the site, in a region known for its uncertain geology, with fissures and hidden sources, now controlled and marked by Michael, as well as signifying an exact quality of the site as a place made salutary and benign by the extraordinary act of the Archangel.¹⁶ The nature of the act appears to create the name of the site, that is, Michael creates funnels and the place is henceforth known as "funnels." However, the miracle story's pseudo-etymology of "funnels," in linguistic terms, is "retro-motivated."¹⁷ The process of "retro-motivation" implies a paradoxical inversion since the name, here Chonae, determines the character of the event. The place, given new significance in the text, in fact limits Michael's own movements. The paradoxical operation

16. For E. Gothein, "L'arcangelo Michele, santo popolare dei Longobardi," *Rassegna Pugliese di scienze, lettere ed arte* 13(1896):108–109, the chasm created in the hagiography is the reason for the entire cult. It was the work of a demigod, and the impression "che qui si tratti di un culto naturale, è prodotta anche da tutto il resto: dalla sacra fonte e dalla figura fiammeggiante dell'angelo. È un fatto caratteristico, che solo la trasformazione ecclesiastica posteriore delle leggende, la quale va sotto il nome di Metafrasto, gli faccia sedare e respingere l'onde furiose col segno della croce.... Appunto la potenza personale dell'angelo e la trasformazione arbitraria della natura, per la qual cosa egli, più che qualunque santo umano, avvicinavasi alla natura divina, cosituiva l'attrattiva per la fantasia popolare."

Similarly, F. W. Hasluck, *Letters on Religion and Folklore* (London, 1926) 85ff., stated that Michael's connection with Chonae was with the chasm and not the spring. He saw Michael's role as primarily a "devil-dompter" at the mouth of hell; as the opponent of the devil, Michael took care of healings and madness.

17. P. Guiraud, "Étymologie et ethymologia (Motivation et rétro-motivation)," *Poétique* 11(1972):408: "Mais dans tous les exemples ici en cause le nom reprend ses droits et c'est lui qui motive le statut sémiologique du signifié: la forme crée le fond, le mot engendre la chose, par un procédé que l'on pourrait appeler 'rétro-motivation.'" And also, N. Struever, "Fables of Power," *Representations* 4(1983):112: "In retro-motivation, names create situations, narratives generate structures, words engender things ... the newly endowed word is then used as a proof of phenomenal character or event...."

both situates him and deprives him of initiative at the heart of his own act. Moreover, the predetermined quality of Michael's act is typologically reinforced by a parallel overtly made to Moses's miracle at Horeb (Ex. 17:6). This retro-motivation and typology indicate the inherent difficulties of describing an indescribable being and the processes by which he made his presence known.

Michael's imprint on the material world, here the physical realignment of his shrine and renewal of the miraculous qualities of the inexhaustible spring, is the only possible relic for a bodiless angel. The relic of an angel can only be negative, as the common epithets of the angels, bodiless (ἄσώματος) or immaterial (ἄύλος), are only negative attributes. At Chonae, the relic is not additive since nothing is left behind; Michael alters the landscape and in that way leaves traces of his immaterial presence. In the face of the natural uncertainties surrounding the Archangel, this alteration is the only positive proof possible. Moreover, the text promotes a place where regular exchange with the incomprehensible Archangel is possible and where a balance of prayer and reward is effected.¹⁸ Cult binds Michael to the site as the retro-motivated act embeds him within the very topography.

This structure of transformation and imprint is common to miracle stories concerning the Archangel Michael and is often an attribute of Michael's successful sanctuaries. For this reason, an examination of other miracle shrines and their texts situates this structure further in the cult of the Archangel Michael. The shrine of the Archangel Michael on Monte Gargano in Apulia in southern Italy has long been recognized as a descendant of the cult of Michael at Chonae.¹⁹ The miracle story of Michael at Gargano dates in its pres-

18. J. Walter, "St Demetrius: The Myroblytos of Thessalonika," *Eastern Churches Review* 5(1973):158 [= C. Walter, *Studies in Byzantine Iconography* (London, 1977) item V], notes the difficulties in dislodging Demetrius from his shrine at Thessalonike, and ventures that, paradoxically, this may have arisen from the fact that Demetrius was not there. The cult relied on proofs deriving from the *ex voto* images set up in his church. In contrast, Michael's cult relied on different kinds of material proofs commensurate with his formless nature.

19. See Gothein, "L'arcangelo Michele, santo popolare dei Longobardi," 111ff.; W. v. Rintelen, *Kultgeographische Studien in der Italia Byzantina. Untersuchungen über die Kulte des Erzengels Michael und der Madonna di Constantinopli in Süditalien* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1968) 3ff.; idem, "Kult- und Legendenwanderung von Ost nach West in frühen Mittelalter," *Saeculum* 22(1971):98; G. Otranto, "Il 'Liber de apparitione,' il santuario di San Michele sul

ent form to the eighth or ninth century,²⁰ and a Greek version was written in the late ninth or early tenth century, a time of the Byzantine re-conquest of the region.²¹

The Monte Gargano miracle story comprises three distinct, and rather disjointed, sections. At the beginning of the tale, a bull strayed from the herd of a wealthy local landowner, Garganus, on the slopes of the mountain. Garganus set out in search of the animal himself and eventually found the bull in a cave. The hot-headed squire, Garganus, became incensed at the animal and fired an arrow at it, but this arrow inexplicably returned “as if breathed upon by wind,” and struck the sender instead.²² Garganus returned to town and told his story to the locals, who were astounded by the incident. When canvassed, the bishop undertook a fast of three days and nights to discover the hidden cause. On the third night, a vision of the Archangel Michael visited the bishop, and it told the bishop that Michael had returned the arrow. At this Michael identified himself,²³ and said that the reason for his intervention was that he wished “to dwell in this place on earth and guard all.” Going to the mountainside the next day the bishop and townsfolk found that two doors were cut into the face of the mountain.

In the next episode, Michael appeared in another dream of the bishop and predicted the victory of the Sipontini, and their allies the Beneventi, over their enemies, the “heathen” Neapolitans. The next

Gargano e i Longobardi del Ducato di Benevento,” in *Santuari e politica nel mondo antico*, ed. M. Sordi (Milan, 1983) 241ff.

20. G. Otranto, “Il ‘Liber de apparitione’ e il culto di San Michele sul Gargano nella documentazione liturgica altomedievale,” *VetChr* 18(1981):44off.

21. This text was first reported by A. Petrucci, *Una versione greco-bizantina dell'Apparitione Sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano* (Rome, 1955) and has been subsequently edited by Sandro Leanza. See also G. Otranto, “Per una metodologia della ricerca storico-agiografica: Il Santuario micheleico del Gargano tra Bizantini e Longobardi,” *VetChr* 25(1988):400ff.

22. Leanza 301.38–39, *AASS* Sept. 8:61C, and *MGH* 541.28–31. Otranto, “Il ‘Liber de apparitione,’” 217ff., sees a trace of the defeat of paganism in this episode, a kind of battle between Garganus, a local god perhaps, and the new occupant, Michael. Although it is true that Garganus is not called *vir* in the texts, neither is paganism mentioned; in the text's terms, Michael's redirection of the arrow is a sign of presence and also nomination.

23. Leanza 315, on ll.48–49, where terms very close to Matt. 2:13 are used, and the Greek text simply substitutes “ἀρχάγγελος” for “ἄγγελος,” and “ἀγιωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ” for “Ἰωσήφ.”

day strange things happened on the mountain, amongst them rumblings like thunder, lightning and darkness.²⁴ The “pagan” enemies were frightened off by these inexplicable signs and the Sipontini enjoyed an “angelic victory.”²⁵ Ascending to the site of the doors, the locals entered the cave and found traces there of the Archangel’s presence—“a small trace, as if the footstep of a man, struck there in the marble.”²⁶ By means of the signs of his tracings, this church was called the “place of the footprints.”²⁷

After the third visitation of the Archangel, the shrine was completed. The bishop, wondering about the proper way to consecrate this unparalleled chapel, had another vision, and the Archangel himself told the bishop not to consecrate the church because, “I myself have put it in order and consecrated it. You need only come and approach with your entreaties since I am attending as master in that place.”²⁸ Michael told him to come the next day and he would at that time show them how that place would guide them. The bishop visited the next day and found at the same spot a chapel ready made, carved out of the living rock “as if by the hands of the Archangel” (fig. 18). The chapel was clearly not produced by human hands, the narrator remarks, because the chapel was so irregular and rough, so full of corners and angles, that only an Archangel could have manufactured it.²⁹ They also found there a red cloak covering the altar—recollecting Elijah’s abandoned mantle (2 Kings 2:13)—and a spring erupted nearby which became a famous healing source.³⁰

The structural similarities, in the means by which the immaterial Archangel is grounded and made more really present, are striking in

24. Leanza 303.83ff. and 315–16; *AASS* Sept. 8:61D.

25. Leanza 302.81–303.2.

26. *AASS* Sept. 8:61E, *MGH* 542.23–24, and Leanza 303.98ff.

27. Leanza 303.105–304.107. In Greek, the allusion to the imprint of the feet is more obvious since *Apodonia* is clearly a loan word within the Latin text. See Leanza 313.

28. Leanza 305.139–42. Compare *MGH* 542.39–543.3.

29. Leanza 306.156ff.; *AASS* Sept. 8:62AB; *MGH* 543.4–14.

30. Leanza 307.182–83, which recalls Matthew 4:24 (“And his fame went throughout all Syria: and they brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those which were possessed with devils, and those which were lunatick, and those that had the palsy; and he healed them”); *AASS* Sept. 8:62BC; *MGH* 543.19ff.

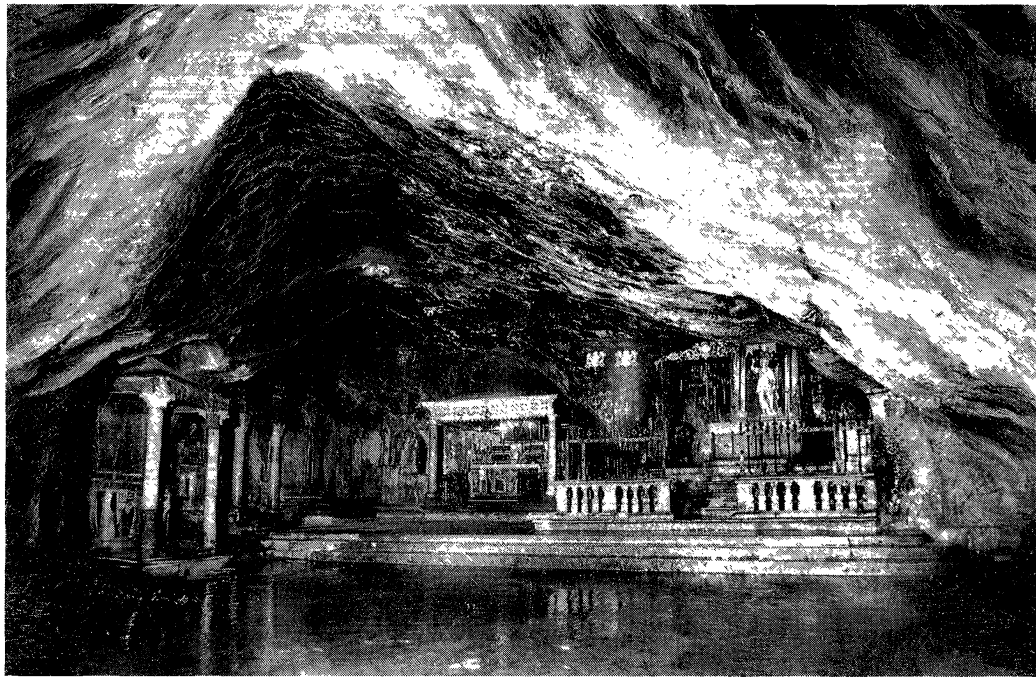


Figure 18. Sanctuary of the Archangel Michael at Mt. Gargano, Apulia, Italy.
Photo: Biblioteca Comunale, Città di Monte Sant'Angelo.

the cases of Chonae and Gargano.³¹ In the Gargano miracle story, the first appearance of the Archangel brings about a renaming of the mountain, for now, “*ex eventu*,”³² the mountain is named after the wealthy Garganus. As at Chonae, Michael works at this nominative level and also transforms the holy site in a manner that specifically signals archangelic agency. The gradual construction of the chapel and his own heavenly consecration confirm Michael’s voluntary presence. The impression of Michael’s “body” is, furthermore, a dynamic relic, reductive and yet stamped at the focus of cult, the altar, a sign of immanence contained.³³ Footprints are an ancient sign of pres-

31. Rintelen, *Kultgeographische Studien*, 15.

32. *AASS* Sept. 8:60B. The identity of the figure of Garganus has been the source of much speculation. Most authors see Garganus as a remnant of some uncertain pagan deity Michael supplants. See, for an overview, Otranto, “*Il ‘Liber de apparitione,’*” 213ff., and especially 220ff., on the interesting parallels of the episode with Barlaam and the ass (Numbers 22:22ff.).

33. Footprints are common signs of presence in Greco-Roman sanctuaries throughout the Mediterranean, either of the divinity or of the worshipper (ambivalence is built into

ence, and at Gargano the assurance is essential for an incorporeal being who has chosen a place on earth for his “fleeting abode.”³⁴ Furthermore, the inscription over the door of the church at Gargano reinforces the notion of the spot hallowed by contact with Michael by recalling Exodus 3:5, where Moses is ordered to take off his shoes on account of the holy ground.³⁵

As at Chonae, a moral directive functions in the miracle story that describes the behavior proper to receiving revelation and epiphany of angels. God has sent Michael, the Greek miracle story of Gargano states, as guardian for those who were worthy.³⁶ Inevitably the text presents a moral program for devotees to follow in order to be considered deserving. When Garganus descended with his mysteriously inflicted wound, he naturally appealed to the bishop.³⁷ The bishop then fasted in order to learn the cause, since, as in the case of Archipus, the rules for this kind of appeal were well established in scripture and in other texts. After the bishop had completed the fast, the Archangel visited the bishop in a dream, and he said, “let it be known to you that it occurred because I willed it. For I am the Arch-

these signs). On this, see K. M. D. Dunbabin, “‘Ipsa deae vestigiae ...’ Footprints Divine and Human on Graeco-Roman Monuments,” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 3(1990): 85–109. Christianity absorbed this feature of pagan religions by the fourth century, at least, as the shrine on the Mount of Olives built for the footprints of Christ shows. See B. Köting, “Fußspuren als Zeichen göttlicher Anwesenheit,” *Boreas* 6(1983):200–201.

For angels the sign of footsteps has a different meaning. The footsteps describe a fleeting presence made imminent and concrete. For instance, at Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome, the marble footsteps of the angel who appeared to Gregory the Great are kept. See M. M. Guarducci, “Le impronte del ‘Quo vadis’ e monumenti affini, figurati ed epigrafici,” *Rendiconti. Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 19(1942/4):315; and B. Pesci, “Il problema cronologico della Madonna di Aracoeli alla luce delle fonti,” *RivAC* 18(1941):53ff. In the case of the angels, footprints serve to give form to formless beings; they are simple, visible signs of past manifestation and constant presence.

34. Gothein, “L’arcangelo Michele,” 142; and see C. Angelillis, *Il santuario del Gargano e il culto di S. Michele nel mondo*, 2 vols. (Foggia, 1956) I:231.

35. Angelillis, *Il santuario del Gargano*, I:47.

36. Leanza 300.9–10. At 311, he also remarks on the same effacement of ancient heresy found in the Chonae hagiographies. In the Latin text Michael is moved in favor of the Sipontini because of his compassion for human frailty, while in the Greek text it is God who has compassion for human fragility and this in turn moves Michael on the behalf of the Sipontini. Leanza plausibly suggests the modification is due to theological preoccupations with making Michael’s intervention subservient to God’s will.

37. Leanza 301.39ff.

angel Michael, he who always stands in the presence of God.”³⁸ The bishop fasted a second time, “so as to be worthy of Michael’s aid and presence,”³⁹ and had a second vision. Michael’s appearances and construction henceforth miraculously transformed the site, and the access given to the bishop was opened, in lesser degrees, to all those far and wide who were worthy.⁴⁰

Important for devotional ends, however, was the emphasis on presence. The prologue to the Greek text specifies the “digging” and manufacture of the cave-church as an incontrovertible sign of the Archangel’s visitation and presence. The miracle story remarks on the very roughness and oddity of the construction as a mark of the benevolence and heartfelt solicitation of devotion. Michael’s presence infuses every corner and crevice of the chapel because of the superhuman technique of construction, as Michael’s extraordinary act of intervention at Chonae impressed his presence on the spring and chasm. Since Gargano was the radiating point for the cult of Michael for the West, other shrines in Italy and the rest of Europe consistently imitated the idiosyncratic invention and shape of the church.⁴¹ The foundation of the monastery at Mt. Tumba in Normandy self-consciously modeled itself after the Gargano sanctuary, down to the importation of monks and a piece of the altar stone as a relic from Gargano.⁴² In western Europe roughly designed churches

38. Leanza 301.47ff.

39. Leanza 302.66ff.

40. Leanza 307.188.

41. Gothein, “L’arcangelo Michele,” 141: “questa sua miracolosa abitazione terrena lo fece apparir sempre come una specie di divinità naturale”; and in time, Gothein says, the irregularity and the roughness of the shrine became “un simbolo prediletto dall’arcangelo.” He adds that the candles which burn during the day in the grotto are allowed to snuff out at dusk because it is then that the archangel is believed to enter his sanctuary. And see G. Otranto and C. Carletti, *Il santuario di S. Michele arcangelo sul Gargano dalle origine al X secolo* (Bari, 1990) 57–71, and O. Campagna, “La grotta di S. Michele alla Serra di Grisolia,” *Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 40(1986):57–65, on the typology of Michael’s cave sanctuaries.

42. The similarities between Tumba and Gargano are striking and indeed entirely purposeful. Michael makes his will known through signs and visions and more importantly in his reshaping of the holy sanctuary. See AASS Sept. 8:75E, 77C, and *Millénaire monastique du Mont-St.-Michel*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1971).

placed on mountain tops became a symbol of the Archangel's presence.⁴³

These palpable signs are momentous within the cult of Michael since, as the narrator of the Greek miracle story states, "order is made through signs and heavenly power."⁴⁴ These signs are more apprehensible when made materially and dramatically. The first incident on Gargano was really a signal of Michael's intent; the returned arrow is noteworthy in the miracle story because of its ambiguity and fleeting quality. Further, the dreams of the bishop are transitory visions in the murky realms of the unconscious, and they are restricted to one person. The irrefutable physical impressions made by the Archangel inspired the collective imagination and other sanctuaries reproduced them. The miracle story presents these marks of voluntary presence as ways in which they bridle Michael so that material signs mediate his immaterial being and make him comprehensible.⁴⁵

Psellus's eleventh-century narrative praising the Archangel Michael provides an important contrast to the stories of the miracles at Chonae and Gargano and their cult certainties. The precise location of the shrine described by Psellus is not known, since he presented little topographical detail, but it may well have been in Galatia in Asia Minor, perhaps in the city of Sykeon.⁴⁶ In the prologue, Psellus extolled the Archangel's splendid qualities. Michael surpasses in mea-

43. See T. Baumeister, "Religionsgeschichtliche und kultgeographische Aspekte der westlichen Michaelsverehrung," in *Memoriam sanctorum venerantes: miscellanea in onore di Monsignor Victor Saxer*, Studi di antichità cristiana, vol. 48 (Vatican City, 1992) 11–19.

44. Leanza 300.5–7.

45. Michael's immanent protection was held to be magically ensured by means of images and names in some popular legends. See, for example, E. Amélineau, *Contes et romans de l'Égypte chrétienne* (Paris, 1888) 41, on the Coptic legend of Euphemia. In the legend, Satan says to Michael, "O Monseigneur l'archange, aie pitié de moi; j'ai eu l'audace de commettre la faute d'entrer dans une chambre où se trouvaient ton nom et ton image: je t'en supplie, ne me fais pas périr avant que le terme de mon existence soit arrivé.... Je vais te promettre devant Dieu de ne plus entrer dans un endroit où sera ton nom."

46. On the topography, see Fisher, "Nicomedia or Galatia?" 170ff.; Mango, "La croix dite le Cerulaire," 48; V. Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture (582–867): Its History and Structural Elements*, Orientalia christiana analecta, vol. 237 (Rome, 1991) 242ff., on the village of Sykeon in Galatia, but especially 249; R. Volk, *Der medizinische Inhalt der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich, 1990) 196ff.

sure and magnitude the nature and deeds of humanity. One must “announce the great things of the nature over us” and proclaim the miracles of the Archangel even more than those of the human saints.

Psellus then proceeded to narrate the events that led up to the foundation of the church of Michael. Heraclius (ca. 575–641) was in the course of returning to Constantinople after a triumphant campaign against the Persians in the Holy Land.⁴⁷ His victories were aided in no small part by a miraculous cross, which had powers against unseen hateful ones and all other battling powers. The emperor had decided to rest on this return journey in the vicinity of a church dedicated to the Theotokos, and he deposited the cross on the altar of that church for the duration of the stay. When it was time to recommence the journey, Heraclius sent some soldiers to collect the cross at the church. However, the cross refused to be moved and could not be dislodged from the altar no matter what effort was applied to it, “just as some rocky outcrop is unshaken by waves falling upon it.”⁴⁸ Almost immediately the soldiers were distracted by a second and more wondrous miracle when the cross kindled into strange flame.

The sparks of an unseen fire shone forth at first. Thereupon, the cross caught fire entirely. And the kindling increased a little, and with a little help it, having been brought altogether to a head, also spread through the whole building and around the church. And now [the fire] was thrown from the building and it seemed that the whole thing was about to be burned. . . . But the fire was consumed in the same way as the ancient bush. Whence it burned, it did not consume the church, but rather the church burning to ashes was beaming with light. And in the same way that it had been attacked invisibly, in this same way it was again extinguished with the flames quenched, and the church showed forth as before, only more pure than it had been. But at least I do not suppose that this was a so-matic fire, though it had been seen and considered by many in this way, but the divine Archangel decided to appear out of immaterial-

47. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 233.50ff.

48. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 238.158ff.

ity possessing a being of fire, in the church of the Mother of God, since the intelligible lightning of burning heat was being made manifest to the onlookers as sensual burning heat.⁴⁹

When the emperor heard of this miracle, he was greatly moved and he commissioned churches for the Archangel and the Mother of God as well as providing monks for the foundation, thereby “making an angelic order on earth for the Archangel.”⁵⁰ And Psellus concluded by saying that the former flame still burns in the hearts of those practicing there and the Archangel oversees them still.

This is a remarkable miracle not least because of the inscrutability of the cause. Psellus did not declare Michael’s agency except by the nature of the miracle, which itself has congruity with Michael’s own nature. Michael’s fiery and spiritual constitution seems to have been the only possible means by which such a paradoxical miracle could have been accomplished. Psellus, moreover, could not state the reason for Michael’s intervention in a church of the Theotokos through an object which he himself said is inextricably linked to Christ. Psellus offered two possibilities: “Either he wanted to take up residence in this sacred church and to perform miracles there, or honouring the image of the Virgin, he desired to serve under the personal command of the queen there.”⁵¹ Psellus confessed he did not know for certain. He continued his miracle story with descriptions of some of the miracles that followed on this miraculous enunciation of intent by the Archangel. Michael brings about cures and miracles in a number of ways, either through the agency of the cross, or by a person’s simply being in the church or taking sacraments. By these means, Michael shows his “great power” and his “overshadowing presence.”⁵² The inscrutability of Michael’s presence is noteworthy when

49. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 238.179–239.192. The icon that is not consumed by fire also has a history. See O. Meinardus, “A Typological Analysis of the Traditions Pertaining to Miraculous Icons,” in *Wegzeichen. Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Prof. Dr. Hermangild M. Lieberman OSA*, ed. E. C. Suttner and C. Patock (Würzburg, 1971) 220–21.

50. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 239.203ff.

51. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 239.198–201.

52. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 247.404–406.

compared to the direct, unmistakable traces left at Chonae and Gargano. And yet the cross contained and channeled Michael's presence through the cross there. This object is in some sense a conduit for Michael's activity "by which and in which the great Archistrategos works miracles."⁵³ Michael's immanence has thereby found some kind of cast.

These miracle stories all display the extraordinary means necessary for the foundation of cult shrines of the bodiless Archangel. These special strategies are even more evident when contrasted to miracle stories of the mortal saints. For example, in the ninth century, Nicephorus, a priest at the church of the Virgin in Blachernai at Constantinople, wrote an encomium in honor of Theodore of Sykeon (d.613) in which he described the procession of the body of Theodore from his home province of Galatia to Constantinople. A miracle which has striking similarities to Michael's initial miracle described by Psellus occurred in the course of that procession.⁵⁴ Theodore of Sykeon's bier halted of its own accord outside the walls of the capital and could not be moved. A second miracle followed this first as one of the team of animals drawing the cart spoke in order to make the saint's will known. Reminiscent of Balaam's ass (Numbers 22:22ff.), the animal said that the saint wished to reside in this place and work wonders there.⁵⁵ The immovable object followed by a more fantastic miracle constitutes a striking similarity between the miracles of Theodore of Sykeon and Michael.⁵⁶

53. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 244.319ff.

54. K. Kirch, "Nicephori Sceuphyllacis encomium in S. Theodorum Siceotam," *AB* 20(1901):269.22–32.

55. Similar foundation legends are noted by G. Dagron, "Constantinople. Les sanctuaires et l'organisation de la ville religieuse," *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne. Lyons, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 Septembre 1986)*, 3 vols. (Vatican City, 1989) II:1072–73.

56. Fisher, "Nicomedia or Galatia?" 182. She sees several elements in common between the two hagiographies: first, a sudden and persistent immovability and, second, a greater miracle which serves to confirm the first. Moreover, Fisher posits the dependence of the hagiography of Psellus on that of Theodore of Sykeon on account of local competitiveness between the two local cults. She also sees significance, in both instances, of an offering of an explanation for the incidents, even though Psellus's interpretation is notably vague. Michael is connected to the phenomenon at the church because of its elemental force, the natural association of Michael with fire. Fisher also sees "imagery of flashing light associated with the

Important, however, are the differences which do show the particular character of Michael's cult. In the narrative of Psellus, Michael works through the cross. By contrast, Theodore of Sykeon continued to operate after his death through his corporeal relics, thus making his presence known on earth thereafter. In fact, relics are key in the cult of most mortal saints and serve to distinguish them from the cult activity of the Archangel.⁵⁷ Moreover, as the sermon of Severus of Antioch (ca. 465–538) shows, the church often introduced relics of mortal saints into shrines of angels in order to make the cult of angels palatable to authorities.⁵⁸

With or without a relic, Michael's presence at the church Psellus described is simply inexplicable and unpredictable, but undeniably there. The ambiguity of Michael's appearance is also noteworthy in comparison to the unmistakable communication of Theodore of Sykeon's will concerning his earthly remains. Michael's will, on the other hand, asserts itself through a kind of immanence and an effect on the shrine that purifies through invisible contact with the Archangel. Michael has left traces on the site in that he has perceptibly altered the church, and the subsequent thaumaturgic character of the shrine proves this alteration.

holy one," although I do not see this figuring in the Theodore text in the same way. What seems more important, then, are the factors not shared, notably relics, an unambiguous revelation of will and the incomprehensible angelic manifestation. On the textual level, moreover, one can make an equally strong case for scriptural precedents as providing clearer paradigms for the Psellus hagiography.

57. M. Rouche, "Le combat des saintes anges et des démons: La victoire de Saint Michel," *Santi e demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (secoli v–xi)*, Settimane vol. 36, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1989) I:534.

58. See chapter 2 for the sermon, but see also the Council of Carthage (ca. 400?) which ruled that churches and shrines of the saints themselves must not be founded without relics. The Fathers of this Council decided against the custom of establishing shrines by the faithful who invoke some apparition of saints or of the martyrs in dreams or revelations. See G. A. Ralles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, 6 vols. (Athens, 1852–1859) III:508ff. On relics and angels, see P. Canivet, "Le *Michaelion* de Huarte (Ve s.) et le culte syrien des anges," *B* 50(1980):110ff.; P. and M. T. Canivet, *Huarte. Sanctuaire chrétien d'Apamène (IVe–VIe s.)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1987) I:279ff.; Severus of Antioch (ca. 465–538), *Les homiliae cathedrales*, PO vol. 8/2, ed. M. Brière (Paris, 1919; rp. Turnhout, 1971) 84ff.; and P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1985) 56. And see *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1970) I:36 (40.10ff.), 57 (70.1ff.), 80 (100.1ff.), 82–83 (103.1ff.), 140 (161.51ff.), on the association of St. George and Michael in Galatia.

Another telling comparison can be made to the “life” and cult of Thecla.⁵⁹ The saint, according to her miracle story, appears in dreams and in other ways beyond her shrine at Seleucia in southeastern Asia Minor. The “life” states that the shrine is located on the site of her descent into the living rock. According to the “life,” God opened the rock in order to engulf her, saying,

“Do not fear . . . behold how it has opened up before you, for there shall be your eternal dwelling place, and there you shall receive shelter.” And . . . Thecla beheld the rock opening up, as much as made room for a person to enter . . . and she entered the rock. And the rock closed straightaway. . . .⁶⁰

The legend is clearly charged with explaining the lack of actual relics or known grave site. The rock simply split at the altar and all suffering and illness were dispelled at that spot. Gilbert Dagron saw this as an alternate tradition that arose locally in Seleucia, orally perhaps, in order to compensate for the absence of relics.⁶¹ For the locals, he proposed, Thecla continued to inhabit the place, eternally resting and alive, like Enoch. Indeed, Severus of Antioch wrote in his homily on Thecla that the saint’s body was entrusted to the earth whence her miracles and healings continue.⁶²

The relics of Cyrus and John, on the other hand, are witness to the authenticity of the cult, at Menuthis near Alexandria.⁶³ The relics had been found by Cyril of Alexandria (378–444),⁶⁴ though they were previously unknown, and brought to the sanctuary at Menuthis. The author of the “life,” Sophronius (ca. 560–638), would brook no doubt on the subject of the relics’ worth and veracity. In one of the miracles, a woman called Athanasia from Alexandria re-

59. L. Deubner, *De incubatione capita quattuor* (Leipzig, 1900) 98ff.

60. Deubner, *De incubatione*, 102.

61. *Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle. Texte grec, traduction et commentaire*, ed. G. Dagron (Brussels, 1978) 50ff.

62. *Les homiliae cathedrales*, 136–37.

63. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d’Orient*, 384ff.

64. *Homilia xviii. Fragmenta de translatione reliquiarum martyrum Cyri et Joannis*, PG 77:1100C ff.

fused the title of martyr to Cyrus and John because no documents existed to satisfy her concerning the saints' deeds and the provenance of their relics.⁶⁵ Sophronius observed that many martyrs do not have documentation for their relics and that devotees piously venerated them for their qualities as intercessors. He further claimed that Cyril of Alexandria's texts are documentation enough for the relics' authenticity. Even without this indisputable fact, he continued, the martyrs' *bona fides* is the number of miracles, which exceeds those of certain other martyrs. Athanasia was willfully deaf to any argument and was struck by paralysis as punishment; only with her repentance was the affliction lifted. With mortal saints, the traces of activity constituted a partial proof of their existence; and yet the infallible proof was their relics.

In contrast to the mortal saints, the bodiless Archangel, who has no earthly existence, is made known by imprints and transformations of the perceptible world; remnants of a physical, mundane past are not possible. The relative stability of the effects, and the wonders deriving from them, is a necessary counterbalance to the essentially incomprehensible nature of the cause, the Archangel Michael. The invisible movements and inscrutable purposes of the angels are sometimes manifest, however, and in a way recognizable and approachable even to humanity. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite described the invisible, intellectual life of the angels using the metaphor of the lion who walks towards the sun without leaving any trace.⁶⁶ In this manner, the angels themselves imitate divine discretion in dissimulating the traces of their intelligence. The angels are permitted a divine illumination in enveloping mysteriously and without arrogance this ascension towards the Thearchy. The intellectual nature of the angels' activities necessitates that unmistakable tracks be left behind to signal the protective presence of Michael, or any other angel, for cult. The abstract and recondite nature of the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius could not have satisfied any desire for

65. *Homilia xviii, XXIX*, PG 87.3:3508A–13C.

66. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, SC vol. 58, ed. G. Heil and M. de Gandillac (Paris, 1958) 185 nr.

devotional certainties. Just the same, these passages on the intellectual life of the angels describe the remoteness and incomprehensibility of the angelic host. This theological conception, then, is the counterpoint to the miracle stories' descriptions of Michael's effect on place. The continuing guardianship manifest in Michael's traces, and underlined in the miracle stories, maintain his immanence in the wake of his difficult epiphany.

The Archangel's own promise of intent in the accounts of the Chonae miracle underlines the importance of place in his cult. At the climax of the miracle story, with the water standing before them to the height of ten persons, Michael struck the impenetrable rock, which resounded throughout the land like thunder. Michael then made his vow (18.8–12): "In this very place will be crushed all suffering and every evil and illness and enchantment and poison and all workings of wickedness. Here all fetters will be loosened and the troubled and the feeble will be healed."

At Gargano also Michael made explicit the motive behind his appearances. He appeared to Garganus and to the bishop, and constructed the chapel, in order that he might make known his will to remain present with benevolent purpose at that site. The material traces of this difficult presence at a blessed place are the signs the cult depended upon and are the common structure of these texts and the cult the texts relate.

Pilgrimage is an extension of this basic impulse to find ongoing testimony of Michael's benevolent activity. The hope of finding deliverance is greater at places where presence is promised and proven.⁶⁷ Victor and Mary Turner have written, "All sites of pilgrimage have this in common: they are believed to be places where miracles once happened, still happen and may happen again."⁶⁸ The shrine at Chonae was the site of pilgrimage and famous festivals in honor of the saint, at least until the late twelfth century and possibly

67. V. Turner and M. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture. Anthropological Perspectives* (New York, 1978) 6.

68. Turner/Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 6.

beyond.⁶⁹ Testimony establishes that pilgrims came to Chonae for the efficacious quality of a site where the presence of the bodiless Archangel was tangible, visible and constant.⁷⁰

The difficulties of perception and comprehension of the angels, particularly of the active and popular Michael, made certain strategies desirable in cult and its textual manifestations. The enigmatic nature of the Archangel found counterbalances in the positive proofs of cult, that is, material traces of the bodiless Archangel. On a textual level, the miracle stories underscore the importance of material traces by such devices as retro-motivation and re-nomination. Pilgrims sought the Archangel's favor, and healing and other assistances were expressions of his material interventions of a benevolent character: these were the cult certainties that the devotion to an immaterial being demanded. According to the stories of the miracle at Chonae, the landscape witnessed in a crucial sense Michael's presence and still contains the effects of that intervention. In a more radical, more thoroughgoing way, the landscape is a witness, since—as will be seen in the following section—autopsy is elusive and illusory.

69. Michael Choniates (ca. 1138–ca. 1222) described the gatherings for the shrine of Michael in this way: “The miracles in the church gave rise to a festival, a multitudinous festival, about it. It is multitudinous, indeed very multitudinous, for it draws, not to exaggerate, all the neighbouring towns, but also in addition the Lydians, Carians, Paphlagonians, and Lycians from beyond, and in addition barbarian Iconiotes, in order to buy and sell.” See Μιχαήλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιατοῦ τὰ Σωζόμενα, ed. S.P. Lampros, 2 vols. (Athens, 1879–1880) I:56; trans. S. Vryonis, Jr., “The *Panegyris* of the Byzantine Saint: A Study in the Nature of a Medieval Institution, Its Origins and Fate,” in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London, 1981) 216.

70. On the pilgrimage to Chonae, see S. Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkeley, 1971, 20, 33 n165, and B. Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa. Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche* (Münster, 1950; rp. Münster, 1980) 166ff., Belke/Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, 223, and Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient*, 385.

Pilgrims also made their way to the shrine of Michael described by Psellus. He mentions a *panegyros* held for Michael there (Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 246.388), and a pilgrims' hostel (Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 246.368–72). And for Gargano, the long and well-documented history of pilgrimage is outlined by Angelillis, *Il santuario del Gargano*, II:163–250.

By their use of metaphor and scriptural model, miracle stories reveal the distance that separates human comprehension from full knowledge of the Archangel. The disparity between this desire for a greater apprehension and the ultimate failure to describe marks the verbal impasse in reports of the Archangel and his activities. Material images also share in this impasse. They normally show a winged youth, as in the Sinai icon of the Chonae miracle (fig. 15), but such a representation is simply an allusion to a transcendent nature rather than a literal rendering of an angel's appearance. Descriptions from miracle stories examined here do not provide stable models for representing the Archangel as they can for human saints. Like images, miracle stories provide a means for apprehension that not only compels contemplation but also denies resemblance and complete discernment of the archangelic subject.

Pre-existing structures derived from scripture and other texts determine to a large extent verbal descriptions in miracle stories of angels, including the Archangel Michael. These descriptions are recognizably "borrowed" and thus venerable because of their origins. They create familiarity and persuade the audience as to the miracle story's verity. At the same time, the unoriginal quality of the descriptions work to another purpose: descriptions of the Archangel obtained from scriptural passages reporting epiphanies indicate the impossibility of language truly rendering an Archangel or angel.

The encounter of holy man and angel at Chonae, as described in the miracle stories, is very much within the scriptural structure of divine epiphany. Furthermore, the encounter indicates the difficulties attendant upon confronting and perceiving an angelic being. Archippus had no sooner finished his Psalm than there arose a great peal of thunder outside the chapel and the Archistrategos appeared (14.16ff.). In the dialogue that ensues, Michael tries to calm the shaken monk. This structure of awful epiphany and conciliation—not to mention the preparations—has an obvious antecedent in the appearance of the "one like the similitude of the sons of men" to Daniel (Dan. 10:1ff.). Michael called out to the monk in a "great

voice” to leave the shrine before he is plunged in the water. Archippus came out very cautiously and saw a vision “glancing like lightning,” and he fell to the ground “as if dead.”⁷¹

At this moment Archippus is given a full vision of the power of his protector, and of his faith: the Archangel is a pillar of fire from earth to heaven.⁷² Exodus described the Angel of the Lord who led the Israelites out of the desert identically, “through the pillar of fire and of the cloud” (Ex. 14:24).⁷³ Moreover, Michael’s fiery nature, established by scripture, Psalm 104:4 most notably, often manifests itself in texts on epiphanies. Fire is a textual veil referring to the difficult nature and aspect established by scripture.

The Archangel thereupon told Archippus to stand firm and witness the power of God. Michael commanded the still approaching rivers to stop, and the waters stood to the height of ten persons. And then, Sissinius says, Michael acted just as Moses at the Red Sea: “For as Moses once formed walls of the waters when he struck them with his staff, and led the people to the promised land out of Egypt, why not even (greater) by the word of the Taxiarch Michael, leader of the entire host of heaven?”⁷⁴ Michael is able to stop the waters with a

71. Sissinius, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 15, AASS Sept. 8:46EF, describes Michael further as a “flashing forth of angelic glory,” an implicit comparison to Moses at Exodus 34:29ff. For instance, Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 330–ca. 395), *In Canticum Canticorum homiliae* xv, XII, PG 44:1025C, says that Moses was like the sun, with “the light flashing forth from his face.”

Archippus’s reaction is not untypical of such a dreadful epiphany: see C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven. A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York, 1982) 367.

72. The same description is found in the Metaphrastic version (Bonnet 27.8–9). Sissinius, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 15, AASS Sept. 8:46E, signals the indescribable nature of the vision with ὡσεὶ στύλος πυρὸς ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν standing on the hard rock near the shrine. The “just as” (ὡσεὶ) is a significant marker of an approximate description.

A fiery nature is one of the aspects of the angels’ being naturally. See, for instance, Pseudo-Dionysius, *De coelestii hierarchia*, XV.2, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 166–71.

The importance of the fiery nature in theology is translated into hagiographical description as seen in the Chonae hagiographies. See also T. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1901–1907; rp. New York, 1975) I:87.

73. See Theodore of Stoudios (759–826), *In sanctos angelos*, 3, PG 99:733CD, on this passage: the “divine angel transformed himself into a pillar of fire,” and “the beauty of the countenance took on the image of a cloud.”

74. Sissinius, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 16, AASS Sept. 8:46F–7A.

word, Sissinius also says, while Moses had to use his staff. The first miracle of stopping the water, then, is comparable to Moses's, but the second is even greater. Michael struck the impenetrable rock which resounded like thunder and shook the entire land, leaving the inhabitants in the surrounding area panic-stricken. At the creation of the chasm Michael made his important promise, that his benign presence would overshadow that place (18.8–17).⁷⁵

The encounter clearly owes some of its structure of awful epiphany, incomprehensible vision, and comforting and revelations to the Book of Daniel, as well as to the Gospel according to Matthew (28:2ff., for example). The identification of the vision is equally fraught. Michael asks, “Do you know who I am, that you shudder at my sight?” To this Archippus can only deny knowledge. Michael thereupon states his identity in terms that evoke the meeting of Joshua and the angel before the battle of Jericho (Joshua 5:14).⁷⁶ Like Joshua, Archippus misapprehends the nature of the epiphany but he saves the situation by not falling on his face and worshipping the “captain of the host of the Lord” as Joshua did. The appearance of the angel to Joshua occurs on holy ground for he tells Joshua, “Loose thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place whereon thou standest is holy” (5:15). This comparison is not explicit in the miracle story but the appearance of Michael at Chonae is *also* the marking of a permanently hallowed spot, as his promises indicate. In other words, the sanctification of the site, and the identification of the agent of that sanctification, is predetermined.

Michael's appearances at Chonae in the miracle story are multi-form. His first appearance is in a dream to the Laodicean pagan. The story described Michael as merely a “night vision” (4.2ff.) in the

75. Μηναία τῷ ὁλοῦ ἐνταυτοῦ, 6 vols. (Rome, 1888–1901) I:71 on Moses and Michael at Horeb (Ex. 17:6), and, 73, at the Red Sea. Michael is at the Burning Bush (Ex. 3:2), as described in the *Analecta hymnica graeca*, ed. A. Kominis (Rome, 1972) 232; the text also suggests a comparison between Moses who parted the sea with his staff (Ex. 14:16.21) and Michael's own similar deed (237). See Pantaleon, *Narratio miraculorum maximi archangeli Michaelis*, XIII, PG 140:580C–1A, on Michael's role in the engulfing of Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea (Ex. 14:1ff.).

76. Elliott, *Roads to Paradise*, 116ff., notes that in the Book of Tobias Raphael identifies himself in this way: Ego enim sum Raphael angelus (12:15).

anonymous version; in the Metaphrastian version, the pagan saw “a more Godly vision announcing better goodnesses” (22.13ff.). The Laodicean pagan is granted an incomplete glimpse of the Archangel, although his vision, according to Metaphrastes again, was a vision of some intellectual being standing beside him (22.22–23). “For he was not worthy of being a spectator of such things, how then can he see with the eyes of his soul, embracing as he did, an unbeliever, that gloom of the faithless” (22.18–20)? And the apparition told the pagan to go to the spring, and the result was the new chapel for Michael’s shrine (22.23ff.).

Later, in the destructive schemes of the local pagans, Michael makes his presence known in several different ways. The first plan of the pagans was direct assault, but this went wrong when they encountered at the source an inexplicable phenomenon: “Those who came saw flames of fire reflecting from the water in their own faces. And in this way the disbelievers were turned back, having been overpowered” (9.2–5). After this the pagans determined an indirect approach would accomplish their ends better and they diverted the Chryses; but Michael’s invisible intervention subverted that plot as well: the river divided in two and missed the shrine altogether. The pagans then decided to go one better; they dammed the Lykophros and the Kouphos until the rivers should have enough power to overwhelm the shrine, the hermit and the holy spring. At this point the most dramatic epiphany occurs:

In order therefore that the just be safeguarded, and the site of his holy spring, and church . . . and that God be extolled, he who makes great and inscrutable miracles, the Archangel Michael acting as servant was seen just as a pillar of fire reaching from the earth to the heavens and standing on the immovable rock by the shrine. . . .⁷⁷

77. *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 15, *AASS* Sept. 8:46E. According to Sissinius, Michael disappeared as incomprehensibly as he arrived, “The venerable one saw him as if a flame of fire streamed up into the heavens, filled with puzzlement and fear, he went back to sing psalms in the holy shrine, ‘God has sent his angel and liberated and saved me from the snares of the beasts, and he guarded his sacred shrine from the inundation of the waters’” (*Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 18, *AASS* Sept. 8:47AB).

The miracle story describes, then, a progression of revelation, all of a difficult and incomprehensible nature. Michael's mutability is an inescapable aspect of his appearances, as well as the manner in which human comprehension and description come up short in the face of such epiphanies. The security of angelic epiphanies from Hebrew scripture offers a kind of textual anchor in these miracle stories for otherwise impossible descriptions.

The epiphany on the mountainside at Gargano, for instance, uses direct borrowings from scripture to describe Michael's terrible appearance. The day after he had appeared in a dream to the bishop predicting "angelic victory" of the Sipontini, Michael made his presence on the mountain known through rumblings, darkness and lightning, which borrow directly from Exodus 19:16: "And it came to pass on the third day, when it was morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of a trumpet exceeding loud; and all the people that were in the camp trembled." The Greek text is more overt than the Latin version about its scriptural models and also calls up images from Isaiah 60:2 ("For behold, darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the peoples; but upon thee the Lord will arise, and His glory shall be seen upon thee").⁷⁸ The fire that mysteriously announces the presence of Michael at the shrine of Psellus has appropriated the particulars of the textual description from the scene of Moses and the Burning Bush in Exodus (3:2ff.). Michael as the fire which does not consume the bush, as the pillar of fire that led the Israelites, as the lightning and darkness on Sinai, are all sanctioned allusions to incomprehensible epiphanies of divine power.⁷⁹

78. Leanza 303.83ff. and 315; *AASS* Sept. 8:61D.

79. One further example is the appearance of Michael to Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604) on top of Hadrian's Mausoleum, subsequently Castel San Angelo, in 590 (*AASS* Sept. 8:72BC). Michael appears and silently returns his sword to its sheath, thereby signaling the reconciliation between God and the people of Rome. This reconciliation is effected through the disclosure of the source of the affliction and of the cessation of its attack. Michael is the bearer of reconciliation, not particularly benign, and of the abeyance of heavenly wrath, which is very much in the tradition of an Old Testament appearance. Rome is likened implicitly to Jerusalem, and Gregory to David, as the appearance has an antecedent at 1 Chronicles 21:15–27: "And God sent an angel unto Jerusalem to destroy it: and as he was destroying, the Lord beheld, and he repented him of the evil, and said to the angel

The miracle stories did not efface Michael's character as an angel of nature or as an elemental force. The choice of texts from scripture emphasizes this aspect of the Archangel's nature while also pointing to the Archangel's essential indescribability. The miracle stories describe Michael's appearance at Chonae as fire, thunder and lightning. Miracle stories often express Michael's character by such naturalistic metaphors, and, as Olga Rojdestvensky wrote, Michael is typically described in such elemental terms as "flashes of lightning, explosions of thunder, babbling of springs, sound of water falls, mystery of abyss and of grottoes, eternal silence of summits."⁸⁰ The descriptions of Michael are in an essential way profoundly dissembling, and the revelation at Chonae and his personal intervention in the local geography were strategies by which Michael's expansive and elusive character gained delineation and real presence.⁸¹

The topos concerning the distance between humanity and the angels common to theological speculation is equally present in the descriptions in miracle stories of the acts of the angels in this world. Pantaleon, in his miracle story of the Archangel Michael, is explicit about the inability of words to convey, and human comprehension to embrace, the nature of the angels.

How therefore shall we undertake to praise you according to your excellence, by what means shall we aspire to your praises, O Leader of the Host of the almighty God? What incorporeal voice, accord-

that destroyed, It is enough, stay now thine hand. . . . And David lifted up his eyes, and saw the angel of the Lord stand between the earth and the heaven, having a sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem. . . . And the Lord commanded the angel; and he put his sword again into the sheath thereof." Again, scripture provides the structure for these difficult epiphanies.

This connection of the appearance of Michael to Gregory and 1 Chronicles was noted by Hasluck, *Letters on Religions and Folklore*, 84–85.

80. O. Rojdestvensky, *Le culte de saint Michel et le moyen age latin* (Paris, 1922) 54, and also 53: "La dramatique légende de saint Michel, pleine de jeux de lumière et d'ombre, devait ressusciter avec une puissance toute particulière là où les forces volcaniques et neptuniennes creusaient les précipices, faisaient jaillir les cascades, là où les vapeurs, fumées et flammes sulfuriques faisaient irruption." See also W. Lueken, *Michael. Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morganländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael* (Göttingen, 1898) 73–74.

81. Gothein, "L'arcangelo Michele," 108–109.

ing with the level of your incorporeal intelligence, shall we offer by means of our material and corporeal lips? What sounds shall we use to signify the ineffability and inexplicability of your glory? It is doubtful in truth that the collective nature of all earth born creation could laud and praise you, you who are the Leader of the Heavenly Host. For the matter of your divine beauty and splendor cannot be narrated and told by words. For in this way marvelous knowledge of God was made by us. . . . It is not possible by human comprehension for him to be apprehended and discovered.⁸²

If real description is therefore impossible, then recognition and identification of angelic epiphany is equally laden with risk of failure. As noted above, Archippus was completely at a loss until Michael revealed his identity in terms comprehensible to a man—and to the listener—thanks to the scriptural meaning behind this particular identification. At Gargano, Michael was identified subsequently by dream revelation and more securely by the material effects. Pantaleon also relates a miracle at the church of Michael at Eusebios, Constantinople, concerning a certain candle-maker Marcianus. All the doors of the church were suddenly flung open and towards him came “a fearful man as out of the heaven, with a rush descending on horseback on a white and terrible steed.”⁸³ Michael is dressed in the robe of a *praepositus*, or court official.⁸⁴ Marcianus knew only the terrifying aspect of his ecstatic vision until Michael declared his proprietorship of the shrine. Although Michael led Marcianus to the candle before his own icon, the icon plays no role in

82. *Narr. mir. max. arch. Mich.*, I, PG 140:573B–4B.

83. The parallel with the appearance of the angels to drive Apollonius out of the temple in the Third Book of Maccabees is striking: “there appeared from heaven angels, with flashing armour, who filled them with dread and terror. Then did Apollonius fall half dead in the court of the Gentiles and he stretched his hands to heaven. . . .” See *The Third and Fourth Book of Maccabees*, trans. M. Hadas (New York, 1953; rp. New York, 1976) 164 (4:9–14).

84. F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscou* (Brussels, 1963) 149–50; the other comes from the Life of Andrew the Fool (seventh century?), 233–36, PG 111:877A–80C. Other examples are found in Ch. Angelidi, “La version longue de la Vision du moine Cosmas,” *AB* 101(1983):86.188–187.196; Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, I:86.8ff.; and Achmet ibn Sirin (late eighth / early ninth century), *Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexler (Leipzig, 1925) 5–6 (#10).

determining the identity of the vision but only the place and means of real healing.

Visual identification of an Archangel is not possible since miracle stories and theology both agree that he has no form fully comprehensible to humans. Consequently, any stable resemblance in images of such a being remains out of reach. Cyril Mango has written that the angels are represented as they are, that is, as beardless, winged young men, because that is how they generally appear. "Whenever angels and archangels make themselves manifest in the Lives of saints and other edifying texts they do so in the guise of eunuchs or imperial *cubicularii*, not that of emperors."⁸⁵ Instances of the angels appearing as eunuchs are not uncommon.⁸⁶ Yet the texts are not homogeneous in this regard, as the miracle stories of the Archangel Michael discussed above show.⁸⁷ Moreover, the relation between description in miracle stories and the images of angels is not straightforward. Making images of angels is not a matter of transcription of visual information (or even textual description), since visions of these beings are clearly difficult to process, comprehend and render.

85. C. Mango, "St. Michael and Attis," *DChAE* 12(1984):44.

86. The post-Iconoclastic assimilation of court officials, particularly eunuchs, and angels, and the incongruities of that assimilation, have been examined recently by E. V. Maltese, "Gli angeli in terra: sull'immaginario dell'angelo bizantino," *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 24(1990):III–32 [= *Dimensione bizantine. Donne, angeli e demoni nel medioevo greco* (Turin, 1995) 69–92].

87. Finally, one need only browse through the many texts concerning Michael and the other angels collected by Amélineau, *Contes et romans de l'Égypte chrétienne*, to realize the endless variations possible. For instance, Michael appears to Donatius, in "Comment se convertit la ville d'Athènes," as "un homme lumineux sous l'apparence d'un général d'armée, tenant un sceptre d'or à la main" (ibid., 2). And in the "Vision de Saint Jean l'Évangile racontée par le patriarche Timothée," Michael "descendit du ciel monté sur sa barque de chérubims, escorté de tous les anges, des saints, des plus grands parmi les prophètes et les martyrs: ils étaient tous enveloppés d'une gloire indescriptible" (ibid., 13–14). And the Archangel Gabriel in the "Histoire d'Aour" appeared to the young Aour in another fashion: "Depuis le jour de ma naissance, le vingt-deuxième jour de chaque mois, il vient à moi vers le matin un oiseau dont le face brille comme le soleil; il est ceint d'une ceinture dorée, coiffée d'une couronne d'émerande et tient à sa maison une baguette d'or rouge. Son corps semble du feu, ses pieds du cuivre brillant, sa figure est celle d'un homme, ses traits étincellent et le son de sa voix est comme le bruit des flots de la mer quand elle est agitée. Toutes les fois que je l'ai vu ... je suis tombé à ses pieds rempli d'effroi et il m'a relevé en disant: Ne crains pas! je suis l'archange Gabriel que me tiens devant le trône de Dieu ..." (ibid., 112–13).

Identification of an angel by means of the description on an image is theoretically possible, however, if not in any way definitive. In the text praising Michael written by Psellus, a monk named Ephraim was able to recognize Michael because the Archangel had chosen the form manifested on his image for this epiphany in the monastery's church.⁸⁸ And the miracle story of Artemius, written in the 660s about his shrine in the church of John the Baptist in Oxeia at Constantinople, describes an identification of an angel.⁸⁹ One of the stories in the miracle story describes the night vision of a young girl, Euphemia.⁹⁰ In her vision angels led her to the lead coffin of the eponymous saint of the shrine, Artemius, and made her lie down in it. The coffin was then locked by the saint, trapping her inside. When she awoke, recovered from her illness, she gave an account of her vision. Her mother asked her if she had seen the angels, and Euphemia replied that she had. Her mother then asked her in what form had they appeared.⁹¹ The girl answered by indicating the images of the angels found in that church.⁹²

The mother's question is telling. In asking what form the angels appeared, she was acknowledging the possibility of other guises. And in voluntarily making themselves commensurate with their appearance on images in the church, the angels revealed their ability to condescend in form for human comprehension. In other words, angels manifest their terrible elemental force in famous instances of awesome intervention but for this girl the angels took a benign aspect in keeping with her youth and fitness.

The topos of recognition of a holy person by means of his or her image, therefore, has relevance for discussion of miracle story de-

88. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 253.565–69. On this episode, see A. Cutler and R. Browning, "In the Margins of Byzantium? Some Icons in Michael Psellos," *BMGS* 16(1992):24–25.

89. C. Mango, "On the History of the *Templon* and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople," *Zograf* 10(1979):40ff.

90. V.S. Crisafulli and J.W. Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios. A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-Century Byzantium* (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1997) 176–84, and Mango, "On the History of the *Templon*," 43.

91. Crisafulli/Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, 180.23.

92. Crisafulli/Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, 180.23–24.

scriptions of angels. For Gilbert Dagron, images play a central role in the identification of saints in miracle stories, to the point of fundamentally determining the manner in which Byzantines visually perceived their saints.⁹³ For example, Cosmas and Damian approach the bed of a suppliant “in the form in which they are outlined.”⁹⁴ A letter of Nilus of Ankara (d. ca. 430) describes an episode of St. Platon’s life in which he freed a monk’s son from prison. Platon was recognized by the son through the saint’s image.⁹⁵ A similar episode exists in the tenth-century *Vita* of Irene of Chrysobalanton: “... while the holy woman stood interceding with her hands lifted up, she saw Basil the Great standing before her, looking such as the icons represent him.”⁹⁶

The second way miracle stories can state resemblance are instances where the saint appears to provide a perfect model for a painter, effectively taking the brush out of the painter’s hand. For instance, the “life” of Cornelius the Centurion emphasized the fidelity of the saint’s image, which was venerated at Skepis in the Hellespont. The exactitude of the copy, after the archetype, was particularly commended. The painter Egratius was hired by the bishop to make a copy of this image in order to send it from Skepis to Caesarea in

93. G. Dagron, “Holy Images and Likeness,” *DOP* 45(1991):30ff.; and idem, “Rêver de Dieu et parler de soi. Le rêve et son interprétation d’après les sources byzantines,” in *I sogni nel medioevo*, ed. T. Gregory (Rome, 1985) 42ff.

94. L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian. Texte und Einleitung* (Leipzig, 1907) 133.23–24.

95. See Mansi XIII:32C–3C.

96. *The Life of St Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton. A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes and Indices*, ed. J. O. Rosenqvist (Uppsala, 1986) 56.9–13: “... τοιοῦτον οἶον αἱ εἰκόνες γράφουσιν.”

Other examples are found in the seventh-century *Vita* of Theodore of Sykeon, written by his disciple George; see *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, I:34 (39.5–6): “The two saints were seen by him according to the likeness therefore of that which is seen in divine worship.” Festugière translates this as “sous l’aspect qu’ils avaient en cette image de culte.” The monk is said to be praying beneath the icon of Cosmas and Damian. And also at I:29 (32.9–13), Theodore’s mother has a vision of George according to the depicted story of the martyr George. George is described as a golden youth with curly hair and shining aspect.

And from the tenth-century “Vision of Cosmas the Monk”: “And suddenly, as if sent by someone, two men appeared with white robes and very venerable, and I recognised them to be the apostles Andrew and John, as I was put in mind (ἀναλογιζόμενος) of their appearances on the holy icons.” See Angelidi, “La version longue de la Vision du moine Cosmas,” 4.125–28.

Palestine. Egratius was then afflicted and healed by the saint, and with thanks he made an image “just he had seen him.” The portrait was then sent to Palestine and valued, the narrator says, because of the exactitude of its copying.⁹⁷ From examples such as these, Dagron concludes that the relationship between images and their models is reversed and “that [images] are no longer attached to the past but to the future.”⁹⁸ And further, “It is no longer the image that resembles the saint, but the saint who resembles his image.”⁹⁹

The number of examples in which the image determines the nature of the vision is, however, quite limited. The majority of examples of appearances of saints, by far, is in forms of disguise, if the miracle story provides a description at all. Artemius appears as a butcher, sailor, patrician, and in other guises.¹⁰⁰ Cosmas and Damian appear in many different guises (in the form of clerics, for example), alone or with a third person; they do their work either by “invisible hands” or “their own hands.”¹⁰¹ This last denotes the really important aspect: their activity and traces of their activity radiate from the center of their cult, that is, their bodies and relics. Nevertheless, the most significant admission concerning the nature of the saints’ appearances is that they appear “in a form *not* their own,”¹⁰² as the miracle story states. The miracle story of Cyrus and John furnishes another important example. It describes the two saints as appearing fulgent, in white robes, in a monk’s habit, as doctors, as the deacon Julian and in various other guises, but also, significantly, in

97. F. Halkin, “Un abrégé inédit de la vie ancienne et disparue de Corneille le Centurion,” *RSBN* n.s. 1(1964):37 (#6). And other examples are found in the *Vita S. Mariae Iunoris* (before 866?–ca. 902/3), *AASS* Nov. 4:699BC, and the life of Athanasius the Athonite (925/30–ca. 1001), *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, *Corpus Christianorum*, Series Graeca, vol. 9, ed. J. Noret (Turnhout, 1982) 122 (#254).

98. Dagron, “Holy Images and Likeness,” 31.

99. Dagron, “Holy Images and Likeness,” 31, and also: “more than ever it is [the saints’] cult image that serves as a reference.”

100. Crisafulli/Nesbitt. *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, 88.15–16, 96.22, 104.12–13, 144.21, 194.15–16.

101. See Deubner, *De incubatione*, 68ff.

102. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 99.21 (my emphasis). And other examples of guises: 135.25, “appearing in the form of a *περιχύτος*,” and 145.43–44, “the two appeared to him in the forms of clerics.”

their *own* form.¹⁰³ Again, the saints must acknowledge an earthly existence, even after death, that determines the essential nature of their being, even if this does not altogether regulate their subsequent manifestations. Angels have no such mooring. They are changeable by nature and essentially unknowable—*all* their outward forms are not their own.

This chapter has sought to indicate the means by which miracle stories, and cult as well, made the Archangel Michael more apprehensible and proximate. For a being that is bodiless, immaterial and elemental, the signs of appearance and presence made apparent in the texts are tangible and incontrovertible. Moreover, because of Michael's uncontainable nature, they are impressions; Michael does not relinquish anything of his "body," only indications of attendance. These signs that are both tangible and provisional give the texts and cult their special tension in that they simultaneously assert that he is really present but also powerfully immanent. By means of retro-motivation, indeed, Michael's acts, and even his will, are superseded by the texts' logic. The place name engenders its own sequence of activities and the text works backwards from "the place was thereafter known as Chonae" to create Michael's seminal act preset by language itself.

This desire for more apprehensibility is the complement of the other textual device examined in this chapter, that is, how miracle stories "got round" the difficulties of expressing the inexpressible nature of Michael. The seamless application of scriptural description to this task of expression is the clearest sign of descriptive impasse. On an overt level, the scriptural passages indicate enigmatic theophanies and venerable acts that parallel and prefigure Michael's own appearances and acts. Michael is like Moses in the miraculous manipulation of water for the protection of God's chosen people. Michael's manifestations recall the phenomena revealed to the prophets during sacred disclosures in the past. And the scriptural structures of receiving epiphany found in Daniel, Joshua and Matthew provide a mold within which witness under the New Covenant can be cast. In this

103. Deubner, *De incubatione*, 80ff.

sense, the narrators of these miracle stories of Michael provided scriptural models of revelation that were recognizable and accessible descriptions of the Archangel's famous moments on earth.

On the level of latent meaning, the arrogation of description signals at important points the lack of ability, or even intent, of speech and text to render in an original or descriptive fashion a being like the Archangel Michael. On this level, recognition of the original site of the text, in Exodus or Matthew for instance, is not essential for the audience. The descriptions of Michael as fire and earthquake and lightning do not rely for their full meaning on the audience's identifying the original context of the description. They signal the difficulty of comprehension, just the same, in their evocation of grand, irrational phenomena: the formless Archangel assumes all of these elements as his cloak but none are his own, none make him fully known.

Material images are likewise allusive to difficult nature, and this allusive quality makes angels' images incapable of possessing real likeness. Beings as transcendental as angels possess no definitive likeness inherently, and images partake equally of this indefinable resemblance. Recalling the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius, images are dissembling signs which the viewer engages in intellectually and without adherence. Describing an approach to images of angels, Agathias's epigram reveals an ability to interpret material images as the symbolic means to knowledge of an incomprehensible creature.¹⁰⁴ In this description of the image of the Archangel, the difficulty of comprehension derives from the incorporeal nature which would seem to be incompatible with material representation; but in Agathias's conception, the image also provides the viewer with the means to approach knowledge of the distant and immaterial Archangel by way of contemplation of the colors and outlines on the surface of the image. The material image is, therefore, the bridge between mundane reality and spiritual truths otherwise unattainable.

Michael's bodiless, relic-less existence provides such signs for human comprehension; less ambiguous material effects such as

104. Discussed in chapters 2 and 3.

Michael's transformations of landscape, imprints of invisibility, are essential proofs for a degree of knowledge of his activity and nature. Miracle stories and images work subtly. Texts exploit recognizable patterns from scripture to give the descriptions of events and appearances structure but at the same time deny any essential descriptiveness in their evocation of elemental and multiform wonders. In a comparable way, images depend on their non-resembling qualities to attract and lead the viewer to recognition of a higher, invisible reality. Michael transcends the ability of words and images to describe such a reality but it is this inability that attracts and compels contemplation.

CONCLUSION

This study has been concerned with representation in the widest sense. Examinations of material images notwithstanding, it has primarily explored conceptual problems involved in representing angels that arise from the unquantifiable nature of the bodiless host. “Subtle bodies” was a favored theological formulation for the nature of angels. The formulation was ascribed to Macarius the Great,¹ but it was the primary definition used by John of Thessalonike (d. 649?) in his defense of the worship of angels’ images ostensibly before a pagan opponent.² Moreover, the fathers of the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 included the “dialogue” between John of Thessalonike and the pagan in the conciliar acts, and so the definition—slippery, imprecise, but apt—became the basic definition of the nature of God’s messengers. Complementary to its examination of the representational problems of angels, this study has also examined the “image” of the holy man who sought the intercession of the Archangel

1. See the Introduction.

2. Mansi, XIII:164–65; H. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit vor dem Bilderstreit*, Texte und Untersuchungen, vol. 139 (Berlin, 1992) 327–28. And see G. Peers, “Imagination and Angelic Epiphany,” *BMGS* 21(1997):113–31, on this text.

Michael and witnessed the awful result of that prayer. Clearly, worship of angels, their “persons” and their images both, was a divisive issue in the Byzantine world, and the story of the miracle at Chonae was an attempt to establish a basis for a more seemly and more orthodox worship.

Evidently, then, angels raised issues that writers of theology and miracle stories tried to resolve. Many of the difficulties arose from the pagan antecedents to angel worship and, indeed, their iconography in Christian art. The “dialogue” of John of Thessalonike reveals just this difficulty as late as the seventh century, and its resolution by this earlier theologian still had relevance for the Council at Nicaea in the following century. The pagan, with whom John was in theory debating, had no difficulty in seeing the parallels between pagan worship of gods and Christian worship of angels. In a most polite manner, he observed that Christians paint the angels as human and worship them through these paintings, despite the belief that these beings were not human but incorporeal and spiritual. Surely, he reasoned, like Porphyry long before, this practice is no different than the pagan worship of their gods. John, of course, sidestepped the parallel drawn and offered a complete rebuttal to this possible rapprochement. He based his position primarily on the truth of the Christian pantheon versus the falseness of the pagan gods, but the fact that such a rebuttal was necessary as late as the seventh century shows that perceived parallels between angels and pagan beings were still possible.

The miracle story of Michael’s appearances at Chonae is further proof of an ongoing problem that the church thought necessary to combat. The story itself reveals that in the eighth century the issue of proper approach to angels was still alive. The caretaker Archippus is a prescriptive “image” of the appropriate manner of praying to the Archangel, and his answered prayer is the clearest indication of its appropriateness. The Archangel nonetheless revealed his origins as an angel of uncontrollable natural forces—earthquake, lightning, thunder and water—and, although the story sublimates these forces in scriptural allusions, Michael still had some of the overweening characteristics that made an orthodox presentation of angelology neces-

sary in the miracle story. The miracle story could not altogether efface Michael the Nile god of the Coptic text examined in the Introduction.

This study has also sought to demonstrate that representing angels—in miracle stories and material images—was part of a desire to make these bodiless beings more comprehensible and proximate. As theological discussion of angels had antecedents in pagan vocabulary and concepts, and contended with these antecedents, so self-conscious continuity from the Classical past was a characteristic of descriptions of angels in the visual arts. Sculptors, painters and mosaicists clearly were aware of models available in pagan art that could aid them in their search for an iconography capable of describing, albeit partially, the special immaterial, formless nature of angels. As seen on the Sarigüzel sarcophagus (fig. 3), they borrowed iconographic elements from pagan art, most notably wings, to this end, but maintained at the same time the angels' peculiarity as Christian beings.

Most Christian viewers evidently found this iconography sufficiently expressive of angelic nature and activity. On the evidence of sixth-century epigrams, painted panels with single figures of angels or Archangels became more common in devotion in this period. As a way of communicating the nature and activities of this invisible host, many Christians perceived these icons as "guarantors of knowledge,"³ even if images of angels ultimately frustrated full comprehension of the models.

In the period preceding Iconoclasm, sources dealing with images of angels reveal an increasing desire to regulate and define the place of images in Christian worship.⁴ For some Christians, the break with the Classical past in the visual arts was not clear enough, and the iconography of angels, though consciously distanced from its antecedents, was sullied by any association with pagan art. From the fourth to the seventh century, the writings of Macarius Magnes, Severus of Antioch and John of Thessalonike reveal a defensiveness on the part of Christians concerning the iconography of these bodi-

3. Cameron, "The Language of Images," 2.

4. See Cameron, "The Language of Images," 30.

less beings. The writings of opponents to angels' images also show dissent over the route to knowledge that images provide. For these opponents, material signs were clearly inadequate to describe the transcendental nature of angels.

Yet the increasing importance that images came to have in the period preceding Iconoclasm attests to a wide acceptance of material images as a means to understand divine things. The divergence shown in these two positions stands for a fundamental divide in Byzantine society over appropriate commemoration and worship. This study has attempted to describe the long-standing debate over the conceptual problems of representing angels, both visually and verbally. In the course of the sixth and seventh centuries, as Christian images became more common in devotion, these debates became more acute. This study has traced the "realignment" in Byzantine society that Averil Cameron describes but with specific regard to angels in texts of this period, taking passages from theological writings on images, question and answer guides and anti-Jewish tracts.⁵ All of these writings showed an increased concern over the meaning and nature of angelic signs, appropriate commemoration and material worship. This struggle over worship and images only became more acute in the eighth and ninth centuries, when this crisis came to a head with the declaration of Iconoclasm in the 720s, and the sources from the period of Iconoclasm attest to the role angels and their images played in this conflict.

The end of Iconoclasm in 843 effectively resolved the debate over the role of images of angels that had been decided in favor of a careful and abundant synthesis of material signs in spiritual worship. Just the same, images of angels always partake of a measure of ambiguity despite their full acceptance into Byzantine worship. Cameron writes, "Religious images ... fell naturally into place as one of the signs by which the impossibility of understanding God through language could be circumvented."⁶ This statement implies, however,

5. See Cameron, "The Language of Images," 3–4.

6. Cameron, "The Language of Images," 30; and see L. Brubaker, "Byzantine Art in the Ninth Century: Theory, Practice, and Culture," *BMGS* 13(1989):75ff.

that the debates over images that lasted from the sixth to the ninth century were resolved in favor of images that were explicit and literal in their description of spiritual reality.⁷ Rather, the tension between manifest form and incomprehensible nature, evident in the texts—epigrams, theology and miracle stories—is a defining characteristic of images of angels throughout the Byzantine period. This tension continued to determine the production and perception of images of angels long after the end of Iconoclasm. This Conclusion also aims, then, to examine briefly the tension between presence and transcendence, description and incomprehensibility, in images and texts of the middle and late Byzantine periods.

A Palaiologan icon of the Archangel Michael in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, is a particularly fine example of the pull between materiality and incorporeality that images of angels can communicate (fig. 19).⁸ This icon, in fact, manifests an especially subtle manipulation of style and iconography. Michael's spiritual qualities were made immediately clear to the Byzantine viewer since the Archangel is winged. Michael gracefully holds a staff and an orb in his hands, and a delicate fillet, tied at the back, is visible in his shoulder-length hair. The face of the Archangel is handled with great refinement. Indeed, the qualities of his face and expression, the full mouth, finely modeled cheeks and chin and detailed shaping of luxuriant hair, show a desire on the part of the painter to manifest a degree of sensuality in this image. Yet the painter at the same time denies the apparently terrestrial presence of the Archangel, in particular through his treatment of the eyes which are large and focused directly on the beholder. The Archangel's piercing eyes create a distance from the realm of the viewer that the sensual handling of the Archangel para-

7. This position is taken also by H. L. Kessler, "Real Absence: Early Medieval Art and the Metamorphosis of Vision," in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo*, Settimane vol. 45 (Spoleto, 1998) II:1157–70. But as C. von Schönborn, *L'icône du Christ. Fondements théologiques élaborées entre le Ier et le IIer Concile de Nicée (325–787)* (Fribourg, 1976) 217ff., has demonstrated, the characteristic of an image of Christ is opacity and particularity.

8. See M. Soteriou, "Παλαιολογέιος εἰκὼν τοῦ Ἀρχαγγελοῦ Μιχαήλ," *DChAE* 1(1959): 80ff., M. Alpatov, "Sur l'iconographie des anges dans l'art de Byzance et de l'ancienne Russie," *Zograf* 11(1980):6, and *Conversation with God. Icons from the Byzantine Museum of Athens (9th–15th Centuries)*. *The Hellenistic Centre, London, 22 May–20 June 1998* (Athens, 1998) 65–69.

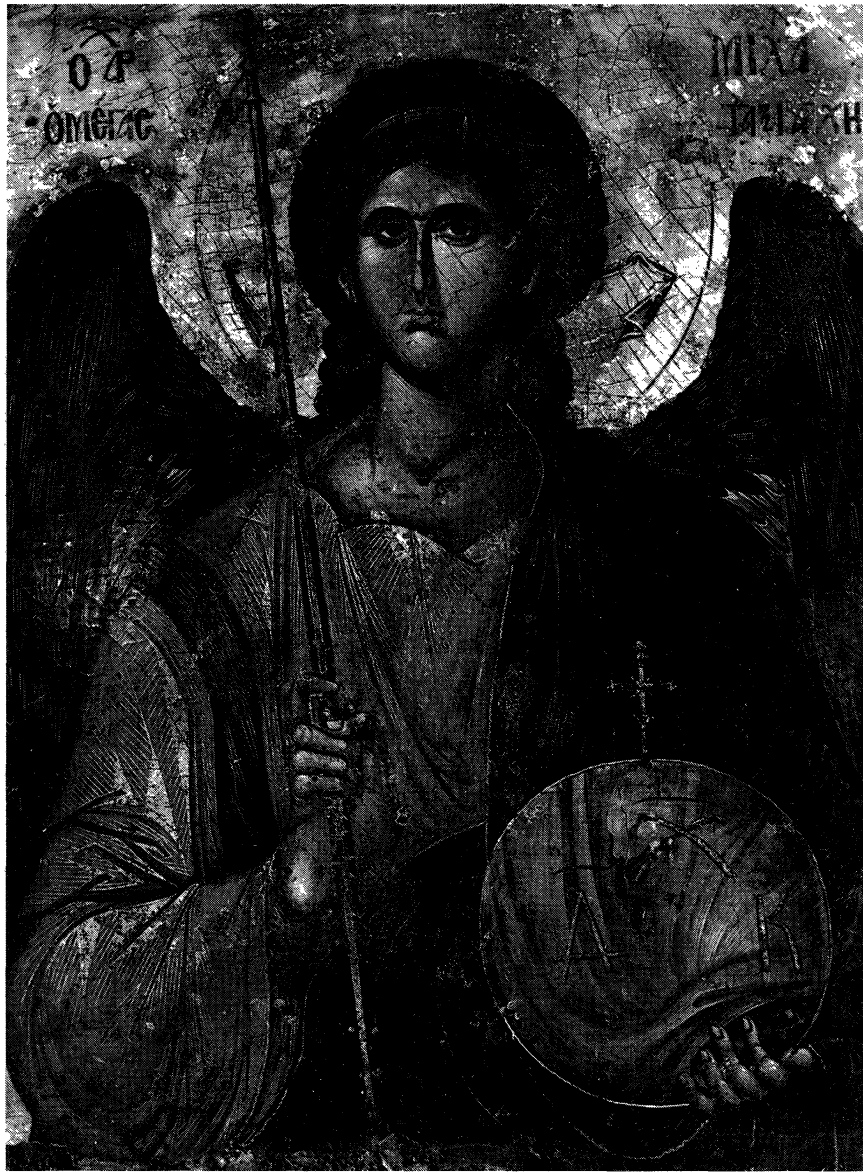


Figure 19. Icon of the Archangel Michael, Byzantine Museum, Athens, Palaiologan. Photo: Byzantine Museum, Athens.

doxically encourages. But the eyes also impart a sense of presence since the archangel is not gazing frontally out of the icon. In order to accommodate the equipment he presents, he has his right shoulder pushed closer to the picture plane than the left, and consequently his head turns slightly back to the left. This turning, found in some early icons also (fig. 1), gives the impression of animation, of the

body and eyes swiveling in order to take the viewer into account. So the eyes have the ability to create distance and presence at the same time, both through the penetrating scrutiny and the illusion of alertness which the sidelong stare implies. On this icon, style and iconography form a conjunction of corporeality and transcendence that encourages approach but thwarts familiarity: ultimately, the icon describes a nature contingent upon our material world, a nature that is only partially described and describable.⁹

While a formal analysis of this particularly fine example shows that painters could communicate the conditional quality of human comprehension of angelic nature, epigrams and ekphraseis from the Middle and Late Byzantine periods demonstrate that this quality was fully appreciated by the Byzantine viewer. The contingency of angelic nature, which images can state so subtly and compellingly, evoked articulate responses in writers on images and these responses show a striking continuity in writings about images of angels from the sixth century on. The persistence of these responses could be interpreted as normative, that is, as literary *topoi* that reappear periodically in Byzantine culture without demonstrable connection to real images.¹⁰ Yet formal analyses of images of angels show that painters did sometimes employ elements of style and iconography to attempt description of the problems of angelic nature. Texts about images of angels demonstrate that Byzantine viewers were fully engaged with these artistic attempts. The allusive, contingent quality of such images was a significant intellectual and devotional assumption that had real and ongoing meaning for the Byzantine viewer. Noteworthy, too, is the continuity from iconophile descriptions of angelic appearance and images to these later texts; evidently, iconophile image theory did have a degree of influence over the perpetuation of certain

9. Charles Barber has described the non-representational quality of Byzantine art as its primary attractive component; that is, the tension between reality and abstraction draws the viewer to contemplate the image in a more active manner. See C. Barber, "From Transformation to Desire: Art and Worship after Byzantine Iconoclasm," *ArtB* 75(1993):12: "one could argue that the formal practices employed in Byzantine art draw attention to the pictorial field itself as an autonomous significant space rather than as a representational space."

10. A problem addressed in D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago and London, 1989) 291–94.

perceptions of images after the issues had been decided in the mid-ninth century.

Several epigrams on images of angels by John Mavropus (ca. 1000–ca. 1075/81), Metropolitan of Euchaïta, reveal continuity with earlier epigrams and image theory, and also a meaningful engagement with conceptual problems raised by material images of immaterial beings. Like the epigram of Agathias on the icon given in thanksgiving to the Archangel Michael, Mavropus also described an icon vowed because of particular devotion to the Archangel:

“On the bodiless one”: Who can give shape to the shapeless nature?
The faithful Theodora [has provided] a crown. And how does one
depict the unknowable sight? Faith easily reconciles all these things.
And what reward does this most pious woman desire? She yearns af-
ter the spiritual saviour of all things. Archistrategos, hasten, fulfill the
yearning. This faithful woman will hold to this desire especially.¹¹

In relating Theodora’s longing for the protection of the Archangel, Mavropus played on the idea of Michael’s immanence. The epigram noted the transcendence of Michael’s nature, the “shapeless” and “bodiless” quality of the Archangel, that is essentially “unknowable.” The gap between this unknowable nature and human comprehension is bridged by two complementary means: the tension between the material shaping of “the shapeless nature” and “the unknowable sight,” and the faith of the viewer that leads him or her to contemplation and conviction. This process is a remarkable condensation of the elaborate image theory of the Iconoclastic period. The need to prove the circumscribability of a formless, immaterial host and the subsequent defense of the symbolic, non-resembling iconography of angels had lost any urgency that the eighth- / ninth-century context demanded; yet this same theoretical construct that justified the making of images of angels and the value they have for Christians was still valid in the eleventh century.

11. *Versus iambici*, PG 120:1177AB; *Iohannis Euchaïtorum metropolitae quae in codice vaticano graeco 676 supersunt*, ed. P. de Lagarde (Göttingen, 1882; rp. Amsterdam, 1979) 38 (#73).

Another epigram by Mavropus also described the tension between matter and immateriality that is the defining characteristic of images of angels; while this tension was common in some form to other religious images, capturing ethereal formlessness on a material image is an act peculiar to representing angels. In this epigram, Mavropus recounted the unresolved coincidence of color and formlessness on an image of the Archangel Michael:

“On the Archangel Michael”: Light, spirit and fire, we know the angels to be altogether above baseness and feeling: but the leader of immaterial host is set here formed out of colours. O faith, such wonders have you the power to bring about, so easily [you give] shapeless nature in shapes. Yet the representation reveals what is represented, not as he is by nature, but as he was made manifest many times.¹²

The irresolution that such an image manifests is, in fact, its compelling feature. As the subject is transcendent “light, spirit and fire,” delineating the Archangel does not capture his nature in any essential way; rather, this act shows him in one of his forms made manifest in the past. Moreover, the sense that such an image is contingent on this partial disclosure of the Archangel’s true nature lends the image its attractive quality to the viewer. As Mavropus said, the fact that the bodiless Archangel has condescended to assume a form comprehensible to humanity in material colors and lines makes Michael paradoxically present: in these shapes, Michael’s presence is somehow brought nearer, made more proximate. Like the neo-Platonic descriptions of Agathias and the iconophiles on the apprehension of

12. *Anthologia graeca*, ed. E. Cougny, 3 vols. (Paris, 1871–1890) III:413; very like the epigram at *Versus iambici*, PG 120:1139A, *Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae*, 11–12 (#24). See also *Anthologia graeca*, III:361–63; III:415, “On the Archistrategos: In gold, like fire, from silver, as light, I shape you, light to me, flames to enemies”; and III:401: “On the Archistrategos: How does a material hand render the immaterial? The spirit the spirit renders, the hand the sign.” On some of these epigrams, see H. G. Thümmel, *Bilderlehre und Bilderstreit. Arbeiten zur Auseinandersetzung über die Ikone und ihre Begründung vornehmlich im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg, 1991) 161ff.

such images, the material image is conceived as a non-resembling symbol that paradoxically makes the object of desire proximate.

If Mavropus described the compelling paradox of angels' images, Michael Psellus—who, incidentally, knew Mavropus—attempted an interpretation of the appearance and attributes used to render angelic nature and activity. In an analysis of the iconography of angels, Psellus separated the appearance of angels in images into its component parts. The most notable aspect is their anthropomorphic form: “this shows them to be rational beings; for man alone among all living creatures has been enriched with intellect and reason.”¹³ The puzzling quality of the angels' appearances in images had profoundly discomfited such theologians as Epiphanius of Salamis and Severus of Antioch; that is, the depiction of angels as men with pagan-style dress and attributes was manifestly incommensurate with the angels' spiritual quality. Like the iconophiles, Psellus accepted the distance between angelic nature and material representation as a positive provision of incomplete knowledge of angels for humanity. Psellus's description is strikingly close in detail to the Palaiologan icon discussed above. While this icon is an especially fine example, and so worthy of examination, it is not exceptional iconographically, and clearly Psellus was examining an image very similar to that Palaiologan icon of the Archangel Michael. An ekphrasis closer in time to this Palaiologan icon is not lacking, however. For example, Symeon of Thessalonike, who died in 1429, responded in a similarly symbolic vein before just such an image.¹⁴ Both Psellus and Symeon, it should be

13. The individual attributes also hold clues for understanding the angels' being. The wings indicate “their exalting and heavenly upward motion”; the sphere often placed in one hand “suggests their quickness of movement: for the sphere is such that, touching a tiny portion of the ground, it is able to arrive independently of time and in less than an instant wherever it wishes”; the fillet denotes “the purity and chastity of their undefiled nature.” See K. Snipes, “An Unedited Treatise of Michael Psellos on the Iconography of Angels and on the Religious Festivals Celebrated on Each Day of the Week,” in *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerlink at 75*, ed. J. Duffy and J. Peradotto (Buffalo, 1988) 200ff.

14. *Responsa ad Gabrielem Pentapolitanum*, PG 155:869B–D. He was asked the reason why the angels wear the fillet in images, why the angels and saints have nimbi, and why in the hands of the angels there are circular, cloudy forms. With regard to the fillet, he an-

noted, took seriously the iconography of the angels as imparting, or showing covertly, the divine truths which are otherwise difficult of access.¹⁵

As these two ekphraseis show a continuity in engagement with the iconography of angels, so Palaiologan epigrams consistently reveal an appreciation of the tension between materiality and immateriality that images of angels play on. Nicephorus Kallistus Xanthopoulos (before 1256?–ca. 1335?) wrote specifically on the presence evoked through representation, and, while the paradoxical quality of the description of immateriality in colors is raised, this quality is left at the level of an irreconcilable contradiction. Michael's presence is some-

swered, "In examining the images of the holy angels, one surmises that the fillet worn round their heads shows covertly (ὑπεμφαίνει) the purity of their intellect, since it is worn round the place of the intellect, so that they are even bonded intellectually to God, and by these things are offered [such] for our contemplation and care in a fine appearing manner (ἀγαθοειδῶς). And moreover, as they are pure and immaterial beings, they wear [the fillet] just as a crown of their endless and heavenly virtue. And they have worn this (δεδεμένους) about their hair, so that they do not move confusedly or superfluously, but only concerning divine compulsion, and their intellect is speeded from above." Furthermore, the nimbi of the angels and of the saints "show covertly" the grace and radiance and action descended from God. Lastly, he addressed the reason for the orb carried by the angels, "And the cloudy and circular thing that the angels hold in their hands symbolises the consecration by the Spirit, and that they have been fixed immobile in the dispensation of the Saviour. In the midst of the circle is seen written this figure, X, so that by this Christ is revealed. But the form of the circle is also a theological sign. For if Christ teaches that he was made flesh, he also teaches that as God he has neither beginning nor end, and that Christ rules the universe, and has the whole cosmos in his hand, as David says." The orb is not the symbol of fleetness that it was for Psellus but a sign of Christ's duophysite nature, and of the delegation of offices to the angels in the new dispensation brought about through the incarnation. In contrast to the incorruptibility that the fillet denoted for Psellus, the fillet was a sign of the angels' intellectual unity with God for Symeon of Thessalonike.

15. See, however, the negative remarks of C. Mango, "St. Michael and Attis," *DChAE* 12(1984):39, on these texts. But see, too, H. Saradi-Mendelovici, "Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries," *DOP* 44(1990):58, who describes how far Byzantine viewers were from understanding pagan statues. She cites the interpretation of the iconography of a statue of Athena from the eighth-century *Parastaseis* as an example: Athena is represented without helmet because her wisdom is invisible, the gorgon on her chest is to show the speed of her mind, and so on. See *Constantinople in the Eighth Century. The "Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai,"* ed. Averil Cameron, J. Herrin et al. (Leiden, 1984) #3; and see 215–16. The text does not demonstrate detachment or ignorance since indeed it is following a literary tradition from antiquity, as in the writings of Porphyry on statues (see chapters 2 and 3). Likewise, Psellus's and Symeon's interpretations are not banal or without real explanatory power but take their form from ancient topoi and newly apply them to symbolic, Christian images of angels.

how alluded to by the representation, for he is by some inexplicable means made present in this ambiguous image:

“On the Archangel Michael, a work of art by the famous painter, master Eulalios”: It seems either that the painter has dipped his brush in immateriality to delineate a spirit, or else the spirit remains unobserved in his picture, hiding in colours his incorporeal nature. How is it that matter can drag the spirit down and encompass the immaterial by means of colours? This is [a work] of ardent love (as shown by the facts), and it kindles the heart.¹⁶

The “kindling of the heart” implicitly refers to the intellectual or spiritual process which, paradoxically, the material image initiates. The closing sentence, then, indicates an important function of images of the Archangel as it was described in the sixth-century epigrams of Agathias and Nilus, and in the elaborate image theory of the iconophile theologians. Indeed, as stated in chapter 3, the conceptual framework established by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite determined subsequent approaches to symbolic images of divine things, namely angels. In this framework, the symbols best suited for contemplation of divinity are non-resembling, since the intellect cannot adhere to these symbols and become simply mired in its material reality. Xanthopoulos’s epigram describes this very process: either matter has overcome its limitations and ascended to spirit or spirit has condescended to be captured in matter; the issue is not resolved, in fact is unresolvable, and leaves the image as allusive to the model in some indeterminate but compelling way. By this lack of essential likeness, the viewer is forced beyond the material surface to contemplation of a transcendent reality. In other words, images of angels remained fine examples of areopagite symbols.

The numerous epigrams of Manuel Philes (ca. 1275–ca. 1345) on images of angels exhibit the same basic dependence upon this neo-Platonic framework. Like other epigram writers, Philes engaged the

16. “Νικηφόρος Κάλλιστος Ξανθόπουλος,” ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *BZ* 11(1902):46–47 (#16); trans. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire. 312–1453. Sources and Documents* (Toronto, 1986) 231.

incongruity of matter attempting to capture a spiritual creature. Writing on an image of an Archangel, Philes noted that paradoxically the matter of the image contains intellect, spirit, light and fire; the image is “intellect visible, spirit caught fast.”¹⁷ More strangely, he wrote, the flame submitted to be captured in human form, clothed, with hair and feathers, but marvelously the icon does not burn. The face ought to be red to indicate that fiery nature but, instead, the painter has used clever artifice and manipulated material color, that is yellow, to show the fire of the model. Like Xanthopoulus’s epigram, this epigram reveals an awareness of the distance between craft that deceitfully manifests an angelic form and the reality that is unknowable and uncontainable; in fact, this tension makes these images remarkable and compelling for the writers. At the same time as the images appear to make the Archangel apprehensible, they declare his transcendence:

Just now we see a strange blending in life. The painter mingles the flame with water. For having described the immaterial nature by means of flesh, he provides water to the faithful [to quench] the flames of desire.¹⁸

As the texts adduced in this Conclusion show, the irresolvable problem of depicting angels became a determining and compelling feature that always made their images a distinctive kind of representation. Representing angels brought angels nearer to their desiring worshippers, as Xanthopoulus averred, but not so near as to satisfy

17. *Manuelis Philae carmina ex codicibus Escorialensis, Florentinis, Parisinis et Vaticanis*, ed. E. Miller, 2 vols. (Paris, 1855–1857) II:202 (CLXXXVII).

18. *Manuelis Philae carmina*, II:415 (XLVIII). Philes also wrote the following two epigrams: “‘On an icon of the Archangel Michael’: If you desire to depict animation, Why do you depict, painter, a winged man, But not the intellect and spirit and light and flames? If not for the fact that no one can depict the immaterial in matter?” (ibid., I:357–58 [CXCII]) and, “‘On the guardian in stone’: You (are) spirit and flame, but behold, before me you do not burn. And you are found as a guard armed for us. Michael, loosening all darkening of sufferings into stony fire, you return to the light” (ibid., II:158–59 [CXVIII]). See also *Manuelis Philae carmina graeca*, ed. G. Wernsdorf (Leipzig, 1768) 28ff. (I.109ff.). Philes also wrote an epigram on the miracle at Chonae; see *Manuelis Philae carmina*, II:236 (CCXXVI).

that desire; as all writers on images of angels maintained, the angels are always absent from their images. But, by representing these creatures materially as well as verbally, Byzantines felt this spiritual world was made tantalizingly near and an immanence was provisionally contained.

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GLENN PEERS

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , 71 vols., Paris, 1863–1940.
<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>ArtB</i>	<i>Art Bulletin</i>
<i>B</i>	<i>Byzantion</i>
<i>BF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
Blondel	<i>Macarii Magnetis quae supersunt ex inedito codice</i> , ed. C. Blondel, Paris, 1876.
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
Bonnet	M. Bonnet, <i>Narratio de miraculo a Michaele</i> <i>Archangelo Chonis patrato</i> , Paris, 1890.
<i>BS</i>	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> .
<i>CA</i>	<i>Cahiers Archéologiques</i> .
Cameron, “The Language of Images”	Averil Cameron, “The Language of Images: The Rise of Icons and Christian Representation,” in <i>The Church and the Arts</i> , Studies in Church History, vol. 25, ed. D. Wood, London, 1992, 1–42.

<i>DACL</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, Paris, 1924–.
<i>DChAE</i>	Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας.
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> .
<i>DTC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i> , ed. A. Vacant and E. Magenot, Paris, 1899–1950.
<i>EEBS</i>	Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν Ἑπετηρῆς.
Fisher, <i>Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae</i>	Michael Psellus, <i>Oratio in Archangelum Michaellem</i> , in <i>Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae</i> , ed. E. A. Fisher, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1994, 230–56.
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.
Holl	“Die Schriften des Epiphanius gegen die Bilderverehrung,” ed. K. Holl, <i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> 35.2(1916):828–68 [= K. Holl, <i>Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte</i> , Tübingen, 1928; rp. Darmstadt, 1964, II:351–87].
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i> .
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i> .
<i>JöB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i> .
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i> .
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> .
Leanza	S. Leanza, “Una versione greca inedita dell’ <i>Apparitio S. Michaelis</i> in monte Gargano,” <i>VetChr</i> 22(1985):291–316.
Mansi	G. D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , 53 vols. in 58 pts., Paris and Leipzig, 1901–1927.

<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX</i> , Hannover, 1878.
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i> .
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia cursus completus, Series graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 pts., Paris, 1857–1866.
<i>Pitra</i>	J. B. Pitra, <i>Spicilegio Solesmense complectens sanctorum patrum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum anecdota hactenus opera</i> , 4 vols., Paris, 1852–1858.
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia cursus completus, Series latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. in 222 pts., Paris, 1844–1880.
<i>PO</i>	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> .
<i>PTS</i>	Patristische Texte und Studien.
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , Stuttgart, 1950–.
<i>RBK</i>	<i>Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst</i> , Stuttgart, 1963–.
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i> .
<i>RivAC</i>	<i>Rivista d'archeologia cristiana</i> .
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumkunde und für Kunstgeschichte</i> .
<i>RSBN</i>	<i>Rivista de studi bizantini e neollenico</i> .
<i>SC</i>	Sources Chrésiennes.
<i>Settimane</i>	Settimane di studi del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo.
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i> .
<i>TU</i>	Texte und Untersuchungen.
<i>VetChr</i>	<i>Vetera Christianorum</i> .

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INTRODUCTION

On the Tension between Theology and Cult

Angel, literally “messenger,” can designate all manner of negotiation between heaven and earth and refer to any member of God’s spiritual host. Scripture is unequivocal in stating the existence of an angelic host and is full of diverse examples of the appearance of these transcendental creatures. But the difficulties of perceiving and identifying angels are signaled in scripture simply by the number of guises they assume and impressions they make. Angels appear in scriptural accounts as multiform, awful beings before whom such witnesses as Zacharias are overwhelmed and left speechless (Luke 1:20–22). They appear as clouds and fire (Ex. 13:21–22, 23:20–23), formless voices (Gen. 21:17) and, in the visions of Ezekiel (Ez. 10) and Isaiah (Is. 6), as complex and ultimately unfathomable creatures. The identity of these manifestations in scripture is often obscure; and Christian exegesis with its typological interpretation only compounded the difficulty when it discerned identities not overt in Hebrew scripture.

The scriptural definition of angelic nature as fire and wind (Ps. 104:4) established the belief in the immaterial and enigmatic qualities of angelic beings. Incorporated into the Epistle to Hebrews—“And of the angels he saith, Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire” (1:7)—this definition became the

exegetical cornerstone of Christian angelology. But although the general definition was settled by scripture, the precise nature of the proportion and blend of elemental forces was never fully explained; angelic nature was held to be beyond humanity's ken.¹

Angelology—as historians have named patristic scrutiny of angels²—is replete with uncertainties, and these uncertainties were the source of the special problems of access and familiarity in devotion.³ For Christians, many questions persisted about angels' nature, organization, duties and comprehension.⁴ Agreement among theologians about the specifics of angelic nature was not possible given the transcendence of the objects of speculation, but angels figure so large in scripture and devotion that the subject could not be avoided.

The fire and spirit composition posited a relative value for angelic nature that placed the angels somewhere between the radically different natures of humanity and God. Such theologians as Theodotus in the second century called the angels “intellectual fire, intellectual spirit,”⁵ distinct in property from material fire and light.⁶ Theodotus thought that angels did have bodies—at least they were seen as such—although these bodies, compared to ours, were without form and without corporeality.⁷ Methodius (d. ca. 311) said that the angelic

1. See the texts gathered by J. Turmel, “Histoire de l'angélologie des temps apostoliques à la fin du Ve siècle,” *Révue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse* 3(1898):411ff.

2. See, for instance, Turmel, “Histoire de l'angélologie,” 289–308, 407–34, 533–52, and also his “L'angélologie depuis le faux Denys l'Aréopagite,” *Révue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse* 4(1899):289–309, 414–34, 536–62.

3. Angelology is the subject of many studies: see, for instance, *DACL* I.2:208off., *DTC* I:1189ff., *RAC* V:53ff., *RBK* III:13ff., and M. Bussagli, “Angeli,” *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale* (Rome, 1991–) I:629–38, idem, *Storia degli angeli. Racconto di immagini e di idee* (Milan, 1991), and *Le ali di Dio. Messaggerie e guerrieri alati tra oriente e occidente*, ed. M. Bussagli and M. D'Onofrio, Milan, 2000.

4. See R. Roques, “Introduction,” in Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, SC vol. 58, ed. G. Heil and M. de Gandillac (Paris, 1958) lxxi.

5. Preserved in the writings of Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150–d. before 215). See *Excerpta ex scriptis Theodoto*, in *Stromata Buch VII und VIII. Excerpta ex Theodoto. Eclogae propheticae. Quis dives saluetur. Fragmente*, GCS vol. 17, 2d ed., ed. O. Stählin, L. Früchtel and U. Treu (Berlin, 1970) 110.

6. See, for instance, Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, VII.15.15, GCS vol. 43, ed. K. Mras (Berlin, 1956) 393–94. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Duce*, V, PG 28:601C, said that the angels are as different from material creation as the sun from the stars.

7. *Excerpta ex scriptis Theodoto*, in *Stromata Buch VII und VIII*, 110–11.

nature is equally composed of air and fire, like souls.⁸ A writer later identified as Macarius the Great (ca. 300–ca. 390) said that the angels have subtle (λεπτὰ) bodies.⁹ Others stated that the angels are beings without body and without matter, but not *completely* so.¹⁰ Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 330–ca. 394) appears to put the angels out of all contact with matter.¹¹ And Gregory of Nazianzus (329/30–ca. 390) said that the angels can only be perceived by reason because they are composed of pure spirituality or something approaching it—he could not say for certain.¹² Complete agreement concerning the degree of participation of the angels in matter was never possible. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite¹³ and John of Damascus (ca. 675–ca. 750)¹⁴ came down on the side of the essential spirituality of the angels.

Maintaining a distance between the angels and God on the one hand, and angels and humanity on the other, was an important consideration for theologians. In his text praising the Archangel Michael, for example, Chrysippus (ca. 405–479) was careful to establish the similarities and differences of the natures of Michael and God.¹⁵ He deduced the nature of God from Deuteronomy 4:24

8. Photius, *Bibliothèque*, Tome V ('Codices' 230–241), ed. R. Henry (Paris, 1967) 100.10–13.

9. *Homilia*, IV.ix, in *Die fünfzig geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*, PTS vol. 4, ed. H. Dörries, E. Klosterman and M. Kroeger (Berlin, 1964) 33–34.

10. Turmel, "Histoire de l'angélologie," 422ff.

11. *Oratio catechetica magna*, VI, PG 45:28AB.

12. *Orationes xlv*, XLV.5, PG 36:629B.

13. See R. Roques, *L'univers dionysien. Structure hiérarchique du monde selon le Pseudo-Denys* (Paris, 1954; rp. Paris, 1983) 154ff. On the nature of the angels Pseudo-Dionysius himself is almost completely silent. Pseudo-Dionysius took it as an assumption that the angels were essentially spiritual in nature. In the summary of Pseudo-Dionysius's work by George Pachymeres (1242–ca. 1310), angels are described as bodiless and immaterial; they are immaterial, immortal and deiform (*De divinis nominibus*, VI.2, PG 3:856C); and in *De div. nom.*, IV.1, PG 3:693C he states: "It is as bodiless and immaterial that they are perceived by the intelligence; and inasmuch as they are intelligences, they perceive themselves in a manner not of this world..." A defining characteristic is that the celestial hierarchy is more immaterial and more spiritual than the human (e.g., *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, I.4, PG 3:376B). Roques writes (*ibid.*, 155 n9), "C'est surtout par opposition aux caractères de notre hiérarchie humaine que ceux de la hiérarchie céleste prennent tout leur relief."

14. *Expositio fidei*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. II Expositio fidei*, PTS vol. 12, ed. P.B. Kotter (Berlin, 1973) 45–48.

15. A. Sigalas, "Χρυσίππου πρεσβυτέρου Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαήλ," *EEBS* 3(1926):85–93.

("For the Lord thy God is a consuming fire") and Deuteronomy 9:3, as well as John 4:24 ("God is a spirit").¹⁶ But even though Psalm 104:4 and Hebrews 1:7 indicate that the angels are also fire and spirit, Chrysippus said that one must not make the mistake of assuming that the angels are the same as God. They are decidedly not equal in nature or honor, since the creator cannot be equal to his creations. God alone is uncircumscribable, unviewable, and of purer flame.

Chrysippus was mindful to base discussion of angels on scriptural reference;¹⁷ scripture, not cult, was the proper guide.¹⁸ The same ostensible dependence on divine revelation in scripture generally characterized theologians' descriptions of angels, as well as descriptions in miracle tales of angels' work. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (fl. ca. 500?), in his elaborate taxonomy of heaven in the *Celestial Hierarchy*, attempted to set his structure on a scriptural foundation, and yet he found that he had to rely on other sources to answer some questions. In a sense, he derived all his orders for his *Celestial Hierarchy* from the Bible,¹⁹ and his hierarchy differed from those of his predecessors in the systematic laws applied to the orders, their positions, actions and interactions.²⁰

Pseudo-Dionysius rigorously examined scripture for disclosures of the heavenly hierarchy so that a precise structure of angelic beings might be advanced. He divided the hierarchy into triads, the first consisting of seraphim, cherubim and thrones, the second of virtues,

16. Sigalas, "Χρυσίππου πρεσβυτέρου," 89.

17. Sigalas, "Χρυσίππου πρεσβυτέρου," 86.

18. A. Sigalas, *Des Chrysippos von Jerusalem Enkomion auf den hl. Johannes den Täufer*, Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie, vol. 20 (Athens, 1937) III.

19. Roques, "Introduction," lxxxi.

20. See Roques, "Introduction," lvii ff. Pre-Dionysian attempts include the Life of Peter the Iberian, regarding a vision of John the Eunuch (see E. Honigmann, "Pierre l'Ibérien et les écrits du Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite," in *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques* 47/3(1952):18–19); Cyril of Jerusalem (ca. 315–386), *Catechesis mystagogica*, V.6, in *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, SC vol. 126, ed. A. Piédagnel (Paris, 1966) 154; John Chrysostom, *Homiliae 1–67 in Genesim*, IV, PG 53:44; and the *Constitutiones Apostolicae* (second half of the fourth century), VIII.12.8, in *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum*, ed. F.X. Funk (Paderborn, 1905; rp. Turin, 1962) 498. And see A. Louth, *Denys the Areopagite* (Wilton, Conn., 1989) 35ff.

dominations and principalities, and the last of powers, archangels and angels. His is the best known and most complete attempt at describing the hierarchy, and his symbolic theology influenced at a fundamental level perception of and approaches to angelology from the sixth century on.

Pseudo-Dionysius necessarily depended to some extent on sources other than scripture for the completeness and symmetry of his hierarchy, notably the tradition of the church, Pseudo-Dionysius's own master, Hierotheus, and even his own opinion at particularly difficult junctures.²¹ At one point, for example, Pseudo-Dionysius had to resort to a divergent reading of scripture. In Pseudo-Dionysius's system, only the archangels and angels are in direct contact with humanity. The appearance of the seraphim to Isaiah is, therefore, a direct contradiction of the hierarchical scheme, and Pseudo-Dionysius had to propose a symbolic reading of Isaiah 6:6 wherein the seraphim is actually an angel appearing under symbolic form.²² Clearly, achieving knowledge of God by this method was conditional and subject to personal interpretation.

Pseudo-Dionysius insisted on the inability of human intelligence to understand divine things fully; for him, knowledge only comes through the "truly mysterious darkness of unknowing."²³ Writing about the exegetical possibilities of Isaiah 6:6, he described the necessary process of gaining knowledge of the unknowable as a personal endeavor that is necessarily incomplete.²⁴ Human knowledge of the divine derives in this process largely from personal contemplation of

21. Roques, "Introduction," lxxx ff.

22. Roques, "Introduction," lxxviii–lxxix.

23. *De mystica theologia*, I.3, PG 3:1001A; Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *The Complete Works*, trans. C. Luibheid and P. Rorem (New York, 1987) 137.

24. *De coelesti hierarchia*, XIII.4, in *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, SC vol. 58, ed. G. Heil and M. de Gandillac (Paris, 1958) 161. Roques, "Introduction," lxxvi, commented on this passage in this way, "Il y aura donc, en matière théologique, une part d'hypothèse et d'estimation humaine. Mais, soulignons-le, la pointe de relativité s'applique ici aux divers types d'explication qui ont essayé de montrer comment le séraphim d'Isaïe pouvait être un ange, mais non point sur le fait même qu'il l'était: aux yeux de Denys et en vertu de la structure et des lois générales de la hiérarchie, c'est là une vérité absolue qui relève de l'enseignement le plus manifest et le plus sûr de l'illumination théarchique."

symbols or sensible phenomena, but contemplation does not provide final answers, only provisional knowledge.²⁵ For Pseudo-Dionysius, “signs and symbols pointed the seeker of truth on his way, not logical argument.”²⁶

In contrast to the circumspect attempts of theologians to come to terms with angelic nature and activity, popular cult attached great, if not overweening, importance to the near-omnipotence of angelic beings. To be sure, the cult of the Archangel Michael—the most popular of the “personalized” angels in the Byzantine world—did not depend upon these theological speculations for its working premise, although it did share in the fundamental difficulties of comprehension and description inherent in angelology.²⁷ The Christian cult of Michael, and of the angels, was founded on Jewish and pagan beliefs, and it burgeoned naturally out of this wide “power base.” But it also thrived because of its animistic roots. Evidence of Jewish belief in angels who have control over certain natural phenomena is found in the Book of Jubilees (ca. 140–100 B.C.E.), which describes angels, for instance, of fire, wind and darkness;²⁸ in the Book of Enoch (third century B.C.E.), angels have control over frost, snow and other phenomena.²⁹ In short, each natural phenomenon had an angel. Texts that cite Michael in this role as “nature angel” specify his special con-

25. See Roques, *L'univers dionysien*, 158ff.

26. Cameron, “The Language of Images,” 28.

27. L. Heiser, *Die Engel im Glauben der Orthodoxie* (Trier, 1976) 222, states that the liturgy is no more specific about the angels’ nature than the theologians are. In the liturgy the angels are given the general attributes of “insubstantial,” “bodiless,” “immaterial.” However, as he notes, “Nicht in theoretischen Erörterungen wird die Natur der Engel erkannt, sondern aus der heilgeschichtlichen Erfahrung ihres tätigen, hilfreichen Dienens für Gott und die Menschen” (ibid., 226). Appearances in history are the only really dependable factor in cult practice.

28. *The Book of Jubilees or The Little Genesis*, trans. R. H. Charles (London, 1902) 40ff. (c.11).

29. *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch. A New English Edition*, ed. M. Black (Leiden, 1985) 57 (60:17–22), 58 (61:10).

And see J. Daniélou, *Histoire des doctrines chrétiennes avant Nicée. Vol. 1. Théologie du judéo-christianisme* (Tournai, 1958) 140–41; W.v. Rintelen, *Kultgeographische Studien in der Italia Byzantina. Untersuchungen über die Kulte des Erzengels Michael und der Madonna di Costantinopoli in Südtalien* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1968) 29; W.v. Rintelen, “Kult- und Legendenwanderung von Ost nach West im frühen Mittelalter,” *Saeculum* 22(1971):84–85; A. L. Williams, “The Cult of the Angels at Colossae,” *JTS* 10(1909):415–16. The angels are

cerns as water and snow.³⁰ In Egypt, Michael “took over” the role of the Nile God so that he was held responsible for the dew and the rain, and he alone was said to go through the veil to provide life.³¹ Similarly, Michael is described in terms of immanent protection unrestrained by anyone but God.

The sun riseth upon all the world through the supplication of Michael. . . . The earth beareth its fruits through the supplication of Michael. The whole world was reconciled again to God [by Michael], and he it is who delivereth everyone from the snares of the Devil. We find the intercession of Michael in the strenuous work of our hands. . . . We find the intercession of Michael in the body of the vine and of the gladness which is in the wine. . . . For the Archangel standeth by every one who crieth up to God with all his heart and helpeth him.³²

Belief in the elemental character of Michael is not restricted to the Coptic church, although Michael was especially venerated in Egypt.³³ Writing in the late ninth/early tenth century, Pantaleon also remarks on this same elemental character of the Archangel.³⁴ And in his work praising the Archangel Michael, Michael Psellus (1018–1081?) noted the benign immanence of Michael near his shrine: “Such things as the zephyr is able to do for us and breezes

placed over every phenomenon and if named they can offer protection: for example, E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1881; rp. Athens, 1974) II:xviii ff.

30. See W. Lueken, *Michael. Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael* (Göttingen, 1898) 52ff., and 131ff.

31. Lueken, *Michael*, 131–32.

32. E. A. W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1915) 757.

33. See, on Coptic veneration, E. Amélineau, “Le christianisme chez les anciens Coptes,” *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 15(1887):54ff. He cites a large number of legends in Christian tradition in Egypt concerning the angels and the majority of these are about Michael; Michael's also are the most varied, “Cet archange était sans cesse en mouvement, tantôt en guerrier, tantôt en batelier, descendant sur la barque aérienne jusqu'au fond des enfers, trempant son aile dans les lacs de feu et en retirant les damnés” (ibid., 56). See further, Lueken, *Michael*, 70ff., and C. D. G. Müller, *Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der christlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1959) 8ff.

34. *Encomium in maximum et gloriosissimum Michaellem coelestis militiae principem*, PG 98:1265B–8A.

from the north refresh our bodies, these things the Archangel is able to do.”³⁵ Michael is the invisible and propitious force that alleviates heat in this region and lifts the oppression of all kinds of illnesses and sufferings. An important component of the angels’ nature is fire and likewise Michael makes himself manifest in this form, as miracle stories testify.³⁶ In Christian belief, angels command and guard their constituent parts, water, air and fire.

The early Church inherited a flourishing, and in some ways troublesome, cult of angels.³⁷ The warning in the Pauline Epistle to the Colossians about the dangers of untoward worship of the angels is an indication of such a problem.³⁸ The Christian cult of angels seems to have been heavily influenced by certain heterodox Jewish practices, as well as pagan beliefs in divine messengers.³⁹ The famous cult of Michael at Colossae, later Chonae, in western Asia Minor, grew out of this active, syncretistic belief in the angels that was common to Jews and pagans both.⁴⁰

35. Fisher 256.639–43. And see also E. A. Fisher, “Nicomedia or Galatia? Where Was Psellos’ Church of the Archangel Michael?” in *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerlink at 75*, ed. J. Duffy and J. Peradotto (Buffalo, 1988) 179.

36. See chapter 5.

37. The cult of angels, and specifically of the Archangel Michael, was threatening even to the position of Christ in the church. Lueken, *Michael*, 133ff., exhaustively described this problem; but see also J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos. Die Anschauung von Christos als Bote und Engel in der gelehrten und volkstümlichen Literatur des christlichen Altertums*, Theophaneia, vol. 3 (Bonn, 1941) 230ff., Daniélou, *Histoire des doctrines chrétiennes*, 167ff., J. P. Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael. Arzt und Feldherr. Zwei Aspekte des vor- und frühbyzantinischen Michaelkults* (Leiden, 1977) 67ff.

38. Col. 2:18, “Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into these things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshy mind.” This rather obscure prescription has been the subject of debate since the exact nature of this worship at Colossae is not known. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres. Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1904) 79ff., thought this warning was directed at a cult of animistic forces.

39. For the pagan cult of angels, see A. R. R. Shepherd, “Pagan Cults of Angels in Roman Asia Minor,” *Talanta* 12/13(1980/81):77–101; F. Sokolowski, “Sur le culte d’angelos dans le paganisme grec et romain,” *HTR* 53(1960):225–29; and F. Cumont, “Les anges du paganisme,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 72(1915):159–82.

40. See Williams, “The Cult of the Angels at Colossae,” 435ff. R. L. Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1986) 380, 742 n18, suspected “a pagan cult of angels” at Chonae, and he notes indications of worship of angels in pagan contexts nearby. The verb ἐμβατεύειν (“to enter into, to approach something in order to investigate it”) is used at Col. 2:18, and although this verb is also found in the context of the cult of Apollo at

Local causes for the cult at Chonae would seem equally important, however. The geography of the region was long noted as particularly fertile for gods—or angels—with awesome power over natural phenomena.⁴¹ Local causes and larger questions of improper worship combined at Colossae to create awkwardness over cult activity directed to the angels. The Epistle to the Colossians seems to have been addressed specifically to the sizable Jewish community at Colossae and in the region of Phrygia, where pagans were also in-

Claros, one need not connect its forms of worship with Colossae for that reason alone. F. R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization c. 370–529*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1995) I:153ff., understands a pagan cult of angels behind the worship of Michael at Chonae.

The transition of cult, pagan to Christian, is often difficult to discern and should not be taken at face value, as I have attempted to demonstrate in my “The Sosthenion near Constantinople: John Malalas and Ancient Art,” *B* 68(1998):110–20.

The likeliest course for Michael at Chonae is through hellenised Jews in the area. As Marcel Simon writes, “la substitution a toutes chances d’être pré-chrétienne, et d’avoir été opérée par ces juifs syncrétisants dont on entrevoit l’influence à travers les développements polémiques de l’épître aux Colossiens.” See *Verus Israel. Étude sur la relation entre chrétiens et juifs dans l’empire romain (135–425)* (Paris, 1948) 430–31. F. O. Francis claimed that some form of mystery cult took place at Colossae, but the evidence is slim; see “Humility and Angelic Worship in Col. 2:18,” *Studia Theologica* 16(1963):109–34 [= *Conflict at Colossae. A Problem in the Interpretation of Early Christianity Illustrated by Selected Modern Studies*, ed. F. O. Francis and W. A. Meeks (Missoula, Mont., 1973) 163–95].

41. For example, Williams, “The Cult of the Angels at Colossae,” 435, “The remarkable natural phenomena at and near Colossae must from remote ages have appealed to the human mind, and provided material to which both primitive and later religions could cling.” See, too, O. Rojdestvensky, *Le culte de saint Michel et le moyen âge latin* (Paris, 1922) xvi; Rintelen, *Kultgeographische Studien*, 25; Rintelen, “Kult- und Legendenwanderung,” 85; and O. F. A. Meinardus, “St. Michael’s Miracle of Khonae and Its Geographical Setting,” *Εκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία* 1(1980):459–69.

R. Chandler noted in his *Travels in Asia Minor: Or, an account of a tour made at the expense of the Society of Dilettanti* (Dublin, 1775) 230–31, “It is an old observation, that the country about the Maeander, the soil being light and friable, and full of salts generating inflammable matter, was undermined by fire and water. Hence it abounded in hot springs, which, after passing underground from the reservoirs, appeared on the mountain, or were found bubbling up in the plain or in the mud of the river: and hence it was subject to frequent earthquakes; the nitrous vapour, compressed in the cavities, and sublimed by heat or fermentation, bursting its prison with loud explosions, agitating the atmosphere, and shaking the earth and waters with a violence as extensive as destructive; and hence, moreover, the pestilential grottoes, which had subterraneous communications with each other, derived their noisome effluvia; and serving as smaller vents to these furnaces or hollows, were regarded as apertures of hell, as passages for deadly fumes rising up from the realms of Pluto. One or more of these mountains perhaps has burned; and it may be suspected, that the surface of the country has in some places been formed from its own bowels.”

volved in angelolatry.⁴² The local cult of angels was not so easily dislodged, however, and at the Council held in 380 in nearby Laodicea it was singled out for attack:

It is not right for Christians to abandon the church of God and go away and invoke angels and hold conventicles; for these things are forbidden. If, therefore, anyone is found devoting himself to this secret idolatry, let him be anathema, because he abandoned our Lord Jesus Christ and went after idolatry.⁴³

And somewhat later Theodoret of Cyrrhus (ca. 393–ca. 466) again criticized these excesses of angelolatry:

This disease long remained in Phrygia and Pisidia. For this reason also a synod in Laodicea of Phrygia forbade by a decree the offering of prayer to angels; and even to the present time oratories of the holy Michael may be seen among them and their neighbors.⁴⁴

Wilhelm Lueken noted a scholion to this passage that makes it clear that Theodoret was referring to Michael's shrines in and around Colossae.⁴⁵ Evidently, Chonae was the long-standing center of a heterodox devotion to Michael in particular and to angels in general.

42. Williams, "The Cult of the Angels at Colossae," 436ff.; C. Mango, "Germia: A Postscript," *JÖB* 41(1991):297; on the number of Jews in Phrygia, Lueken, *Michael*, 80–81, and K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, vol. 7 (Vienna, 1990) 223, for citations.

It can be inferred that the so-called Epistle to the Colossians was directed at angelolatry in Asia Minor in general, even if the Epistle may not have been directed at the eponymous community. H. Koester, *History and Literature of Early Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1982) 264, denied the possibility of Paul's authorship but still thought that the Epistle was directed to the church at Colossae.

43. See P.-P. Joannou, *Discipline generale antique (IVe-IXe siècles). Tome I.2. Les canons des synodes particuliers* (Grottaferrata, 1962) 144–45. The translation of Canon 35 of the Council of Laodicea is from J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* (London, 1879) 68. See Williams, "The Cult of the Angels at Colossae," 435; Simon, *Verus Israel*, 429–30; L. Robert, *Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques, vol. XI–XII* (Paris, 1960) 432ff. And on the anti-Jewish tendencies of the Council of Laodicea, see Rintelen, *Kultgeographische Studien*, 27, and Lueken, *Michael*, 81.

44. *De providentia orationes* x, II, PG 82:613B; trans. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles*, 68.

45. Lueken, *Michael*, 75.

This composite portrait of devotion to angels in the Early Christian and Byzantine world, as outlined above, reveals conflicting elements. On the one hand, popular, sometimes heterodox devotion to elemental, guardian creatures clearly existed, as the troublesome and flourishing history of the devotion to Michael at Chonae demonstrates; and, on the other, there was an abundance of theological speculation that carefully avoided crossing paths with this popular devotion and instead focused on issues of nature and organization—in other words, on decorous angelology. This study, however, explores how these apparently contradictory approaches to God's invisible multitude could intersect. The possibility of idolatry, a fear of the early church that still acted on the consciences of eighth- and ninth-century Byzantines, was never distant from discussion of angels and their representations. It informed the debates over the appropriateness of representing angels, a debate that began in the early church but was not resolved until the ninth century. The course of this debate as it incriminated material images is the subject of the first three chapters of this book. The worship of angels and of their images is the subject of fourth chapter; this chapter examines theology and miracle stories, and discusses the ways in which both of these genres dealt with the danger of worship of angels and presented seemingly examples of approach instead. The fifth chapter looks at miracle stories of the Archangel Michael at Chonae to examine their verbal representation, that is, how these texts both make Michael more apprehensible to their audience and manage the difficulties of description with which artists also—in their own way—contended.

While this study deals primarily with textual evidence of attitudes towards angels and their images, it is the work of an art historian. It draws on intellectual history, which includes theology, miracle stories, poetry and sermons, and incorporates them into a history of representation. At the center of the study are the cultural conditions of seeing and understanding: an epistemology for which angels are simply the most trying and dangerous case. Transparent images of formless beings made for especially treacherous rapids, which the Byzantines attempted to stop up; this study looks at the shifting waters and dams that having images of angels necessitated.

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One

ISSUES IN REPRESENTING ANGELS

Given the difficult nature of angels and their incorrigible cult, the question arose early in Christianity: How does one make an image of an incorporeal being, and what meaning does that image have for devotion to and comprehension of that being? This question, however, formed part of a larger search for ways of attaining knowledge of God and of things divine. As Averil Cameron's insightful synthesis of different aspects of Byzantine culture demonstrates, it was this search and the distinct approaches to gaining knowledge that led directly to the crisis of Iconoclasm in the eighth and ninth centuries.¹

Iconoclasm arose in the 720s, signaled *perhaps* by the dramatic destruction of the image of Christ on the Chalke Gate of the imperial palace in Constantinople.² Its direct cause was likely political concerns and the personal inclination of the emperor Leo III

1. Cameron, "The Language of Images"; and also her "Byzantium and the Past in the Seventh Century: The Search for Redefinition," in *The Seventh Century. Change and Continuity. Proceedings of a joint French and British Colloquium held at the Warburg Institute 8–9 July 1988*, ed. J. Fontaine and J. N. Hillgarth (London, 1992) 250–76.

2. See M.-F. Auzépy, "La destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chaléc par Léon III: Propagande ou réalité," *B* 60(1990):445–92, and G. Peers, "Breathless, Speechless Images: On the Chalke Gate Epigram," *Hommages Margaret Head Thomson, Cahiers des études anciennes*, vol. 34, ed. L. Finette and A. P. Booth (Trois Rivières, Québec, 1998) 109–12.

(r. 716–740), but its intellectual roots are deep in the early church, in divergent approaches to created matter—primarily images—in Christian life and worship.³ Iconoclasm as imperial policy was continued and reinforced by Leo’s son, Constantine V (r. 740–775) but halted under the regency of Irene who ruled for her son Constantine VI and solely from 797 to 802. Irene convened the last ecumenical council in 787, the second held at Nicaea, which reintroduced image worship in the empire. From 815 to 843, Iconoclasm was again enforced until Michael III (r. 842–867) declared for image worship under the influence of his mother, Theodora. The effect of this prolonged period of Iconoclasm was intense debate over images and worship. This study mines that debate for the information it provides about attitudes towards representing angels.

Cameron’s study provides a framework for a more specific analysis of one aspect of the quest for knowledge of the holy, namely depictions of angels. She delineates the process by which early Byzantine society attempted to define and systematize methods of acquiring knowledge and recognizing truth. In Cameron’s view, Iconoclasm “was a manifestation of an uncertainty which people felt about their own thought world.”⁴ And indeed, the period leading up to Iconoclasm reveals two divergent approaches to gaining knowledge in Byzantine culture: symbolism and literalism in art and worship were the two poles of the debate. These conflicting views on art and worship characterize attitudes toward, and perceptions of, angels and their representations. The debate over symbolism and literalism also involved questions about the place of created things in Christian worship; intellectual devotion and material assistance were mutually exclusive for some of the theologians discussed here. Figurative art

3. On the origins of Iconoclasm under Leo III, see S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources* (Louvain, 1973) and D. Stein, *Der Beginn des byzantinischen Bilderstreits und seine Entwicklung bis in der 40er Jahre des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1980). On the roots of Iconoclasm, see P.C. Finney, *The Invisible God. Early Christians on Art* (Oxford, 1994), E. Kitinger, “The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm,” *DOP* 8(1954):83–150, and Sister Charles Murray, *Rebirth and Afterlife. A Study of the Transmutation of Some Pagan Imagery in Early Christian Funerary Art* (Oxford, 1981).

4. Cameron, “The Language of Images,” 4.

was one alienating feature within a larger complex of material aids introduced into worship in the period being examined.

The possibility of idolatry that arose from the introduction of material aids into Christian worship was the underlying and central apprehension that united anti-image theologians. The rejection of images of angels was directly related to that fear of idolatry, but it also involved other issues of primary concern in the early church, namely the worship of angels as gods and pagan attempts to equate Christian angels with their own gods. In the late fourth and fifth centuries, canon 35 of the Council of Laodicea and the repeated warning of Theodoret of Cyrrhus aimed at increasing awareness of the problem and at extirpating the embarrassing problem from the Christian community.⁵ Macarius Magnes in the fourth century combatted the pagan attempt at a rapprochement by denying any resemblance between Christian worship of angels and pagan devotion to their gods.⁶ John of Thessalonike continued to fend off just such advances from pagan quarters into the seventh century.⁷ Evidently, the issue maintained a shame-inspiring purchase within the church. Christian practice, likely in the region of Chonae and perhaps far beyond, evidently encouraged the expression of such pagan views, and pagans could draw parallels between the two apparently irreconcilable beliefs. The shrine at Chonae was a prime site for overweening angel worship, and the stories describing the miracles of Michael were directed at cleansing a situation mortifying for church authorities; the emphasis on the blameless character at the center of the story of the miracle at Chonae was intended to counter behavior that was perhaps not normal but at least perceived to be possible within the cult of angels.⁸ A literal approach to worship, therefore, implicated other issues in the early church that are not simply theological abstractions

5. See the Introduction.

6. See chapter 2.

7. See the Conclusion, and also G. Peers, "Imagination and Angelic Epiphany," *BMGS* 21(1997):113–31, and D. Krausmüller, "God or Angels as Impersonators of Saints. A Belief and its Contexts in the 'Refutation' of Eustratius of Constantinople and in the Writings of Anastasius of Sinai," *Gouden Hoorn* 6 / 2(1998/9):5–16.

8. See chapter 4.

but that involved problems of Christian worship within the material, created world and before insubstantial messengers and guardians of that world.

Before such elusive creatures as angels, Christian artists encountered a representational dilemma. Yet they did not consider this problem of depicting spiritual creatures to be insurmountable, as they represented angels from the earliest period. They based their depictions on scriptural description, and, like theologians such as Chrysippus and Pseudo-Dionysius, they prudently stayed on the path scripture had established for angelic appearances. In many ways, artists avoided problems of representations and described angels straightforwardly as men, thereby ignoring the metaphysical qualities of angels altogether. Yet Christian artists did not always show angels as if they were illustrating the Bible literally. Christian artists developed an iconography of angels that commemorated angelic appearances on earth, most often using wings to indicate the symbolic quality of these appearances. In one important sense, the common iconography of the winged man is reductive: it does not describe the bodiless, immaterial nature of angels; rather, it represents God's messengers generically.

The iconography of angels is unique in Christian art in that it described the difficult flashes of epiphany of the formless angels allusively; the iconography of Christ and the saints presented their human forms, derived from corporeal lives on earth, as the iconography of the angels could not. While it is true that angels appropriated human form for some of their appearances on earth, this form was only one among many forms possible for angels. Christ and the saints had secure and comprehensible forms that persisted with a degree of stability throughout their lives on earth; in contrast, angels were unstable and, in the end, unknowable.

Christian images depended on the life that the subject led on earth for their significance in cult since they stated historical likeness and actual presence in the stead of the person represented. As Hans Belting has demonstrated, images of saints grew directly out of the Late Antique practice of honoring the dead through portraits; images be-

came venerated like relics and were treated like vestiges that had contact with the person represented.⁹ Christ and the Virgin were, of course, difficult cases as both rose bodily into heaven; miraculous images, wondrously imprinted with Christ's face or taken from eyewitness observation such as by the Evangelist Luke, fulfilled this desire for verification of earthly being and for contact with the divine.¹⁰

Representing God—that is, the ability to represent absolute transcendence—was the central issue in the period leading to, and including, Iconoclasm, and it determined the selection and introduction of material concerning angels who are also transcendent, though not, like God, absolutely. The central defense for images of God was the incarnation; supreme divinity assumed human form, and lived, suffered and died in that form. Angels also become comprehensible, though not to this same degree, and for this reason were often a corollary for this primary question of Christian representation. But the issue of angels' images diverges immediately from any direct comparison with images of Christ. The angels were never incarnate, only give the illusion of being so—as, for instance, Raphael deluded Tobias into believing him human. Although angels are comprehensible in some fashion, they present a set of problems different from Christ's representability. Their formless nature and illusory apparitions, so well documented in scripture, apocrypha and miracle stories, define the angels' images as allusive to a spiritual reality not altogether apprehensible. Without the anchor of incarnate being that Christ's images refer to, angels' images are symbolic in a distinct way, necessarily referring to the paradox of bodilessness and immateriality made momentarily and partially known.

Angels, it appears, could not participate in the same process of representation as Christ and the saints: they did not manufacture miraculous images, they did not relinquish relics. Altogether their timeless, near-eternal selves denied historical ratification to their like-

9. H. Belting, *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich, 1990) 42ff., 92ff.

10. On these issues, see the papers in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, Villa Spelman Colloquia, vol. 6, ed. H. L. Kessler and G. Wolf (Bologna, 1998).

Figure 1. Icon of the Archangel Michael (?), Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, sixth century.
Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale.



nesses. Painters of icons of angels relied on tried and true modes of representation for depicting these beings. A sixth-century Coptic panel painting of the archangel Michael (?), now in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (fig. 1), reveals a clear dependence on idealizing funerary portraiture of the Late Antique period: large, staring eyes give a sense of timeless abstraction; the figure faces the viewer frontally, only betraying the impression of immovability by his right hand raised in benediction; the circular nimbus is depicted in front of the rectangular frame in the upper right hand corner, lending a contrapposto effect to the hand below.¹¹ While these elements pro-

11. See Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 110, fig. 47, and J. Durand in *Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises* (Paris, 1992) 144, no. 98.

vide animation, perhaps a notion of activity benevolently directed at the worshipper, the figure itself is anonymous, undistinguished by feature or by inscription; it is so reliant on pagan idealizing portraiture in iconography and style that only the heroic quality of the figure—and not its individuality—is clear. The stumps of wings alone betray a hint of angelic identity and nature; the icon is not, then, unambiguous in its representation of qualities unique to angels.

If Christian artists sidestepped certain problems of angelic nature in frequently representing angels as men, these images of angels raised difficulties of perception and comprehension on the part of the viewer. Angels are formless, bodiless and immaterial, so a true likeness of such beings in material images is impossible. The relation between the image and model is, therefore, problematic, and definition of any relation relied on viewers' ability to discern symbolic rather than literal "likeness." Byzantine viewers did approach images of angels discriminately: the tension between material representation and immaterial nature is the compelling and attractive quality of their images. Indeed, this tension is the defining characteristic of angels' images and distinguishes their images from other Christian representations.

On a literal level, the iconography of the angels presents a faithful rendering of certain appearances that God's messengers had made on earth. In Christian art, angels are depicted as youths, most often winged; they are generalized in appearance to the point of anonymity, and only the Archangels are consistently named by inscription in representations. Cherubim and seraphim are often recognizable, though not always distinguishable from each other, by the many wings and eyes that scripture prescribed. Yet cherubim, seraphim and other angelic beings—that is, the thrones, principalities, powers, virtues and dominations mentioned in scripture—could also be represented by the generalized iconography of the winged youth. Clearly, the form of a man with wings not only commemorated the human aspect occasionally made manifest to humanity but also referred, more broadly, to all angelic beings.

Although a degree of anthropomorphism became a consistent iconographic element for angels, anthropomorphism itself was not

predetermined. For instance, scripture advances different agencies behind the cloud of smoke and pillar of fire that led the Israelites out of the desert in Exodus. At one point (13:21–22), “the Lord went before them”; but at other points in the journey, the text specifies that the Lord’s angel guided the people (14:19, 23:20–23, 32:34, 33:2). Although Exodus is ambiguous about these manifestations’ identity, the cloud of smoke and pillar of fire were generally considered to be emanations of God, that is angels.¹² The angels in illustrations of these events in Exodus presented representational possibilities for painters. They could be depicted either in the form made manifest to the Israelites in the desert, or as men, a form revealed elsewhere in scripture.

In the case of the smoke and fire of Exodus, literal adherence to scripture characterizes the depictions of these epiphanies, and painters did not use the iconography of the winged youth to indicate the nature and ultimate identity of the agencies behind the cloud and fire. Frescoes in cubicula C and O in the fourth-century via Latina Catacomb in Rome both represent a column with a blaze on top beside Moses receiving the law; these two columns are placed on a level above a crowd standing before a building.¹³ The *Christian Topography*, written in the sixth century, shows a different context for representing this manifestation of God’s providence. Illuminations accompany passages from Exodus and other biblical books, collated by the author in an attempt at a Christian history prefigured by events in Hebrew Scripture. The context is primarily narrative, although Christian typology is the final concern. This particular manifestation of divinity, the column and cloud, is depicted with faithful attention to scripture and interpreted as a sign of God’s providence fulfilled with the coming of Christ.

12. See M. Barker, *The Great Angel. A Study of Israel’s Second Angel* (London, 1992) 32, 86. Eventually, the Archangel Michael became identified with these manifestations on account of his guardianship of Israel stated at Daniel 12:1. See, for instance, Pantaleon, *Narratio*, IX, PG 140:579C.

13. See W. Tronzo, *The Via Latina Catacomb. Imitation and Discontinuity in Fourth-Century Roman Painting* (University Park and London, 1986) 1, 59, figs. 4, 5.

Rather than depicting an angelic being or God, the illuminators chose a literal depiction of a cloud and a column with a flame atop it (fig. 2).¹⁴ Yet the depictions, like scripture, ultimately refer to enigmatic revelations of God's emanations, that is angels, as the column and cloud in the manuscripts and the frescoes allude to changeable beings, unclear identities and obscure meanings. Both examples, despite their different contexts and literal attention to text, demand an understanding on the part of the viewer that the column and cloud are symbolic of aspects of divine, multiform beings. By avoiding any attempts at visually referring to the nature of the epiphanies, the painter shifts the burden to the viewer who must supply an interpretation based on his or her knowledge of scripture. While this burden is not exclusive to viewing angels, it has a special role since their mutable nature demands special processes of interpretation.

Angels' metaphysical qualities notwithstanding, during the early centuries of Christian art, painters, mosaicists and sculptors depicted angels as men. They first devised an anthropomorphic iconography because angels are sometimes described in scriptural accounts as having made themselves manifest as men. The earliest extant representation of an anthropomorphic angel appeared in the third century in an Annunciation in the Catacomb of Priscilla in

14. See K. Weitzmann and G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts. Volume One: From the Ninth to the Eleventh Century* (Princeton, 1990) 63–64, figs. 141, 142, pls. IXa, Xa; and Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographie chrétienne*, SC vols. 141, 159, 197, ed. W. Wolska-Conus (Paris, 1968–1973) I:47ff.

The column with fire and the cloud are represented in illustrations in the two eleventh-century manuscripts of this sixth-century work at Sinai (cod. 1186, fols. 73r, 73v, 74r) and Florence (Laur. Plut. IX, 28, fols. 103r, 103v, 104r). The illustrations were not invented for these two manuscripts and the eleventh-century recensions rely ultimately on the sixth-century prototype of the *Christian Topography* for their model. The Sinai and Florence versions more faithfully reproduce the illumination tradition of the *Christian Topography* than the other member of this manuscript family, the ninth-century Vaticanus graecus 699, and so these illustrations of Exodus can be safely related to a pre-Iconoclastic model.

One should properly follow the identification of the author of the *Christian Topography* with Constantine of Antioch rather than Cosmas Indicopleustes, as Wanda Wolska-Conus has persuasively argued. See her "Stéphanos d'Athènes et Stéphanos d'Alexandrie. Essai d'identification et de biographie," *REB* 47(1989):28ff.



Figure 2. The Israelites at the Twelve Springs, *The Christian Topography* of “Cosmas Indicopleustes,” Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai, cod. 1186, fol. 73r, eleventh century. Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan–Princeton–Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

Rome. The scriptural narrative (Luke 1:28–38) describes the messenger of God merely as an “angel,” and the painter chose to represent this messenger as a man wearing a tunic and standing firmly on the earth.¹⁵ This solution to the potential difficulties in representing formless beings was used frequently in the first centuries of Christian art and never disappeared from the Byzantine iconographic tradition. Indeed, it shows that describing the special qualities of angels was felt sometimes not to be possible or not to be of paramount concern. In Early Christian art, angels were most often depicted in this earthly guise, as a man either bearded or unbearded,¹⁶ and in this way artists described one comprehensible aspect out of the many that scripture ascribes to angels. However, in the fresco in the Catacomb of Priscilla, the angel is not explicitly identified by inscription or iconographic peculiarity, and the attribution of the scene as the Annunciation is ambivalent. Clearly, the image of a man did not itself indicate the distinct identity of an angel nor could it describe directly any transcendental element in the event.

For some mosaicists, painters and sculptors, the literal depiction of angels as men was restrictive since anthropomorphism could not express qualities peculiar to angels.¹⁷ But in Late Antique art iconographic means that could indicate the distinct identity and metaphysical nature of angels were available to Christian mosaicists, painters and sculptors: by the end of the fourth century, wings were standard—though not exclusive—attributes of angels. They provided the means for referring to supernatural qualities particular to angels that could not be expressed easily in visual terms: transcendence, velocity, ethereality and uncontained activity. For instance, John Chrysostom (ca. 347–407) wrote:

15. See M. Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli. Racconto di immagini e di idee* (Milan, 1991) 48; and P. Testini, *Archeologia cristiana. Nozioni generali dalle origini alla fine del sec. VI* (Rome, 1958) 258.

16. The bearded angel is found as late as the fifth century, for example, on an ivory representing the Baptism of Christ in the British Museum; see W.F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 3d ed. (Mainz am Rhein, 1976) pl. 60 (#115).

17. G. Berefelt, *A Study on the Winged Angel. The Origin of a Motif* (Stockholm, 1968) 15.

What do the powers reveal to us by these wings? The exaltedness and ethereality and lightness and speed of their nature. For which reason, Gabriel descends fleet; not that the wings are part of the bodiless power, but that he descends from realms on high and returns to his abode whence he was sent.¹⁸

In Byzantine art, wings became an established and comprehensive distinguishing sign of the offices and nature of angelic beings—and, rarely, of other beings as well, Christ, for instance, or John the Baptist in his angelic guise.¹⁹ In the case of the angels, however, the oc-

18. *In Isaiham dominum* (Is. 6:1), *homiliae* 1–6, II, PG 56:137. And, also, *Ad eos qui scandalizati*, III, PG 52:484, “Therefore when you see the seraphim flying around that exalted and well-fitted throne, their sight walled round by the projection of their wings, hiding their feet, backs and faces, and sending forth fearfully strong cries, do not think wings and feet, and that they are winged. For these are invisible powers. But [it is] on account of the unapproachability of their images, and the incomprehensibility of sitting near an actual throne. For indeed he is incomprehensible and unapproachable to them also, and yet he too condescended.”

19. Christ represented as an angel is a rare iconography based on Isaiah 9:6, “For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given . . . and his name shall be called the Angel of the Great Counsel (Μεγάλης Βουλῆς Ἄγγελος), Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace.” Christ in this guise is depicted winged, and unbearded, but with cross-nimbus or in a mandorla, thereby differentiating him from the heavenly host proper. On this iconography, see S. Der Nersessian, “Note sur quelques images se rattachant au thème du Christ-ange,” *CA* 13(1962):209–16; J. Meyendorff, “Iconographie de la Sagesse divine dans la tradition byzantine,” *CA* 10(1959):269, and also his “Wisdom–Sophia: Contrasting Approaches to a Complex Theme,” *DOP* 41(1987):391–401; and D.I. Pallas, “Ὁ Χριστός ὡς ἡ θεία Σοφία. Ἡ Εἰκονογραφικὴ Περιπέτεια μιᾶς θεολογικῆς Ἐννοῦᾶς,” *DChAE* 15(1989–1990):127ff., 137ff.

The first extant representation of the winged John the Baptist is found at the church of Sv. Ahilije in Arlije from ca. 1296 (G. Millet, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédonie et Monténégro)*, 4 vols. [Paris, 1954–1969] II: pl. 87.1; and *RBK* III:623ff.). The iconography may very well predate this representation, as Lossky points out instances of seventh-/eighth-century commentary on the angelic nature of John the Baptist. See L. Ouspensky and W. Lossky, *The Meaning of the Icons* (Boston, 1952) 108. The iconography has been examined by J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, “Une icône d’Angélos au Musée de Malines et l’iconographie du St Jean-Baptiste ailé,” *Bulletin de Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire* 48(1976):121–44, and M. Bussagli, “Il Precursore. Giovanni l’angelo, martire della luce,” *Abstracta* 27(1988):23–29.

Rarely, the Virgin Mary may be depicted winged also, but this is generally late and developed perhaps under the influence of the iconography of the winged Christ; see *RBK* III:108. Furthermore, the Angeloi family in the Palaiologan period depicted themselves with wings on coins as a kind of heraldic emblem, and also perhaps to invoke angelic protection; see T. Bertelè, *L’imperatore alato nella numismatica bizantina* (Rome, 1951) 45ff.



Figure 3. Sarigüzél sarcophagus, Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (#5408), late fourth century. Photo: Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

casional need to distinguish these beings iconographically from humanity, including Christ incarnate, was important for the creation of angels' iconography. Angelic beings are distinct from, and servile to, Christ, and they do not participate in human nature. Consequently, the winged, anthropomorphic form became a unique sign for the innumerable, invisible entities that mediate between heaven and earth at God's behest.

The iconographic formulae used to depict angelic beings were derived from pagan models. An important example of this derivation is the late fourth-century Sarigüzél sarcophagus in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (fig. 3). It shows both the dependence of Christian angels on pagan figures, in particular winged victories, and also the distinctions between the Christian and pagan beings.²⁰ On the Sarigüzél sarcophagus, two flying male angels, clad in tunic and *pal-lium*, bear a wreath containing Christ's monogram ("XP"). The pagan iconography of two horizontal winged beings holding a wreath, medallion or inscribed plaque clearly motivated the disposition of the angels on the Sarigüzél sarcophagus. For instance, on a third-century sarcophagus from the via Aurelia Antica now in the Palazzo

20. See N. Firatli, *La sculpture byzantine figurée au Musée Archéologique d'Istanbul* (Paris, 1990) no. 81.

dei Conservatori, Rome, two winged female figures hover horizontally and hold a medallion between them in a manner common in pagan funerary art.²¹

Nevertheless, individual elements used in depictions of Christian angels belie any generalizations about unmediated transmission of iconography from pagan to Christian art.²² Pagan figures, such as nikes and personifications, are invariably female; Christian angels, male. In Greek, “ho angelos” (ὁ ἄγγελος) is masculine in gender, a distinction always followed in iconography; hence the distinction in dress. The angels on the Sarigüzel sarcophagus wear tunic and *pallium*, while nikes wear the female *peplos*, and, in other cases, the chiton, occasionally with one breast exposed.²³

Gender and dress, therefore, constitute the essential identifying features for nike and angel, and the distinctions of nature and function are nowhere more evident than on monuments with both figures. The ivory leaf from the late fifth-/early sixth-century Barberini diptych (Louvre, Paris) shows a female, chiton-clad victory accompanying the emperor; in the register above, two male winged figures wearing tunic and *pallium* bear aloft a medallion containing the unbearded Christ (fig. 4).²⁴

The pagan iconography provided some of the meaning of the Christian iconography of victory proclaiming angels. The pagan nikes signal worldly acclaim and, in such contexts as the sarcophagus from the via Aurelia Antica, laud the achievements of the

21. See Berefelt, *A Study on the Winged Angel*, fig. 15.

22. For instance, O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst* (Munich, 1914) 136, A. C. M. Beck, *Genien und Niken als Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst* (Giessen, 1936), and E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture. Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, ed. H. W. Janson (London, 1964) 43–44: “Victories could become angels without changing in appearance.”

23. G. Stuhlfauth, *Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst* (Freiburg, 1897) 242ff.; K. Felis, “Die Niken und die Engel in altchristlicher Kunst,” *RQ* 26(1912):3–25; and see Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli*, 63ff. and 142ff.

24. See R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*, 2 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929) I:188ff., II: pl. 48, and F. de’ Maffei, “Tradizione ed innovazione nei ditici eburnei: Giuliano, Pulcheria, Giustiniano,” *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 40(1986):129ff. Pallados, writing ca. 400, implies a self-conscious, artistic coexistence for angels and nikes when he describes some painted, Christian nikes. See *The Greek Anthology*, ed. W. R. Paton, 5 vols. (London, 1927), V:282.



Figure 4. Barberini Diptych, Louvre, Paris, sixth century. Photo: Musée du Louvre.

deceased. In distinction, the Christian iconography attempted to demonstrate the universal claims of that faith. Winged angels demonstrate the metaphysical dimension of Christianity and, on the Sarigüzöl sarcophagus, its victory over death. The angels are the otherworldly heralds of the triumph of Christ throughout the universe and are the celestial counterparts to the saints on the end panels of that sarcophagus.

Other pagan personifications besides nikes played a role in the development of the iconography of Christian angels. A common iconographic feature to mark creatures that occupied the intermediate zone between the heavens and earth, wings were attributes of numerous personifications, such as winds, psychopompic figures, souls and astronomical symbols. Christian art assimilated this widespread motif to denote angels' immaterial and superhuman nature.²⁵ For example, set within a swirling carpet of fruits, plants and birds, four angels hold aloft a medallion containing the Lamb of God in the mosaic of the chancel vault of San Vitale (consecrated 548).²⁶ Although distinguished by gender and dress, the angels owe their disposition and activity to representations of seasons in late Roman art. For example, winged, female personifications of seasons are depicted in the Late Antique period in mosaics from Daphne, near Antioch, (fig. 5) and Halicarnassus.²⁷ These personifications of seasons, with

25. On this question of pagan winged beings generally, see the studies of Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli*, and "Gli angeli e i venti: considerazioni sul simbolismo aereo delle ali angeliche," *Arte medievale* 5(1991):107ff. Even birds may have influenced the iconography of the angels; and, in fact, bird-footed angels on a Palaiologan icon (#157) in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, show that an iconographic assimilation of birds and angels was at least possible. See M. G. Soteriou, "Ἀμιπρόσωπος εἰκὼν τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Ἀθηνῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἡπειροῦ," *DChAE* 4(1959):137, fig. 54.

26. See H. Maguire, *Earth and Ocean. The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (University Park and London, 1987) 76ff.

27. W. R. Lethaby, "The Painted Book of Genesis in the British Museum," *Archaeological Journal* 69(1912):94, cites a mosaic of the four seasons from Halicarnassus in the British Museum that shows winged female figures wearing tunics; see R. P. Hinks, *Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum* (London, 1933) 127ff. (#51 c-d). And for the fourth-century mosaic from Daphne, now in the Louvre, see A. Grabar, *Early Christian Art. From the Rise of Christianity to the Death of Theodosius*, trans. S. Gilbert and J. Emmons (New York, 1968) fig. 163. Seasons were also depicted as males in pagan art; on an early third-century sarcophagus (Landgrafmuseum, Cassel), and on a sarcophagus dating ca. 300–320 (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.), the seasons are winged nude males. See, respectively, J. Godwin, *Mystery Religions in the Ancient World*, San Francisco, 1981, fig. 100, and G. M. A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1951). Seasons became a significant element in Roman imperial art in the second century, when they were depicted as young males below the female Victories in the spandrels of the triumphal arch of Trajan at Benevento (114–18); see D. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven and London, 1992) figs. 188, 189, and Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus*, I:171ff. Wings are found subsequently on personifications of seasons in the second century for the first time; Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus*, I:136. And since seasons are also found on sarcophagi from the second century on, an assimilation of



Figure 5. Mosaic of the Seasons, detail of Personification of Spring, from Daphne near Antioch, Louvre, Paris, early fourth century. Photo: Musée du Louvre.

arms raised to hold a medallion, clearly influenced the handling of the angels in the chancel vault at San Vitale. Based on this existing iconography, the angels within this area of the church form part of

the nude male figures with the winged and clothed female victories, such as is found on Trajan's arch, may well have resulted in the Late Antique examples of personifications of time found at Aphrodisias, Halicarnassus and ultimately in the Cotton Genesis.

the mosaic program in the sanctuary, the rule of Christ over the entire earth.

The dependence of the iconography of Christian angels on pagan models is complex, and certain pagan models maintained their identities in Christian art and did not influence the angels' iconography in any simple or direct manner. For example, the late fifth-century Cotton Genesis includes representations of both personifications and angels. Dress and gender distinguish the personifications of the days in the creation pages from the angels in such narrative scenes as Abraham entertaining the three angels.²⁸ The former are female and wear garlands in their hair and high girdled chitons that leave their arms bare; the angels in the Philoxenia, on the other hand, are male and wear purple and gold chlamys with a silver tablion over a white tunic.

Yet the identity of these winged figures in the creation pages is still debated by scholars. The figures are often called angels by scholars, despite the clear iconographic distinctions the illuminator made between the figures in the creation pages and in the narrative scenes; for this reason, it is useful to examine the literature on these figures to see the reasoning behind their designation as angels. In 1959, Marie-Thérèse D'Alverny published an article in which she examined the exegetical history of angels in creation, and discerned an affinity between the commentary of Augustine (354–430) on Genesis and the representations of the winged figures in the creation pages of the Cotton Genesis.²⁹ Augustine stated that the creation of light was also the moment of creation for the angels, and so the angels are intellectual creatures, days of creation in his view, who witness and glorify the creations of God. From this exegesis, D'Alverny hypothesized that the winged figures in the Cotton Genesis illuminations,

28. See K. Weitzmann and H. L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis. British Museum Codex Cotton Otho B. VI* (Princeton, 1986) 40, 48 (creation pages), 79–80 (Abraham).

Angels are depicted as men in the scene of Jacob's Dream in the third-century fresco in the synagogue at Dura Europos; as in the Cotton Genesis, the psyches are kept distinct from the angels iconographically as they are depicted as small winged females. See K. Weitzmann and H. L. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Europos Synagogue and Christian Art* (Washington, D.C., 1990) 17ff., fig. 10, and 135ff., fig. 178, respectively.

29. M.-Th. D'Alverny, "Les anges et les jours," *CA* 9(1957):271–300.

who increase in number according to the day of creation, find a direct parallel in this unique exegesis of Genesis by Augustine.³⁰ For this reason, she called them angels.

D'Alverny made an exhaustive survey of the textual tradition of creation and angels, but neglected to specify the iconographic precedents for the winged beings in the creation pages. Furthermore, she accepted the traditional provenance of the Cotton Genesis at Alexandria, and so ran aground on the relation of Augustinian exegesis to a Greek manuscript manufactured in Egypt. Maria Marini Clarelli has offered an hypothesis that attempts to reconcile this provenance with an exegetical tradition.³¹ She proposed that the winged females are angels assimilated to the iconography of pagan psyches; psyches in this view were a fundamental influence on the development of angels' iconography. The winged figures in these illustrations of the Cotton Genesis are, for this reason, depicted wearing chitons, unlike the standard angelic dress of dalmatian and *pal-lium*, in order to state iconographically the connection between soul and angel.³² However, psyches have butterfly wings in pagan iconography, and the winged figures in the Cotton Genesis creation pages have small sickle-shaped wings; the iconographic parallel is not, therefore, convincing.³³

30. References in D'Alverny, "Les anges et les jours," 273ff.

31. See M.V. Marini Clarelli, "I giorni della creazione nel 'Genesi Cotton,'" *OCP* 50(1984):65–93; and Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli*, 72ff.

32. Marini Clarelli, "I giorni della creazione nel 'Genesi Cotton,'" 83ff. She attributed this assimilation to exegesis current at Alexandria in the early Christian period, particularly that of Philo (ca. 20 B.C.E.–ca. 50 C.E.) and Clement (ca. 150–ca. 215). According to the exegesis of Clement of Alexandria, the souls of the just participate in a journey of progressive refinement that leads ultimately to an essential assimilation with the seven first-created angels.

33. An apparent strength of Marini Clarelli's hypothesis is a better contextualization of the manuscript in Alexandria, but Martin Büchsel has recently examined further the Augustinian exegesis on creation with regard to the Cotton Genesis. See M. Büchsel, "Die Schöpfungsmosaiken von San Marco. Die Ikonographie der Erschaffung des Menschens in der frühchristlichen Kunst," *Städte-Jahrbuch* n.s. 13(1991):29–80. Büchsel discerned elements in the creation cycle in the thirteenth-century mosaic program of San Marco, Venice, which is derived from the Cotton Genesis, that are found only in the work of Augustine; this extensive examination advances further the hypothesis of a connection between the Cotton Genesis and Augustine. He also proposed a provenance for the manuscript at Rome, thus taking away an important underpinning of Marini Clarelli's argument and adding strength to the original connection made between Augustine and the Cotton Genesis by D'Alverny. How-

While the manuscript was likely produced in Egypt, either at Alexandria or at Antinoë, the exegetical sources Marini Clarelli adduces have no discernible impact on the invention of the creation day pages.³⁴ Moreover, the iconographic parallels between pagan personifications of days and the winged figures in the creation pages are the most compelling. For example, a panel from a first-century (?) frieze in the north portico of the imperial Sebasteion at Aphrodisias in Asia Minor depicts a personification of Day (Ἡμέρα). The panel shows a woman clad in a high girdled chiton in a manner similar to the winged figures in the creation day pages of the Cotton Genesis.³⁵ The dress, wings and gender of these personifications show the best precedents for the winged figures in the creation day pages of the Cotton Genesis.³⁶ As the Cotton Genesis has other instances of classical borrowings, the most likely solution to the puzzle of the so-called “angels” is the simplest; pagan personifications of time were included to indicate the increase in days of creation as outlined in Genesis.³⁷

ever, the problem of a Greek manuscript produced at Rome but with palaeographic relations to Alexandria (as Büchsel admits) is not dissipated by Büchsel’s hypothesis that the manuscript was a gift from Leo the Great (d. 461) to a Byzantine emperor. The argument for Alexandrian origin, on palaeographic and iconographic grounds, is still the most compelling for this manuscript. See H. L. Kessler, *Studies in Pictorial Narrative* (London, 1994) 552.

34. See Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, 30–31, who contend that palaeographic, stylistic and iconographic evidence points to either of these major Egyptian centers.

35. See K. T. Erim, *Aphrodisias. Ein Führer durch die antike Stadt und das Museum*, trans. E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum (Istanbul, 1990) fig. 90; and also his *Aphrodisias. City of Venus-Aphrodite* (New York and London, 1986) fig. p. 122; and R. R. Smith, “Myth and Allegory in the Sebasteion,” *Aphrodisias Papers. Recent Work on Architecture and Sculpture*, ed. C. Rouché and K. T. Erim (Ann Arbor, 1990) 89–92. On the iconography of Day, see *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich and Munich, 1981–) III, 1:774 (#276, #282), 781 (#299).

36. See K. Weitzmann, “Observations on the Cotton Genesis Fragments,” in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann et al. (Princeton, 1955) 127, in which he played down the possibility of the personification of day affecting the manuscript; in “The Genesis Mosaics of San Marco and the Cotton Genesis Miniatures,” in O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco. Part 2: The Thirteenth Century. Volume One: Text* (Chicago and London, 1984) 109, Weitzmann entertained Ἡμέρα as the more likely influence.

37. On other classical borrowings in the Cotton Genesis, see Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, 38ff.

The figures in the creation pages of the Cotton Genesis are plainly different from the angels in the other illustrations of the manuscript, and the differences in identities signal to the viewer that a visual gloss is being made on the creation passages. The winged figures in the creation pages allow an indication of time, thereby revealing an ability on the part of the illuminator to express certain Christian concerns through a pagan iconography. Pagan personifications of time were not direct models for the iconography of angels since figures are differentiated in function and appearance in the Cotton Genesis. The distinctions used reveal that while the iconography of angels owed some debts to pagan models as at San Vitale, Christian painters also perceived differences in these figures and maintained these differences for specific narrative ends.³⁸

Despite the clear iconographic parallels between winged pagan beings and Christian angels, some scholars have sought the origins of the winged angel in a purely Christian context independent of pagan inspiration. In support of this opinion, Georg Stuhlfauth adduced as an early example a fifth-century ivory (Castello Sforzesco, Milan), which depicts a winged man and bull, symbols of the evangelists, hovering above an unwinged angel at the tomb of Christ (fig. 6).³⁹ He also cited the apse mosaic at Sta. Pudenziana, Rome, (401–417) in which evangelist symbols hover in the sky above Christ seated amongst his disciples. These two monuments were his primary pieces of evidence for the contention that the Christian iconography of winged angels was dependent on the evangelist symbol of the winged man.⁴⁰ However, chronology makes it difficult to support an

38. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus*, I:195ff., believed that little evidence existed for a true iconographic lineage from seasons to angels: “At most, we might allow that the tendency to conceive natural forces as angels and *daimones*, coupled with the use of pagan types of personifications for the visual rendering of these concepts, led to an art in which some of the long-winged Seasons have a generic resemblance to the Christian angels.”

39. Grabar, *The Golden Age of Justinian*, fig. 331, and Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, pl. 60 (#111).

40. Stuhlfauth, *Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst*, 244. The tetramorph cherubim of Ezekiel and Revelation initiated typological interpretation of the Gospels and Evangelists among Christian theologians. This symbolic affiliation of tetramorph and Gospels began as early as the second century; for instance, Irenaeus (ca. 130–ca. 200) wrote: “For the cherubim have four faces, and their faces are the images of the dispensation of the Son of

Figure 6. The Tomb of Christ, upper register — Soldiers Asleep at the Tomb; lower register — Marys and Angel at Tomb. Ivory, Castello Sforzesco, Milan, fifth century. Photo: Foto Marburg/ Art Resource, N.Y.



independent development of this iconography since these earliest monuments are later than the fourth-century appearance of winged angels.⁴¹

Given the fragmentary quality of the archaeological record for this period, the hypothesis of a Christian invention of the iconography of the winged angel cannot be dismissed out of hand. Furthermore, scripture does provide the material for an association of man and wings, for instance in Ezekiel (1:5–6) and Revelation (4:7–8), and early exegetical identification of tetramorph and evangelists suggests—though by no means proves—an equally early appearance in art. Scripture mentions wings and flight at Exodus 25:20, Daniel 9:21, Revelation 14:6, for instance, and descriptions elsewhere make it clear that wings were means for mobility for the cherubim and seraphim. Wings were also symbols of God's unapproachability. For instance, Isaiah's seraphim use two of their wings for flying, and the other two pairs to cover their face and feet (Is. 6:1–3). And third- and fourth-century exegesis by theologians such as Tertullian (ca. 160–ca. 240)⁴² and Chrysostom makes it clear that Christians viewed and discussed wings as symbols of the

God. The one like the lion indicates the efficacious, royal and authoritative nature. The one like the calf presents the sacerdotal and priestly nature. The manlike form depicts the incarnation, and the one like the eagle represents the visitation of the Holy Spirit." Trans. R. S. Nelson, *The Iconography of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels* (New York, 1980) 6. See also O. Wulff, *Cherubim, Throne und Seraphim. Ikonographie der ersten Engelshierarchie in der christlichen Kunst* (Altenburg, 1894) 8ff., 37ff.; M. de Grooth and P. van Moorsel, "The Lion, the Calf, the Man and the Eagle in Early Christian and Coptic Art," *Bulletin Antiecke Beschaving* 52/3(1977/8):233–45; M. Werner, "On the Origin of Zoanthropomorphic Evangelist Symbols: The Early Christian Background," *Studies in Iconography* 10(1984–1986): 1–35, and also "On the Origin of Zoanthropomorphic Evangelist Symbols: The Early Medieval and Later Coptic, Nubian, Ethiopian and Latin Evidence," *ibid.* 13(1989–1990): 1–47; and D. Kinney, "The Apocalypse in Early Christian Monumental Decoration," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. K. Emerson and B. McGinn (Ithaca and London, 1992) 200–16.

41. See Kinney, "The Apocalypse in Early Christian Monumental Decoration," 208ff.

42. *Apologeticum adversus gentes pro Christianis*, XXII, 8, in *Tertulliani Opera. Pars I. Opera Catholica, Adversus Marcionem*. Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, vol. 1, ed. E. Dekkers (Turnhout, 1954) 129: "Every spirit is winged, both angels and demons. In this way, in a moment they are everywhere: all the world is for them one place; what is taking place everywhere is as easy for them to know as to tell. It is thought that their velocity is divine, because their substance is not known."

angels' transcendental nature.⁴³ These texts reveal that Christians were able to provide their own meanings to angels' wings, and they must have encouraged the manipulation of the iconography of pagan winged beings and made such an iconography acceptable in Christian contexts. In the final analysis, the evidence for a Christian invention of the winged angels is simply too scanty and the influence of pagan iconography too manifest for pagan art to be discounted as the primary model for angels.

Although the debt that Christian iconography owed pagan models is clear, Christian painters and mosaicists were able to judge the appropriateness of depictions of winged figures and did not simply absorb an existing iconography. The addition or omission of wings in depictions of angels in Christian art likewise reveals a symbolic quality of wings and the ability of these appendages to signal terrestrial or celestial modes or sites of activity. Anthropomorphic figures, winged or unwinged, could help express orthodox dogma, as well as Christian interpretations of scripture not overt in Hebrew scripture itself.

Christian painters and mosaicists sometimes contended with the problems of apprehension and description of angels in art, and in this way paralleled the attempts of theologians who were concerned with deciphering the meanings behind the obscure appearances of angels in scripture, particularly in the Hebrew Testament. The appearance of the angels of the Lord as "men" to Abraham (Gen. 18) has an important iconographic history from this point of view. Ambiguities present in the account are difficult to reconcile; within the same chapter, the angels are described as "men," "he" and the "Lord." The Greek fathers offered various interpretations of the puzzling appearance of the angels to Abraham at Mamre: simply as three angels, Christ and two angels, or as the Trinity itself.⁴⁴

43. See also Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli*, 57ff.; Stuhlfauth, *Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst*, 51ff.; *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (Paris, 1924–) I, 2:2080ff.; and the *Martyrium Bartholomaei* in *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, ed. C. Tischendorf (Leipzig, 1861) 257.

44. See, for instance, Justin Martyr (ca. 100–ca. 165), *Dialogus cum Tryphone Iudaeo*, 59, J. Archimbault, ed., *Justin. Dialogue avec Tryphon*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1909) 276, J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten* (Göttingen, 1915; rp. New York, 1950) 164; Athanasius (ca. 296–373), *Orationes contra Arianos*, PG 26:352AB; and Procopius of Gaza (ca. 475–ca. 538), *Commen-*

Painters and mosaicists also offered various visual interpretations of the true meaning behind this Old Testament epiphany. The first extant example of a representation of the epiphany to Abraham, a fresco in the fourth-century via Latina Catacomb in Rome, simply depicts three young men approaching the seated Abraham.⁴⁵ The painter did not overtly signal the identity of the three men by iconography or inscription. The angels are unwinged, in keeping with the earthly nature of their manifestation to Abraham. The viewer can interpret the fresco literally as describing in a direct fashion the three men who appeared to Abraham; on the other hand, the viewer can infer the spiritual nature of the visitors in the fresco through knowledge of scripture.

In contrast to this literal representation of the three men of the scriptural passage, the mosaicist at Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome, (ca. 435) offered a more complicated visual exegesis. The middle angel appears in a transparent aureole of light that overlaps and excludes the two flanking angels. By singling out one figure as more powerful and divine than his companions, the mosaicist has signified a Christological interpretation of this epiphany.⁴⁶ The appearance of the “men” to Abraham and Sarah at Mamre is also a typology of the Annunciation to the Virgin. Traditionally, the scene in the upper left-hand portion of the arch mosaic has been interpreted as an Annunciation to the Virgin; in this scene, an angel descends from the sky to announce the news to an enthroned Mary. The angels flanking the Virgin and the angel descending are all shown winged, in distinction to the angels in the Philoxenia scene who are depicted without wings. In providing wings to the angels with the Virgin, the

tarii in Genesim, XVIII, PG 87/1:364AB. These various interpretations have been examined more broadly by L. Thunberg, “Early Christian Interpretations of the Three Angels in Gen. 18,” *Studia Patristica* 8(1966):560–70.

45. See A. Ferrua, *La pittura della nuova Catacomba di via Latina*, Vatican City, 1960, fig. 24.

46. See C. Cecchelli, *I mosaici della Basilica S. Maria Maggiore* (Turin, 1956) pl. XV, O. Perler, “Les théophanies dans les mosaïques de Sainte-Marie-Majeure à Rome,” *RivAC* 50(1974):281ff., B. Brenk, *Die frühchristliche Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Wiesbaden, 1975) 108ff., and also W. Loerke, “Observations on the Representation of *Doxa* in the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, and St. Catherine’s, Sinai,” *Gesta* 20(1981):18ff.

mosaicist signifies the overtly spiritual nature of this Annunciation and the eternal setting of the Virgin's court. In contrast, the wingless angels before Abraham and Sarah literally signal the terrestrial quality of that epiphany; the singling out of the central angel reveals that the latent meaning of this appearance is believed to lie in its prophecy of the coming of Christ.⁴⁷

Unlike the mosaicist of the Philoxenia at Sta. Maria Maggiore, the illustrator of the Cotton Genesis chose to depict the angels in the same scene with wings.⁴⁸ The wings, not mentioned in the account, signal to the viewer the identity of Abraham's visitors; believing his visitors to be simply three strangers, Abraham has not yet apprehended that they are angels. Again unlike the case at Sta. Maria Maggiore, the illuminator did not distinguish the angels one from another, and may have wished to express the Trinitarian symbolism often given the event by Christians. Indeed, this same typological interpretation determined other aspects of the manuscript's iconographic program, such as the portrayal of Christ as Logos in the creation pages; in orthodox belief, Christ is co-eternal and consubstantial with God and the Holy Spirit, and by showing Christ at creation, the illuminator stressed this crucial aspect of Trinitarian dogma.⁴⁹

These monuments do not trace a development of an iconography that becomes increasingly settled over the first centuries of Christian art. For example, the sixth-century mosaic of the Philoxenia at San Vitale, Ravenna, also depicts the angels as young, wingless men (fig. 7). The angels are represented seated at table and they indicate the repast Abraham has gathered. Coupled in the same lunette with a depiction of the sacrifice of Isaac, and placed opposite a mosaic of the sacrifices of Abel and Melchizedek, the depiction of the three

47. See S. Spain, "'The Promised Blessing': The Iconography of the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore," *ArtB* 61(1979):518–40, especially 537ff.

48. Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, 79–80.

49. See Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, 37, and on the Trinitarian issues of the fourth and fifth centuries and art, see C. von Schönborn, *L'icône du Christ. Fondements théologiques élaborées entre le Ier et le IIer Concile de Nicée (325–787)* (Fribourg, 1976) 22ff.



Figure 7. Philoxenia of Abraham, Mosaic, S. Vitale, Ravenna, ca. 540. Photo: Alinari / Art Resource, N.Y.

men from heaven forms part of a program of eucharistic typology in the sanctuary of the church.⁵⁰

As these examples show, Christian painters and mosaicists determined the appropriateness of wings to represent the epiphany made to Abraham according to the context: they often manipulated iconographic elements in order to express specific interpretations of scriptural passages.⁵¹ In the context of the apse program at San Vitale, God's universal dominion is stated; and the attendance of spiritual servants, their spirituality and distinction from human nature signaled by their wings, is a sign of the all-embracing nature of that dominion. And above the apse, the winged angels on the arch further demonstrate the cosmic acclamation of Christ's rule. While these angels derive their wings and horizontal disposition from pagan triumphal imagery, the winged angels in the chancel vault form part of the program's symbolism of the extent of Christ's mastery over the earth; their wings and unworldly appearance symbolize the ubiquity of Christ's dominion. However, the angels in the Philoxenia scene are distinct from the eternal and metaphysical nature of these angels in the chancel vault, apse and on the principal arch. In contrast, they were depicted without wings, and this distinction provides the viewer with a clue as to the temporal nature of that epiphany. Possi-

50. RBK I:18, and O. von Simson, *Sacred Fortress. Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna*, 2d ed. (Chicago, 1976) 25. On the question of this scene's relation to the anti-Arian beliefs of the Byzantine conquerors, see R. Sörries, *Die Bilder der Orthodoxen im Kampf gegen den Arianismus. Eine Apologie der orthodoxen Christologie und Trinitätslehre gegenüber der arianischen Häresie dargestellt an den ravenattischen Mosaiken und Bildern des 6. Jahrhunderts* (Bern, 1983) 161ff. And on the iconography of the Trinity, see J. Engemann, "Zu den Dreifaltigkeit darstellungen der frühchristlichen Kunst: Gab es in 4. Jahrhundert anthropomorphe Trinitätsbilder?" *JAC* 19(1976):157–72.

51. Similarly, in the sixth-century Vienna Genesis, as well, the illustration of the calling of Abraham depicts a winged angel descending from the sky (fol. 11r), while Jacob wrestles with a wingless angel on another folio (24r). K. Clausberg, *Die Wiener Genesis. Eine Kunstwissenschaftliche Bilderbuchgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 1984) 13, figs. 44 and 8, respectively.

It ought to be noted that the iconography of wingless angels is found as late as the Palaiologan period, for instance, in an icon of the Virgin and Child in the Museo di San Giorgio degli Greci in Venice, in which a group of wingless angels clusters in the upper left corner. See N. V. Drandakes, "Παλαιολόγειος εικὼν Βρεφοκρατούσης τοῦ εἰς Βενετίου Ἑλληνικοῦ ναοῦ, *Θεολογία* 28(1957):244, figs. 1, 2 and 5.

bly as foreshadowings of the Trinity and the eucharistic sacrifice, the Philoxenia is depicted literally. The scene's latent meanings are not indicated by the iconographic attributes of the other angels' transcendental guise. The program at San Vitale demonstrates that different modes of presentation of angels can describe their changeable nature and areas of activity.

The iconography of the winged youth, used in these cases just discussed to symbolize otherworldly nature and activity, was used for other angelic beings as well. Scripture mentions other angelic creatures besides archangels and angels, and these led to the depiction of other ranks of an angelic hierarchy.⁵² Yet, because of the lack of full descriptions in scripture of the members of this hierarchy, the iconography of the winged youth was employed to represent any angelic being. The use of this symbolic iconography must have originated at an early point in the creation of a Christian iconography of angels. Methodius of Olympus (d. ca. 311) provided a precedent for extant representations in his description of an image figured with "likenesses fashioned from gold of his angels, who are the Principalities and the Powers, [which] we make in honour and faith in him."⁵³ Paralleling Methodius' description, examples of images survive in which the winged youth serves as a sign for different angelic orders. A seventh-century Constantinopolitan cameo (#119) from the collection of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., bears the inscription "ΕΞΟΥΧΙΕ" ("Powers"), and depicts two winged men (fig. 8).⁵⁴

52. See Colossians 1:16 and Ephesians 1:21. Scripture mentions nine orders in total: seraphim (Is. 6), cherubim (Gen. 3:24, Ex. 25:22), thrones (Col. 1:16), virtues (Eph. 1:21), dominations, principalities, powers (Eph. 1:21, Col. 1:16), archangels (1 Thess. 4:16, Jude 9), angels (Gen. 16:7, for example).

53. Preserved in the writings of John of Damascus, *Orationes de imaginibus tres*, III, 138, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres*, PTS vol. 17, ed. P.B. Kotter (Berlin, 1975) 200.

54. M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Volume One. Metalwork, Ceramics, Glass, Glyptics, Painting* (Washington, D.C., 1962) 98–99, fig. 57. This iconography continues to be used throughout the Byzantine period. For example, among the fifteenth-century frescoes of the church of the Metropolitan at Mistra, the angelic orders are collectively described by winged men, that is, the angel type; see G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris, 1910) pl. 64.1.

Figure 8. Two winged men
inscribed “ΕΞΟΥCΙΕ”
 (“Powers”), Constantinopolitan
cameo, Dumbarton Oaks,
Washington, D.C., seventh
century. Photo: Dumbarton
Oaks, Washington, D.C.



Faced with a lack of scriptural description—as only the existence of this rank is mentioned—the engraver fell back on this iconography of the winged man; skirting any iconographic complexity or difficulty, the winged man stands in as a generic type.

The mosaics in the bema arch of the destroyed church of the Dormition at Nicaea (Iznik) were an example of this generic iconography of the winged youth within a full-scale program. These original mosaics of the angels have been dated to the late sixth and seventh centuries.⁵⁵ Although the inscriptions state that the figures represented different orders of the angelic hierarchy, the Principalities, Virtues, Dominations and Powers, mentioned together at

55. Fernanda de' Maffei hypothesized that the angelic powers belonged to a different mosaic phase than the Virgin and Child and that they date stylistically to the late sixth century. For this dating, she sought support in the stylistic analysis of G. de Francovich, “I mosaici del bema della chiesa della Dormizione di Nicaea,” in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Lionello Venturi*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1956) I: 3–27. She conjectured that the mosaics had been covered during Iconoclasm, not erased as is generally thought, and the repair evident is not connected to the restoration of images in 843. See F. de' Maffei, “L'Unigenito consostanziale al Padre nel programma trinitario dei perduti mosaici del bema della Dormizione di Nicaea e il Cristo trasfigurato del Sinai I,” *Storia dell'arte* 45(1982):91ff., and also her *Icona, pittore e arte al Concilio Niceno II* (Rome, 1974) 99ff. However, the restorations apparent in the areas around the angels and the replacing of the cross in the apse likely belong to the same phase,

Colossians 1:16, the angelic beings were depicted as identical winged youths wearing the *loros* and carrying orbs and standards (figs. 9, 10). Scripture is the primary source for revelation of these divine beings but only the existence of the angels, the Principalities, Virtues, Dominations and Powers, are attested in scripture, not any of their individual qualities. Lacking specific scriptural description, the mosaicists repeated the iconographic type, the winged youth. The angels are nominally different from one another but they share the same nature generally, and they are visually indistinguishable from one another.

Other angelic powers are also represented by an anthropomorphic figure with wings, even the cherubim and seraphim for which extensive scriptural descriptions could be drawn upon. Passages describing the Ark of the Covenant and the Solomonic Temple provide information on representations of cherubim (for example, Ex. 37:7–9, I Kings 6:23–28, Ez. 41:18–20); and the prophets' visions supplied long, if obscure, descriptions of angels. Yet anthropomorphism was used in early Byzantine art to represent these angelic beings in contradiction of scriptural accounts of these angels' appearances. For example, in the sixth-century Vienna Genesis (fol. 2v), a winged man represents the cherubim guarding the gates of paradise with a flaming sword (Gen. 3:24); this winged man diverges from Ezekiel's full description of the cherubim as a six-winged tetramorph (1:4–28,

probably post 843, paid for by the otherwise unknown Naukratios, as stated in an inscription between the two angels on the south bema arch.

The precise date of the original foundation by Hyacinthos is not settled. Most scholars prefer the late seventh / early eighth century for the construction of the church and, following this, the mosaics in the apse area. See F.I. Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia, das Bauwerk und die Mosaiken* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), U. Peschlow, "Neue Beobachtungen zur Architektur und Ausstattung der Koimesiskirche in Iznik," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 22(1972):145–87, and C. Barber, "The Koimesis Church, Nicaea: The Limits of Representation on the Eve of Iconoclasm," *JöB* 41(1991):43–60. However, arguments have been made, through comparisons of sculptural decoration in the church, that the foundation dates to the second half of the sixth century. See C. Barsanti, "Una nota sulle sculture del Tempio di Giacinto nella Chiesa della Dormizione (Koimesis) di Iznik-Nicea," *Storia dell'arte* 46(1982):210–18, and C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (London, 1986) 90. Mango has added his voice more recently to the number of scholars who call for a date around 700. See his "Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie: Constantinople, Nicée," *TM* 12(1994):35off.



Figure 9. Angelic Powers, south side, Bema Mosaic (destroyed), Church of the Dormition, Iznik (formerly Nicaea), ninth century. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

10:12).⁵⁶ And, despite Isaiah's revelation (6:1–3), the seraphim were also depicted as winged men in early representations, for example,

56. This anthropomorphic iconography never entirely disappears; see the thirteenth-century sculpted façade of the Church of Hagia Sophia, Trebizond, where an anthropomorphic cherubim guards paradise. See D. Talbot Rice et al., *The Church of Haghia Sophia at Trebizond* (Edinburgh, 1968) 48, pl. 17d.



Figure 10. Angelic Powers, north side, Bema Mosaic (destroyed), Church of the Dormition, Iznik (formerly Nicaea), ninth century. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

on the entrance gate at the fifth-century complex at Alahan in Seleucia in southeast Asia Minor.⁵⁷

57. See Mary Gough, ed., *Alahan. An Early Christian Monastery in Southeastern Turkey* (Toronto, 1985) 87ff., pl. 20.

Ninth-century examples include the illustration of the appearance of the seraphim as a winged youth to Isaiah in the Vatican “Cosmas Indicopleustes” (Vat. gr. 699, fol. 72v). See

The most exalted members of the hierarchy, the cherubim and seraphim, were most often depicted in Early Christian and Byzantine art in liturgical contexts. Occasionally represented in symbolic form as winged men, despite clear and distinct descriptions in scripture for each creature, cherubim and seraphim also diverge iconographically from scriptural accounts. Christian artists and theologians often used the visions of cherubim and seraphim to express eschatological and cosmological themes. The earliest depiction of the seraphim and the tetramorph cherubim, the fifth-/sixth-century apse mosaic in the church of Hosios David, Thessalonike, conflates the visions of Ezekiel's cherubim (1:4–28, 10:12), Isaiah's seraphim (6:1–3) and the six-winged creatures of Revelation (4:2–10).⁵⁸ Christ appears in a mandorla, supported by the four creatures of Ezekiel and Revelation. The four beasts each have wings with many eyes; yet no fiery wheels are depicted, while the inscription in the scroll held by Christ quotes Isaiah 25:9.⁵⁹ Christa Ihm has called this iconography at Hosios David the liturgical *maiestas*.⁶⁰

Topographie chrétienne, SC vols. 141, 159, 197, ed. W. Wolska-Conus (Paris, 1968–1973) II:249. See, too, the Reliquary of the True Cross, from Limburg an-der-Lahn, dating in its last reworking to 963, on which the iconography of the four-winged cherubim and the six-winged seraphim applies respectively to the principalities and powers. See J. Rauch, “Die Limburger Staurothek,” *Das Münster* 8(1955):201ff., especially figs. 5, 16–18, and J.M. Wilm, *ibid.*, 234ff., and H. Wilsdorf, “Zur Staurothek vom Limburg,” *BF* 18(1992): 197–208. de’ Maffei, “L’Unigenito consustanziale,” 100 n52, cites Gregory of Nyssa on the identification of thrones and powers with seraphim and cherubim (*Refutatio confessionis Eunomii*, PG 45:556C).

58. See C. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1960) 42ff. On the establishment of the Book of Revelation in the eastern Church, see G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels* (Vienna, 1979) 48, especially n49. On Hosios David, see Ihm, *Die Programme*, 182–84, pl. XIII, 1, and T.F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods. A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*, rev. ed. (Princeton, 1999) 115ff.

59. The fifth-/seventh-century fresco in the apse niche of Chapel XXVI, Bawit, also reveals elements of each of these three visions; although the depiction conforms generally to Ezekiel's vision, the cherubim have six wings, one face, and many eyes as in Isaiah and Revelation, rather than Ezekiel's four-winged, four-faced creatures with hands and feet. See Ihm, *Die Programme*, 202–203, pl. XIII, 2. And in the Monastery of Dodo, David-Garedja, Georgia, dating to the seventh/ninth century, two archangels, Michael and Gabriel, flank the enthroned Christ, while two tetramorphs hover underneath. The tetramorphs have four faces and four wings, and they are standing on fiery wheels, referring to Ezekiel, while a Trisagion inscription recalls Isaiah and the liturgy. See Ihm, *Die Programme*, pl. XIV, 2, and

The Trisagion, the “Holy, holy, holy” chanted by the seraphim in Isaiah (6:3) and Revelation (4:8), influenced the representations of cherubim and seraphim in artistic milieux strongly influenced by liturgical practice.⁶¹ The liturgy also encouraged a certain amount of

A. Alpag0-Novello et al., *Art and Architecture in Medieval Georgia*, trans. N. Holloway (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980) 88, figs. 94, 95. And in the crucifixion in the apse of Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome (705–707), the cherubim and seraphim are identical in that they both have six wings and stand on flaming wheels; see P. Romanelli and P. J. Nordhagen, *S. Maria Antiqua* (Rome, 1964) pls. 22, 23.

In the period following Iconoclasm, the liturgical *maiestas* remained popular, particularly in the monastic setting of the churches of Cappadocia. The fresco in the prothesis apse of the New Church at Tokali Kilise, dating from the middle of the tenth century, is typical of this Cappadocian iconography. See A. Wharton Epstein, *Tokali Kilise. Tenth-century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 68–69, figs. 102, 103. Christ sits enthroned in the middle of the apse, and he is flanked by two pairs of fiery wheels, a seraphim, a cherubim, and two Archangels, Michael and Gabriel. On either side of Christ is an inscription based on the liturgy, “Holy, holy, holy Lord/of Hosts, Heaven and earth are filled with your glory.” The depictions of the seraphim and cherubim generally follow scripture. The seraphim, to Christ’s right, has six eyeless wings, the face of a man in the center of the wings, and hands and feet protruding from the wings; the cherubim has the heads of an ox and a lion to either side, and a man’s head in the middle of four many-eyed wings. Inscriptions above the seraphim and cherubim provide apocalyptic titles for the beasts, also used in the liturgy, “bellowing” (ΒΩΝΤΑ) and “calling” (ΚΕΛΕΤΟΝΤΑ), which are associated with the ox and man figures, respectively.

On the liturgy and the references to the apocalyptic beasts, see F. E. Brightman, “The *Historia Mystagoga* and Other Greek Commentaries on the Byzantine Liturgy,” *JTS* 9(1908):248–67, 387–97; G. de Jerphanion, “Les noms des quatre animaux et le commentaire liturgique de Pseudo-Germain,” in his *Les voix des monuments. Notes et études d’archéologie chrétienne* (Paris, 1930) 250–59; A. Wharton Epstein, “The Problem of Provincialism: Byzantine Monasteries in Cappadocia and Monks in South Italy,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42(1979):39–40; and Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels*, 86ff.

60. Mathews has raised objections about the imperial connotations of the term *maiestas*, but the liturgical function is stressed here, not the pagan antecedents of the iconography. See Mathews, *The Clash of Gods*, 117.

61. André Grabar noted examples, on the other hand, where Christ is enthroned, with the Trisagion printed on the pages of the book he holds; the cherubim and seraphim are not present in these examples. Grabar stresses the importance of theophanic vision, rather than of liturgical texts, in the formation of the iconography of the *maiestas*. See *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l’art chrétien antique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1943–1946; rp. London, 1972) II:306ff. Yet the number of examples cited above indicate that liturgy also played a fundamental part in the formation of this iconography.

The Trisagion appears to be a very early element in piety and liturgy. See V. Saxer, “Jalons pour servir à l’histoire du culte de l’archange Saint Michel en orient jusqu’à l’iconoclasm,” in *Noscere sancta. Miscellanea in memoria di Agostino Amore* (Rome, 1985) 362–63; and, more comprehensively, B. D. Sparks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (Cambridge, 1991).

confusion of these two angelic ranks. For example, Christ is addressed in the liturgy:

... for before thee stand thy two living creatures honourable exceedingly, the sixwinged and manyeyed, seraphim and cherubim, with two wings covering their faces by reason of thy godhead which none can gaze on nor comprehend, and with twain covering their feet, with twain also flying...⁶²

The liturgy of John Chrysostom, which mentions “the cherubim, the seraphim, six-winged and many-eyed” (τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ Σεραφὶμ, ἑξαπτέρυγα, πολυόμματα), may also have contributed to the iconographic confusion of seraphim and cherubim, and artists often represented the cherubim and seraphim in identical fashion, with six, many-eyed wings.⁶³

Liturgy, therefore, influenced the development of the Christian iconography of these angelic beings, and furthermore encouraged

62. Translation from F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Vol. 1 (Oxford, 1896), 175. And see also the *Historia ecclesiastica*, a liturgical commentary written by the Patriarch Germanus (ca. 634–ca. 733): “You who sit upon the cherubim, manifest yourself to us” (Brightman, “The *Historia Mystagogica*,” 387).

63. J. Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale graecorum* (Venice, 1730; rp. Graz, 1960) 61; Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 385; Wulff, *Cherubim, Throne und Seraphim*, 19ff.; RBK III:84.

For example, one must look ahead to the early tenth-century chapel (#3) at Güllü Dere, which contains a composite representation in the apse of visions of the seraphim, cherubim and tetramorphs, deriving from Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and Revelation. The program includes two tetramorphs (ΙΙΟΑΤΩΜΜΑΤΟΝ [*sic*]), with eye-filled wings, flanking Christ who is enthroned in a mandorla held by the four beasts of Ezekiel and Revelation; two seraphim (ΕΞΑΠΤΕΡΥΤΟΝ) meanwhile give Isaiah and Ezekiel a coal and a book, respectively, to eat. Both of these seraphim have six many-eyed wings. See J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, “Théophanie-visions auxquelles participent les prophètes dans l’art byzantin après la restauration des images,” in *Synthronon. Art et archéologie de la fin de l’Antiquité et du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1968) 138ff.; D.I. Pallas, “Eine Differenzierung unter den himmlischen Ordnungen (Ikongraphische Analyse),” *BZ* 44(1971):55–60; and N. Thierry, *Haut moyen-âge en Capadoce. Les églises de la région de Çavuşin* (Paris, 1983) 126ff., and pls. 52, 53.

A six-winged tetramorph guards paradise in the ninth-century Paris Gregory; L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium. Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge, 1999) fig. 10, and also 282–83. This iconography of a tetramorph with an extra pair of wings is not uncommon; see Wulff, *Cherubim, Throne und Seraphim*, 32ff.

the iconography's dissemination. Neither Pseudo-Dionysius's speculations on the angelic hierarchy nor the increasing interest in the cherubim found in the *contra Judaeos* literature reveal any direct influence on the iconography of these beings.⁶⁴ Extant representations of cherubim and seraphim betray direct inspiration from liturgical descriptions. Because of this influence, mixing of the iconography of cherubim and seraphim is the rule by the Middle Byzantine period, and differentiation of the angelic beings is often possible only through inscriptions.⁶⁵ The iconography was, in fact, never settled, and this ambiguity indicates that the patrons and artists did not always see the need to distinguish the beings.

In pre-Iconoclastic art, style was a notable expression of iconographic meaning.⁶⁶ The manipulation of style by Christian painters, mosaicists and sculptors has particular interest in this context as style came to be an important means to communicate the difficult nature of angels. If pagan art provided antecedents for the creation of a Christian iconography of angels, it also furnished diverse stylistic modes.⁶⁷ In particular, stylistic analyses show that in the period before Iconoclasm painters and mosaicists used a more naturalistic "classical" style to indicate the distinct qualities of angels.

An examination of the icon of the Virgin and Child flanked by Saints Theodore and George in the Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai (sixth/seventh century) reveals stylistic distinctions in the de-

64. The influence of the theological work of Pseudo-Dionysius is clearly perceptible in texts that discuss images in the period before Iconoclasm and is equally prevalent throughout the writings of iconophiles. The cherubim, as cited in the *contra Judaeos* literature, assumed an equally important place in iconophile theory. Both of these topics are treated in chapter 3.

65. For instance, it is unclear in the fourteenth-century mosaics whether the pendentives of the central dome of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul represented seraphim or cherubim. Although these creatures had six wings, neither the number of wings nor even the presence and absence of wings can be relied upon for general identification. On these mosaics, see C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1962) 83ff.; and on this issue of confusion, see Wulff, *Cherubim, Throne und Seraphim*, 26ff., and *RBK* III:85.

66. See, for instance, Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, 32ff., and also E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making* (London, 1977).

67. See O. J. Brendel, *Prolegomena to the Study of Roman Art* (New Haven and London, 1979) 125ff., on the use of disparate styles within the same monument in Roman art.

piction of angels and humans that communicate the dissimilar natures of these different categories of beings (fig. 11).⁶⁸ Ernst Kitzinger has considered the stylistic treatment of the angels on the icon who stand behind the Virgin's throne and look over their shoulders at the descent of the Holy Spirit. His interpretation stresses the use of "hellenistic" survivals in the handling of the angels, and the rift between angelic and human natures that this hellenistic style expresses.

At times it appears as though a bold, sketchy manner were, so to speak, in the nature of an "iconographic attribute" of angels. An obvious explanation is that it was a means of expressing the fact that they belong to a different order of beings, that they are incorporeal, ἀσώματα. Hellenistic pictorial technique in these cases serves as a means not of actualizing physical, but of accentuating spiritual existence.⁶⁹

68. K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons. Volume One: From the Sixth to the Tenth Century* (Princeton, 1976) 18ff., and pls. IV, V, VI, XLIII, XLIV, XLV, XLVI.

69. Kitzinger, "Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm," in *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinischen-Kongress, München, 1958* (Munich, 1958) 47. See also his "On Some Icons of the Seventh Century," in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann et al. (Princeton, 1955) 134, on the seventh-century fragment of the head of an angel from Sta. Maria Antiqua, Rome. See also H. Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies. Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1996) 70–71.

Andrei Cornea offers a complementary interpretation of the meaning of style in this image. See A. Cornea, "On 'Fiction' and 'Authenticity' in Byzantine Pre-Iconoclastic Painting," *Revue roumaine d'histoire de l'art* 17(1980):6. Cornea questions the assumption that communicating a sense of life and motion is the aim of the "hellenistic pictorial technique" in the depiction of angels. Cornea proposes two different modes of depiction that he calls "a symbol-image based on fiction" and "a history-image based on truth." The Virgin and Child and the saints are depicted in a frontal, hierarchic manner to indicate their essential historicity; this abstract manner is in direct opposition to the fictional, illusionistic depiction of the angels, which signifies their incomprehensibility. For Cornea, artists used this "hellenistic" manner because, "the naturalistic style could automatically awake in the spectators' minds the stereotypic link, indicating that the image was a fiction lacking a real bodily model, as the statues of gods were, according to the Christians, mere fictions having no anthropomorphic referent they could imitate" (ibid., 7). In other words, the fictional quality of naturalistic depiction of the angels is not an "iconographic attribute" for Cornea, but rather a "classification-index" that warns that any relation to reality is purely coincidental. See also the remarks of Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 148ff.

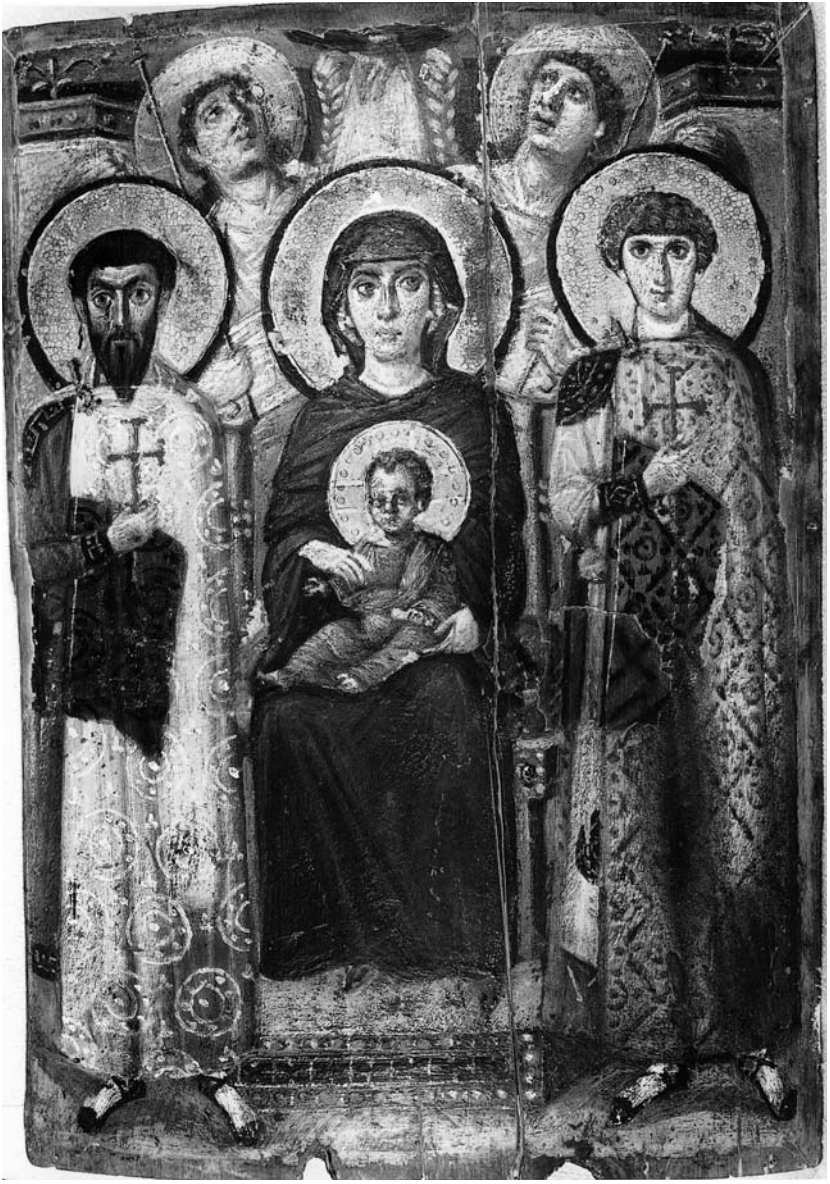


Figure 11. Icon of the Virgin and Child, flanked by Saints Theodore and George, Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai, sixth / seventh century. Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan–Princeton–Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

According to this interpretation, the viewer must make a judgment on the distinct handling of the angels compared to the other figures on this icon, and discern differences in nature from differences in style. The delicate handling of the angels' features and their believable turning, even in the small space allowed, distinguishes the angels from the hieratic figures of the saints; as opposed to these static saints, the central figures of the Virgin and Child in the foreground appear more animated, less frontal, and thus more dynamically alert than the mortal saints to the descending Holy Spirit. Ultimately, analysis reveals that, in this case, the relatively naturalistic depiction of the angels has a paradoxical ability to indicate to the viewer a nature different from that of humanity.

In the hands of painters and mosaicists, style continued throughout the Early and Middle Byzantine periods to be a means of establishing a distinction between human and angelic nature. Two examples of middle Byzantine images reveal that a different style was, in fact, used to represent angels for different ends. For instance, Henry Maguire has contrasted the ninth-century mosaic of the Archangel Gabriel, found in the bema arch of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, with the Virgin and Child in the apse (figs. 12, 13): "the bodies of the archangels in heaven tended to be rendered as flat and without modeling, because of their lack of materiality."⁷⁰ In the mosaic, the Archangel is set within a gold field that dematerializes his form, and his robes are unmodeled sheets, unrevealing of any substantial form beneath. In contrast, the faces of the Virgin and Child in the apse are naturalistically formed, and they are fashioned three-dimensionally, settled coherently on a substantial throne.

The angels are depicted in an abstract manner to denote the impalpable quality of the heavenly realm; conversely, a more naturalistic style in representations is the complement of angelic activity on earth. An example contemporary with the bema mosaic of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople is a depiction of the epiphany of the

70. "Style and Ideology in Byzantine Imperial Art," *Gesta* 28(1989):223. The dating of the apse mosaics at Hagia Sophia to the ninth century is not contested; for an alternate view, see N. Oikonomidès, "Some Remarks on the Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia," *DOP* 39(1985):111–15.

seraphim to Isaiah in the Vatican “Cosmas” (fig. 14).⁷¹ In contrast to the stationary, flat seraphim flanking Christ, the human, winged seraphim is clearly occupying a different sphere; the single seraphim strides toward Isaiah in a lively manner, and his torso bends at the waist as his outstretched hand inserts the coal into Isaiah’s mouth. The stylistic distinction between the celestial activities of the seraphim and their rare manifestations on earth is convincingly conveyed by the illusionistic handling of the appearance of the angel before Isaiah, distinct from the seraphim hieratically flanking Christ.

Painters and mosaicists continued to be able to indicate through style the qualities of angels’ nature, as well as their mode of activity. The illustration of Isaiah’s epiphany in the Vatican “Cosmas” is particularly telling because iconography and style work in unison to suggest the earthly and unearthly activities of formless beings. On earth, the seraphim can take on a guise different from their heavenly “form,” and the difference between the seraphim’s anthropomorphism and their many-winged form reveals their fluid formlessness. Iconography can, therefore, distinguish modes of activity in the same illustration, while abstract and naturalistic styles further demonstrate the angels’ different capacities, both attendance in heaven and service on earth.

A more classical modeling can be employed after the ninth century, just the same, to show the earthly movement and work of the angels. Kurt Weitzmann has described the twelfth-century icon of the miracle of the Archangel Michael at Chonae from the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai (fig. 15), as an example of classical modeling indicating corporeality and immediacy:

[Michael is] rendered as a youth of Apollonian beauty, gracious in the movement of the body which is shown in full plasticity under a garment which, in classical fashion, clings to the body and whose folds combine a rhythmic flow with modeling power.⁷²

71. See *Topographie chrétienne*, ed. Wolska-Conus, II: 249.

72. See K. Weitzmann, “The Classical in Byzantine Art as a Mode of Individual Expression,” in *Byzantine Art. An European Art. Lectures* (Athens, 1966) 166–67 [= K. Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. L. Kessler (Chicago, 1971) 166–67].



Figure 12. Archangel Gabriel, Mosaic, Bema arch, Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, ninth century. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

In contrast, cordoned by the ropey water descending, the bantam hermit opposite Michael is insubstantial and hidden within the monastic carapace. The fuller angelic corporeality, perhaps an oxymoron, lends a sense of presence and actuality, while the self-denial practiced so arduously by the hermit effaces his physical being. The two fields denoted by the joining streams in the middle therefore



Figure 13. Virgin and Child, Apse Mosaic, Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, ninth century. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

create two areas of existence, the angelic one occupied by a full-bodied angel and the mortal one almost evacuated by the dematerializing body of the hermit.

This brief examination of representation of angels in the early Christian and Byzantine periods has revealed only an occasional engagement on the part of mosaicists, painters and sculptors with is-



Figure 14. Vision of Isaiah, *The Christian Topography* of “Cosmas Indicopleustes,” Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 699, fol. 72v, ninth century. Photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

sues of nature and identity in art. The issues were never resolved as the subjects, that is the angels, were not open to autopsy by artists, since knowledge of angels was derived primarily through descriptions of their enigmatic epiphanies in scripture. Because of the distance of these subjects, painters, mosaicists and sculptors were forced to sidestep problems of making apprehensible something only partially seen and known in the past. Their circumvention of real description is most clearly evident in the straightforward use of an anthropomorphic form for angels. Evidently, the artist was abdicating responsibility for describing nature or identity and was placing the burden of recognizing the being depicted on the shoulders of the



Figure 15. Icon of the Miracle at Chonae, Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai, twelfth century. Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan–Princeton–Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

viewer. The iconography of the angels is only, then, occasionally complex in its exegesis of spiritual nature and appearances as in the important series of scenes describing the Philoxenia. This series shows that painters and mosaicists—or programmers—recognized the enigmatic quality of the event and attempted to indicate this quality through the description of the “men” as winged or unwinged.

Wings were used throughout as the primary means to communicate the symbolic nature of the iconography of angels. Color and cloud were also used to indicate the fire and wind composition of angels that scripture prescribed but these solutions were not common.⁷³ Preeminently, the winged youth is an expansive iconography that is allusive to all angels, corresponding to the semantic range of the word “angelos” (ἄγγελος), and not descriptive in any essential way of their nature or appearance. Theological writings furthermore show that Christians generally interpreted angelic epiphany as dissimulation, unrelated to the true nature and form of angels.⁷⁴ In the

73. For instance, a sixth-century mosaic in the Church of St. Demetrius in Thessalonike shows an angel seamlessly emerging from a cloud; the mosaic does not correspond to any episode in the surviving hagiographic narratives, although it may depict the martyrdom of the saint. See R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold. Byzantine Society and Its Icons* (London, 1985) 79–80, fig. 22; Bussagli, *Storia degli angeli*, 97ff. Christian painters, mosaicists and sculptors also attempted to indicate the fiery quality of angels iconographically. For example, an early sixth-century mosaic in the church of San Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, represents Christ as the shepherd and judge of Matthew 25. Two standing angels flank the seated Christ, one of whom is red, denoting fire and light, while the other is cobalt blue, denoting the tenebrous nature of a fallen angel. See E. Kirschbaum, “L’angelo rosso e l’angelo turchino,” *RivAC* 17(1940):209–48, and G. Bovini, *Mosaici di S. Apollinare di Ravenna: Il ciclo cristologico* (Florence, 1958) 37ff., fig. 4, pl. X. And at Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome, the hands, feet and faces of the angels are depicted “meravigliosamente rosso” in the fifth-century mosaics; see Kirschbaum, “L’angelo rosso e l’angelo turchino,” 215, C. Cecchelli, *I mosaici della Basilica S. Maria Maggiore* (Turin, 1956) pls. XLIX, LIII, and Grabar, *The Golden Age of Justinian*, figs. 157, 161, 162. And, more generally, see A. Petzold, “‘His Face Like Lightning’: Colour as Signifier in Representations of the Holy Women at the Tomb,” *Arte medievale* 6/2(1992): 149–55.

74. For instance, Basil of Caesarea wrote, “For just as the brand is known through the fire, the one the underlying matter, the other the fire; so with the heavenly powers, they are in essence aerial spirit, if you would, or immaterial fire according to scripture, ‘Who maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a flaming fire’ (Ps. 104:4). Wherefore they are in a place, and become visible, they appear in an image of their own bodies, in this way, to the worthy. But the source of their holiness being outside of their nature is brought to fulfillment by contact with the Spirit” (*De Spiritu Sancto*, XVI.38, in *Traité du Saint-Esprit*, SC vol. 17 bis, ed. B. Pruche [Paris, 1968] 380–82).

same way, visual representations are allusions to this angelic dissimulation, and the apparently straightforward representation of winged anthropomorphic figures paradoxically signifies the angels' multi-form constitution.

The assimilation of pagan iconography of winged personifications described in this chapter did not go unnoticed or unopposed by certain figures within the church. Theodoret of Cyrrihus noted that the use of imperial models for Christian art was in keeping with the dignity owed to God.⁷⁵ Although subsequent chapters examine this dialogue in greater depth, the assertion made by the pagan in the pagan-Christian "dialogue," the *Apocriticus*, is also relevant here. The pagan stated that the gods and the angels were alike in everything, their proximity to God, their spirituality and service; only their names were different.⁷⁶ His opponent, Macarius Magnes, rejected any such connection between the dignity and nature of false gods and true servants; furthermore, he denied the ability of art to depict beings so pure and transcendent.⁷⁷ To Christians who held views similar to Macarius Magnes on angels and art, such connections between pagan and Christian iconography must have appeared as debasing to the spiritual beings and a dangerous invitation to pagan idolatry.

75. *Orationes de imaginibus tres*, III.80, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. III, 176: "And just as the Romans in painting imperial images surrounded [the emperor] with spear-bearers and depicted subject peoples, so Christians depict by similar means. Since the emperor through his appearance assumes the form of God, as borne upon a throne, they reveal the images to all people on earth, and in his form they confer on him what is fitting, the ruler according to the teachings of God." See de' Maffei, *Icona, pittore e arte al Concilio Niceno II*, 74.

76. Blondel 200.1–12: "If therefore you say that the angels who are stationed near God are passionless and immortal and by nature incorruptible, which we ourselves call gods, on account of their nearness to God on high, what is there that should be disputed about the name or is it only a distinction brought out in the naming? For as far as the name goes the Romans call Minerva what the Greeks call Athena, and the Egyptians and the Syrians and the Thracians call her something else again. Is it not true that they conform despite the difference in names or removed from the name of the god? Some therefore call these angels, or either some call them gods, but there is not very much difference, since their divine nature is testified for, when Matthew wrote thus, 'But Jesus answered and said unto them, Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God. For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as angels in heaven' (22:29–30)."

77. Blondel 214–15.

The assimilation of pagan iconography into Christian art was not, therefore, universally approved, and in the first half of the sixth century Severus of Antioch delivered a sermon against the depiction of angels as “princes or kings, in a purple and royal robe, holding marks of universal power.” Despite the differences between pagan and Christian iconography, he evidently believed that the distinctions were not clear enough. Moreover, according to Severus, worshippers were led to think that these intangible servants were God’s co-rulers.⁷⁸ Depicting angels as terrestrial, temporal creatures appeared to opponents of images of angels to be a humiliation of spiritual qualities, and for some the pagan parallels for winged beings were potentially misleading.

The sixth-century epigrams, examined in chapters 2 and 3, display a degree of defensiveness that would certainly support this conclusion. The occasional attempts by mosaicists, painters and sculptors to come to terms with the nature and identity of angels were apparently not effective in the eyes of all Christians. Although these artists added wings to an anthropomorphic form in order to indicate certain symbolic alterations of form that angels accomplished, they could not describe angels in any definitive sense. Representation of angels potentially involved a number of unpalatable issues, idolatry, angelolatry and, at the very least, disrespect for profoundly spiritual beings. The anti-image accusations and iconophile answers to these accusations and the ways in which writers about angels, particularly in miracle stories, approached these issues are the subjects of the following chapters.

78. See chapter 2.

Two

ARGUMENTS AGAINST IMAGES OF ANGELS

Adherents to a literal interpretation of scripture and to intellectual worship simply could not reconcile angelic nature—which is essentially incomprehensible—with material, allusive representations in art. The best-known opponent of artistic representation in the period leading up to Iconoclasm in the eighth century was Epiphanius of Salamis (ca. 315–403). Epiphanius's theology developed from his anti-allegorical stance; and his opposition to religious imagery later made him a natural champion for the iconoclastic party.¹

Elaborate written defenses of images of angels evidently did not arise in the period between Epiphanius and Iconoclasm. However, epigrams are extant from the sixth century that reveal a development

1. On Epiphanius and Iconoclasm, see P. Maraval, "Épiphanie, 'Docteur des Iconoclastes,'" *Nicée II, 787–1987. Douze siècles d'images religieuses. Actes du colloque international Nicée II tenu au Collège de France, Paris les 2, 3, 4 Octobre 1986*, ed. F. Boespflug and N. Lossky (Paris, 1987) 51–62; on the anti-Origenist theology of Epiphanius, see E. A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy. The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, 1992) 86ff.

G. Ostrogorsky, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites* (Breslau, 1929) 69ff., doubted the authenticity of some of the texts, while Holl showed that they are all Epiphanius's own writings. This study takes the position that the texts of Epiphanius as collected by iconoclasts and refuted by iconophiles reflects a real concern on the part of the fourth-century theologian concerning material representation.

in a direction quite different from Epiphanius's interpretation of angels' images. These show affinities with a symbolic, materialist theology that finds its most detailed and articulate defense in the eighth and ninth centuries. For instance, Agathias (ca. 532–ca. 580) wrote on an image of the Archangel Michael on the island of Plate in the Sea of Marmara, south of Constantinople:

The wax, greatly daring, has represented the invisible, the incorporeal chief of the angels in the semblance of his form. Yet it was no thankless [task] since the mortal who beholds the image directs his mind to a higher contemplation. His veneration is no longer distracted: engraving within himself the [archangel's] traits, he trembles as if he were in the latter's presence. The eyes encourage deep thoughts, and art is able by means of colours to ferry over [to its object] the prayer of the mind.²

Agathias's description of an approach to images of angels is antithetical to Epiphanius's literal position and reveals an ability to interpret material images as the symbolic means to knowledge of an incomprehensible creature. In this description of the image of the archangel, the difficulty of comprehension derives from the incorporeal nature which would seem to be incompatible with material representation; but in Agathias's conception the image also provides the viewer with the means to approach knowledge of the distant and immaterial archangel by way of contemplation of the colors and outlines on the surface of the image. The material image is therefore the bridge between mundane reality and spiritual truths otherwise unattainable. No less intellectual than Epiphanius's, this approach nonetheless admits and encourages material, symbolic aids for worship and contemplation. These two opposing methods of gaining knowledge of God characterize the two sides of a long-standing debate in Byzantine society leading to the convulsive conflict of the Iconoclastic period.

2. *The Greek Anthology*, ed. W.R. Paton, 5 vols. (London, 1927) I:34; trans. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire. 312–1453. Sources and Documents* (Toronto, 1986) 115.

Debate over the proper means to a comprehension of divine things, in this case angels, characterizes the period leading up to Iconoclasm in the eighth century.³ Art was part of this debate because it generated discussion over seemingly worship and appropriate avenues to gaining knowledge. The angels' iconography is essentially symbolic in that it relates a human form sometimes assumed by angels but not descriptive of their real nature. The addition of wings is a significant marker in this iconography since wings signal transcendence and ethereality and inhuman speed, all characteristics of the angelic host. This symbolic iconography was evidently not suitable to all Christians, and texts from the fourth century on reveal that such images of angels had excited opposition. Moreover, the dangers of idolatry that attached to material images and to angels themselves were important considerations. This chapter seeks to isolate these strands of theological discussion concerning images of angels and, furthermore, argues that these strands influenced one aspect of iconoclastic opposition to symbolic images of angels. The extant opposition to images of angels falls into two general categories: fourth-century anti-imagist theology and the Monophysitism of fifth-/sixth-century Syria. This chapter examines the particular historical context for these sources and concludes with an examination of the common concerns that allowed their authors to be harnessed to the iconoclastic cause.

Earlier evidence for opposition to images is known mainly through the marshaling of patristic precedents to support the iconoclasts' position on images. A sifting of iconophile texts provides firm documentation of the nature of pre-Iconoclastic opposition to symbolic images, particularly those of angels. Long-standing theological divisions manifest themselves in part by the choice of patristic precedent in the arguments of the opposing sides of the controversy.⁴ Iconoclasts argued that image worship was a recent re-introduction of the idolatry that Christians had overcome but to which they had again

3. See Cameron, "The Language of Images."

4. See the recent survey by A. Giakalis, *Images of the Divine. The Theology of Icons at the Seventh Ecumenical Council* (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1994) 22ff.

succumbed. Iconophiles, on the other hand, claimed their own patristic support in favor of their position of a long-standing and proper worship of icons, initiated and sanctioned by scripture.⁵ The traditions of the Church were thus understood in completely divergent ways by each camp. Both parties, therefore, claimed a distinct line of tradition within the church, written and unwritten, and this chapter examines the development of an anti-image, intellectual theology that motivated certain iconoclastic beliefs concerning representations of angels.

Evidence for the effects of this theology on material objects is scanty; one assumes that before Iconoclasm some images may have been removed because of philosophical differences but that on the whole images were produced and opponents simply avoided such material aids. However, at the end of this chapter, mosaics of the angelic powers in the bema arch of the church of the Dormition at Nicaea (Iznik) will furnish examples of how iconoclasts viewed—and corrected—angels' images.

Both sides of the Iconoclastic controversy claimed the great father of the early Church and renowned opponent of heretics, Epiphanius of Salamis. Iconoclasts declared him a paragon because of his writings against the manufacture and worship of images.⁶ Epiphanius was a particularly difficult case for iconophiles since he was a theologian of unassailable orthodoxy, having written two influential works, the *Panarion*, a famous anti-heretical treatise, and the doctrinal study *An-*

5. A certain disregard for scruples of historical research is evident, and indeed charges of falsification of texts were traded by both sides. P.J. Alexander described the collection and confirmation of patristic sources by the iconoclast faction in the preparation for the iconoclastic Council of Hagia Sophia in 815 as more painstaking and scrupulous than the first iconoclastic Council of Hieria, held in 754. For this reason, the patristic citations of the later council were expanded and more accurately cited than the sources adduced at Hieria. See P.J. Alexander, "Church Councils and Patristic Authority. The Iconoclastic Council of Hieria (754) and St. Sophia (815)," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 63(1958):493–505.

6. These survive only in the fragments found in the rebuttal of Nicephorus, in the *Adversus Epiphanidem*, part of his *Antirrhetics*, written in the period 818–20; see Pitra IV:292–380. See Maraval, "Épiphanie, 'Docteur des Iconoclastes,'" 61, and H. G. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit vor dem Bilderstreit*, TU vol. 139 (Berlin, 1992) 65ff.

coratus, the “Anchor of Faith.” Rather than making a frontal attack, iconophiles leveled the charge, often repeated in this period, of willful falsification.

Epiphanius’s position is the clearest and earliest statement of an opposition to images based on a literal reading of art and a spiritual mode of worship. His active iconoclasm with regard to Christian images is still in doubt,⁷ but his attitude to art is clear from the extant fragments. In short, Epiphanius rejected the ability of art to convey any truth about divine nature: “If someone endeavours to perceive the divine character of the holy Logos in the flesh, out of material colours. . . . [let him be anathema].”⁸ A corollary for Epiphanius is that angels who are spiritual, bodiless and immaterial—though not to the same extent as God—cannot be depicted materially. As he wrote, images, dead and lifeless matter, debase and diminish the angels.⁹ Epiphanius could not countenance the representation of Christ as man since this representation merely reduced Christ to one aspect of his duophysite nature; nor would he allow angels to be depicted as men with mortal traits of “bone and sinew,” because angels are essentially spiritual beings whose nature is like a “devouring fire.” Representations of angels in dead and lifeless matter degrade the prototypes and diminish their nature.

Furthermore, Epiphanius was a fervent opponent of artists’ “deceptions.” Artists’ handiwork is not purely spiritual and, therefore, misleading in his view. It follows that all worship based on material images is essentially idolatrous. According to Epiphanius, artists created empty inventions according to their own fancies, in a medium

7. The well-known incident of the destruction of a curtain covering a door in a church has been interpreted traditionally as a sign of Epiphanius’s active opposition to Christian art. See, for instance, E. Kitzinger, “The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm,” *DOP* 8(1954):92ff. However, Sister Charles Murray, *Rebirth and Afterlife. A Study of the Transmutation of Some Pagan Imagery in Early Christian Funerary Art* (Oxford, 1981) 31ff., convincingly analyzed this passage as proof of Epiphanius’s vigorous antagonism simply towards pagan art. The curtain, in her view, depicted a pagan figure, perhaps a god, that Epiphanius felt to be inconsistent with the decoration of a place of worship. Indeed, the event is related within the context of Epiphanius’s apology for not having sent a replacement sooner.

8. Holl 363 (#34) = *Adv. Epi.*, V.14, Pitra IV:303.18–20.

9. Holl 357 (#4) = *Adv. Epi.*, VI.16, Pitra IV:306.35–307.1.

clearly inadequate to the subject. On the representations of Christ and the saints, all Epiphanius saw was irrelevant whimsy that cannot be substantiated by witness.¹⁰ Epiphanius based his position on images of the saints on a pragmatic distinction: the saints lived on earth, had mortal form and so have a single likeness; nonetheless, artists cannot and do not retrieve this likeness because they did not see the subjects with their own eyes. With regard to angels and Christ, the difficulty is of a different order since they are essentially spiritual and comprehensible only in spiritual terms.¹¹ Furthermore, the images of angels falsely attempt to communicate another level of the unknowable which is misrepresented by anthropomorphic forms on material images. Distinct even from representing Christ as man, artists who attempt to contain angelic nature in “bone and sinew” are guilty of deceit since they are not capable of knowing or seeing angels properly; likeness in any meaningful sense is simply out of reach.

Epiphanius’s position on images was based on an anti-allegorical, anti-Origenist stance that could not conceive of an image relating symbolically to its prototype.¹² For Epiphanius, the image and the

10. Holl 361 (#24) = *Adu. Epi.*, XVIII.79, Pitra IV:352.12–22: “At the same time they mislead by their strange notions, representing the appearance of the saints in this or that manner, sometimes as old men and sometimes as youths, such things as they had never seen, they make their own. For they paint the Savior with long hair by some fancy (ὑπονοίας), on account of his being called the Nazarene, as Nazarenes have long hair. And they fail who attempt to bind these types to him. For the Savior drank wine, whereas the Nazarenes did not drink.” And Epiphanius leveled the same accusation at painters of images of the apostles: “And again believing according to their own notions what they make, they deceive. For these deceivers portray Peter the holy apostle as an old man with hair and beard cut close. And also some describe Saint Paul as balding and some bald pated and with a beard, while the other apostles as cropped” (Holl 362 [#26] = *Adu. Epi.*, XIX.86, Pitra IV:357.25–32).

11. Christ’s divine nature made likeness impossible: Epiphanius rejected the ability of art to represent “the unknowable, the inexpressible, the incomprehensible, the unspeakable, whom only Moses was able to face” (Holl 359 [#12]).

12. George Florovsky, in “Origen, Eusebius, and the Iconoclastic Controversy,” *Church History* 19(1950):77–96, and C. von Schönborn, *L’icône du Christ. Fondements théologiques élaborées entre le Ier et le IIer Concile de Nicée (325–787)* (Fribourg, 1976) 55ff., 164ff., have described the parallels between iconoclast theology and Origenism. The human nature of Christ was, in Origenist terms, overcome and superseded by the transcendental reality of Christ risen, and so his nature is beyond description in any material depiction or description. Certainly, this position has analogies with that of the iconoclasts, as well as that of

prototype were fundamentally distinct and any defense that linked the two would inevitably demean the prototype. The only real worship is founded on intellectual approaches to spiritual truths and not on material aids consisting of images. Images of angels pose particular problems of the relation between material image and immaterial prototype, and seemed to Epiphanius to be more of an obstacle than a clarification and facilitation of worship.

A text relating a dialogue between the fourth-century theologian Macarius Magnes and a pagan opponent shows similar mistrust of material representations, once again in the case of angels.¹³ The exchange over angels formed part of a work known as the *Apocriticus*, likely an invented dialogue between Macarius and a pagan. The texts of Macarius Magnes and the pagan with whom he is engaged in discussion find their earliest testimony in the work of Nicephorus (ca. 750–828), patriarch of Constantinople at the second outbreak of Iconoclasm in 815.¹⁴ Despite Macarius Magnes's allegiances to the allegorical methods of Origen (ca. 185–254) which iconoclasts es-

Epiphanius; Epiphanius's position, which the iconoclasts found so attractive, was that Christ's divinity is essentially unknowable and can only be demeaned and made separate by merely depicting the human Christ. It must also be said, however, that Epiphanius's anti-Origenism lies primarily in his opposition to Origen's heterodox views on the Trinity; more importantly for this study, Epiphanius's rejection of Origen's method of allegorical interpretation was also an important part of his dissent. On this question, see Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, 86ff. Moreover, it is just this openness to symbolic interpretations that characterizes the iconophile approach to images, especially those of angels; see chapter 3.

13. A. Harnack, *Kritik des Neues Testaments von einem griechischen Philosophen des 3. Jahrhunderts. Die in Apocriticus des Macarius Magnes enthaltene Streitschrift*, TU vol. 37/3 (Leipzig, 1911) and G. Bardy, in *DTC* IX:1456ff., put Macarius Magnes in the late fourth-century. Harnack identified the opponent as the pagan neo-Platonist Porphyry (ca. 232–ca. 303), the writer of a famous anti-Christian treatise in fifteen volumes, the *Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*.

The full text is found in Blondel who reconstructed the original text from a manuscript found in Athens; we can now be certain of the author's original intent. See also L. Duchesne, *Macario Magnete et scriptis eius* (Paris, 1877) and P.J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople. Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1958) 165ff.

14. *De Magnete*, Pitra I:302–35. Nicephorus apparently knew little of the author and gleaned whatever information he had from internal evidence; he found firm evidence of Origenism in the texts, but he also charged Macarius Magnes with Nestorian and Manichaean sympathies. See T. W. Crafer, "Macarius Magnes, A Neglected Apologist," *JTS* 8(1907):402.

chewed, iconoclasts had invoked Macarius Magnes for his kindred approach to intellectual and non-material worship.

Two texts in the dialogue, one by the pagan and one by Macarius Magnes himself, have special bearing on this discussion of angels. In this portion of the dialogue, Macarius Magnes defended Christian worship from parallels with paganism that his opponent attempted to draw, particularly with regard to idols and representations of angels. The “angelic way of life,” a common epithet of the followers of the monastic vocation, was introduced by Macarius Magnes as an answer to the pagan opponent who is made to equate the angels and the gods of the Greeks.¹⁵ Macarius Magnes proceeded to counter the pagan’s arguments with a denial of any similarity between Christian angels and pagan gods. Pagan gods simply do not exist and furthermore, he stated, the idols of the pagans have no resemblance to the Christian images because God is incomprehensible, and Christians know better than to think that deity can reside in such matter. Macarius brought up images of angels as a means of providing a concrete example of the distinctions between pagan idolatry and purer Christian veneration. Macarius Magnes wrote:

So that if someone who is right thinking should hear of a spiritual existence in heaven, he rejoices in the word of immortality, [and] he himself emulates [the excellence of angels] in his deeds, and zealously affects their merit, by avoiding marriage and fleeing the symbols of corruption, and coming to the passage of death, he is lifted up in the end into the court of the blessed, that is to say, of the angels. But certainly [the good Christian] does not depict the form [of angels], as you yourself say, and [he] does not speak to the shadow or is delighted with the phantoms, conversing with soulless matter as if it had a soul, delighting in dead visions of forms, directing prayer to voiceless matter, imagining that the divine law giver inhabits stone or wood, or pretending to subjugate the insubjugable being in bronze or iron, thinking to capture the uncapturable, he unthinkingly sketches a vague image in a dead vision.¹⁶

15. Blondel 200.1–12.

16. Blondel 214.10–20.

Later, confronted with this text, clearly antagonistic to material images, Nicephorus argued that it misrepresented Macarius Magnes since iconoclasts had indubitably falsified the text and had confused Macarius Magnes's argument against paganism and idolatry with a denial of Christian images. However, Macarius Magnes clearly stated his opinion in this dialogue that a holy person makes a true and godly image by modeling himself after paragons of holiness in the past. For Macarius, the real image is ethical and not a material representation. Furthermore, false and misleading images made after illusory visions must be shunned.

Both Macarius Magnes and Epiphanius belong to a general debate that took place in the fourth century over images, intellectual and material, in worship. Moreover, both form part of an early tradition of spiritual, anti-image worship that was resurrected in the eighth and ninth centuries during renewed debates over worship. Epiphanius stated that divinity is unrepresentable, and can be worshipped only "in spirit and truth," quoting John 4:24.¹⁷ Both theologians were suspicious of the knowledge derived through sight, especially through the viewing of deceptive images.¹⁸ Epiphanius's strong iconoclastic stance, based on the incomprehensibility of God and the essential deceptiveness of images, has parallels with the anti-image theology of Evagrius Ponticus (ca. 345–399), and Macarius's advocacy of intellectual worship is akin to Evagrius's practice of "pure prayer."¹⁹ Evagrius taught that prayer must be rid of emotions and images that are derived from the sensual world; he called this process "apatheia" (ἀπάθεια), involving a resistance to mental image-making and a worship of God only "in spirit and in truth."²⁰ Evagrius advised dis-

17. See P.J. Alexander, "The Iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia (815) and Its Definition (*Horos*)," *DOP* 7(1953):43, on Epiphanius's "Treatise against Those who are engaged in making, after the fashion of idols, images in the likeness of Christ, the Mother of God, Martyrs, Angels and Prophets" (frag. 30b; for text, see 63–64).

18. See, for instance, Holl 363 (#33).

19. See Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, 102ff., on Epiphanius, and Schönborn, *L'icone du Christ*, 168, on the affinities of the anti-image theology of Evagrius and iconoclasts.

20. See Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, 60ff.; A. Guillaumont, *Les "Képhalaia Gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'Origénisme chez les Grecs et chez les Syriens*, Patristica Sorbonensis, vol. 5 (Paris, 1962) 37ff., 59ff.; Evagrius Ponticus, *Traité Pratique ou Le Moine*, 2 vols., SC vols. 170, 171, ed. A. Guillaumont and C. Guillaumont (Paris, 1971) 1:98ff. Accord-

engagement from all distractions: “Do not represent the divine in itself when you pray and do not permit your intellect to receive the impression of any form; but go from immaterial to immaterial, and you will comprehend.”²¹ In this sense, Epiphanius, Evagrius and Macarius share comparable positions with regard to approaches to knowledge of things divine: only intellectual and non-material routes were seemly and fruitful in their view.²²

Elizabeth Clark has described the “constellation” of practice and theory in the late fourth century that connects Epiphanius’s own iconoclasm, Evagrius’s anti-imagistic theology, and the destruction of idols in Egypt led by Theophilus (d. 412), patriarch of Alexandria from 385.²³ Epiphanius’s tearing down of a curtain depicting “some form of a man” and produced perhaps by a pagan workshop, and Macarius’s opposition to parallels made between the images of Christian angels and pagan gods must be seen in this context of the general struggle against the profane art of the pagan religion, as each theologian combated the possibility of idolatry inherent in images. Epiphanius recalled precisely the idolatrous practices censured by the Council of Laodicea in his dismissal of making images; and, indeed, that the writer of the *Apocriticus* has the pagan equate pagan idols with images of angels reveals the special fear that angels aroused in some theologians. Angels were divine creatures, certainly, but they attracted worship that was too easily equated with pagan practice. In the fourth and fifth centuries, angels and their images posed clear threats to proper approach and seemly worship as the *Apocriticus*, the Council of Laodicea and Theodoret of Cyrrhus demonstrate.

ing to Evagrius, only Moses had seen God in “his proper form and without enigma” and spoke with him “mouth to mouth”; see R. Draguet, “L’Histoire Lausiaque: Une oeuvre écrite dans l’esprit d’Evagre,” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 41(1946):330ff.

21. *De oratione*, LXVI, PG 79:1181A.

22. The general affinities are noted by J. Gouillard, “Fragments inédits d’un antirrétique de Jean le Grammairien,” *REB* 24(1966):174–75, with regard to some fragments attributed to John the Grammarian, the iconoclastic patriarch of Constantinople from 837–43.

23. *The Origenist Controversy*, 43ff.; the thesis of the interaction of theology, politics and social practice of the fourth/fifth centuries is key to her description of these texts and events.

Some scholars cite Monophysitism as an important element in iconoclastic theology, and the accusations of iconoclastic beliefs leveled against Philoxenus of Mabbug and Severus of Antioch at the Second Council of Nicaea (787) would seem to suggest at least a theological affinity between iconoclasts and these Monophysite theologians.²⁴ Like Epiphanius and Macarius Magnes, Philoxenus of Mabbug (ca. 440–523), a bishop of Hierapolis-Mabbug in Syria, strongly opposed symbolic images in Christian worship. The opposition to allusive representations was consistent with Philoxenus's theology that emphasized the absolute transcendence and incomprehensibility of Christ's divinity; iconophiles often accused iconoclasts of just such an emphasis that led them into Monophysite error.²⁵ As an extension of this belief, Philoxenus appears to have objected to anthropomorphic images of Christ and the angels, as well as to representations of the Holy Spirit as a dove.²⁶ In a passage taken from the lost *Ecclesiastical History* of Theodore Lector or Anagnostes (d. after 527), Theophanes the Confessor (ca. 760–817/8) described the malignant Monophysite roots of Philoxenus of Mabbug's position on images:

Xenaias, the servant of Satan, taught that images of the Lord and of the angels should not be accepted. He was a Persian by extraction

24. See Mansi XIII:317–18. And secondary sources include Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 52, and S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources* (Louvain, 1973) 127. Sebastian Brock argued for a complete dissociation of Monophysitism and iconoclastic theology in "Iconoclasm and Monophysitism," in *Iconoclasm. Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977) 53–57.

25. On Philoxenus of Mabbug's theology, see A. de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog. Sa vie, ses écrits, sa théologie* (Louvain, 1963); C. N. Tsirpanlis, "Some Reflections on Philoxenos' Christology," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 25(1980):152–62; R. C. Chesnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies: Severus of Antioch, Philoxenus of Mabbug, and Jacob of Sarug* (Oxford, 1976) 57ff.; and G. Lardreau, *Discours philosophique et discours spirituel. Autour de la philosophie spirituelle de Philoxène de Mabboug* (Paris, 1985).

26. See Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 44–45, "[Philoxenus of Mabbug's] position on images then was a logical corollary to his theological views: the angels and the Holy Spirit were clearly incorporeal and in Philoxenus' monophysite theology, Jesus Christ was first and foremost God." See also Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm," 131, and S. Der Nersessian, "Une apologie des images du septième siècle," *B17*(1944/5):70.

and, by station, a slave. Having fled from his master and being unbaptised, although he called himself a cleric, he was at the time of Calandion perverting from the [true] faith the villages around Antioch. He was expelled by Calandion, but Peter the Fuller consecrated him bishop of Hierapolis and renamed him Philoxenus.²⁷

Despite unsympathetic descriptions, no evidence exists in the extant texts ascribed to Philoxenus of an unambiguous iconoclastic position.²⁸ However, other texts of Philoxenus can provide testimony concerning his position regarding images and worship. These at least substantiate the charge of fundamental suspicion of images and perhaps also active iconoclasm described in the text read at Nicaea.

Judging by extant texts, Philoxenus of Mabbug held strong views on the images of Christ, the angels and the Holy Spirit in particular, on account of their essential incomprehensibility. Because of the transcendence of these beings, only worship that is intellectual and

27. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883–1885) I:134; trans. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 43. I have changed Mango's "saints" to "angels." This alteration is in accordance with an extract found in J.A. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae regiae parisiensis*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1839–1841; rp. Hildesheim, 1967) II:109.1–2, and is in agreement with de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbug*, 88 n86, and Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 44–45. See also the reading given by E. Miller, "Fragments inédits de Théodore Le Lecteur et de Jean d'Égée," *Revue archéologique* 26(1873):402, "Ξεναίος ὁ Φιλόξενος οὔτε Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ οὔτε ἀγγέλων εἰκόνας ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ συνεχώρει ἀνατίθεσθαι."

At the Second Council of Nicaea, an excerpt was read from John Diakrinomenus's *Ecclesiastical History* of ca. 500 which more fully describes the reasoning behind Philoxenus of Mabbug's opposition to images of incorporeal beings and the affinities he had with Epiphanius and Macarius Magnes before him: "For Philoxenus said that it is not proper to give the angels, who are bodiless, bodies and thus in human-like shapes to depict them in a type of embodiment, and not to believe that one offers honour and faith to Christ through making an inscribed image; only that which is worship in spirit and in truth is acceptable to him. And a few lines below: he says to note this too, that [Philoxenus says] it is a childish mind that fashions the holy and venerable spirit in an image, despite the fact that the Gospels in no place teach that the Holy Spirit became a dove, but that at some point it appeared in the shape of a dove. Because it is by God's dispensation that it appeared one time in this way and not essentially, it is by no means fitting to make images of a body for the faithful. Philoxenus taught these things and followed this teaching in practice, too. In many places, he cast down the images of angels and hid the painted images of Christ in secret places." See Mansi XIII:180E–1B.

28. On this question, see de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbug*, 88ff.

unhindered by material images is possible. By faith alone, Philoxenus wrote, is humanity able to accept and understand the contradictory and difficult nature of angels:

And thus also it is in respect of the spiritual natures and orders of celestial beings, and it is faith which maketh it possible to receive every word which is spoken concerning them; for otherwise there must necessarily be unbelief, since the Book calleth them “absolute spiritual beings” [in one place], and in another it speaketh of them as “compacted bodies” to which it attributeth forms which are different from each other.²⁹

Philoxenus held that angelic appearances were not “real” but of a spiritual nature. These epiphanies consist of an appearance (φαντασία) or form (σχῆμα) intellectually accessible in some incomplete way. This formulation—in fact, not so very different from iconophile description of angelic appearances—led to a complete disregard for any images of the immaterial angels. Because angels appear in spiritual alterations, images of the angels in symbolic guise can only be defamations and distortions of transcendent, spiritual beings.³⁰

29. From Philoxenus’s sermon “On Faith,” trans. E.A.W. Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenus Bishop of Mabbôgh, A.D. 485–519. Vol. II. Introduction, Translation, etc.* (London, 1894) 29–31, which continues, “... but [the angels] possess all the service of the members, although they have no compacted members. And how the operation of the members is established without the members themselves we have no power in our own knowledge to understand; but by this [power] which is given to us by God, I mean faith, we understand these things, and although they do not at all fall under the investigation of human thoughts they are accepted by us without any doubt.”

30. With regard to the particular case of images of Christ, the basis of Philoxenus’s resistance is ethical in that a true Christian ought to make him or herself a true image rather than worship material objects. Brock, “Iconoclasm and Monophysitism,” 54, saw the causes of Philoxenus’s hostility to images rooted in his “puritan asceticism.” Concerning the last charge made by John Diakrinomenos, Philoxenus does state in a commentary on Luke that the Holy Spirit was an intellectual vision, perceived by the intelligence of John the Baptist (Luke 3:22), and was in no way to be interpreted as an essential transformation of the Spirit itself; the Holy Spirit cannot, then, be depicted after John the Baptist’s vision since the vision was spiritual and not material. Brock hypothesized that Philoxenus’s resistance to images of doves was based on an antipathy to the local worship of Atargatis whose cult image was a dove. However, the resistance is theologically consistent with Philoxenus’s position on

Philoxenus's theological positions on intellectual worship and ethical guides are fully consistent with charges of antagonism to images, thereby substantiating his opponents' assessments of his position on art. It is noteworthy that the charges center on Philoxenus's rejection of a relation between image and model, and so any honor due the image; the charges also indicate opposition to a symbolic rendering of spiritual creatures which would make this relation of image and model untenable in Philoxenus's eyes. Moreover, writings by Philoxenus on imagination reveal affinities with the anti-image theology of Epiphanius, Macarius Magnes and Evagrius. Philoxenus believed that imagination naturally forms mental images but that these images lead one away from contemplation of true things; imagination must, therefore, be resisted and, by emptying the mind of thought and images, the spiritual path to true things can be opened.³¹ These views of Philoxenus clearly presage iconoclastic tenets. By tarring iconoclasts with the same brush as the Monophysite Philoxenus, iconophiles reinforced the frequently repeated accusation that iconoclasts were new Monophysites who rejected the incarnation in favor of Christ's divinity.³²

More ambiguous is the passage from the Second Council at Nicaea which impugned the Monophysite bishop Severus of Antioch (ca. 465–538) for his disapproval of the iconography of angels. An unsympathetic portrait of Severus's purposes in his homily on the Archangels Michael and Gabriel is given in a fragment taken from a lost *Vita* of Severus, written by John, bishop of Gabala, and read at Nicaea II. Iconophiles accused Severus of inappropriate attention to the appearance of angels in art, not iconoclasm strictly speaking:

[Severus of Antioch] used to stand in the bema and deliver long addresses, and he often attempted to persuade the multitude in the very church of the most-holy Michael that white vestments, not

the incomprehensibility of wholly spiritual entities, like the Holy Spirit and Christ, and, to a lesser degree, angels.

31. See Lardreau, *Discours philosophique et discours spirituel*, 125ff., and R. Kearney, *The Wake of Imagination. Ideas of Creativity in Western Culture* (London, 1988) 144ff.

32. See, for example, K. Parry, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Leiden, 1996) 137, 144.

purple ones, were appropriate to angels. He was not ignorant of the fact that the holy [angelic] host had no concern with vestments, but tried by this device to cause division and to urge against one another people who had this or that opinion.³³

Fortunately, the homily to which John of Gabala refers is extant and the nature of Severus's antagonism can be ascertained. Rather than urging outright iconoclasm, the homily was largely concerned with the cult of angels and the unseemly excesses to which this devotion had been prone. Severus is not unusual for having this concern; as the Epistle to the Colossians (2:18), the Council of Laodicea and Theodoret of Cyrrhus bear witness, excessive worship of the angels had created anxiety within the Church since the first centuries of the Christian era. Severus began his sermon by recalling the pagan errors of angelolatry that had been forbidden under both the Old and the New Covenants.

But, forgetting their condition as soldiers and servants, let us not dishonour them for that reason, through a pagan error, by honours which are beyond their due. For all that which is taken from that glory, which alone is God's, is a dishonour to them. That is why the angel who spoke to Manoah said, "... if thou wilt offer a burnt offering, thou must offer it unto the Lord" (Judges 13:16). And this is why also Barnabas and Paul, those servants as faithful as the angels, prevented the Lycaonian worshippers of demons from offering them a sacrifice as to gods (Acts 14).³⁴

33. Mansi XIII:184C; trans. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 44. The response to the reading by the patriarch Tarasius (ca. 730?–806) at Nicaea is interesting because it ends in agreement with the heretic Severus of Antioch; Tarasius states that white vestments must be advocated, despite John of Gabala's assertion that iconographic detail is not a concern of the angels: "Tarasius, the holy patriarch, said, We shall consider, because he has been brought to this very thing by [the question of] relics, as he has said, that it is not befitting for angels to wear purple vestments, but they ought to wear white vestments instead" (Mansi XIII:184C). The iconographic particulars are, nonetheless, irrelevant to Tarasius's intention since in his statement he made it clear that the church takes an interest in artistic practice, to the point of managing and determining it. On this issue of ecclesiastical control of artistic production after Iconoclasm, see H. Maguire, "Magic and the Christian Image," in *Byzantine Magic*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1995) 51–71.

34. Severus of Antioch, *Les homiliae cathedrales*, PO vol. 8/2, ed. M. Brière (Paris, 1919; rp. Turnhout, 1971) 82. Severus's work survives only in a Syriac translation by James of

Severus of Antioch then lashed out at the effrontery of the painters who lead Christian worshippers to pagan idolatry by their unsuitable depictions of the angels. It is worth noting that the improper worship is the really contentious issue for Severus of Antioch.

But the hand of the painters, which is insolent and which is a law unto itself, favouring the pagan inventions or the imagination and things connected to idolatry and arranging everything to that end, clothe Michael and Gabriel, as princes or kings, with a purple and royal robe, adorning them with a crown and placing in their right hand the mark of authority and universal power. It is for these reasons and others like them that those who honour the angels in such excesses abandon the Church and transgress its laws and are anathematised by those who are ordained and establish the holy canons.³⁵

Although the passage from John of Gabala says that Severus defended white robes over purple for angels, the sermon clearly does not offer an alternative iconography; Severus denigrated the current iconography of purple-clad angels as strictly untoward and overweening for servants. Justinian's garb in the mosaic at San Vitale (consecrated 548), for example, is the same as that worn by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel in mosaics of the bema arch in the contemporary church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe.³⁶ The late fifth-century Cotton Genesis, moreover, shows the angels before Lot dressed in rich vermillion, one with gold highlights.³⁷ The program for which Severus provided his ekphrasis is, of course, lost, but unquestionably Severus was opposing just this kind of incorporation

Edessa. On this sermon, see the remarks of C. Mango, "St. Michael and Attis," *DChAE* 12(1984):39ff.

35. *Les homiliae cathedrales*, 83–84.

36. See A. Grabar, *The Golden Age of Justinian. From the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam*, trans. S. Gilbert and J. Emmons (New York, 1967) figs. 171 and 11, respectively, and O. von Simson, *Sacred Fortress. Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna*, 2d ed. (Chicago, 1976) 60ff.

37. K. Weitzmann and H.L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis. British Museum Codex Cotton Otho B. VI* (Princeton, 1986) 81–82. For other examples, see *RBK* III:29–32.

of purple-clad, worldly rulers into the iconography of angels.³⁸ Severus then raised another issue surrounding the dangerous worship of angels, as an inoculation of the cult was also being carried out. The reason for their gathering, Severus went on to state, was the decorous consecration of the new church of the Archangel Michael by means of the introduction of the relics of human saints into the church.³⁹

Severus of Antioch proceeded to the charges of insolence he made against painters of angels. He made it clear that he was only speaking figuratively since the images of the angels are not in any sense representative of the real angelic nature, but only symbols.

No one, in effect, can judge that which has rapport [with the angels] by the aspects under which they appear sometimes to saintly men; for these [aspects] are various and they are known differently according to the time, according to the appropriateness of the circumstance and in some appearances such as the eyes of sensible beings are able to perceive.⁴⁰

As the nature of the angels is so difficult to perceive, their images are in a fundamental sense misleading as well as debasing. Artistic independence, and the presumptions this leads to, is also an important theme of the homily. Severus railed against “the hand of the painters who are insolent and are a law unto themselves,” and the affinities to paganism that this kind of practice encouraged in artists.

38. On the imperial garments worn by archangels, see G. Peers, “Patriarchal Politics in the Paris Gregory (B.N. gr. 510),” *JöB* 47(1997):53–57, and, covering some similar ground, C. Jolivet-Lévy, “Note sur la représentation des archanges en costume impérial dans l’iconographie byzantine,” *CA* 46(1998):121–28.

39. Relics of saints were apparently introduced into shrines in order to make more palatable this angelic cult with a dubious history. See P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1985) 56. And P. Canivet has proposed that a crypt at the fifth-century church of the Archangel Michael at Huarte in Syria had been added to provide relics and stability to a potentially excessive cult. The connection proposed by Canivet, in “Le *Michaelion* de Huarte (Ve s.) et le culte syrien des anges,” *B* 50(1980):110ff., must remain tentative.

40. *Les homiliae cathedrales*, 76–78.

In summation, Severus of Antioch was attacking the worldliness of the angels' iconography, and he concluded that this iconography led worshippers to overlook the angels' bodiless and spiritual qualities. According to Severus, angels alter their forms according to the demands of the occasion in their appearances to just men. They are never seen according to their real nature, in fact, which has nothing of the coarseness of our bodies, but in an alteration of their real form. This alteration is necessary because of the unviewability of the angelic beings. Therefore, Severus is essentially unsympathetic to material images rendered by the artistic means derived from the deceitful pagans.

Severus was not an active iconoclast but, like Philoxenus of Mabbug, interpreted angelic appearances as symbolic transformations; and the natural conclusion holds for Severus, as for Philoxenus, that images cannot express the difficulties of comprehension and nature of angels.⁴¹ Sebastian Brock is right to point out that Severus was not aggressively iconoclastic and that, in fact, his conversion may have been influenced by a fresco of Paradise. However, the principal point of the sermon is not, as Brock maintains, the depiction of angels in purple. Severus had larger issues in mind in this homily, namely the inability of art to represent angels in any essential or descriptive way and art's misleading qualities, therefore, in the context of worship.

The theological perspective represented by these four theologians, Epiphanius, Macarius, Philoxenus and Severus, is based on an ultimate spirituality of angels that cannot be communicated by any material image. Painters cannot provide appropriate means for contemplating divine things since they are misled by pagan practice into producing figured matter wholly inadequate to describe transcendent beings. In this anti-imagistic theology, an emphasis on the ethical mode of worship is characteristic; John's dictum on worship "in spirit and in truth" (4:24) is a *leitmotiv* in the works of these theologians, as it was for iconoclasts themselves who gathered the writings of these earlier theologians for their own purposes. These theologians, there-

41. Brock, "Monophysitism and Iconoclasm," 53–54.

fore, represent a distinct position with regard to approaches to knowledge of God's bodiless creations; their common approach eschewed tangible, manufactured aids in favor of more intellectual methods that avoided the production of mental or material images.

In the fragmentary texts of Epiphanius and Philoxenus, angels appear to have been adduced as corollaries to the undepictability of Christ. For Epiphanius, just the same, the angels are differentiated from Christ by their special nature, "a devouring fire," at once less exalted than the divine nature of Christ and less tangible than the human saints. Epiphanius also stated the difficulties of rendering the humanity of Christ since artists describe Christ as man out of caprice rather than out of any attempt at true likeness. The fact that Epiphanius is able to make a double calumny against Christ's images, which are equally unable to manifest any truth about either of Christ's natures, indicates the essential distinction between Christ's and angels' images: to "bone and sinew" they cannot claim any likeness at all, as Christ as human could conceivably, since angels' assumptions of human form have only been momentary and illusory.

In the fuller texts of Macarius and Severus, the special distinctions of angels' images are clearer. These theologians saw angels as unique problems since they were concerned exclusively with the issue of angelic appearances and the manufacture of images deriving from these occasions. Both of these theologians viewed material commemorations of angelic epiphany as diminishing such difficult intellectual experiences to base, misleading caricature. The angels—unlike Christ, it ought to be stressed once again—appear in a semblance of their ethereal nature, and depicting the angels in human form, only one of many forms they have assumed, can in no way communicate their immaterial nature and activity.

The danger of idolatry represented by angels' images is also a common feature of these theologians' concerns. The nature and activities of angels allowed parallels to be drawn by pagans to their own deities. Moreover, Christians themselves were evidently not immune to the attraction that angels held for their direct worship separate from God. Severus certainly feared just this possibility and the deceitful allure that angels depicted as princes possessed.

The approach represented by these four theologians influenced the position taken by iconoclasts in the eighth and ninth centuries and reveals a continuity in this anti-imagistic, intellectual theology from the fourth century on. Therefore, an understanding of the iconoclastic position with respect to angels is properly derived from these theologians; it must, in fact, depend upon their limited testimony, since a particular iconoclastic theology of angels from the eighth and ninth centuries is not extant. As only iconophile rebuttals of certain texts survive, one must assume that iconophile dialogues, for instance Nicephorus against Epiphanius and Macarius Magnes, attack positions taken by iconoclasts, who collected and defended this patristic documentation in the first place.

The theological position that expressed considerable anxiety over both idolatry and angelolatry was the formative background for the eighth-/ ninth-century iconoclastic opposition to depicting angels. It explains the concern the later anti-image theologians had for the inherent difficulties in representing angels, of course, but also for the dangers of worship of created things in general and angels in particular. As created beings, angels were not worthy of worship in and of themselves, but representing angels, as Severus pointed out, increased the likelihood of Christians mistakenly directing veneration at angels. Images in that view were the necessary nexus of idolatry and angelolatry. This association of idolatry with angelolatry reveals the primitive origins of iconoclasm, since an iconoclastic position on angels appears to be firmly rooted not only in an intellectual approach to worship but also in pastoral care for Christians who were easily led to immoderate worship of God's creature servants.⁴²

After 752, Constantine V (r. 740–775) seems to have begun a concerted assault against the iconophile position on both theological and political fronts. The strength of this attack, some twenty years after his father had initiated iconoclasm as government policy, indicates a delay in formulation of any truly radical reform. Constantine V, however, produced in the 750s an articulate expression of icono-

42. That the problem of dangerous devotion to angels still existed during Iconoclasm is likely revealed by the reworking of the Chonae miracle story in this period; see chapter 4.

clastic theology much beyond the apparent literalism and bluster of his father's theological convictions. Nicephorus discussed selections from the iconoclastic Πεύσεις, or "Inquiries," and specifically attributed them to Constantine's pen, and in this way he was able to impute personal initiative to the emperor in formulating an iconoclastic theology.⁴³

The iconoclastic theology revealed through the "Inquiries" and "Definition" of the council convened by iconoclasts in 754 is the culmination of one particular strand of theological interpretation of proper Christian worship and comprehension. Clearly, the common ground of these iconoclastic texts and of the patristic sources iconoclasts adduced is an agreement that the images of angels—like those of Christ—are impossible because of the subjects' immaterial, divine nature. Like Christ's image, an image of the angels' earthly appearance would merely separate one manifestation of their nature from their real formless nature.⁴⁴ Epiphanius made an important distinction since the angels—unlike Christ—cannot be depicted simply as "bones and sinew"; the angels have never taken human form, only assumed it symbolically. Therefore, the image of an angel cannot even have a stable visual relation to its prototype, let alone an essential relation. It is strictly a misleading invention by deceitful artists. Iconoclasts, augured by theologians like Epiphanius and Severus, possessed a fundamental distrust of artistic practice; since the angels are so distant from our comprehension, and indeed so rarely seen at all, artists cannot be expected to represent these spiritual beings in an accurate or meaningful way.⁴⁵

Here the shape of the theological debate may unlock the history of an important set of images, representations of angels significantly

43. *Contra Eusebium*, III, Pitra I:375–77. On the *Peuseis*, see S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Constantine V with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources* (Louvain, 1977) 37ff.

44. See Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Constantine V*, 39ff., on iconoclastic Christology.

45. See Mansi XIII:336E; Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Constantine V*, 89, and, also, 91 (#16); M. V. Anastos, "The Argument for Iconoclasm as Presented by the Iconoclastic Council of 754," in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann et al. (Princeton, 1955) 185.

altered during Iconoclasm. Admittedly, the evidence for the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea, now Iznik, is not secure: first, destroyed in 1922, the church is lost and so unexaminable, and second, the sequence of creation of mosaics in the seventh century, emendation in the eighth / ninth century and finally restoration in the ninth depends on scholarly argument founded on probabilities. Nonetheless, the position assumed here conforms to general scholarly opinion that the Church of the Dormition reflected the changes in attitudes to images from the seventh to the ninth century. Located on the arch that separates the sanctuary or bema from the nave, these mosaics of angels in the Church of the Dormition have been variously dated in their initial phase to the sixth or seventh century.⁴⁶ Although the inscriptions stated that the figures represented different orders of the angelic hierarchy, the Principalities, Virtues, Dominations and Powers, mentioned together at Colossians 1:16, the angelic beings were depicted as identical winged youths wearing the *loros* and carrying orbs and standards (figs. 9, 10). A pair occupied both the north and south portion of the arch. The subject of the pre-Iconoclastic mosaic in the apse is still an open question, and an enthroned Christ, an *orans* Virgin and a seated Virgin and Child have been suggested (fig. 16).⁴⁷

46. Fernanda de' Maffei conjectured that the mosaics had been covered during Iconoclasm, not erased as is generally thought, and the repair evident is not connected to the restoration of images in 843. See F. de' Maffei, "L'Unigenito consostanziale al Padre nel programma trinitario dei perduti mosaici del bema della Dormizione di Nicea e il Cristo trasfigurato del Sinai I," *Storia dell'arte* 45(1982):91ff., and also her *Icona, pittore e arte al Concilio Niceno II* (Rome, 1974) 99ff. However, the restorations apparent in the areas around the angels and the replacing of the cross in the apse likely belong to the same phase, probably post-843, paid for by the otherwise unknown Naucratis, as stated in an inscription between the two angels on the south bema arch. For discussion and bibliography, see Peers, "Patriarchal Politics in the Paris Gregory," 54–56, and chapter 1.

47. de' Maffei hypothesized an enthroned Christ in the apse of the church at Iznik flanked by angelic powers. See "L'Unigenito consostanziale," 91ff. By tracing the exegetical history of the psalms (110:3, 93:5, 97:7) and Col. 1:16, de' Maffei attempted to reconstruct a christological program in the apse, which centered on an enthroned Christ. While ultimately untenable, her argument is compelling, especially as it is the only one, to my knowledge, to take into consideration the angelic powers and their relation to Christ, but she finds difficulty in overcoming the art-historical evidence. The only parallel she is able to cite is in the ninth-century Chludov Psalter in which the enthroned Christ is approached by



Figure 16. Virgin and Child, Apse Mosaic (destroyed), Church of the Dormition, Iznik (formerly Nicaea), ninth century. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

David (Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. 129, fol. 114v, ps. 110). See K.A. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992) 44–45, fig. 54.

The illustration in the Chludov Psalter asserts the divinity of Christ, as the inscription accompanying the marginal illustration reads, “David prophesies concerning the son of God.” The assertion of Christ’s divine nature in this typological context derives from *contra Judaeos* literature of the sixth and seventh centuries, for example the *Trophies of Damascus*,

Such figured representations as found in the bema arch at Nicaea did not conform to the iconoclastic notion of the proper image of angels, and the figured portions of the bema arch were eliminated during Iconoclasm. Iconoclasts, of course, found representations of angels distasteful, as they found all figural religious imagery to be contrary to their beliefs concerning appropriate worship.⁴⁸ The distinguishing features of the iconoclastic alterations made on the bema arch at Nicaea were that the inscriptions and standards were left untouched. Evidently, iconoclasts did not object to every aspect of the program and felt that with editing the mosaics at Nicaea could provide proper “images” of angels that were non-figurative and relied on inscribed words.

That conversion provides vital information on attitudes toward, and meanings of, material representations of angels from the iconoclastic point of view. The sutures around the restored angelic powers reveal that the figures were erased and the mosaic field was left blank

in which the same psalm (110) is adduced to defend the divine nature of Christ. See *Les Trophées de Damas*, PO vol. 15/2, ed. G. Bardy (Paris, 1920; rp. Turnhout, 1973) 32.12–33.6. Bardy points out that this psalm is a topos of Jewish-Christian debates from an early date. The currency that this psalm had for the defense of Christ’s divine nature in the period before Iconoclasm, both in exegesis and apologetic literature, lends support to de’ Maffei’s reconstruction of the apse program of Christ as Lord surrounded by his heavenly servants.

The general assumption, however—which moreover has the greater attraction of plausibility—is that the Virgin and child placed in the apse after the end of Iconoclasm was a replacement for a pre-Iconoclastic composition with the same subject. This premise informs C. Barber’s analysis, for example, in “The Koimesis Church, Nicaea: The Limits of Representation on the Eve of Iconoclasm,” *JöB* 41(1991):43–60.

48. In a review of T. Schmitz’s *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia, das Bauwerk und die Mosaiken* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), E. Wiegand claimed that making symbolic images of angels did not warrant opprobrium from the iconoclastic point of view and the bema mosaics could have been produced during Iconoclasm; see *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 53(1927):2607. E. Kitzinger, “Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm,” in *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinischen-Kongress, München, 1958* (Munich, 1958) 13, dismissed Wiegand’s hypothesis and suggested himself that the angelic powers belonged originally to a pre-iconoclastic phase. P.A. Underwood, “The Evidence of Restorations in the Sanctuary Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea,” *DOP* 13(1959):235ff., followed up this suggestion and demonstrated conclusively—to my mind—that the church underwent three phases of mosaic decoration: pre-iconoclastic (before the 720s), iconoclastic (that is, without figured images of angels but with inscriptions and standards left intact, likely effected between the 720s and 787 but possibly also between 815 and 843), and post-iconoclastic, that is to say after the “Triumph of Orthodoxy” in 843.

during Iconoclasm. However, the inscriptions designating each of the powers, the standards that bore the inscribed Trisagion and the passage taken from Psalm 97:7 ("To him all the angels of God offer worship") were apparently left intact and on view during this entire period.⁴⁹ Furthermore, a mosaic cross replaced either the figure of Christ or of the Virgin and Child in the apse.

This iconoclastic program demonstrates the practical limits of the depiction of angels during Iconoclasm and provides concrete form to the iconoclastic theology of angels. Given the preceding discussion of the views of iconoclasts and their predecessors, the elimination of the figural depictions of the angelic powers must be viewed as a natural extension of anti-image theory. The void outlined by the sutures, that is the absence of images, demonstrates iconoclastic belief in the inability of figural description to render angels. The preservation of the inscriptions of the angelic powers, then, marks the limit of representation according to this theory. The presence of the inscriptions, of course, was a happy coincidence for the iconoclasts since it served their purposes so well. The inscription shows that the route to contemplation of these beings must be attempted through meditation on the scriptural designations for angelic powers (Col. 1:16), the nominating inscriptions that signify the beings directly and without figural confusion.

Iconoclasts and their forbears believed that verbal worship was most appropriate.⁵⁰ Words signify purely, with none of the dissimulation or distraction of material images. Iconoclasts held that words were proper signifiers since they were capable of describing intellectually without the contamination and distraction of matter. At the iconoclastic council of 754, iconoclasts stated that "Christ" is a name that refers simultaneously to God and man; therefore, the name "Christ" is an "image" that contains reference to Christ as God and man with none of the futility and deception of the painters' craft.⁵¹

49. See Underwood, "The Evidence for Restorations," 240.

50. On this issue, see J.-M. Sansterre, "La parole, le texte et l'image selon les auteurs byzantins des époques iconoclastes et posticonoclastes," in *Testo e immagine nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane vol. 41, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1994) I:197–243.

51. Mansi XIII:252A. See de' Maffei, *Icona, pittore e arte*, 26ff.

The names of angels are also images in this view in that they refer as pure signifiers to transcendence and incomprehensibility.

The angels' standards with the Trisagion illustrate—paradoxically—other important tenets of iconoclastic theology. The Trisagion is derived from the seraphim of Isaiah (6:3) and Revelation (4:8), and very early entered Christian piety and liturgy. In the context of Nicaea, it denotes the iconoclastic definition of the seemingly verbal and ethical character of worship that iconoclasts held to be the essential elements in devotion.⁵² Iconoclasts had stated that meditation on scripture and divine words contained therein, at Nicaea Psalm 97:7, was the most appropriate and purest approach to knowledge of divine things. The priests were the fitting custodians of such truths, and iconoclasts cited approvingly Malachi 2:7: "For the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth: for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts."⁵³ The pastoral care of priests is emphasized here at Nicaea precisely in the public setting once decorated with figural images so denigrated by Severus. The communal aspect ought to be stressed here: the iconoclastic revisionists reveal themselves to be guardians of the "truth," that is, in this church they demonstrate their guidance, not just an intellectual ministering but an active, collective attendance. The danger of idolatry diminished considerably, and, their care therefore demonstrated, the iconoclastic clergy—presumably—at Nicaea also indicated the locus of their power and the source of their authority, the words of the gospels left untouched in the mosaic surface.

Finally, the program centered on a cross placed over earlier figural depiction. The cross has been interpreted as the iconoclastic sign *par excellence*, although it was not exclusive to the iconoclastic cause.⁵⁴

52. See M. V. Anastos, "The Ethical Theory of Images Formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815," *DOP* 8(1954):151–60.

53. See Mansi XIII:229E. On the issue of role of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in disseminating knowledge, see Sansterre, "La parole, le texte et l'image."

54. Bibliography and discussion found in L. Brubaker, "To Legitimize an Emperor: Constantine and Visual Authority in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," in *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries, Papers from the Twenty-sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St. Andrews, March 1992*, ed. P. Magdalino (Aldershot, 1994) 139–58.

The cross was a venerable sign of victory established by the unassailable precedent of Constantine the Great.⁵⁵ An epigram later quoted by the iconophile leader Theodore of Stoudios (759–826)⁵⁶ demonstrates both the political and devotional meanings of the cross for iconoclasts.⁵⁷ The epigram stated that the image (εἶδος) of Christ, voiceless, breathless and material has been taken down and replaced with the sign (τύπον) of the cross, thrice-blessed and glory of the faithful.

In this discussion of Nicaea, the opposition of image and sign on the bema arch and in the apse is of particular relevance. The illusionistic image of Christ, in an iconoclast's view, deceives through its attempts at describing a living, breathing being out of matter, and misleads the worshipper into adoring the image itself. The cross is an abstract sign, a true image, with no danger of devotional attachment that would lead to iconophile idolatry. The program in the church of the Dormition was altered in this way so that no risk existed of attachment to figured symbols—a paradoxical affinity that iconoclasts appear to have with the seminal theology of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (fl. ca. 500?). And, since no such abstract sign exists for angels, the inscriptions referring to angelic beings provided intellectual modes of comprehension and worship of bodiless beings.

At Nicaea, it is possible to see practice paralleling theory; the illusions of artists abhorred by iconoclasts were displaced in favor of purer signs, inscribed words. According to the iconoclastic definition of the real image, the image must be consubstantial with its prototype and this is clearly not possible for images of angels, given interpretations of their nature; only the eucharist can be a real image in

55. See A. Grabar, *L'iconoclisme byzantin. Dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957) 134ff. and J. Moorhead, "Iconoclasm, the Cross, and the Imperial Image," *B* 55(1985):65–79.

56. *Refutatio et subversio impiorum poematum*, PG 99:437C.

57. See Grabar, *L'iconoclisme byzantin*, 130, and Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III*, 113ff.: "The ruler does not tolerate that Christ be depicted [as] a voiceless shape and bereft of breath, with earthly matter, [which is] condemned by the Scriptures; Leo, with his son Constantine, marks the thrice-blessed image of the cross, the glory of the believers, upon the gates of the royal palaces" (trans. *ibid.*, 114–15). The first portion of the epigram is examined briefly in G. Peers, "Breathless, Speechless Images: On the Chalke Gate Epigram," in *Hommages Margaret Head Thomson*, Cahiers des études anciennes, vol. 32, ed. L. Finnette and A. P. Booth (Trois Rivières, Québec, 1998) 109–12.

this view.⁵⁸ Approach and worship must be intellectual, spiritual and verbal. Symbolic interpretation of images of formless beings has no place in this theology, only direct contemplation and ethical worth. A coherent theology of angels' representations can, therefore, be derived from the fragments of iconoclasts and their forerunners, and the traces of iconoclastic "images" of angelic beings at Nicaea. This theology is literal in its attitude to symbolic manifestation: as Macarius Magnes described it, angelic epiphanies are intellectual and dissembling, and it behooves the good Christian to behave as Abraham and worship these revelations through scripture, inwardly in the soul, and not bow down before any image or creature.

58. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Constantine V*, 45ff.

Three

REPRESENTING ANGELS

Images and Theory

The practice of image worship excited opposition in certain quarters, and the theologians examined in the previous chapter were reacting to existing images that they could not reconcile with their beliefs about worship and contemplation. The preceding chapter described a process of gaining knowledge of God and things divine that had great importance for the formation of the intellectual and theological climate in the period leading up to and including Iconoclasm. This process, recounted here in terms of its relation to one kind of image, namely of angels, depended primarily on intellectual, non-material avenues to spiritual truths; it is essentially non-figural.¹ The influential theologian Evagrius Ponticus (ca. 345–399) was convinced that the mind's impulse to representation was a hindrance to proper devotion. In the opinion of Evagrius—and iconoclasts who belonged to the same theological tradition—material images were insurmountable hurdles to contemplation of divinity.²

1. Contrary to Cameron's contention in "The Language of Images," 28, not all Christian discourse was figural. The preceding chapter sought to demonstrate the slippery character of angels' appearances and nature, and the resistance this excited among certain theologians with regard to figuring angels intellectually and materially.

2. See E. A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy. The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, 1992) 80ff.

Yet many Christians clearly accepted figured, material signs for contemplation and worship. This acceptance represents a mode of approach completely separate from the literalist, intellectual conception described in chapter 2. Moreover, it finds no defender of the magnitude of Epiphanius and, indeed, texts defending images of angels date only to the sixth century, after the death of Severus of Antioch. The development of attitudes to images of angels, then, would appear to conform to a pattern of practice first, followed by opposition and defense.³ However, Methodius of Olympus (d. ca. 311) described images of angels as positive testimony of honor and faith in God.⁴ The pattern of practice, opposition and defense is perhaps too generalized, then, to be allowed to characterize the period of the rise of icons. Nonetheless, this chapter seeks to outline the defense in examining texts concerning images of angels, beginning in the sixth century and concluding with a longer examination of the articulate and extensive justification of images of eighth- and ninth-century iconophiles.

APPROACHES TO SYMBOLIC IMAGES

The most influential theologian for the defense of symbolic images is Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (fl. ca. 500?). Despite the fact that these writings deal with verbal images and the comprehension of divine things through these images, all subsequent discussion of symbolic images, both verbal and visual, relied on his seminal theology.⁵ Pseudo-Dionysius explored the diverse scriptural passages that mentioned angelic epiphanies for pattern, unity and meaning, and, in his *Celestial Hierarchy*, he offered a comprehensive examination of God's spiritual creations within a highly structured and essentially allegorical framework. His work helped articulate approaches to material

3. The classic formulation of this point of view is E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm," *DOP* 8(1954):83–150.

4. See chapter 1.

5. See the Introduction, and Cameron, "The Language of Images," 24ff., and also her, "Byzantium and the Past in the Seventh Century: The Search for Redefinition," in *The Seventh Century. Change and Continuity. Proceedings of a joint French and British Colloquium held at the Warburg Institute 8–9 July 1988*, ed. J. Fontaine and J.N. Hillgarth (London, 1992) 268.

images found in the epigrams examined in this chapter, and it provided a framework within which iconophile theologians could rationalize non-representational, symbolic images of angels.

Pseudo-Dionysius stated that the angels are represented in scripture as a “concession to the nature of our own mind.”⁶ He was not speaking of images, but supporters of images understood a clear link between verbal and visual symbolism.⁷ Discussion of both verbal and visual symbolism concerns the negotiation of the means by which a Christian can come to a comprehension of God. Pseudo-Dionysius discussed one such means at great length, that is the symbolic significance of the angels and their appearances. In describing the meaning of Ezekiel’s angel which appeared in the form of four animals, for instance, Pseudo-Dionysius wrote an excursus on the meaning of their appearances as these varied beasts.⁸ The celestial intelligences took these forms, he says, because they intended to communicate obliquely some knowledge of their nature and duty. The angel took the form of a lion, for instance, to express domination, strength and unconquerability; the angel is represented as an ox because it had the “ability to plough deeply the furrows of knowledge”; the form of an eagle was assumed because of the angel’s “contemplation which is freely, directly, and unswervingly turned” to the divine light; and the form of the horse was taken on because of its “obedience and docility” which corresponds to the character of the angels.⁹ By this means, the angels imitate, as much as they are able, the secret of the ineffable divinity, and envelop themselves mysteriously so as to yield divine illumination.

6. *De coelesti hierarchia*, II.1, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, SC vol. 58, ed. G. Heil and M. de Gandillac (Paris, 1958) 74; Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *The Complete Works*, trans. C. Luibheid and P. Rorem (New York, 1987) 148. This contemplation of condescending symbols is also discussed in a question and answer guide from the second half of the sixth century; see J.-C. Guy, “Un *Entretien* monastique sur la contemplation,” *Recherches des sciences religieuses* 50(1962):234–35, 238–39.

7. See, for example, Kitzinger, “The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm,” 137ff., and U. Jeck, “Ps. Dionysios Areopagites und der Bilderstreit in Byzanz: Überlegungen zur Dionysiosrezeption des Johannes von Damaskos,” *Hermeneia. Zeitschrift für ostkirchliche Kunst* 8 / 2(1992):71–80.

8. *De coel. hier.*, XV.8, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 184–88.

9. *De coel. hier.*, XV.8, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 185–87.

According to Pseudo-Dionysius, symbols offer the primary access to God, as they are condescendences that render God accessible to incarnate intelligences. The angels then take on forms, figures and schemata that can fall to our senses and be more readily grasped and interpreted.¹⁰

That one has reason to attribute figures to that which is without figure, and forms to that which has no form ... is not sufficient. ... They require some appropriate elevations and that which has some affinity with our nature, so that consequently we are capable of gaining ourselves the figurations, which are accessible for us. ... But it must be said also that the thing which is hidden under unrevealable and sacred enigmas is suited most perfectly to the mysterious words, and to rendering inaccessible to most people, the holy and secret truth of the otherworldly spirits. For all persons are not saints, and, as scripture informs us, not all have knowledge (I Cor. 8:7).¹¹

The symbols provided by the celestial intelligences have, therefore, an educative role for those seeking greater knowledge of God. This process of contemplation is a simultaneous act of resistance to a complacency attached to matter, and it also involves a full engagement with the symbol itself, rather than a literal interpretation of the symbol.¹² By resistance to complacency, Pseudo-Dionysius meant that one must disengage the sensible images from all signification that is base or vulgar or simply natural which could alter or obscure the divine revelation borne by the images.¹³ The correct play of the

10. See R. Roques, "Introduction," in *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, xxi ff.

11. *De coel. hier.*, II.2, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 76–77.

12. Roques, "Introduction," xxi; A. Louth, *Denys the Areopagite* (Wilton, Conn., 1989) 46.

13. And see J. Derrida, "How to Avoid Speaking: Denials," in *Languages of the Unsayable. The Play of Negativity in Literature and Literary Theory*, ed. S. Budick and W. Iser, trans. K. Friedan (New York, 1989) 44: "A predicate can always conceal another predicate, or rather the nakedness of an absence of predicate—as the (sometimes indispensable) veil of a garment can at once dissimulate and reveal the very fact that it dissimulates and renders attractive at the same time. Hence the voice of an utterance can conceal another, which it then appears to quote without quoting it, presenting itself as another form, namely as a quotation of the other."

symbolism demands that the intelligence adhere openly and exclusively to the intelligible richness of the sensible images. This operation requires an effort of lucidity that discerns the true intelligible value of the image.¹⁴

The exigencies of catharsis and anagogy make humanity prefer the dissembling symbols to symbols that resemble.¹⁵ For the latter places humanity in danger of becoming attached to these things and therefore misled. With dissembling symbols, the effort of anagogy is almost inevitable and so there is no seduction or bonding. With these dissembling symbols of the angelic beings the means of interpretation is a prudent but difficult, and necessarily provisional, act of anagogy.

Every being, every element and every sensible quality can serve as a point of departure to intelligible contemplation and reveal some character of the celestial essences. The anthropomorphism of the angels is, properly speaking, a symbolic dissimulation. The angels take human form for symbolic reasons, that is, on account of humanity's powers of intellect.

But [the angels] are described in human form on account of [human] intelligence, and they have powers of sight directed upwards, and because [humans] have the upright . . . form, and the ability to lead and command according to nature, [because humans live] the least according to sensation as opposed to the other powers that lead illogical lives, and [human nature] masters all of it by the strength of its spirit, and by the dominance of the logical knowledge, and according to the free and unfettered nature of [the human] soul.¹⁶

Each symbol, then, is accessible by an act of exegesis and imparts an amount of intelligible information according to the worth and effort of the person contemplating.¹⁷ The value and the level of the symbol

14. Roques, "Introduction," xxii.

15. *De coel. hier.*, II, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 73–87.

16. *De coel. hier.*, XV.3, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 171–73.

17. *De coel. hier.*, XV, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 163–91.

are bound to the value and the level of the intelligence that uses it. Symbols are, therefore, essentially “cursive” and “mobile,” varying according to the order and receptivity of the intelligence.¹⁸ Pseudo-Dionysius’s position is based on an openness to symbolic interpretation; indeed, his theology demands it.

The ultimate goal of this process of symbolic interpretation is the empty and obscure site of incomprehension, “the brilliant darkness of a hidden silence,” “the truly mysterious darkness of unknowing.”¹⁹ The goal of Pseudo-Dionysius’s negative theology has striking parallels with Evagrius’s desired state of “apatheia” (ἀπάθεια).²⁰ Evagrius stated that the proper preparation for true contemplation of God and things divine was a humble emptying of the mind of all emotion and thought, especially of the figural kind.²¹ Pure prayer and contemplation can thus be accomplished in theory but only after all contaminating sensual “images” have been vanquished. For Pseudo-Dionysius, prayer too is necessary, as “a passage, a transfer, a translation.”²² Silent contemplation of scriptural signs, “secret manifestations” of God, is the route to knowledge of transcendent reality.

The two processes of Evagrius and Pseudo-Dionysius share similar goals in silent, empty contemplation of God, but Evagrius’s absolute

18. Roques, “Introduction,” xc.

19. Respectively, *De divinis nominibus*, XIII.1, PG 3:977B, *The Complete Works*, trans. C. Luibheid and P. Rorem, 135; and *De mystica theologia*, I.3, PG 3:1001A, *The Complete Works*, trans. C. Luibheid and P. Rorem, 137. And see, in general, on the negative theology of Pseudo-Dionysius, R. Mortley, *From Word to Silence. Vol. II. The Way of Negation, Christian and Greek*, Theophaneia, vol. 31 (Bonn, 1986) 229ff.

20. It might be said that Maximus Confessor (ca. 580–662) was a natural heir to both of these Church Fathers, indicating that the two systems of thought were reconcilable. Maximus was largely responsible for the dissemination of Areopagite theology in the east; see J. Pelikan, “Introduction,” in Maximus Confessor, *Selected Writings* (New York, 1985) 6. And in his description of the spiritual life and of pure prayer, Maximus clearly owed a debt to Evagrius; see M. Viller, “Aux sources de la spiritualité de S. Maxime: les oeuvres d’Evagre le Pontique,” *Revue d’ascétique et de mystique* 11(1930):156–84, 239–68, 331–36.

21. See Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, 83ff.

22. See, for example, *De div. nom.*, III.1, PG 3:680D. Quote in text from Derrida, “How to Avoid Speaking,” 41, and further: “Here prayer is not a preamble, an accessory mode of access. It constitutes an essential moment, it adjusts discursive asceticism, the passage through the desert of discourse, the apparent referential vacuity which will only avoid empty deliria and prattling by addressing itself from the start to the other, to you. But to you as ‘hyperessential and more than divine Trinity.’”

eschewing of signs and images as the steps to this goal is the point of departure from Pseudo-Dionysius's process of meditation on unknowable things. Pseudo-Dionysius marks a distinct path, therefore, in his simultaneous process of engagement with a symbol and denial of its literal worth. The path he described was widely influential in the sixth century and beyond. Indeed, the operations he describes influenced much of the theology developed in subsequent centuries, and later iconophile theories of devotion before material images clearly relied on Pseudo-Dionysius's description of approaches to divine things. Moreover, the influence of Pseudo-Dionysius was not restricted to abstract theological speculation; traces of his theology can also be discerned in actual practice as gleaned from a set of sixth-century epigrams.

Written about images of the Archangel Michael, these epigrams illustrate in a concrete way perceptions of images in the period immediately following Pseudo-Dionysius. They reveal a thematic thread linking Pseudo-Dionysius's theology concerning symbolic approaches to images of angels and perceptions of tangible material images. The theology and more popular understanding represented by these epigrams occupy the same conceptual ground: that an image makes material in a dissembling way an immaterial being for contemplative rather than descriptive purposes. This group of epigrams, therefore, parallels positions described in abstruse terms by iconophile theologians, and taken as a whole these different texts show a mode of gaining knowledge through images common to both theory and practice.

This small group of epigrams was composed as part of a larger anthology, gathered during the reign of Justin II, perhaps around 568, by Agathias (ca. 532–ca. 580).²³ Based on the antique model of the

23. See Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford, 1993) 16. However, R. C. McCail thought that this group of epigrams on images of angels originated outside of the cycle proper; see his "The *Cycle* of Agathias: New Identifications Scrutinised," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 89(1969):92ff. Furthermore, McCail dates the epigrams from a period ranging from 555 to 570, against Cameron who sees them as a coherent and contemporary group. See R. C. McCail, "On the Early Career of Agathias Scholasticus," *REB* 28(1970):142.

Garland written by Meleager (fl. ca. 60 B.C.E.), the epigrams were apparently written by a group of educated men on set topics and in similar styles. The collection is extant only because of a compilation made in about 900 by Constantine Cephalas. Its survival is of great importance as this cycle of epigrams provides remarkable evidence of attitudes to images of angels from the period preceding Iconoclasm.

In the first place, an image of the Archangel may be intended as a thank-offering for past benefit and as a request for future aid. Agathias wrote this epigram for an image of the Archangel at the Sosthenium near Constantinople:

Aemilianus of Caria and John with him, Rufinus of Alexandria and Agathias of Asia having completed the fourth year of their legal studies, O Archangel, dedicated to thee, O Blessed One, thy painted image, praying that their future may be happy. Make thyself manifest in the direction of their hopes.²⁴

The question of materiality is raised in this epigram to the extent that the Archangel's benign presence is beseeched through the lawyers' gift of depiction. The aim of materiality, the devotional goal of this epigram, is expressed more forcefully and more paradoxically in another epigram in the group. An epigram by Agathias on another image of the Archangel also expresses gratitude for the Archangel's intervention and protection but raises important issues of perception and depiction not brought up in the Sosthenium epigram:

24. *The Greek Anthology*, ed. W.R. Paton, 5 vols. (London, 1927) I:35. And see Averil Cameron, *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970) 5. Robin Cormack has discussed this epigram in connection with a newly discovered fresco from the theatre at Aphrodisias that he dates to the sixth century; see his "The Wall Painting of St. Michael in the Theatre," in *Aphrodisias Papers 2. The Theatre, a Sculptor's Workshop, Philosophers, and Coin Types*, ed. R. R. R. Smith and K. T. Erim (Ann Arbor, 1991) 115. And T. F. Mathews used this epigram to describe the creation of an "interior imprint" of a spiritual reality in the Byzantine viewer; however, he neglects the symbolic quality of likenesses of angels in favor of visual engagement and involvement. See his "Psychological Dimensions in the Art of Eastern Christendom," in *Art and Religion: Faith, Form and Reform, 1984 Paine Lectures in Religion*, ed. O. Overby (Columbia, Mo., 1986) 12ff.

“On a picture of Theodorus the Illustrious and twice Proconsul, in which he is shown receiving the insignia of office from the Archangel in Ephesus”: Forgive us, O Archangel, for picturing thee, for thy face is invisible; this is but an offering of men. For by thy grace Theodorus hath his girdle of a Magister, and twice won for his prize the Proconsular chair. The picture testifies to his gratitude, for in return he expressed the image of thy beauty.²⁵

The difficulty inherent in depicting the Archangel, and the referential quality that necessarily results in such depictions, is significant. Although the Archangel is by nature invisible, and in this way unperceivable, the image is made according to the means available to humanity. For this reason, the image is conditional and incomplete, but the image’s provisional quality, which the epigram states, is the crucial issue. The donor apologizes for the presumption of manufacturing an undepictable subject, since the image is only an approximation, but the image was made because the Archangel has made himself manifest, in some fashion, on the donor’s behalf. Commemorating the Archangel’s invisible guidance and protection, the image was clearly an emblem of angelic aid. The iconography of the Archangel—which one may safely assume was of the winged youth as celestial minister—is a sign for this watchful and benevolent presence.

The epigrams’ significant operation is the spiritual or intellectual contemplation that the material image initiates.²⁶ Agathias’s epigram

25. *The Greek Anthology*, I:36. See also P. Speck, “Ein Bild des Erzengels Michael in Ephesos (*Anthologia Palatina* I,36),” *Varia II, ΗΙΟΙΚΙΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑ*, vol. 6 (Bonn, 1987) 355–62; and also Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology*, 72ff. and 152ff.

26. R.C. McCail, “The Erotic and Ascetic Poetry of Agathias Scholasticus,” *B* 41(1971):246, rightly questions Kitzinger’s view of the process of comprehension that Agathias describes. For Kitzinger, the viewer looks at the image “as if” the figure represented were there. See “The Cult of Images Before Iconoclasm,” 147–1268. Clearly, however, Agathias’s intellectual approach uses the image as a bridge over which one travels for knowledge and communication, not as an embodiment of the model. McCail also points out that Agathias’s formulation of the passage of honor from image to prototype relies on sound patristic foundations, like the statement of Basil of Caesarea (ca. 329–379), “ἡ τῆς εἰκόνας τιμὴ ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει” (*De Spiritu Sancto*, XVIII, *Traité du Saint-Esprit*, SC vol. 17 bis, ed. B. Pruche [Paris, 1968] 406).

is significant in this regard since the image is explicitly said to incite the mind to a “higher contemplation” by means of the image’s colors.²⁷ Agathias’s description of approach is paralleled by a contemporary epigram of Nilus Scholasticus. Nilus is equally aware of the difficulties involved in the capturing of a likeness and notes the “daring” quality of representation: “‘On an image of the Archangel’: How daring it is to picture the incorporeal! But yet the image leads us up to spiritual recollection of celestial beings.”²⁸ The process by which the mind is ferried to higher contemplation is stated succinctly in this epigram. The image, Nilus and Agathias both assert, is not a representation of the form of the Archangel in any essential way, but only an approximation of the formless Archangel. But by this representation of an unviewable being the image allows the viewer to reflect on the being itself. In fact, the image maintains a tentative, intellectual proximity of the ineffable being, otherwise unknowable and unapproachable. The image gives Agathias’s “confused veneration” a focus and an object. The material image provides, therefore, a paradoxical ability to conduct through the eyes a lucid contemplation of the unviewable, incomprehensible Archangel.

These epigrams ought to be seen, moreover, in the context of the increasing number of formulations of art’s role in worship in the course of the sixth century. The anagogical function of images of angels as described in these epigrams parallels the function of images in Christian worship that Hypatius of Ephesus (d. ca. 541) describes in a letter written to Julian, bishop of Atramyntium.²⁹ In Hypatius’s view, images should be admitted, albeit grudgingly, into Christian worship because they are a means by which the weaker and less spiri-

27. *The Greek Anthology*, I:34. On this epigram, see chapter 2.

28. *The Greek Anthology*, I:33.

29. See P.J. Alexander, “Hypatius of Ephesus: A Note on Worship in the Sixth Century,” *HTR* 45(1952):177–84, and S. Gero, “Hypatius of Ephesus on the Cult of Images,” in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults. Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, 4 vols. (Leiden, 1975) II:208–16; and G. Lange, *Bild und Wort. Die katechetischen Funktionen des Bildes in der griechischen Theologie des sechsten bis neunten Jahrhunderts*, Würzburg, 1969, 44ff. The text is found in F. Diekamp, *Analecta patristica. Texte und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Patristik*, Orientalia christiana analecta, vol. 117 (Rome, 1938) 127ff., and in H. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit vor dem Bilderstreit*, TU vol. 139 (Berlin, 1992) 320–21.

tually advanced in the community might come to some introductory knowledge of divine things. For this reason, Hypatius told his correspondent, he shuns material aids, but admits images into worship,

... because we permit each order of the faithful to be guided and led up to the divine being in a manner appropriate to it [the order] because we think that some people are guided even by these [gold, silver, etc.] towards the intelligible beauty and from the abundant light in the sanctuaries to the intelligible and immaterial light.³⁰

Hypatius also stated that the cherubim on the Ark of the Covenant were one example of God's providence condescending for the sake of the weaker members of his chosen people; in this way, God gave material guidance to know him better.³¹ The anagogical function of images as described in this letter bears striking similarities to the epigrams discussed above, and also in a general way to the neo-Platonism of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.³² These texts describe the spiritual elevation to divinity that signs, material and verbal, can provide for Christians. Yet Hypatius clearly saw a dichotomy between more advanced spirituality and the less perfect that depends upon these material signs, which Pseudo-Dionysius does not distinguish.

Evidently, sixth-century ecclesiastics and laymen alike, taking Hypatius and Agathias as examples, were grappling with the function and meaning of images in Christian worship. Hypatius was clearly

30. Diekamp, *Analecta patristica*, 128.26–30; trans. Alexander, "Hypatius of Ephesus," 180.

31. Alexander, "Hypatius of Ephesus," 179–80. The example of the cherubim presages the iconophile emphasis on God's prescription for the construction of the Ark and the cherubim; see below.

32. Kitzinger thought the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius an important factor in the formulation of image theory such as Hypatius expounded in this letter to Julian. See "The Cult of Images Before Iconoclasm," 137–38. Jean Gouillard, "Hypatios d'Éphèse ou du Pseudo-Denys à Théodore Studite," *REB* 19(1961):72ff., was also struck by the coincidence in thought regarding symbolism and ascent to higher mysteries in both Hypatius and Pseudo-Dionysius. However, Gero sees only a general knowledge of platonic concepts in Hypatius, and concluded that Hypatius was drawing from the same well without direct dependence on Pseudo-Dionysius. See "Hypatius of Ephesus on the Cult of Images," 211–12.

ambivalent on the ultimate value of images but open-minded and willing to admit the usefulness of images in Christian pedagogy. Slightly later, Agathias is quite certain of the purpose of images in the elevation of the Christian mind toward divine things. The use of images as a means by which the worshipper remembers and venerates the person depicted is also a theme of the anti-Jewish literature of the seventh century, and it becomes a standard response to accusations of idolatry from non-Christians and iconoclasts alike. Pseudo-Athanasius, for instance, wrote that Christians do not honor the icons themselves, “But we only show forth our soul’s condition (σχέσιν) and love toward the form seen on the icon.”³³ And in his *Disputatio adversus Judaeos*, Anastasius Sinaïtes (d. ca. 700) said that Christians honor and imitate Christ and the saints through a material image as the Jews honor the power of the word through a material book.³⁴

The epigrams of Agathias and Nilus take a similar position with regard to honor passing to the prototype. They also show in their emphasis on “higher contemplation” of incomprehensible angels certain affinities with philosophical ideas associated with pagan neo-Platonism. For example, the language used by Porphyry (ca. 232–ca. 303) to rationalize the worship of pagan statues in his treatise

33. *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, XXXIX, PG 28:621B–D. See also Leontius of Neapolis, preserved in the writings of John of Damascus, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres*, PTS vol. 17, ed. P.B. Kotter (Berlin, 1975) 156–58; V. Déroche, “L’Apologie contre les Juifs de Léontios de Néapolis,” *TM* 12(1994):79ff.; *On the Divine Images. Three Apologies Against Those Who Attack the Divine Images*, trans. D. Anderson (Crestwood, N.Y., 1980) 41–42; *Trophies of Damascus (Les Trophées de Damas)*, PO vol. 15/2, ed. G. Bardy [Paris, 1920; rp. Louvain, 1973] 78.11ff.); the Armenian John Mayragometsi (S. Der Nersessian, “Une apologie des images du septième siècle,” *B* 17[1944/5]:60; and the Dialogue between the Jews, Papiscus and Philo, and a Monk (*Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew entitled ANTIBOLH ΠΑΠΙΣΚΟΤ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΩΝΟΤ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΝ ΤΙΝΑ*, ed. A.C. McGiffert [Marburg, 1889] 51–52).

See Lange, *Bild und Wort*, 188ff., K.A. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992) 40ff., and V. Déroche, “L’authenticité de l’Apologie contre les Juifs de Léontios de Néapolis,” *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 110(1986):661ff.

34. PG 89:1233C–6A. John Mayragometsi compares the ink used to write scripture and the pigments used to depict the saints. See Der Nersessian, “Une apologie des images du septième siècle,” 66–67.

“Concerning Idols” is closer to the epigrams’ conception of images of angels than the down-to-earth polemic of texts against Jews. Porphyry stated that pagan statues are simply wood and stone, but also images suited for human perception through which the learned are able to comprehend the deity.³⁵ This formulation of the use of images for gaining knowledge of transcendent beings is a clear forerunner of the philosophical defense of images of the sixth-century epigrams.³⁶ As he may well have been Macarius Magnes’s “opponent” in the *Apocriticus*, Porphyry’s views on symbolic images are directly relevant here. One can clearly discern in this pagan-Christian dialogue of the fourth century the beginnings of the later disagreement between neo-Platonic ideas of symbolic images and intellectual, non-material worship.³⁷ In fact, the differences between Porphyry and Macarius Magnes seen in that dialogue can be taken as emblematic

35. See J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre. Le philosophe néoplatonicien* (Gand and Leipzig, 1913; rp. Hildesheim and New York, 1980) 143ff., text 1*–23*, F. Börtzler, *Porphyrius’ Schrift von den Götterbildern* (Erlangen, 1908) and C. Clerc, *Les théories relatives au culte des images chez les auteurs grecs du II^e siècle après J.-C.* (Paris, 1915) 253ff. The text on pagan statues is preserved in the third book of Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Praeparatio Evangelica*, GCS vol. 43, 2d ed., ed. K. Mras (Berlin, 1975). The connection between pagan defense of statues and Christian defense of image worship was noted by A. Grabar, *L’iconoclasm byzantin. Dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957) 138ff., and P.J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople. Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1958) 27ff.

36. See Lange, *Bild und Wort*, 182ff. Leslie Brubaker, “Icons Before Iconoclasm?” in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo*, Settimane vol. 45, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1998) II:1226–27, 1231, argues for the increased importance of the transparent image in the mid-sixth century, but a case can surely be made for continuity of this idea in Late Antiquity.

37. A. Harnack, *Kritik des Neues Testaments von einem griechischen Philosophen des 3. Jahrhunderts. Die in Apocriticus des Macarius Magnes enthaltene Streitschrift*, TU vol. 37/3 (Leipzig, 1911); G. Bardy, in *DTC IX*:1459. Macarius’s opponent defended pagan statues in this way: “Since it is then acknowledged that the angels share in the divine nature, those that make proper reverence to the respected gods do not think that it is the god, the image that is fashioned out of wood or stone or bronze, nor if some portion of the image should be cut off, do they believe that a portion of God’s power is subtracted. It should be called to mind that the images and temples were constructed by the ancients, that on account of coming hither the believers were brought to remembrance of God, when they go there, and being purified generally and offering devotion and supplication, and for what things they desired they asked from the gods. For even if someone makes an image of a friend, certainly one does not think that his friend is in it nor does one think that a part of the body is enclosed in the sections of the representation, but honour for the friend is shown through the image” (Blondel 200.12–22).

as the conceptual differences generally separating the defenders and opponents of images of angels under discussion in this study. The writers of the epigrams were clearly influenced by neo-Platonic ideas on images in their emphasis on the ascent of the mind to a higher reality through matter; in particular, Pseudo-Dionysius provided these writers with a suitably Christian framework for these neo-Platonic concepts. While these writers of the sixth-century epigrams, as well as Hypatius of Ephesus, have real affinities with the anti-Jewish theologians of the seventh century, they used more rarefied and subtle descriptions of intellectual processes involved in viewing images derived from direct contact with neo-Platonist ideas.³⁸

Agathias's epigrams are also marked by an element of defensiveness that leads one to think that the place of images in worship and devotion was not resolved in every Christian's mind. Images had been perceived more and more as incontrovertible proofs and venerable recollections by some Christians,³⁹ but the opposition discussed in the previous chapter reveals that certain church officials resisted with equal force the use of images in worship.⁴⁰ In this context, Agathias was not alone in seeing the representation of angels as "daring." And in the sixth century, John of Gaza also wrote of the undaunted artists who strove to depict such bodiless beings. In his description of paintings in a bath house at Gaza, John describes the artists as "boiling with boldness" and "made drunk in mind" in delineating the

38. The relation between pagan apologetics, such as Porphyry's defense of images, and Byzantine image theory was described with great economy by N. H. Baynes, "Idolatry and the Early Church," in his *Byzantine and Other Studies* (London, 1955) 116–43.

39. For example, A. D. Kartsonis, in *Anastasis. The Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986) 58–59, discusses Anastasius Sinaïtes's view that images are theological proofs that cannot be falsified. Also, Canon 82 of the Council of Trullo (692) stated a belief in the ability of art to express truths about the divinity and incarnation of Christ: "in order that the perfect should be set down before everybody's eyes even in painting, we decree that [the figure of] the Lamb, Christ our God, who removes the sins of the world, should henceforward be set up in human form on images also, in the place of the ancient lamb, inasmuch as we comprehend thereby the sublimity of the humiliation of God's Word, and are guided to the recollection of His life in flesh, His Passion and His salutary Death and the redemption which has thence accrued to the world." See Mansi XI:977BC; trans. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire. 312–1453. Sources and Documents* (Toronto, 1986) 139–40.

40. See Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm," 139, and McCail, "The Erotic and Ascetic Poetry of Agathias Scholasticus," 241ff.

heavenly powers, that is “to lend body to bodiless nature.”⁴¹ Clearly, in the minds of some Christians, representing angels existed as an issue that was propelled by material images on view and in devotion. The embodying of angelic powers, begun in Christian art as early as the second century, remained an issue into the sixth century and grew in importance as images became increasingly prominent in cult practice. The issue of how one came to knowledge of angelic beings persisted as an element in the debates over worship and images of the period preceding Iconoclasm, and drew particular attention when the debates reached a head in the mid-eighth century as iconophile theologians turned their attention to the theory and practice of devotion to images.

THE ICONOPHILE THEORY OF SYMBOLIC IMAGES OF ANGELS

Commentary on images of angels did not appear again until the eighth-/ninth-century iconophile defense arose in reaction to the iconoclastic attack on religious images. The elaborate defense of images arose as circumstances demanded, but the striking parallels between iconophile theology and the epigrams discussed above must be seen as a sign of continuity in basic approach to images of angels. In the debates over worship and symbolism that were central to the development of Byzantine theology in the sixth and seventh centuries, a consistent feature was an acceptance of images of angels as means, albeit partial, to a comprehension of God’s spiritual servants. Dependent on earlier writings, iconophile theology is the most comprehen-

41. See P. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius. Kunstbeschreibungen justinianischer Zeit* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912; rp. Hildesheim and New York, 1969) 135.12–136.25. Abstract theological concepts, like the Trinity, are also depicted in this program. According to John of Gaza, a cross within three concentric circles referred to the Trinity. See Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius*, 137.41–138.44; and H. Maguire, *Earth and Ocean. The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (University Park and London, 1987) 12–13, 20–21. This symbolic mode of depicting the Trinity parallels Philoxenus’s scruples concerning depiction of the Holy Spirit, as discussed in the previous chapter; see McCail, “The Erotic and Ascetic Poetry of Agathias Scholasticus,” 245, who speculated that the misgivings of Philoxenus of Mabbug, Severus of Antioch and John of Gaza concerning images of angels may have derived from the influence of the Christian university at Gaza.

sive treatment of the significance of such images in worship, and because of its articulation and extensiveness this image theory needs detailed examination. Moreover, theory helps shed light on the meaning of the ninth-century restoration of the mosaics of the angelic powers in the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea (Iznik), and this chapter ends by examining these mosaics with regard to the exchange between word and image.

That images could lead viewers from the visible to knowledge of the invisible, however incomplete, was a primary defense of images for iconophiles.⁴² The faculty of sight was a necessary element in iconophile justifications of images in worship, and, although the ultimate goal was to transcend the material assistance that images afforded, vision was defined as a fundamental means of facilitating

42. For instance, in the eighth-century *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, the process is set out in one passage in the form of a fictional dialogue between an iconophile and an iconoclast. In the dialogue, the iconophile rhetorically asks the iconoclast how he himself would teach a stranger all the mysteries of their faith. The iconophile protests that one cannot be led to the higher mysteries of the invisible things without some kind of material prop or demonstration, "For if you said to him, 'It is invisible,' what has he seen that he should put trust in your conscience and faith?" The first thing one must do is build on sensible things so that in this way, little by little, one is led to invisible things. The didactic function of the material image is clearly emphasized in this passage, since the education and conversion of the stranger is accomplished by means of the images themselves. See *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, X, PG 95:325C–8B, and also P. Speck, *Ich bin's nicht, Kaiser Konstantin ist es gewesen. Die Legenden vom Einfluß des Teufels, des Juden und des Moslem auf den Ikonoklasmus, II OIKIA BYZANTINA*, vol. 10 (Bonn, 1990) 402. The text begins this way: "You take him into the church. You reveal to him the world which surrounds him. You open up for him the forms of the figures of the holy icons. This unbeliever sees and he says, 'Who is this crucified? Who is this rising and who is trampling upon the head of this old man?' Do you not teach him from the icons, saying, 'This crucified man, he is the son of God, who was crucified for the sins of the world? This risen man, it is he who raises the forefather of the world, Adam, who fell because of disobedience, and he went into Hades, where he was held these many years kept in chains and by unbreakable bars in these nether regions?' And in this way do you lead this man in to the knowledge of God. Again, you lead him to the font of the baptistery. And he sees only water in the font, you the faithful one behold the water, and see light and spirit. When he has partaken of baptism, then he takes the truth from the senses, and applies them to the invisible ungenerated. If you offer the mystery of the body and blood of the Saviour, he sees bread and wine only. And you see the body and blood of Christ which flows from the undefiled source. And if he becomes worthy, he partakes with you." On this text, see also M.-F. Auzépy, "L'*Adversus Constantinum Caballinum* et Jean de Jérusalem," *BS* 56(1995):323–38.

knowledge. John of Damascus (ca. 675–ca. 750), for instance, was strongly in favor of the comprehension that comes through the faculty of sight: “Sensation is the strength of the soul returned from matter, and therefore discernment. Sensory moreover are the organs.... The first sense is sight.”⁴³ Hearing and the other faculties follow in descending order of importance. John of Damascus was the first great opponent of iconoclastic doctrine and for that was anathematized at the iconoclastic council of Hieria in 754. John of Damascus’s image theory was perhaps not as sophisticated as that of such later opponents of iconoclasm as Nicephorus (ca. 750–828), Theodore of Stoudios (759–826) and Photius (ca. 810–d. after 893), but almost all the arguments regarding angels found in these ninth-century theologians can be seen in some form in John of Damascus’s work. Through John of Damascus, the general reliance on the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius is evident in iconophile theory. As John and other iconophiles stated, images may serve as sensible symbols, as Pseudo-Dionysius put it, that lead the worshipper to comprehension of the divine, because of the particular qualities of the sense of the sight.

43. *Expositio fidei*, II.18, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. II Expositio fidei*, PTS vol. 12, ed. P.B. Kotter (Berlin, 1973) 83–84. John of Damascus is typical, in this way, of iconophile stress on the importance of the sense of sight. For instance, the author of the *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, again, is explicit about the importance of sight and images for convincing the viewer of the truth and magnitude of doctrine; the means is again an engagement with an “iconic imprint,” but with real emotional compulsion. See VIII, *PG* 95:324C–5A. The Second Council of Nicaea in 787 was equally explicit about the role of the images and sight in spiritual development. The Fathers of the Council stated that the outlines and the representations of the apostles, martyrs, saints and holy persons are there “so we are led to remember, attend, and participate in their holiness.” See Mansi XIII:132E. Elsewhere it is stated that hearing of the appearance of the angel to the Virgin we call the event to mind, and yet “seeing the icon in this way we consider the consequences of the thing more manifestly.” See Mansi XIII:269C. And, finally, Nicephorus defended visual perception but in a more “scholastic” way, according to his method of discourse, “For we all know that sight is the most honoured and necessary of the senses and it may allow apprehension of what falls under perception more distinctly and sharply; for ‘it is the nature of that which is heard to travel less quickly than that which is seen,’ and seeing will attract faster than the other senses since it also has the attractive power to a larger degree.” See *Refutatio et eversio*, 119, *Nicephori patriarchae constantinopolitani Refutatio et eversio definitionis synodalis anni 815*, Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, vol. 33, ed. J. Featherstone (Louvain, 1997) 211.56–62, trans. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 211.

If iconophiles considered the anagogical and didactic function of images to be securely established, they needed to address other equally pressing iconoclastic accusations. In particular, Christological issues, which iconoclasts had already raised, became central for iconophiles;⁴⁴ and images of angels were used primarily as supports for the iconophile position on representing Christ. If this central Christological issue was the reason for the introduction of angels into these arguments, defense of images of angels soon diverged from the Christological path into new territory. It will become clear in the course of this chapter that this divergence occurred because of Christ's earthly life which the angels could not share.

In John of Damascus's theology, which typifies iconophile writing, Christ's life incarnate is the primary justification for representation. In turn, the incarnation had renewed a bond between God and humanity and initiated a new dispensation that images of Christ assert. The angels were brought into these arguments because they too appeared on earth and were apprehended in time and place. Description of the means by which their formless and immaterial nature was apprehended is the point at which justification of their images parts from the defense of Christ's images.

Important for the defense of Christ's representability was the definition of circumscription. The opponents of images had equated circumscription and painting so that the two were inseparable. This equation effectively ruled out the possibility of making images of Christ since the making of an image would presume that an essential aspect of the subject had been captured. And for God who is ineffable, capturing any part of his essence on an image is clearly impossible: God is simply uncircumscribable. From the beginning, then, the iconophile counterattack was centered on the definition of circumscription as distinct from painting, and circumscription, therefore, became a primary support in iconophile theory for the ability to represent spiritual beings.

44. Christology was central for western image theory, too, although anagogy was not a prescribed method of viewing. See H. L. Kessler, "Real Absence: Early Medieval Art and the Metamorphosis of Vision," in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo*, Settimane vol. 45, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1998) II:1157–1213.

John of Damascus first discussed circumscription as a chief defense for the representations of Christ.⁴⁵ Angels were invoked and discussed in this connection in order to support the Christological argument for images. Angels substantiated the depiction of Christ because they are intellectual and bodiless, but apprehended in time and space, and thus circumscribable. Despite their nature, therefore, they can be depicted. John of Damascus wrote:

They are circumscribable. For when they are in heaven they are not on earth; and when they are sent to earth by God, they do not remain in heaven. They are not bound by walls or doors or keys or seals. For they are unbounded. I say that they are invisible; for not as they are do they appear to the worthy to whom God desires that they appear, but they see [the angels] altered, just as they are able to perceive. For only [God] is truly unbounded, only he is uncreated. For all creation is made finite by being created by God.⁴⁶

However, angels have particular problems attendant upon their nature since they have no visible form and change according to the situation:

God created them in his own image, of nature bodiless, wind, as it were, or immaterial fire, as the divine David said, “[God] who

45. *Orationes de imaginibus tres*, II.5, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, III, 71–72; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 52–53: “If we attempted to make an image of the invisible God, this would be sinful indeed. It is impossible to portray one who is without body: invisible, uncircumscribed, and without form. Again if we made images of humans and believed them to be gods, and adored them as if they were so, we would be truly impious. We do neither of these things. But we are not mistaken if we make the image of God incarnate, who was seen on earth in the flesh, associated with humanity, and in his unspeakable goodness assumed the nature, feeling, form, and colour of our flesh. For we yearn to see how he looked, as the apostle says, ‘Now we see through a glass darkly’ (I Cor. 13:12). Now the icon is also a dark glass, fashioned according to the limitations of our physical nature.”

46. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, II, 45. And also, “Physical things which have shape, bodies which are circumscribed, and have colour, are suitable subjects for image-making. Nevertheless, even if nothing physical or fleshly may be attributed to an angel, or a soul, or a demon, it is still possible to depict and circumscribe them according to their nature. For they are intellectual beings, and are believed to be present invisibly and to operate spiritually” (*De imag. or.*, III.24, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, III, 130–31; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 78).

maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a flaming fire" (Ps. 104:4). [And he made them] ethereal, and ardent, and fervent, and incisive, and penetrating, according to the divine will, calling them servants, and ascendent, and free from all knowledge of material things.⁴⁷

According to John of Damascus, the angels are intellects, ceaselessly moving, who are in places which are intelligible. But their nature is such that they cannot be circumscribed corporeally, he said, as they are not formed corporeally by nature, nor are they three dimensional. Rather, they appear and perform intellectually where they are commanded to be by God, and nowhere else.⁴⁸ Unlike Christ they have no stable, earthly form, and yet, since they are still within the boundaries of John of Damascus's definition of circumscription, they may be depicted. John of Damascus's definition depends largely on the ability of the angels to occupy place, that is, to be corporeal enough to have limit and circumference:

And the angel while he is contained in a place somatically, has form and outline. It is said that he is in a place, because he is present intellectually and operates according to his nature, and is not elsewhere, but is circumscribed in that way intellectually, there in that place where he operates. For it is not possible according to this for him to operate in different places. Only God can operate everywhere at once. And the angel, quick by nature, and traveling speedily and readily, operates in different places. God being ubiquitous and over everything, by this operates differently by a single, simple operation.⁴⁹

It is characteristic of angelology, and iconophiles were no exception, that the distinction between God and his messengers must be maintained, as well as the discrimination of the nature of humanity and of the angels.

47. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. II, 45.

48. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. II, 47.

49. *Exp. fid.*, I.13, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. II, 38.

Therefore the angel is an intellectual being in perpetual motion, of free will, bodiless, serving God, having received an immortal nature according to grace, of which nature the form and definition is known only to the Creator. It is said that an angel is bodiless and immaterial but only in relation to us. For everything measured against God, who alone is incomparable, is found base and material. God alone is naturally immaterial and bodiless.⁵⁰

Because they share some spiritual characteristics with the divine nature, however, angels were useful parallels for the entry of Christ into the world. This parallel supported the iconophile contention that divinity can be represented because it had appeared on earth. Angels occupy the middle area—as a kind of third body—in nature somewhere between God and humanity, but with a nature not fully determinable. If beings as immaterial and unparticipating as the angels can be circumscribed and depicted, then Christ incarnate should surely be circumscribed as human, and depicted as such.

The notion of circumscribability of the angels was derived from a context not properly concerned with iconophile theology nor properly speaking with Christology, but rather with the problematic nature and role of the angels.⁵¹ John of Damascus's innovation was to

50. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. II, 45.

51. For instance, Gennadius of Marseilles, who died between 492 and 505, wrote that all creatures are to some extent corporeal, even the intellectual creatures of God. The proof of this is that all these creatures can be circumscribed in place, just as the soul which is enclosed in flesh and the demons who are in nature similar to the angels. Only God however is truly incorporeal and invisible by nature. God is rightly thought to be incorporeal because he is everywhere and infuses all creation with his presence (*De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, XI, PL 58:984A).

And in the fifth century, Faustus Rhegiensis wrote in a similar vein, "I would not even doubt that the angels are in places, who are certainly now compassed by the heavens, now borne by the empty space of the ether, now descending to earth; who the divine sermon describes in the vision of the patriarch ascending and descending, at any rate as if they were not in one place; but they are not able to be present everywhere and by ascent and descent depart. The most blessed Gabriel himself, who is known to stand before God himself, when he announced to Mary that the Lord was to be mingled with flesh, and when he assisted the mother under divine vigilance, without a doubt he was not in heaven, he was not flying somewhere over Mary, and he was not filling that great diffuse emptiness of the endless ether, but he was occupying that place, in which he was. Since it is like that, anything that occupies space is a body, how could someone not be confined to a place who is sent from

recognize the angels and their circumscription as a positive support for Christ's circumscription. The link with these qualities of circumscription and the making of images had not yet been developed to the same degree as it would be by ninth-century theologians, but the essential link had been made by John of Damascus a century or so previously.

The iconophiles arrived at a conclusion concerning the relation of angels' images to their bodiless models by examining art authorized and produced under the Old Covenant. They established an iconophile argument of the divinely ordained worship of images, and the relation of image and prototype that God himself stated, by referring to God's commands to Moses in Exodus. Iconoclasts had cited God's injunction not to make graven images (Ex. 20:4) as an argument against Christian images at the first stage of Iconoclasm in the second quarter of the eighth century. This charge, and the iconophile response, is not particular to the Iconoclast controversy but was an extension of the pagan-Jewish "debates," as argued in such seventh-century anti-Jewish texts of Stephen of Bostra and Leontius of Neapolis.⁵² Indeed, John of Damascus cited both these theologians in his treatise directed against the attackers of images.⁵³

place to place, and as if the body is transported by movement and ascent, descends with effort, moves with mobility, goes, returns, is remote, and descends again" (*Epistolae*, III, in *Fausti Reiensis Praeter sermones pseudo-eusebianos opera*, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vol. 21, ed. A. Engelbrecht [Prague, Vienna and Leipzig, 1891] 178).

The issue of circumscription continued to be discussed throughout the Byzantine period in examinations of angels' nature and their role in the cosmic hierarchy. For instance, see Nicetas Stethatos (1005?–ca. 1090), in *Opusculi et litterae*, SC vol. 81, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1961) 252, and Symeon of Thessalonike (d. 1429), *Responsa ad Gabrielem Pentapolitanum*, III, PG 155:841A.

52. See Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 33ff.

53. Stephen of Bostra in *De imag. or.*, III.71–73, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, III, 174. See also G. Mercati, *Opere minori*, Studi e testi, vol. 76 (Vatican City, 1937) 202–206, and A. Alexakis, "Stephen of Bostra: *Fragmenta Contra Judaeos* (CPG 7790). A New Edition," *JöB* 43(1993):45–60, text at 51ff.

Leontius of Neapolis in *De imag. or.*, III.84–89, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, III, 178–81, Déroche, "L'Apologie contre les Juifs," 79ff. Leontius was also cited at Nicaea II; see Mansi XIII.44B ff., and Déroche, "L'Apologie contre les Juifs," 66ff.

See also the seventh-century Armenian defense of John Mayragometsi, in Der Nersessian, "Une apologie des images du septième siècle," 59.

The cherubim, as paradigms of angelic beings, occupy a central place in iconophile rationalizations of images, and angels generally become implicated in these rationalizations because of the cherubim's prominent role in the iconophile version of the Christian history of art. The responses of both the Christian combatants in these anti-Jewish texts and the iconophile theologians directly implicate images of angels and so brought the example of the cherubim to the fore in iconophile responses. The iconophile rebuttal, as in the anti-Jewish texts, was to cite scripture in return, principally God's command to Moses to construct the Ark of the Covenant (Ex. 25:22): "And there will I meet with thee, and I will commune with thee from above the mercy seat from between the two cherubims which are upon the Ark of the testimony, of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel." God's specific command for the Ark, with lengthy, explicit instructions on its manufacture, was presented as a typology of Christian art. John of Damascus cited the tabernacle as an injunction for the creation of material images for Christians, and he introduced Bezaleel as the archetypal artist inspired by the spirit of God. John of Damascus referred to Exodus (31:1–5) for support:

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, See, I have called by name Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah: and I have filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver and in brass, and in cutting of stones for setting, and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship.

And John of Damascus continued by citing the gathering of the material for Moses's construction of the Ark (Ex. 35:4–10), and then rhetorically asked if this manufacture of images was not done according to God's will: "Behold the handiwork of humanity becoming the likeness of the cherubim! How can you make the law a reason for refusing to do what the law itself commands?" He concluded that be-

cause Christ had become human the ancient commandment against idols had been annulled.⁵⁴

The cherubim were directly mentioned by God in his specifications for the Ark (Ex. 25:18–20), and the cherubim were the most important example for iconophiles generally of an explicit command by God to produce figured images.⁵⁵ Nicephorus used the artistic typology of the Ark as a sign of the divine origins of image making. The cherubim that were placed upon the Ark, in this way, became for Nicephorus a primary focus in the argument for images deriving from scriptural precedent. Moreover, Nicephorus in his discussion of the cherubim used them as the paradigms of the nature of angelic beings. The cherubim were placed high in his heavenly hierarchy by the necessity of his argument, in a position which is closest to God in station and image. At certain points in his discussion of cherubim, Nicephorus skated dangerously close to heretical angelology since Christ was seriously underestimated as the principal agent of mediation between God and humanity.⁵⁶

Yet the consequent immateriality of the cherubim's nature was another way for Nicephorus to bridge the gap between the difficulty of

54. *De imag. or.*, I.16, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III*, 92; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 25. And see also, in the same vein, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III*, 96–101. And on the question of the Tabernacle and the iconophile defense of images, see S. Duffrenne, "Une illustration 'historique,' inconnue, du Psautier du Mont-Athos, Pantocrator No. 61," *CA* 15(1965):83–95, H. L. Kessler, "Through the Temple Veil: The Holy Image in Judaism and Christianity," *Kairos* 32/33(1990/1):60ff., and Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 33ff.

55. For a use of the cherubim to underpin iconophile arguments, beyond those discussed *infra*, see *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilus and Related Texts*, ed. J. A. Munitiz, J. Chrysostomides, E. Harvalia-Crook and Ch. Dendrinos (Camberley, 1997) 33.5–16 (7.e).

The cherubim were also a concern of western programmers and theologians. See L. Nees, "Image and Text: Excerpts from Jerome's 'De Trinitate' and the *Maiestas Domini* Miniature of the Gundohinus Gospels," *Viator* 18(1987):11–17, A. Grabar, "Les mosaïques de Germigny-des-Prés," in his *L'art de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1968) II:995–1006, and A. Freeman, "Theodulf of Orleans and the Libri Carolini," *Speculum* 32(1957):663–705.

56. See V. N. Giannopoulos, "Ἡ περὶ ἁγγέλων διδασκαλία τοῦ Πατριάρχου καὶ Ὁμολογητοῦ Νικηφόρου Α' (+829)," *Θεολογία* 44(1973):328. On Nicephorus's angelology, see also J. Travis, *In Defense of the Faith. The Theology of Patriarch Nikephoros of Constantinople* (Brookline, Mass., 1984) 30–43.

apprehension, which might seem to be incompatible with circumscription, and the fact of representation as commanded by God himself. The quality of the cherubim, and the rest of the angelic hierarchy, is such that humanity is incapable of perceiving them directly; their true nature is unviewable.⁵⁷ And yet God has allowed them, by means of a divine condescension, to be depicted in a “terrestrial impression.”⁵⁸ These “impressions” are clearly distinct from Christ’s own appearance on earth in which he was really made flesh and suffered as a human being.⁵⁹ In this view, images of angels are transcriptions of angelic appearances in a dissimulating way; they denote only the symbolic condescension and alteration of form for inferior human perception.

Aware of the distinctions between images of angels and Christ, John of Damascus and Nicephorus and other iconophile theologians were compelled to rationalize the obvious disjuncture between angels’ formlessness and their form on images. John of Damascus described the mutability of the angels in this way, “Therefore [the angelic nature] is a logical nature, both intellectual and autonomous, changeable at will or inclination.”⁶⁰ And also, “They are transformed for such things as the Lord God wills, and in this way they appear to humanity and reveal holy mysteries to it.”⁶¹ Despite the fact that the angels are changeable, unpredictable and ultimately un-

57. *Apologeticus pro sacris imaginibus*, 70, PG 100:769A, “For you might say somehow like this, as we know well, that the godly cherubim since they are invisible by nature, are scarcely perceptible by humanity.”

58. Humanity is incapable of seeing intelligible beings like the angels directly, and out of his beneficence God has commanded, “that the most blessed aspects of the heavenly powers are made manifest in symbolic impressions” (*Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:777C). Furthermore the command given to Moses in Ex. 25:40 is an example of God’s providence. The cherubim mediate “the beneficent progressions of divine providence to others positioned below them and take on likenesses because of the function they perform, and in these, which are likenesses made on earth, are allowed due to divine condescension” (*Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:776A).

59. On the opacity of images of Christ for Theodore of Stoudios, see G. Peers, “Breathless, Speechless Images: On the Chalke Gate Epigram,” in *Hommages Margaret Head Thomson*, Cahiers des études anciennes, vol. 32, ed. L. Finnette and A.P. Booth (Trois Rivières, Québec, 1998) 111–12.

60. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. II, 45.

61. *Exp. fid.*, II.3, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. II, 47.

knowable, John of Damascus justified their images as allusive and symbolic signs.

God wills that we should not be totally ignorant of bodiless creatures, and so he clothed them with forms and shapes, and used images comprehensible to our nature, material forms which could be seen by the spiritual nature of the mind. From these we make images and representations, for how else could the cherubim be shown as having form?⁶²

According to John of Damascus, images of angels are made with wings because these images are comprehensible to inferior human perception. Human perception is able to approach the image at a spiritual and not a literal level, in order to unlock the meaning behind its enigmatic demonstration of angelic nature. In this passage, John of Damascus gave a definition of relation of image and prototype wherein images have no ability to describe their model visually, only to provide intellectual means for the viewer to apprehend spiritually an otherwise unknowable creature.

Defining the precise quality of the relation between images and their prototypes, and consequently what this quality meant for understanding images, was an especially knotty problem in defending the representations of angels. John of Damascus's definition of relation determined, to a certain extent, the course of the theological discussion. For iconoclasts, of course, any relation of prototype to image was considered impossible because iconoclasts defined a true image as consubstantial with the prototype. John of Damascus, in contrast, denied that the image was able to have any essential relation with its prototype.

An image is of like character with its prototype, but with a certain difference. It is not like the archetype in every way. The Son is the living, essential, and precisely similar image of the invisible God,

62. *De imag. or.*, III.24, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 132; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 79.

bearing the entire father within himself, equal to him in all things, except that he is begotten by him, the begetter.⁶³

The first kind of image for John of Damascus is the natural image.⁶⁴ The other images, and John of Damascus enumerated six more, are non-essential, artificial images.⁶⁵ The fourth kind includes the angels who do not relate to their images essentially, but rather symbolically and intangibly:

These [images] give us a faint apprehension of God and the angels where otherwise we would have none, because it is impossible for us to think immaterial things unless we can envision analogous shapes, as the great and holy Dionysius the Areopagite has said.⁶⁶

John of Damascus stated that the image and prototype are related in the case of the angels and God only in an indistinct and referential way, that affords human intellect some glimpse of incomprehensible matters. Images are therefore an important means by which knowledge of God, and of his manifestations and creations, is initiated and increased. According to John of Damascus, images are an incomplete but necessary reference and aid to better knowledge of the unknowable things of God:

Again, visible things are corporeal models which provide a vague understanding of intangible things. Holy scripture describes God and the angels as having descriptive form, and the same blessed Dionysius teaches us why. Anyone would say that our inability im-

63. *De imag. or.*, I.11, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. III, 83–84; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 19.

64. *De imag. or.*, III.15ff., *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. III, 126ff.; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 74ff.

65. On these types, see the remarks of M. Barasch, *Icon. Studies in the History of an Idea* (New York and London, 1992) 220–36. One should add that his discussion of angels, *ibid.*, 236–43, along with J. Pelikan, *Imago Dei. The Byzantine Apologia for Icons* (Princeton, 1990) 153–82, has much usefulness.

66. *De imag. or.*, III.21, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. III, 128; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 76.

mediately to direct our thoughts to contemplation of higher things makes it necessary that familiar everyday media be utilized to give suitable form to what is formless, and make visible what cannot be depicted, so that we are able to construct understandable analogies.⁶⁷

Like Pseudo-Dionysius, John of Damascus argued for material signs as a necessary step to intellectual contemplation of immaterial reality. Paradoxically, “descriptive form” which does not have an essential relation to angels or God is provided for humanity’s weak understanding so that analogies proper to human intellect can be made.

Nicephorus asserted a highly intellectualized association of image and angelic prototype that was stricter and more articulated than that offered by John of Damascus.⁶⁸ He defined the angelic nature as “simple and incomposite”;⁶⁹ furthermore, the angels are “unseeable by corporeal eyes,” and bodiless and invisible and without form.⁷⁰ The angels are invisible exactly because they are “beyond and unparticipating in their shapes and forms.”⁷¹ However, the angels’ special quality of unviewability compelled Nicephorus to reconcile the many instances of appearances in scripture and angelic nature.⁷² Nicephorus thus claimed that the angels did not reveal their real nature, but rather effected a symbolic transformation that was analogous to the particular need of the moment.⁷³ God himself has ordained and created the angels because he knows well humanity’s

67. *De imag. or.*, I.11, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. III, 84–85; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 20.

68. See C. von Schönborn, *L’icône du Christ. Fondements théologiques élaborées entre le Ier et le IIer Concile de Nicée (325–787)* (Fribourg, 1976) 206ff.

69. *Antirrheticus II adversus Constantinum Copronymum*, ix, PG 100:349B. See M.-J. Mondzain[-Baudinet], *Nicéphore le Patriarche: Discours contre les iconoclastes* (Paris, 1990) and *Image, icône, économie. Les sources byzantines de l’imaginaire contemporain* (Paris, 1996) 281–92, for translations of this text.

70. *Ant. II adv. Const. Cop.*, xi, PG 100:353A; and see Giannopoulos, “Ἡ περὶ ἀγγέλων διδασκαλία,” 314ff.

71. See *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:769C.

72. Giannopoulos, “Ἡ περὶ ἀγγέλων διδασκαλία,” 329ff.

73. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:781AB, “Yet the holy cherubim, being simple and immaterial, imageless and formless, and therefore bodiless, and circumscribed in a sense perceptible place.... For if someone should hear somewhere that at some time the holy angels are

weakness; ruling and guiding our affairs he knows fully our capacities for knowledge.⁷⁴ The forms of angels are disguised and vary according to circumstance and occasion. Likewise, the images are equally obscure, since they are unable to correspond visually and essentially.

For it must not be thought that in the forms of wild beasts or oxen or winged birds the nature of the other worldly powers is characterised. Nevertheless, it is by divine commands, because God wished it, that all these things are seen easily and readily, and the angels are depicted and painted.⁷⁵

The forms of angels are symbolic manifestations apprehended intellectually; and in a similar way the images of angels must be perceived symbolically, by intellectual and not only visual processes. Nicephorus described the representations of the angels as an approach to knowledge of God through a contemplation of their invisible formlessness. Furthermore, this approach, he stated, is imperative, in that “the forms of the formless ones and the figures of those without figures are to be laid before us justly.”⁷⁶ Images are non-descriptive but necessary aids to worship and comprehension of God’s formless ministers.

[B]ecause for us the comparison is impossible directly, with respect to an intellectual perception to be offered, ... [the images of the angels] offer to us attainable forms of the formless and supernatural sights. For this is the work of divine goodness and of fatherly care

seen embodied, one should not understand anything but that they manifest themselves symbolically, having transformed themselves, in such forms according to the matter in hand in which they perform their charges on earth; therefore their nature is unknown to us.”

74. *Antir. II adv. Const. Cop.*, ix, PG 100:349C, “Many angelophanies have occurred in the services of God. The angels have not appeared according to their nature, but in the degree of sanctity and purity is it measured for him who is granted so great a vision, or for the matter in hand, necessity, and time required. In this way, the shapes and the forms of the shapeless and formless ones are formed and they make themselves manifest differently to those worthy of the vision with pure eyes of intellect.”

75. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:781B.

76. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:777B.

on our behalf, that the most blessed things are made manifest in the figured symbols of heavenly powers, and made comprehensible for us, matter worked by hand which leads us to an accessible imitation and contemplation of their proper nature.⁷⁷

The “figured symbols” are the means by which comprehension of the angelic powers are then conceded to weaker, mortal intellects by God. The symbols are entirely referential since they cannot capture any truth about the real nature or appearance of the angels. Following Pseudo-Dionysius and John of Damascus, Nicephorus concluded that the representations are an approachable and essential means to a spiritual contemplation of an invisible reality.

Nicephorus went on to state that no essential relationship exists between the prototype and the image, that “pictorial representation is an external factor and has nothing in common with the definition of essence.”⁷⁸ However, a direct relationship between image and prototype can be posited. The image and prototype possess resemblance

77. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:777BC. See, too, John of Damascus in a similar vein: “We know that it is impossible to look upon God, or a spirit, or a demon, as they are by nature. We would be able to see them, however, if they appeared in forms alien to their nature. Therefore God in His providence has clothed in forms and shapes things which are bodiless and without form, in order to lead us to more particular knowledge, lest we should be totally ignorant of God and of bodiless creatures. Only God by nature is utterly without a body, but an angel, or a soul, or a demon, when compared to God (who alone cannot be compared to anything) does have a body, but when these are compared to material bodies, they are bodiless” (*De imag. or.*, III.26, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III*, 130–31; *On the Divine Images*, trans. Anderson, 79).

78. *Antir. I adv. Const. Cop.*, 29–30, PG 100:277C–80C; trans. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 200–201, “Therefore necessarily it belongs to, and is called, a relative [notion]... If somehow the pattern should disappear, the relation does not end together with it: the law of mutual cancellation does not pertain to all such [notions], for sometimes the relations remain and survive although deprived of their object ... for by the similarity and remembrance and form, it [the image] shows even the deceased as if he were present and it preserves the relation as time goes along. Now likeness is an intermediate relation and mediates between the extremes, I mean, the person represented and the representation. It unites and connects [them] through the form even though they differ in nature... In addition likeness bestows also equivocality, for the appellation is the same for both ... it does not have identity of essence, nor can we in all respects predicate what is predicated of the pattern as pattern also of the image derived from it.”

not through essential relation, materially or visually, but through equivocation. "Although the matter from which an image is made is soulless and senseless and motionless, the image is addressed by the same name as the prototype and so worthy of glory and grace."⁷⁹ The images, therefore, have an unlikeness to the archetype but have, nonetheless, relational qualities and are not then irrelevant.⁸⁰ It follows from this reasoning that the name determines resemblance for images of angels, and any question of similarity in nature and appearance is beside the point.

It is seen that nothing there is enigma, nothing obscure, nothing presented obliquely or wrapped in allegory, that these things which are soulless, unfeeling, entirely motionless, made out of soulless and illogical matter, merely carved and brilliant in appearance, and in the purest of material, are wisely different from those most holy cherubim, who are living, energised, eternally moving powers, named as the God of all deemed proper. For the images of the cherubim are neither similitudes nor are they direct impressions but God used the name in equivocity by his own command when he called them cherubim by voice purely and directly.⁸¹

As Nicephorus stated, the images of the cherubim are not of the same nature nor do they have any real resemblance, but the images are clearly they, because they are called so by God himself, as Exodus testifies. The images partake of the name of cherubim and also of the glory which is the share of the archetype.⁸² Therefore, "these things made of gold are images of images, quite obscure, quite dissimilar, and very much distinct from the paradigmatic cause." The images do

79. *Antir. II adv. Const. Cop.*, 8, PG 100:348C.

80. Giannopoulos, "Η περί ἀγγέλων διδασκαλία," 334ff.

81. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:776CD. And also: "But may it be conceded that the cherubim on the Ark were given their name by God, whence the possession of glory presaged by them? Indeed this was the first command of God, which God announced and made venerable. For nothing is in vain or empty that proceeded from him" (*Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:777C).

82. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 71, PG 100:780AB.

not participate substantially with their prototypes, yet God himself formed the relation.⁸³

The ninth-century mosaics of the angelic powers in the bema arch of the destroyed church of the Dormition at Nicaea (Iznik) demonstrate the relationship of image and inscription discussed in iconophile theory. The mosaics were restored—in all probability—to their original state, a direct consequence of the restoration of images in 843, and this reinstatement attests to active iconophile involvement on both practical and theoretical levels in the mosaic program.⁸⁴ The four angelic powers, identical in appearance, were clearly differentiated by the (imperfect) inscriptions which refer to distinct angelic ranks based on Colossians 1:16: on the south side, the Principality (APXE) and Power (ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ) (fig. 9), and on the north side, the Domination (ΚΥΡΙΑΤΗΤΗΣ) and Virtue (ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ) (fig. 10). As this chapter contends, iconophile theory holds that images of angels cannot claim likeness, only a relation made through equivocation; in fact, the lack of likeness, the symbolic nature of the depiction, is the characteristic that exhorts the viewer to spiritual engagement. The mosaics at Nicaea were demonstrations of this characteristic, developed before Iconoclasm and fully articulated by iconophiles. The redundant and generalized nature of the depictions of these beings might lead the viewer to believe that only one category of angel is represented; yet, the inscriptions deny this interpretation by stating instead that the beings are distinct in office, aspect and character. In other words, with beings who possess no likeness, the inscription does not determine likeness. On the contrary, in representations of different angelic beings with identical forms, the possibility of individual resemblance is constantly thwarted.

83. *Apol. pro sac. imag.*, 70, PG 100:773C.

84. The inscription in the bema stated that Naukratius restored the figural portions of the mosaics. Naukratius has been identified as a disciple of Theodore of Stoudios who died in 848. See E. Wiegand, "Zur Monogrammschrift der Theotokos-(Koimesis)Kirche von Nicaea," *B 6* (1931):411–20, E. E. Lipsić, "Naukratij i Nikeiskie Mozaikij," *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta* 8 / 2 (1964):241–46, and R. Cormack, "Painting After Iconoclasm," in *Iconoclasm. Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977) 147.

The meaning of the restoration of the figural portions of this mosaic has been undervalued as an important statement on the significance of the visual in ninth-century Byzantium. Iconophile theory has partly contributed to this misunderstanding; it laid stress on the ability of inscription not only to establish the identity of images but also to maintain an essential distinction between prototype and image. This stress on the policing nature of words has led to a miscomprehension of the value and role of the visual; moreover, it has led to a neglect of the visual quality of the word in actual Byzantine images.

Not only did the mosaics of the angelic powers at Nicaea preserve the marks of restoration, the sutures revealing earlier editing, they also showed material words: on the one hand, the earlier inscriptions (psalms and nominations) and, on the other, a new cluster of letters between the powers on the south side (fig. 9). The latter reveal that a certain Naucratius (d. 848), probably a follower of Theodore of Stoudios, has returned a proper balance of figuration and inscription to the mosaics. This balance is the other important issue the mosaics raise: that the symbiosis of figuration and inscription worked as a negation, mutually denying these visual components any resemblance to the prototype. Unlike the literal—one might even say natural—quality of the images of the Virgin and Child in the apse (fig. 16), the powers were absolutely conventional signs since all aspects of description on the bema arch denied resemblance to their models; instead, they were prospective, transparent to a transcendental reality.

The Byzantine images of angels, such as those at Nicaea, relate to the angels themselves as negations and contradictions: the angels were represented in the mosaics only in a symbolic, allusive sense, and they did not correspond essentially or visually with that mosaic. The nominating inscriptions on these mosaics stated that the image “is” in a relative way an angelic being. At the same time, the inscriptions stated that the image “is not,” indeed cannot be, a likeness of this being. The inscriptions then pronounced a provisional state of correspondence, a series of possible relations between material images and the angels’ immaterial formlessness.

This quality of relation might be construed as an uneven association of text and image since the representation has no independent

ability to state a visual resemblance.⁸⁵ Interpreting the iconophile definition of equivocation as logocentric would be mistaken, however, as the iconophile texts adduced at the beginning of this section demonstrate the fundamental importance of vision, of viewing images, for proper teaching and contemplation of God by Christians. Indeed, images of Christ depend primarily on the power of vision, that is, the ability of Christians to see God in his human form; viewing Christ's form literally is essential for understanding its meaning, as Theodore of Stoudios stated.

In contrast, both the epigrams and iconophile theory concerning angels showed that the compelling power of vision leads the viewer of images of angels into higher meditation because of the very lack of any possibility of resemblance in these images. In these cases, the inscriptions were also "images" since iconophiles did not hold to the exclusive notion of images that iconoclasts defended. Inscriptions *and* representations were brought equally to the fore in this mosaic of the angelic powers since the flat gold ground simulated no depth or, at least, equal depth, on the surface. No division was constructed for real or represented space, for word and image, that might prioritize one or the other.⁸⁶ Both nominating inscription and figures of powers are inclusive, complementary "images."

85. Gilbert Dagron has claimed that the image becomes redundant in iconophile image theory since the word, the name applied to the image, determines the likeness of the image. See G. Dagron, "Mots, images, icônes," *Nouvelle revue de psychanalyse* 44(1991):160ff. However, Dagron equated this iconophile notion of equivocalness with the earlier handbooks describing "εἰκονισμός." "Εἰκονισμός" involved a process of verbal delineation of visual appearance which relied upon direct equivalences of word and image; in this way, Dagron says one could convert a proper name into a visualizable formula. Yet this parallel only explains one aspect of the iconophile theologians' position since these theologians also viewed images with more complexity and allegorical insight and did not admit a simple equivalency of name and image in every case. The angels, of course, belie any simple equivalence of name and image by which Dagron might characterize the iconophile position and the methods of "εἰκονισμός": verbal delineation of angels, as well as the visual description, is allusive and imprecise.

In short, the image resembles only itself through the inscribed name on the image, "L'image de culte est un *nomen sacrum*. Elle possède une sacralité intrinsèque." See *ibid.*, 162. Yet this formulation leaves the image as a merely reflexive sign, wholly determined by the inscription's verbal affirmation of likeness.

86. See L. Marin, "The Order of Words and the Order of Things in Painting," *Visible Language* 23(1989):197ff.



Figure 17. René Magritte, *The Treachery of Images* (*Ceci n'est pas une pipe*), c. 1928–29. Photo: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, purchased with funds provided by the Mr. and Mrs. William Preston Harrison Collection.

Looking at similar issues in different periods is sometimes helpful for casting new light on problems, and I propose here to use certain elements of Michel Foucault's analysis of René Magritte's *The Treachery of Images* from 1929 (fig. 17).⁸⁷ Foucault scrutinized a relationship of word and image that has striking parallels with Byzantine theory and practice of representing angels. In Magritte's painting, the likeness of a pipe is convincing in its realistic depiction of a pipe set against a stark background, but the inscription, "Ceci n'est pas une pipe," obstructs the mimetic quality that the depiction can claim. Foucault maintained that the relation of text and image becomes a

87. M. Foucault, *This Is Not a Pipe*, trans. J. Harkness (Berkeley, 1982). M.-J. Baudinet, "L'incarnation, l'image, la voix," *Esprit* (Feb. 1982):194–95, also discerned an affinity between Magritte's painting and the iconophile theory of equivocation.

“subtle and instable dependency” since the image is detached from the possibility of mimesis by the inscription.⁸⁸

On the inscription and representation in Magritte’s painting, Foucault wrote that they “annul the intrinsic resemblance they seem to bear within themselves, and gradually sketch an open network of similitudes.”⁸⁹ The inscribed image of the angelic powers also worked on the level of symbiosis of text and representation, whose mutual denial of real resemblance constituted a meaningful, material referent, at once opposed and complementary to the prototype. Moreover, each element of the inscription and the representation “denies along with resemblance the assertion of reality resemblance conveys,” to use Foucault’s terms,⁹⁰ and so the image provided a material sign which the viewer cannot interpret literally. The representation and inscription do not affirm one another.

Negation in the case of these mosaics was not only a function of language, here inscribed words; figuration was also negative. Distinct from these powers’ representations, resemblance is unavoidable in Magritte’s banal pipe. As Carlo Ginzburg has recently asserted, “In order to say, ‘Ceci n’est pas une pipe,’ we need words. Images are what they are.”⁹¹ Not so for images of angels: both figures and inscriptions are equal, non-resembling referents. All iconophile theory rested on the belief that angels as winged men were simply symbols that relied on their prospective nature to excite the viewer’s desire to explore the enigmatic transparency of the images.⁹²

88. Foucault, *This Is Not a Pipe*, 29: “No longer can anything pass between them save the decree of divorce, the statement at once contesting the name of the drawing and the reference of the text. Nowhere is there a pipe.”

89. Foucault, *This Is Not a Pipe*, 47. On this passage, see G. Shapiro, “Pipe Dreams: Eternal Recurrence and Simulacrum in Foucault’s Ekphrasis of Magritte,” *Word & Image* 13(1997):74, and D. Chateau, “De la ressemblance: un dialogue Foucault-Magritte,” in *Image Deleuze, Foucault, Lyotard*, ed. T. Lenain (Paris, 1998), 95–108.

90. Foucault, *This Is Not a Pipe*, 47.

91. C. Ginzburg, “Idols and Likenesses: Origen, *Homilies on Exodus VIII.3*, and Its Reception,” in *Sight and Insight. Essays in Honour of E. H. Gombrich at 85*, ed. J. Onians (London, 1994) 67.

92. See, for instance, L. Marin, *To Destroy Painting*, trans. M. Hjort (Chicago and London, 1995) 7: “I am thinking of the desire to know the enigma that opens up the space of desire only to withhold all gratification; the desire to decipher the secret, to identify the let-

This definition of a simultaneous act of denying resemblance and engaging symbols is a primary mode of comprehension according to Pseudo-Dionysius, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter.⁹³ For Pseudo-Dionysius, proper symbols are not distracting in their resemblances or material quality, but allow the intelligence to interpret them as it is able. And, moreover, this play of the intelligence on a material image is described in practice outside abstract theological discourse in the epigrams of Agathias and Nilus Scholasticus. In these texts, the dissimilarity of image and model provided the image with a tension by which a “higher contemplation” is encouraged in the viewer. Furthermore, this striving to create a breach between image and model while still maintaining a meaningful relationship between the two has been shown to be of fundamental importance to iconophile theology. Proper worship—in this symbolic theology—is predicated upon the viewer not being seduced into believing that there is a real resemblance between image and model; equivocation provides in this sense a prudent, intellectual relation.

And yet the viewer has to be engaged by the image and believe it has meaning; as the epigrams state, colors and form of the incorporeal being compel the viewer through his or her eyes to direct the “mind to a higher contemplation.” The representation and inscription, rather than affirming one another,⁹⁴ perform just the opposite operation. A viewer of an image of an angel must engage the material object by means of its color and form, and through this engagement realize, in every sense, that “this is not an angel.”

ters (or letter) that constitute(s) the formula providing access to the painting; the desire finally to make explicit the discourse whose origin this formula conceals, the longing to transform the pleasure of painting or its *jouissance* into a pleasure or *jouissance* of language.”

93. And the text in praise of Michael and Gabriel by Michael of Stoudios attests to the currency of the thought of Pseudo-Dionysius in the second half of the ninth century. Furthermore, he adduces Pseudo-Dionysius in support of his pro-image orthodoxy. See “Éloge des archanges Michel et Gabriel par Michel le Moine (BHG 1294a),” ed. T. Matantseva, *JbB* 46(1996):136 (V.4), 145 (XII.1), and 119–20.

94. Dagron, “Mots, images, icônes,” 161.

Four

THE VENERATION OF ANGELS AND THEIR IMAGES

THEOLOGICAL VIEWS

Proper Christian worship was a central issue in the centuries preceding Iconoclasm, and iconophiles and iconoclasts continued this debate during the eighth and ninth centuries. Images dominated discussion during Iconoclasm but the debate naturally implicated long-standing questions of Christian ethics and appropriate devotion. As this chapter will demonstrate, angels figured large in this discussion of images, their worship and function. Iconophiles defended the symbolic representations of angels as a special case, with important historical precedents, both written, as in Hebrew scripture, and unwritten, as ancient Christian practice showed. In keeping with one strand of Christian theology, iconoclasts defended “images” that Christians made by modeling themselves after paragons from the past. The topos of the “angelic life” in monastic practice, as the following section will show, had special meaning in this regard, since an angelic “image” in this context meant a suitably pious life. Iconoclasts abjured worship offered to angels or to their material images, as undesired by these beings and inappropriate for a devout Christian. Miracle stories and theology intersect very intimately,

then, in this chapter; both reveal self-conscious concern with the dangers of angelolatry and idolatry that had always been inherent in the cult of angels.

Because iconophile argumentation is extensive, it is possible to follow iconophile reaction to iconoclastic accusations of idolatry as these accusations implicated angels and their images. Iconophiles' understanding of the relation between image and model was a safeguard, in their view, against any risk of idolatry; and iconophiles established this notion on the firm ground of Christian history and custom.

Particular attention to iconophile sources that aim to combat iconoclastic arguments about the proper place of images in devotion, particularly images of angels, illuminates the history of the veneration of angels in Byzantium. The concept of the equivocal relation of image and model was central to iconoclastic objections to iconophile worship and ethics. Because angels, and particularly the cherubim, figured so prominently in iconophile defense, they emerged in a debate over worship and ethics as cornerstones to iconophile image theory. For this reason, discussion of the notional difficulties of this equivocal relation of spiritual angelic beings to their material representations was central to an iconophile defense of image worship. Moreover, further examination of iconophile texts on worship reveals attitudes of iconoclasts and their predecessors concerning images and angels themselves; these attitudes must be reconstructed from fragments and inference but a clear picture of iconoclastic ideas does indeed emerge from these limited sources.

Image worship invited misinterpretation, and iconoclastic charges forced iconophiles to react to accusations of idolatry. In their contentions over what constituted seemly and worthwhile worship, iconophiles used traditional defenses that derived largely from the anti-Jewish texts of the seventh century.¹ These texts comprise a body of polemical material from the sixth and seventh centuries aimed at combating perceived threats to Christian faith; they are often in the

1. See K. A. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992) 33ff.

form of a dialogue, probably invented in most cases, but corresponding to points of faith which Christian theologians considered misconstrued or misunderstood by outsiders. A principal charge made in this genre was that Christians worship material objects; the authors denied that Christians worship matter, and they answered with the symbolic defense, that honor passed through the object to God.²

Iconoclasts had consistently advanced charges of idolatry against iconophiles and cited Epiphanius of Salamis (ca. 315–403) as their champion in order to malign iconophiles' base and pointless worship of matter. In the course of his counterattack, the *Adversus Epiphaniidem*, one of the *Antirrhetics* written between 818 and 820, Nicephorus, the patriarch of Constantinople at the beginning of Iconoclasm in 815, quoted a number of passages written by Epiphanius that showed the thrust of the iconoclastic argument. The "thoughtless one"—called Epiphaniides, a fourth-century Docetist, by Nicephorus, but in reality Epiphanius—posed this question: "How do you worship the angels, who are spirits and living without end, described in dead matter, since the prophet says, '[God] who maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a flaming fire' (Ps. 104:4)?"³ Against this attack Nicephorus first answered with the standard retort: "From these things who would not realise or discover that these are not the words of the holy Epiphanius, unless he were an exceeding disputatious and contentious person?"⁴

2. See Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*, XXXIX, PG 28:621B–D; Leontius of Neapolis, in *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres*, PTS vol. 17, ed. P.B. Kotter (Berlin, 1975) 156–58, V. Déroche, "L'Apologie contre les Juifs de Léontios de Néapolis," *TM* 12(1994):79ff.; the *Trophies of Damascus*, *Les Trophées de Damas*, PO vol. 15/2, ed. G. Bardy (Paris, 1920; rp. Louvain, 1973) 78.11ff.; the Dialogue between the Jews, Papiscus and Philo, and a Monk, *Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew* entitled *ΑΝΤΙΒΟΛΗ ΠΑΠΙΣΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΩΝΟΥ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΝ ΤΙΝΑ*, ed. A.C. McGiffert (Marburg, 1889) 51–52; Hieronymus of Jerusalem, *De effectu baptismi et notis Christiani*, PG 40:865AB; Anastasius Sinaïtes, *Disputatio adversus Judaeos*, II, PG 89:1233C–6A; and, finally, the Armenian John Mayragometsi, in S. Der Nersessian, "Une apologie des images du septième siècle," *B* 17(1944/5):60. The Διδασκαλία Ἰακωβοῦ stated that the wood of the cross was not venerated but that it was a sign, a type for Christ and that honor passes to him through the object; see *La Didascalie de Jacob*, PO vol. 8/5, ed. F. Nau (Paris, 1912; rp. Turnhout, 1971) 61.12–62.3.

3. In *Adversus Epiphaniidem*, IX.35, Pitra IV:318.2–7; Holl 358, #7.

4. *Adv. Epi.*, IX.35, Pitra IV:318.8–10.

Iconophiles saw God's command for the manufacture of the Ark of the Covenant as a circumvention of any charge of idolatry. Moving from charges of falsification, Nicephorus cited the authority of Exodus 25:22 and the necessary obedience to its strictures:

For Epiphanius did not ignore the things commanded by God to Moses concerning the cherubim, nor did he thrust away and reject the so-called holy of holies; although fashioned out of soulless matter, it was yet honorable. But indeed he believed and always adhered to these things with diligence and honor, especially what derived from the Jewish people, and he esteemed them as commands of God, passing them on as Christian teachings; unless indeed one supposes that the things written about his life were done mendaciously. This noble man appears to reveal the prophet in his words concerning the angels. Yet he speaks against God, and he speaks against Moses, who makes law in vain, since [Epiphanius] does not consider this legislating to constitute law, and [Moses] complies with it, and so [Moses] in vain toils against the making of the cherubim and of other things, such as God has commanded. Certainly [Epiphanius] would have been worthy if he had adhered at least to the letter and the laws of old. But this one is more disobedient than the Jews and more ignorant, not desiring to know that he who made his angels spirits and his ministers a burning fire, commanded by law that the cherubim be made from the purest gold. What then? Has he discarded it and esteemed it little? Yet he does introduce Paul who called these things the holy of holies and the cherubim of glory, truly extolling these things.⁵

For Nicephorus, the fact that Epiphanius could cite the injunction against the making of "graven images" (Ex. 20:4), while ignoring God's more specific charge to make images of angels, showed willful disregard for distinctions God himself had made. The citation of the Second Commandment was, therefore, a false position which was partially blind and wholly irreverent. Dismissing the express desire of God was heretical, and Nicephorus claimed furthermore that it led

5. *Adv. Epi.*, IX.35, Pitra IV:318.13–319.12.

to an alignment with the pagans or the heretical Manichaeans.⁶ Iconoclasts questioned the validity of this injunction to construct the Ark for the New Covenant, as well as its applicability for the figurative arts. Iconoclasts—here represented by Epiphanius—regarded art literally and saw that the material outline of an image of the cherubim could in no way conform to, or in any meaningful way convey, the real nature of the angelic host. Conversely, iconophiles read the injunction at Exodus 25:22 literally but were able to view the worked image as a symbol whose value was activated in an intellectual, spiritual approach to worship.

Iconophiles interpreted the Second Commandment as an injunction against untoward adoration, but at the same time they interpreted it as a law conditional on the initiation of the New Covenant.⁷ In this sense, they again adapted arguments put forward in the anti-Jewish literature of the seventh century. In these texts, the Second Commandment had only been dictated by God because the Jews themselves had been disposed to idolatry, and this Commandment was subsequently made obsolete by the incarnation of Christ.⁸ Iconophiles saw the Second Commandment as a directive from God with a specific historical context. As Ignatius the Deacon (ca. 770/80–d. after 845) wrote in his biography of the patriarch Nicephorus, the patriarch believed that the Second Commandment was addressed to the particular inclinations of the pagan Egyptians by whom the Israelites had been influenced while in captivity.⁹

6. *Antirrheticus II, Adversus Constantinum Copronymum*, 8, PG 100:348C.

7. On this question, see H. L. Kessler, “‘Pictures Fertile with Truth’: How Christians Managed to Make Images of God without Violating the Second Commandment,” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 49 / 50 (1991 / 2):53–65.

8. See the *Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew*, 73–77; *Disputation of Sergius the Stylite against a Jew*, ed. A. P. Hayman, 2 vols. (Louvain, 1973) II:48, 51–52, 54; and Anastasius Sinaïtes, *Dis. adv. Jud.*, II, PG 89:1236A.

9. *Vita Nicephori*, VII, PG 100:93A–C: “Since therefore that law giver led the people entrusted to him by God out of Egypt, wishing to purify from their souls and erase the defilements acquired there, in order that human images not conceive of the divine in humanlike images or in other forms of living things. He exhorted them in this way giving this law: Do not according to the custom of the Egyptians, o humanity, nor learning from them absurdly let an image of god be made by us, nor of these things flying through the air, or moving on earth, or swimming the seas. For these things are not God even if the Egyptians say they are, and he must not be depicted by an image, he who cannot be contemplated. For

Nicephorus then adduced the examples of the temple of Solomon and the Ark that God commanded, also mentioned in the Epistle to Hebrews (9:2ff.). God's commandment, therefore, did not apply to Christian images, which were sanctified by God's own injunction for their manufacture, but only applied to false idols.

The iconoclastic charge that iconophiles worshipped lifeless matter made it essential for iconophiles to render a counter-argument on a meaningful, though clearly demarcated, relation between image and prototype. Again, Exodus and its description of the cherubim provided the defense. As Nicephorus reasoned, Christians did not worship even the holy representations made out of the purest and brightest material, fabricated by human hands at the command of God himself. And yet the angels, intellectual and invisible beings, were "fashioned out of gold and sitting above the Ark, and these are neither intellects nor intellectual nor do they possess visible appearance. . . ." These material images on the Ark were altogether

destitute of life and power and energy, as their bodies are put in matter, even if the plate happens to be the purest and most splendid material. And having been made images and having bodies out of matter, they are alterations and schematisations, and they are not free from corruption and change.¹⁰

Material objects neither distract nor demean Christian worship since the images of angels were simply matter and fundamentally distinct. Nicephorus maintained that good Christians have the ability to discriminate between idols and true images through pious devotion and faith.¹¹ True images were representations of actual beings, ordained

God is unviewable and without form and invisible and is not at all among things seen by human eyes. But he is only perceptible to the mind, if someone somewhere should be capable of this. . . . Therefore, the law giver forbade that images of God alone be made."

10. Both quotations from *Apologeticus pro sacris imaginibus*, 70, PG 100:769D–72A.

11. *Antirr. I, Adv. Const. Copr.*, 29, PG 100:277B, "An idol is a fictive thing and the representation of a non-existent being, such things as the Hellenes by want of good sense and godlessness make representations of, such as the tritons and the centaurs and other phantasms which do not exist. And in this respect icons and idols are to be distinguished from one another; those not accepting the distinction of these would rightly be called idolaters. And as

by God, and securely related by the epigraphy contained on the images. The inscription on the images stabilized the relationship between image and prototype, and safeguarded against any misapprehension concerning the similarities between the two that might lead to inappropriate worship of the image itself. Therefore, in Nicephorus's view, good Christians had the ability to distinguish between worship directed at matter and veneration that ascends to the prototype through the image.

Iconophiles evoked a long-standing Christian tradition of images in worship as further proof of mature and correct discrimination by Christians. Moreover, Nicephorus claimed that this Christian legacy of images in worship was untainted by falsification of texts or misrepresentation of the past. The materialist worship that iconophiles defended was not an invention, as iconoclasts claimed, but an unbroken tradition of seemingly devotion that began in the apostolic era.

Iconophiles fell back on the unwritten tradition that the worship of icons had been practiced and condoned from the church's inception. Against Epiphanius, Nicephorus stated that it was not merely a question of one or two or three or four people who disagreed with Epiphanius's position, but the entire catholic church.¹² Finally, he pointed out that images of angels were found in many churches, and always had been. "Everywhere on earth in the holy churches the stories are full of the powers of the bodiless ones in holy representations, and of the catholic church, through whose strength the tradition was anciently settled."¹³ On the most literal level of defense, Nicephorus offered the indisputable fact of practice: images of the angels exist and have done for the entire history of the Church, "For if someone were not to represent the angels, by reason of their incorporeality, it would have been stated many times previously."¹⁴ Iconoclasts could muster theologians to substantiate their position against

for icons, there are icons of good and trifling sorts, and it is important to distinguish. One should honor the good, reject the worthless, and equally shun idolatry."

12. *Adv. Epi.*, IX.35, Pitra IV:318.8–23.

13. *Antir. II, Adv. Const. Copr.*, 7, PG 100:348A.

14. *Adv. Epi.*, VI.17, Pitra IV:307.1–4.

angels' images, notably Epiphanius, but iconophiles considered their own record unblemished by heresy and falsification: both written and unwritten tradition corroborated their interpretation of images as indispensable to proper worship and understanding of God.

Iconophile and iconoclastic conceptions of proper worship were, therefore, fundamentally distinct: one side was able to posit a relation between image and prototype which was ineluctably binding but not essential, while the other saw any image not of the same substance as fraudulent and unnecessary. The divergence in approach was nowhere clearer than in a dialogue between Stephen the Younger (ca. 713–764?) and the emperor Constantine V (r. 740–775), in the *Vita* of Stephen the Younger written by Stephen the Deacon, perhaps in 806. Although clearly a set piece, as it was preserved in an iconophile saint's vita, this dialogue also gives an indication of the quality and depth of iconoclastic argumentation. The antagonist, Constantine V, offered real intellectual challenges to Stephen; he was not simply a "straw man." In the course of their encounter, Constantine V questioned Stephen about the significance and value of images of unknowable beings:

How is it possible to represent sensually the things announced by humanity to be beyond experience and difficult to see, and not lacking in intellectual quality, and to worship them through matter, when nothing is to be gained by these things in understanding of the being, except the infinity, as Gregory the Theologian said.¹⁵

This question was an example of an iconoclastic equation of prototype and image,¹⁶ and indeed Constantine V had pointed to the really problematic aspect of the iconophile argument, especially as it applied to angels: if material images of immaterial and invisible angels could only indicate their indescribable nature, then what practical use were these images in worship? Searching for the answer to

15. *La vie d'Étienne le Jeune*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, vol. 3, ed. M.-F. Auzépy (Aldershot, 1997) 156 (ch.55).

16. See A. Kazhdan and H. Maguire, "Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art," *DOP* 45(1991):9.

Constantine V's intellectually challenging question in the reply of Stephen the Younger is not entirely satisfying:

Indeed who would say, being in control of their own mind, that worshipping the things in the church, whether they be stone or gold or silver, is a worshipping of material things? Wherefore they are altered by name to holy things. You cannot distinguish between holy and profane, nor are you afraid to state in demented folly that the icon of Christ is an idol, as if it were an image of Apollo, or that an image of the Virgin is the same thing as an image of Artemis, and to trample upon these things and to burn them.

This reply was an interesting, if not entirely persuasive, evasion. Stephen the Younger fastened onto one phrase in Constantine V's question, on the worship of divine things through matter, and made the common claim that proper worship exploited material images to pious ends. And he then proceeded to accuse the emperor of confusing pagan and Christian images.¹⁷ This response was not entirely typical of the quality of iconophile debating skills, and yet it highlighted the difficulties involved in answering all of the implications of iconoclastic attacks. Iconophiles commonly accused iconoclasts of not being able to discern which images were worthy of worship, and in this way they sidestepped some of the conceptual difficulties involved in comprehending Christian images of imperceptible beings.

The argument of equivocation posited an intimate relation between image and prototype that was difficult to sustain fully, and the near identity implied in the proposed relation provoked profound puzzlement among iconoclasts. In the *vita* of Stephen the Younger, after

17. This reply was a standard refutation of the iconoclastic comparison of idols and images. See, for instance, the ninth-century *Vita* of the Patriarch Tarasius (d. 806) by Ignatius the Deacon: "For, if you compare Zeus to our Saviour in that they are both reverently represented and you affirm that without making any distinction, consider whether you attach to Christ's holy form the insult you bestow upon the false-named Zeus." See *The Life of the Patriarch Tarasius by Ignatius the Deacon* (BHG 1698), Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, vol. 4, ed. S. Efthymiadis (Aldershot, 1998) 144.9–12, 197. And see Nicephorus, *Antirr. I, Adv. Const. Copr.*, 28, PG 100:277B, who accused idols of representing what does not exist.

Stephen's claim that trampling upon the image of Christ visits violence upon Christ himself, the emperor exclaimed, "Are you then blinded in your mind, and forget yourself, to say that in treading upon the images of Christ, we are treading upon Christ himself? It would not be so!"¹⁸ Stephen answered him by taking out a coin with a representation of the emperor and his name inscribed, and asked if disrespect directed at the coin was not also directed at the emperor himself.

If Stephen's modest but dramatic act demonstrated that images were related to their prototypes, the iconophile theory of equivocation and relation answered the iconoclastic accusation of full identity of prototype and model with a great deal more philosophical clout. In the *Adversus Epiphaniidem*, after he has cited Epiphanius's charge that the angels' images were misleading and essentially irrelevant, Nicephorus returned with the charge that iconoclasts did not have the necessary capability for discrimination that would enable them to distinguish true and false images.¹⁹ He fell back on an argument similar to Stephen the Younger's, that iconoclasts were without the grace that proper faith provided and so they understood Christian images as pagans would. And for both Stephen and Nicephorus, the name applied altered the image through the forging of an intellectual link independent of the material aspects of the image.

The argument of relation of model and image through equivocation sanctioned by usage answered Constantine V's objection to images of angels as pointless and unenlightening material objects. Essential or visual similarity was not necessary for an evaluation of the worth of images in worship. Likeness was established mainly through veneration offered the prototype by means of the image. In common with other Christian images, the images of the angels did not, therefore, rely on witness and skill of the artist but on the value that society put on such images.²⁰ Despite the dissimilarity and ob-

18. *La vie d'Étienne le Jeune*, 156 (ch.55).

19. *Adv. Epi.*, VI.17, Pitra IV:306.24–35, "And he then calls the holy icons pseudonymous, attempting by this to destroy the relation (λόγον)." This passage is part of Nicephorus's answer to Epiphanius: see Holl 357, #4.

20. According to iconophiles, relation does not depend on artistic skill in its ability to render likeness. For Theodore of Stoudios, no need existed for similarity between the two,

curity of the images of the angels in comparison to their models, Christians accepted these objects in worship as worthy of devotion and of spiritual contemplation because of convention.²¹ Tradition and Christian custom sanctioned the devotion offered to images of angels as signs of “infinity,” as Constantine phrased it. As iconophile descriptions of symbolic images asserted, the value of images of angels resided in their necessarily incomplete testimony to the incomprehensible nature of the angels.

Against this iconophile idea of Christian custom and practice, iconoclasts cited precedents for their views on idolatry and the misleading worship advocated by iconophiles. Iconoclasts advanced both Epiphanius and the fourth-century theologian Macarius Magnes because of their positions on scrupulous behavior before angels and their images. Both had defended restraint in honor given to angels; and because of the attendant difficulties in witnessing angels, Christians must abstain from the adoration of images since these could only be reductions and caricatures of the experience. For these reasons, iconoclasts recommended the two theologians and, in turn, iconophiles such as Nicephorus refuted and reinterpreted them. These precedents represent the traditional opposition to images preceding Iconoclasm, as well as the position of iconoclasts themselves, since the oppositional texts are only preserved in iconophile rebuttals.

neither regarding substance, size, dimension, nor genuine resemblance. Indeed, resemblance, in any precise visual sense, is entirely unnecessary. Only the equivocation of name need be applied for relation. See *Antirrheticus adversus iconomachos*, II.iii.5, PG 99:421CD.

Photius argued in the 860s that the recognition of relation was a matter of convention deriving from devotion. He stated that images ought not to be maligned because of dissimilarity in nature or in truth. For resemblance rests not only on the depiction's outline of form and colors of shapes, but also on such things as arrangements and practice and expression of understanding and placement in holy areas, inscription and choice of symbols. See *Ad Amphilochium*, CCV, PG 101:952AB; *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, ed. B. Laourdas and L. G. Westerink, 6 vols. in 7 pts. (Leipzig, 1983–1988) I:110. He also considered the definition of similarity in the case of the cross; he concluded that the cross to which worship is offered and from which copies are made is most similar to its prototype. See *ibid.*, PG 101:949BC; Laourdas/Westerink, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, I:110. For Photius, and iconophiles generally, a definition of likeness rested on consensus and not on a visual or essential similarity between image and prototype.

21. On this text, see G. Dagron, “Holy Images and Likeness,” *DOP* 45(1991):24–25.

Judging from the iconophile reaction, iconoclasts had objected that the angels, for one, did not desire worship and raised the ethics of worship of angels—and consequently their images—as important issues. They attempted in this way to undermine the iconophiles' defense of a cultural consensus of worship built around the equivocal images of the angels. Again in the *Adversus Epiphanidem*, Nicephorus quoted Epiphanius's objection, "I say that [the angels] do not desire to be worshipped,"²² and exclaimed in response:

Therefore, do they desire to be insulted likewise? And for this reason does the impious one pour down so much scorn on them, at once ordaining these must not be worshipped, on account of his wicked and unthinking view of the glory reserved for them?²³

According to Nicephorus, Epiphanius had associated image and prototype with too little distinction. Indeed, Epiphanius's text revealed iconoclastic prejudices. As iconoclasts believed true images and models to be consubstantial, they had evidently produced Epiphanius's claim that angels did not desire worship as a corollary to their belief that images of angels were likewise not to be worshipped.²⁴ At this point, the intersection of theological discourse with models of worship found in saints' lives becomes clear: iconoclasts had confused angelolatry with idolatry; the two were inseparable in their view because of the belief in the necessary consubstantiality of the model and prototype. This confounding of angel and image into one ethical issue is an interesting strategy by iconoclasts: if angels had always been dangerously venerated, so were their images; if angels do not desire worship, neither do they want images. The answer to this ethical issue—as found in miracle stories of angels—is explored in the following section.

22. *Adv. Epi.*, IX.36, Pitra IV:319.15–16.

23. *Adv. Epi.*, IX.36, Pitra IV:319.17–21.

24. This claim is likely connected with the iconoclast belief in the necessary consubstantiality of image and prototype. Iconoclasts argued that the only true image was of the same matter as its model; therefore, the eucharist was a real image and any image that had only relation to its model was false. On this issue, see K. Parry, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Leiden, 1996) 178–90.

In Nicephorus's view, the angels did not seek veneration for themselves, nor did their images receive it. Epiphanius and his iconoclastic followers simply offered a wrong-headed definition of relation in seeing the angels and their images as equivalent. They sullied the proper non-essential relation of image and model through equivocation that iconophiles defended. Honor given to images did not stop there but proceeded to the prototypes themselves; consequently, "just as the icons are not worshipped, neither are the archetypes honoured."²⁵

A confusion of honor of prototype and image would suggest pagan worship, Nicephorus said. For pagans worship gods that did not exist, so that they were simply worshipping vain objects. In his *De Magnete*, Nicephorus had also defended Macarius Magnes from the charge pressed by his pagan opponent that Christians worshipped angels. The pagan stated that Christian angels were comparable to gods and that honor bestowed on images of angels and gods were similarly appropriate. Nicephorus supported Macarius by insisting on the fundamental distinction between empty pagan idols and authentic Christian images:

Protecting our own worship from these ignoble mysteries that deserve darkness, he does not consider them worthy of Christians, nor does he desire to make images or honour them, such as [the Hellenes] make images and worship.²⁶

Thus, in theory, honor passed through the image, without material obstacle, directly to the prototype and in a way fundamentally different from pagan misapprehension of idols that were destitute of archetypes.

Despite Nicephorus's defense, an ethical definition of the "true" Christian image guided Epiphanius's and Macarius Magnes's arguments, and this fourth-century advocacy for the ethical image must

25. *Adv. Epi.*, IX.41, Pitra IV:323.39–40; and also 324.4–7, "So that since the image of Christ is not honoured, it follows that he would wish that Christ himself not be honoured." In general, see *Adv. Epi.*, IX.36ff., Pitra IV:319.23ff.

26. *De Magnete*, I.14, Pitra I:311.19–23.

certainly have been a compelling precedent for iconoclasts. Nicephorus tried consistently to bring Macarius's arguments into line with iconophile concerns, but in fact Macarius had contended that a virtuous Christian did not make material images. In true worship, Macarius wrote, Christians modeled themselves after paragons of Christianity from the Church's teaching, thereby fashioning a true "image." Against the use of Macarius's writings by iconoclasts, Nicephorus responded with the normal accusation of falsification and stated that, in fact, Macarius Magnes was discussing the pagan position on images and not the Christian view.²⁷

Nicephorus attacked further the perverse use of the text by iconoclasts when discussing a passage by Macarius Magnes concerning the appearance of the angels to Abraham: "As the angels appeared often in the form of men, they were not that which appeared, but that which they were, that is, invisible."²⁸ Nicephorus persisted in his belief in the willful tamperings of iconoclasts when he commented on this passage, "as if compensating for the things not adduced, he introduces in the middle of the passage as an example the person of the patriarch Abraham."²⁹ For iconophiles, Abraham was one of the most venerable instances of witness to angelic epiphany.³⁰ But he did

27. *De Magnete*, I.41, Pitra I:326.35–327.13: "For one must note that after the author has said, 'Certainly [he does not make] their images formed in outline ...' [Blondel 214.15] the Christomachos again willfully takes away the phrase, 'as you yourself say,' [Blondel 214.15–16] in order that he seem credible to the readers. He thereby says that the author believes in the destruction of the holy icons, which the author does not believe. Rather he stands opposed to the faith of the Hellenes, as he said to the Hellene that he did not agree with him, providing the 'as you say' concerning the idols, statues and images of the gods. Moreover, those seeking to imitate the angelic way of life, in this fashion, which forbids and spurns, that is to say, the abominations of the idols, they make an end of the images. For opposing this, they are manifestly taking away the idols, and they have a horror of them, as loathsome and hateful."

28. Blondel 214.21–22, and *De Magnete*, I.42, Pitra I:327.16–19.

29. See *De Magnete*, I.43, Pitra I:327.20–37.

30. One might also expect, given the significance of Abraham's hospitality to the three "men" at Mamre for iconophile defense in the eighth and ninth centuries, a commensurate number of representations of the Philoxenia after Iconoclasm. Yet the Philoxenia is represented in the Chludov Psalter once (fol. 49v), in the context of its eucharistic symbolism and not as an epiphany. See Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 52ff. In the *Sacra Parallela* (Paris. gr. 923, fol. 245r), the middle of the three angels is depicted without a crossed-nimbus and relates the Christological symbolism of the event like the Chludov illustration. See K.

not create a commemorative image, and this oversight needed explaining since iconoclasts could forcefully point to the lack of mention of material testimonial in scripture. Nicephorus explained the lapse between witness in the Old Covenant and their apparent failure to commemorate the event by first citing a passage by Macarius Magnes: "And as these things occurred wisely and in truth, Abraham did not outline the appearance of these visions, nor did he carve an idol in resemblance nor did he paint a panel, thinking to see the strangers in these things."³¹ Nicephorus's subsequent explanation fell back on the belief in a historical lapse into idolatry by the Jews that necessitated the Second Commandment, but ultimately rested on the charge of falsification and misrepresentation of the original text of Macarius's dialogue.³²

Yet the real reason for the discussion of Macarius Magnes must have been iconoclastic emphasis on the ethical, "true" image. According to Milton Anastos, this emphasis dates to the Hieria of 754 and was, therefore, a central argument against material images in worship from the early stages of Iconoclasm.³³ In the iconoclastic formulation of "images," "one should put reliance, not upon pictorial representations, but upon the scriptures and the biographies of the saints."³⁴ As Anastos noted, the Fathers quoted at the Council of 754 dealt primarily with spiritual worship. The Council cited Basil the Great (ca. 330–379):

The study of the holy writings constitutes the best path to the ascertainment of what is proper, because they provide a guide for

Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela. Parisinus graecus 923* (Princeton, 1979) 40, fig. 27.

31. Blondel 215.30–32.

32. *De Magnete*, I.43, Pitra I:328.3–17: "For it is not likely that the patriarch being a friend of God would be induced into error of the superstitious persons of that time, only just having risen above the manufacture of idols. And it is necessary to note that one must supply the things there left out, that is to say, 'as you say.' The Hellene, who had been inserted above, after it has, 'Certainly [he does not make] their images formed in outline . . .'" (Blondel 214.15–16).

33. See M. V. Anastos, "The Ethical Theory of Images Formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815," *DOP* 8(1954):151–60.

34. Anastos, "The Ethical Theory of Images," 153.

conduct, together with the biographies of the blessed ones, that serve as living images of a godly life and the inspiration for the emulation of god-like behaviour.³⁵

Iconophiles did not oppose this emphasis on spiritual worship, and they even interpreted such worship as a commendable mode of adoration of God. However, iconophiles saw the consequent dismissal of images by iconoclasts as obdurate and willful behavior; by dismissing images, iconoclasts were denying an equally venerable means of adoring and comprehending God. Both sides could, in fact, support the importance of the ethical image, but from entirely divergent perspectives. Moreover, these divergent perspectives on ethics and worship of images of angels parallel practice as seen in miracle stories, as the following section will demonstrate. This long-standing concern over angels and their images influenced image theory and practice both, and it led to serious divergences in opinion during Iconoclasm: suspended between humanity and God, angels demanded particular treatment, and iconophile texts clearly reveal the complexities of this peculiar case.

HAGIOGRAPHICAL VIEWS

Miracle stories of the angels produced before, during and after Iconoclasm were directly influenced by this debate over worship proper to angels and their images. By examining the traces of this debate in miracle stories, this section demonstrates that the concerns of image theory extended beyond limited theological circles into the public realm. Miracle stories of angels, in the hands of either iconoclasts or iconophiles, were intended to provide persuasive examples of correct worship of angels and images through forceful and compelling narratives of divine interventions. In this way, these didactic texts parallel the concerns of the more rarefied image theory.

In the period preceding Iconoclasm, proper worship of angels did include images; in practice, images of angels could express both doc-

35. Mansi XIII:300AB; trans. Anastos, "The Ethical Theory of Images," 154–55.

trinal concerns and exegesis of nature and identity. This incorporation of images into worship likewise appeared in miracle stories. The *Miracles of St. Artemius*, written in the 660s about Artemius's shrine in the church of John the Baptist in Oxeia at Constantinople, contained the earliest description of images of angels in a miracle story. It described, moreover, the complete integration by the seventh century of images of the saints into popular piety.³⁶ In one of the episodes, a young girl, Euphemia, saw two angels in a night vision; in the morning, she identified them by reference to icons hanging in the church.³⁷

The saints' lives of the sixth and seventh centuries testified to an increased importance of images in miracles of healing and other interventions by saints. The miracle story of Artemius is replete with miracles that occurred at his shrine, often effected through his images.³⁸ And other pre-iconoclastic miracle stories attested further the central role images were assuming in devotion; these texts showed that the faithful increasingly perceived images as signs of the presence of the saint and as a means by which Christians could encourage the saints' activity and protection.³⁹ A seventh-century text, once ascribed to Athanasius of Alexandria (ca. 296–373), for one, defended images on the grounds that the miracles performed by images irrefutably demonstrated images' divine qualities. Furthermore, the author ranked images as a match to relics in sanctity and dignity, and as equally able to perform miracles of healing and exorcism.⁴⁰ This

36. On this question, see V. Déroche, "L'authenticité de l'*Apologie contre les Juifs* de Léontios de Neapolis," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 110(1986):658ff., and also his, "L'*Apologie contre les Juifs* de Léontios de Néapolis," *TM* 12(1994):85ff.; and E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm," *DOP* 8(1954):96ff., and, in particular, 107 on Artemius.

37. V.S. Crisafulli and J.W. Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios. A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-Century Byzantium* (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1997) 176–84. And see C. Mango, "On the History of the Templon and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople," *Zograf* 10(1979):40–43.

38. For instance, Crisafulli/Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, 88.7 and 108.4.

39. For example, Cosmas and Damian, L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian. Texte und Einleitung* (Leipzig, 1907) 133.23–24, and Theodore of Sykeon, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1970) I:32.9–13, I:39.5–6.

40. *Quaest. ad Ant. Duc.*, XXXIX, PG 28:621CD.

early devotion included images of angels, as the miracle at the shrine of Artemius showed, but the lives of saints of the eighth and ninth centuries offered alternate models of access to angels, and to the saints more generally.

The miracle story of the Archangel Michael at Chonae, the *Narration of the Miracle Accomplished at Chonae by the Archangel Michael*, re-worked in the eighth century, related a pattern of worship that conformed to the ethical models stressed in the Iconoclastic debates.⁴¹ In so doing, it avoided patterns found in the *Miracles of St Artemius* which relied upon images for access to, and provisional identification of, spiritual beings. The Chonae text offered a paradigm of behavior for approaching an angel and receiving the benefits of that proper approach. The miracle story, and its message, were neither overtly iconoclastic nor iconophile. Yet it has common elements with “non-iconophile” miracle stories analyzed by Marie-France Auzépy, and these common elements provided a discrete iconoclastic context for the Chonae miracle story.⁴²

41. The first recension of the Chonae hagiography, and clearly the model for later texts, was edited with commentary by Bonnet [= *AB* 8(1889):289–307]. Bonnet placed the hagiography between the fifth and seventh century. Examining Bonnet’s evidence, William Ramsay thought the anonymous text was not earlier than the ninth century, citing the local names employed in the text as proof of this date. See W. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire Before 170 A.D.* (New York and London, 1893) 468, 478. However, the name change sometime in the course of the eighth century is the *terminus post quem* because the miracle is said to have occurred at Chonae itself, and the hagiography is most likely from an eighth-century milieu. Other versions survive: Symeon Metaphrastes (d. ca. 1000) produced a version (Bonnet, 20–28 = *AB* 8(1889):308–16), and Sissinius wrote a hagiography of Michael at Chonae in the late tenth century, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, in *AASS*, Sept. 8:41–49). And Pantaleon (late ninth/early tenth century) mentioned the miracle in his *Sermo festo S. Michaelis Archangelis* (*PG* 98:1264A). See, for complete references for the hagiographies of Michael, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, ed. F. Halkin, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1957) II:118–21, nos. #1282ff.

42. M.-F. Auzépy, “L’analyse littéraire et l’historien: l’exemple des vies de saints iconoclastes,” *BS* 53(1992):57–67. She analyzed four hagiographies: the lives of Philaretus (702–792), George of Amastris (d. 802–807), Eudocimus (807–840) and Leo of Catania (fl. second half of the eighth century). The first three were discussed by I. Ševčenko, “Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period,” in *Iconoclasm. Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977) 113–31. The last life has been edited by A. Acconcia Longo, “La vita de S. Leone di Catania e gli incantesimi del mago Eliodoro,” *RBSN* 26(1989):3–98; subsequently, she refuted Auzépy’s interpretations in “A proposito di un articolo recente sul-

The miracle story of the Archangel Michael at Chonae was an apologetic text intended to communicate models of proper and successful devotion to an audience. In the tale, a group of pagans threatened the hermit Archippus and the shrine of the Archangel Michael with a series of destructive plots; eventually, they dammed two local rivers in order to flood the area and overwhelm shrine and inhabitant. With the waters approaching, the Archangel Michael appeared, addressed the hermit and, by striking the rock before the shrine, created a source for the famous healing spring (fig. 15). The miracle story had the basic goal of glorification, edification and conversion of the worshipper to an orthodox position. It lauded the work of the leader of the heavenly host in this world and established a framework of approach for the common worshipper.

The text also worked to convince an audience of access to Michael, and, through Michael, to God. A key term in the text was “parrêsia” (παρρησία), which can be rendered as “familiarity” or “patronage” or even “boldness.”⁴³ The classical meaning was “freedom of speech,” but by the Byzantine period the word had taken on a broader meaning that in the devotional context implied mediation between divinity and humanity made successful by proper preparation. At Chonae, the miracle was accomplished “through the grace and familiarity (παρρησία)” (1.6) of Michael with God; at a later stage in the miracle story, the same familiarity was passed on to the distraught hermit, when Michael commanded Archippus, “Be bold, and come towards me so that the approaching rivers will not devour you” (15.11–12).⁴⁴ Thus, the miracle story signaled the completion of the hierarchy, ascending from the holy man to the Archangel to God. To a lesser degree, this familiarity or access was offered to the reader/listener according to his or her worthiness and ability to comprehend.

l’agiografia iconoclasta,” *RBSN* 29(1992):3–17. Auzépy and Acconcia Longo offered final defenses in *RBSN* 30(1993):3–15.

See also V. Déroche, “L’autorité des moines à Byzance du VIII^e siècle au Xe siècle,” *Revue Bénédictine* 103(1993):241–54, on related issues.

43. On *parrêsia*, see C. Mango, *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980) 159.

44. All citations in the text refer to Bonnet.

Although this “familiarity” or “boldness” (παρρησία) was not peculiar to the cult of the Archangel Michael,⁴⁵ the incomprehensible nature of the Archangel made “access” more difficult than to the mortal saints. The unique nature of the angels and the archangels, hovering between heaven and earth, was the basis for this difficulty. The incomprehensible nature of the appearances and the miracles of the Archangel must be understood in ways outside of the purely rational.⁴⁶ As Philoxenus of Mabbug (ca. 440–523) wrote concerning angels, faith was paradoxically the first step to comprehension.⁴⁷ The angels clearly were a special problem in terms of devotion and approach. The angels’ particular nature and qualities demanded individual treatment in theological texts, and miracle stories also acknowledged these distinctions.

In the miracle story, jealous rumblings began among the locals on account of the great success of the spring, and open insurrection against the shrine was not long in appearing. In the meantime, the miracle story introduced a “dishonourable and idolatrous” pagan, from the nearby city of Laodicea (3.14ff.). This pagan had a daughter who was deaf and dumb. Michael appeared in a dream and told him to go to the shrine, and “by my name, if you believe, you will not leave disappointed” (4.5). The pagan then traveled to the spring and questioned those at the spring about the healing process. He was told that one must call on the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,

45. For instance, see Kazhdan / Maguire, “Byzantine Hagiographical Texts,” 14.

46. See Metrophanes, Metropolitan of Smyrna ca. 857–880, who says that the Archangel Michael and Gabriel are great, but small are the means to describe them, “Your [Michael and Gabriel’s] image is broad and elevated in being and manifold in its bodiless and immaterial and entirely splendid shape, but the word, coming from our hearts through corporeal organs, is narrow and humble and artless.” A little below he adds that it is necessary for the archangels “to illuminate the intellectual eyes of our hearts.” The text is found in *Εκκλησιαστική Ἀληθεία* 7(1887):390.

47. See his sermon “On Faith,” trans. E.A.W. Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenus Bishop of Mabbôgh, A.D. 485–519. Vol. II. Introduction, Translation, etc.* (London, 1894) 29–31. For Pantaleon, the process of apprehension is also indirect, “You illuminate our intellectual eyes of the heart, so that we should know, and apprehend in the mind and pronounce ... the miracles of your majesty.” See his *Nar. mir. max. Arch. Mich.*, II, PG 140: 575A. Much later, Damaskenos Stoudite (sixteenth century) wrote, “On account of this, open your spiritual and corporeal eyes, so that you can understand precisely what I am about to say.” (See his *Θησαυρός* [Venice, 1838] 185.)

and to Michael, and then raising one's hands and eyes to heaven say, "O Father, O Son, O Holy Ghost, through the ministry of Michael, help me, a sinful person" (4.11–13). He then poured water into the mouth of his child saying, rather alarmingly, "The God of the Christians, your power is truly great, Michael Archistrategos" (4.15–16).⁴⁸ The daughter of the pagan was forthwith healed, and the pagan with his entire household was baptized on the spot. Finally, he built there a small chapel in the name of Michael in order to shelter the holy source.

The statement of the subservience of Michael to God in the prayers of the pagan was part of the appeal of the miracle story in the eighth- and ninth-century "non-iconophile" context of debate over proper worship. Michael himself at a later point stated the source of his own power as he commanded the water to flow harmlessly into the chasm that he had opened in the name of the Trinity. Michael had made the water halt moments before by making the sign of the cross in the face of the rushing waters. These were statements then of a scale of access or "parrêsia" that communicated to the audience of the miracle story where Michael stood in the divine hierarchy, that is, under the command of God.

The holy man, Archippus, was at the ethical center of the miracle story in the sense that he described, in his faultless way of life and correct appeal to God, the proper model of behavior for the audience. This ethical model was fundamental to the structure of the miracle story in that the large part of the miracle story described the hermit's way of life and qualifications. Moreover, this character study provided the miracle story's "image" for Christians to try to imitate. The epiphany of the Archangel Michael in comparison was not described to the same degree as the character of the hermit, and Archippus also figured significantly in the encounter between angel and man after the epiphany. Nonetheless, nothing about Archippus would appear to be individualized. Even his name would seem to be

48. See the Introduction on the overweening position Michael was put in by certain heterodox adherents at Chonae.

borrowed from the Epistle to the Colossians (4:17).⁴⁹ Archippus came to the shrine of the Archangel, the narrator of the miracle story stated (5.6ff.), when he was only a precocious ten-year-old, having left his parents in Laodicea to take up the ascetic way of life.⁵⁰ In this way, ninety years after its foundation, the shrine got its first caretaker, Archippus.⁵¹ The description of his life after his commitment to Michael's shrine was largely undistinguished. It was apparently cobbled together from various ascetic sources and was mainly a remembrance of other familiar texts.⁵² Archippus's anonymity made him an "everyman" that all Christians could aspire to imitate.⁵³

The Chonae miracle story described a way of life familiar to miracle stories for its guileless devotion and comfortless longevity. The narrator clearly wanted to convince the audience of Archippus's worthiness. Archippus spent the next sixty years perfecting himself in his vocation, his angelic way of life ("ἄσκησις ἀγγελική," 7.11 and 8.7).⁵⁴ He never ate bread or meat, nor did he bathe; he ate boiled wild plants without salt; he sprinkled his honorable body with three

49. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire Before 170 A.D.*, 469. According to P. Batti-fol, *Studiorum patristicorum. Études d'ancienne littérature chrétienne*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1889–1890) I:33, this hermit in the hagiography is perhaps a true survival of the real Archippus mentioned at Col. 4:17.

50. A. G. Elliott, *Roads to Paradise. Reading the Lives of the Early Saints* (Hanover and London, 1987) 77ff., has described certain characteristics of the childhood of hagiographic heroes.

51. See C. Mango, "Germia: A Postscript," in *JbB* 41(1991):298–99, on προσμονάριος.

52. Some examples taken from the *Lausiaca History* of Palladius (ca. 363–ca. 431): *The Lausiaca History of Palladius*, ed. C. Butler, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1898–1904) II:15–16, 16–17, 29, 48, 60–61, and Bonnet xxii n1, for others.

53. I follow this idea in hagiography, liturgy and art in my "Holy Man, Supplicant and Donor: On Representations of the Miracle of the Archangel Michael at Chonae," *Mediaeval Studies* 59(1997):173–82.

54. Elliott, *Roads to Paradise*, 132ff., has noted the opposition of nature and culture with regard to the position of the hermit. On the topos of monks as angels, see P. S. Frank, *ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΟΣ ΒΙΟΣ. Begriffsanalytische und begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum "Engelgleichen Leben" im frühen Mönchtum* (Münster, 1964). And Peter Brown's remarks on the de-gendering of monks through the simile of angelic qualities has interesting possibilities. See "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity, 1971–1997," *J ECS* 6(1998): 371–72. The confrontation of monk and angel at Chonae, in literature and art, also has a potential for elevation of the everyman Archippus. Raised to exalted company, he joins these celestial ranks through his extra-terrestrial vocation.

measures of water one day out of three, and in this way refreshed his soul; for clothing he wore two sacks and he slept on stones with a pillow filled with thorns; never did he relax, or reveal his body, all the while guarding his stainless soul from belonging to the other one (that is, the devil). The value of such an anonymous portrait at the center of this text lay in Archippus's quality as a model for imitation. Not everyone would be capable of this demanding way of life. At an elevated level, Archippus figured as an exemplar who might be out of reach to many in his worthiness but who at least presented an ideal of approach to the Archangel and, most important, of answered prayer.⁵⁵

Archippus's reaction to the threat of the pagans is instructive. The group of several thousand, seething with hatred and envy of Archippus, the shrine, and their patron, were impressively bestial, and were thus fundamentally distinct from the holy man. They roared like lions (8.15) and gnashed their teeth in working out their wicked designs.⁵⁶ As Archippus saw the designs of the devil and the unclean things of the idolaters, he attempted to counter the base workings of the pagans by going into the church where he fell as if dead. He beseeched God and the Archangel Michael to guard the shrine from the approaching water, and spent ten days neither eating nor drinking nor raising himself from the floor. He said,

I do not depart from this church nor do I leave off from prayer but I will die by this water. For I believe that my God will save me from faintness and tempestuousness through the agency of the Archangel Michael so that it will make no mark either on this holy shrine or on this land ... (13.10–14).⁵⁷

55. The idea of the holy man as exemplar, of course, has deep roots in Late Antique and Byzantine society, and it also informed the iconoclastic image of the ideal Christian discussed in chapter 2. On the holy man in Late Antiquity, see M. Vessey, "The Demise of the Christian Writer and the Remaking of 'Late Antiquity': From H.-I. Marrou's *Saint Augustine* (1938) to Peter Brown's *Holy Man* (1983)," *J ECS* 6(1998):403–11.

56. In the *Menologium Basilianum* (late tenth/early eleventh century), *PG* 117:33C. Also, Bonnet 3.9 and 5.3.

57. Chrysippus (ca. 405–479) described Daniel and his preparations for the epiphany (Dan. 10:2–3): "In those days I Daniel was in mourning three whole weeks. I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all, till

For ten days, the pagans stored up the water behind their dams and on the tenth day they unleashed the rivers. Archippus, hearing the advancing waters crush the rocks, intensified his prayers, and wet with tears called on God once more, reciting Psalm 93, particularly lines 3–5:

The floods have lifted up, O Lord, the floods have lifted up their voice; the floods lift up their waves. The Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea. Thy testimonies are very sure: holiness becometh thine house, O Lord for ever.⁵⁸

When Archippus had finished the Psalm, there came from outside a great clap of thunder and the Archistrategos came “to that place, standing on the head of the impenetrable rock” (14.17–18). Archippus’s access to the Archangel, his recommendation to “parrêsia,” was founded on his unimpeachable way of life, and proved by the Archangel’s intervention on his behalf. Archippus “pursues the angelic life while in the flesh” and, therefore, was worthy of visions (24.7).⁵⁹

The goal in devotion to Michael was an access from which benefit derives, and this access was made possible through the paradigm of approach present in the miracle story. This conclusion was latent in the anonymous version and explicit in later versions of the miracle. “Therefore truly we shall imitate this wondrous Archippus, this worthy one himself, [who] on account of his excellence was made most familiar to the great Archangel Michael and was revealed a vision....”⁶⁰ Only the just and righteous were allowed into the presence of the angels, for protection and revelation, as Paul warned in

three whole weeks were fulfilled.” He then went on to describe what Daniel saw at Dan. 10:5, 12:5, and Michael’s identification at 10:12–13. See A. Sigalas, “Χρυσίππου πρεσβυτέρου Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαήλ,” *EEBS* 3(1926):90.17ff.

58. In the Theodore Psalter (1066), British Museum Add. 19.352, fol. 125r, the scene of the miracle at Chonae illustrates just this passage from Psalm 93. See S. Der Nersessian, *L’illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Âge. II. Londres, Add. 19.352* (Paris, 1970) 46, fig. 203.

59. Here Sissinius, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 9, *AASS* Sept. 8:44F, “βίον ἱσάγγελον ἐν σαρκὶ μετερχόμενος.”

60. Sissinius, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 18, *AASS* Sept. 8:47B.

1 Corinthians 11:10.⁶¹ The miracle was proof of the promise made on proper approach for all worshippers, exemplified by the generalized but scrupulous Archippus. The only miracle performed by Archippus was the successful answering of his extensive prayer, and for that one power he was worthy of emulation.⁶²

Auzépy has noted the lack of miracles performed by subjects of saints' lives of the eighth and ninth centuries.⁶³ Although Archippus was not himself active in good works in a community, the legend dated from before Iconoclasm, and must have retained some of its original elements. Its rewriting and elaboration in the eighth century must have been connected to the contemporary appeal of the legend. In the Chonae miracle story, it is significant that the central character lacks any miraculous power. Archippus's abilities were restricted to, and made laudable by, a holy life and energetic prayer.

Some modern commentators, typically historians of the nineteenth century, have criticized the miracle story of Chonae for its lack of inventiveness, focusing on the generalized portrait of Archippus, a holy man with no real personality. This generalization works to a purpose, however, presenting a behavior meant to persuade its audience of the best route to fulfilled entreaty. Commentators have accused the narrator of the anonymous version of being artless, rude in style, and incomplete in knowledge of the event and region.⁶⁴ However, repetition of details in miracle stories and saints' lives, often cited derogatorily by modern commentators, comply with audience expectations of recognizable patterns.⁶⁵ In the mind of the writ-

61. See J.A. Fitzmeyer, "A New Feature of Qumrân Angelology and the Angels of I Cor. XI:10," *New Testament Studies* n.s. 4(1957/8):55–56. The idea of the unblemished being allowed into the presence of the angels is one found in Jewish apocrypha and the Qumran texts, although with a visionary quality not often found in the Christian texts; see G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1962) 76.

62. Contrast the lack of Archippus's own power with examples of the might some saints do exhibit given by R. Browning, "The 'Low Level' Saint's Life in the Early Byzantine World," in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London, 1981) 122.

63. Auzépy, "L'analyse littéraire et l'historien," 60, and Ševčenko, "The Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period," 120ff.

64. For example, see Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire Before 170 A.D.*, 468, and Bonnet vi.

65. See Elliott, *Roads to Paradise*, and also *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient*, ed. S.A. Harvey and S. Brock (Berkeley, 1987) 13ff.

ers of miracle stories and saints' lives, edification—as well as “access”—was the key to these texts, and ethical truth was far more important than historical accuracy. The aim of the miracle story of Chonae was not to provide a topographical survey or an historically accurate document: rather it was to provide a model for imitation in veneration and a confirmation of the proximity of the Archangel at a given site. For this reason, the later writers of the miracle at Chonae of the ninth and tenth centuries did not alter the basic structure of the anonymous version but merely added their own flourishes to a successful text.⁶⁶ And it must also be stressed that the miracle story could have posed no threat to the church after 843; images and idolatry do not figure, but the text provided a portrait of a holy way of life and seemingly angel worship which became very popular indeed after Iconoclasm.⁶⁷

A further similarity of the Chonae miracle story with “non-iconophile” saints' lives was the importance placed on references to Hebrew scripture. The prophets, patriarchs, and kings of Hebrew scripture figured in the texts Auzépy discussed, rather than models derived from the saints of Church tradition.⁶⁸ The encounter of holy man and angel at Chonae, as described in the miracle story, was very

66. See Bonnet xii, on the working methods of Metaphrastes and Sissinius.

67. Archippus's prayer is a fruitful act for angelic intervention and the active element in his piety is recognized in depictions by his gesture of imprecation, as well as the accompanying inscription. In the representation of the scene in the Church of the Asomatoi at Archanes on Crete from 1315/6, the inscription accompanying the image states that the miracle occurred “because of Archippus's prayers.” See S. Koukiales, Τὰ θαύματα—Ἐμφάνσεις τῶν Ἀγγέλων καὶ Ἀρχαγγέλων στὴν Βυζαντινὴ Τέχνη τῶν Βαλκανίων (Athens, 1989) 70, “ΘΑΤΜΑ ΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ Τ(ΑΙΣ) ΧΩΝΑΙΣ <ΝΑΟΝ ΤΟΤ> ΜΙΧΑΗΛ/ΤΟΤ ΑΡΧΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ·ΤΟΤ> ΔΙ ΕΤΧΩΝ ΑΡΧΙΠΠΙΟΤ.”

Ironically, the sixteenth-century hagiographer, Damaskenos Stoudite, states that Archippus prayed to an icon for the intervention of the Archangel in the face of the pagan floods. See his *Θησαυρός*, 198.

A further irony is evident in the frescoes, ca. 1500, in the Church of Cosmas and Damian, Palaiochorio in the Troodos, Cyprus. In these frescoes, the donor has supplanted Archippus and is represented before the Archangel in the miracle at Chonae. See S. Gabelić, “The Iconography of the Miracle at Chonae. An Unusual Example from Cyprus,” *Zograf* 20(1989):95–103, and Peers, “Holy Man, Supplicant and Donor.”

68. Auzépy, “L'analyse littéraire et l'historien,” 58ff. See, however, the remarks of D. Krueger, “Typological Figuration in Theodoret of Cyrrhus's *Historia Religiosa* and the Art of Postbiblical Narrative,” *JECS* 5(1997):393–417.

much within the scriptural structure of divine epiphany as found in the accounts of Moses, Joshua, Daniel and Isaiah in Hebrew scripture.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the encounter indicated the difficulties—often described in Hebrew scripture—attendant in confronting and perceiving an angelic being. Archippus weathered this confrontation and emerged as not unworthy of comparison to ancient examples of witnesses to epiphany; he did not worship the Archangel but humbly followed orders, and afterwards expressed gratitude for the safeguarding of the shrine and his own escape.

The *Vita* of Leo of Catania, dating to the first half of the ninth century, presented behavior which contrasts starkly with Archippus's propriety. In this miracle story, a magus by the name of Heliodorus introduced idolatry into the city in the form of an idol (ξόανον) of an aerial deity; the idol was also designated as a "sign" (στοιχεῖον), recalling a talisman through which a demon works and, more generally, the magic arts Heliodorus practiced.⁷⁰ Auzépy interpreted this episode as an inversion whereby the iconoclastic sympathies of the saint's life were revealed.⁷¹ The antagonist of the saint's life, Heliodorus, was a magician, that is, one who worked wonders or even miracles; significantly, he also worshipped idols. Auzépy sees idols in this context to mean any image, and so denoting all image worshippers, since Heliodorus was intended as an iconophile anti-hero in the saint's life; the aerial deity was also strikingly suggestive of all images of winged beings, notably angels. Although not delineated to the same degree as Heliodorus, Leo of Catania, the real hero of the text, derived his sanctity from his social standing as priest and his good deeds which did not include miracles or image worship. Moreover, Leo replaced the statue which Heliodorus worshipped with a cross, the favored iconoclastic sign.⁷²

69. On this structural similarity, see also chapter 5.

70. Acconcia Longo, "La vita de S. Leone di Catania," 89.21–26 (#8). And see also C. Blum, "The Meaning of στοιχεῖον and its Derivatives in the Byzantine Age. A Study in Byzantine Magic," *Eranos* 44(1946):315–25.

71. Auzépy, "L'analyse littéraire et l'historien," 62ff.

72. Acconcia Longo, "La vita de S. Leone di Catania," 97.1–7 (#18).

In this sense, too, Archippus could be considered to be a hero of the iconoclastic cause: his way of life was the focus of the miracle story rather than any miraculous deeds or interventions. The standard of behavior and the rigor of his prayer were clearly the persuasive means by which the audience was meant to be won over to a proper and efficacious worship. Moreover, like Abraham, Archippus did not make an image in commemoration.⁷³ He guarded the memory of a difficult but enlightening experience in his soul. Finally, he did not lapse into worship of the Archangel himself, and fall into pagan ways, as iconoclastic sources forewarned.

The patriarch Nicephorus (ca. 750–828) fully agreed with the position on idols and worship expressed by the fourth-century anti-image theologians Macarius Magnes and Epiphanius: one should not make idols of angels after the pagan fashion, neither should one worship them. Yet Nicephorus was unwilling to dismiss images commemorating interventions from worship on this account. On the one hand, for Nicephorus and other iconophiles, material objects were appropriate intermediaries for directing honor toward such spiritual beings as angels. Iconoclasts, on the other hand, denied the value of such distracting intermediaries, particularly in the case of such unrepresentable entities. For them, angels and their images had too many inherent dangers for Christians to negotiate. Rather, listening to the text—scripture or, as here, miracle stories—and hearkening to its message was proper and intellectual worship that allowed the reader/listener to ascend to spiritual truths without hindrance. Iconoclastic theology simply could not countenance any mediating steps, especially material ones, between worshipper and spiritual reality. Ethical instruction through persuasive texts such as miracle stories and saints' lives cre-

73. According to Sissinius, after Michael's disappearance Archippus retired to the shrine and returned to prayer. "The venerable one saw him as if a flame of fire streamed up into the heavens, [and] filled with puzzlement and fear, he went back to sing psalms in the holy shrine, 'God has sent his angel and liberated and saved me from the snares of the beasts, and he guarded his sacred shrine from the inundation of the waters.'" See *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 18, AASS Sept. 8:47AB.

ated a “true image” for the behavior and beliefs of conscientious Christians.

Although the Chonae miracle story must have been written or reworked as a consequence of the debates over worship in the eighth century, it was not dismissed after Iconoclasm. The text provided valid models of worship within the iconophile position as well. Indeed, the miracle was retold by Pantaleon in the late ninth/early tenth century and Sissinius and Symeon Metaphrastes in the tenth century; all of these redactions depended upon the anonymous text of the eighth century. Furthermore, the iconography of the miracle is first found in the tenth century, and it became popular thereafter, as the gorgeous twelfth-century icon from Sinai can attest (fig. 15).⁷⁴ The text did not dismiss images, but did describe a successful and orthodox form of worship; in this sense, Archippus was the miracle story’s “true image.” The Chonae story’s models of worship had relevance for both sides of this controversy, and, like the *Vita* of Leo of Catania, they must be seen within the context of debates over images of aerial deities and angels both. And the issue of angelolatry and idolatry are also present in this text as at Chonae since for iconoclasts the two forms of unsuitable worship were inseparable.

One final example of a miracle story including angels serves to show that in the period following Iconoclasm proper worship was again integrated with images, thereby coming full circle with the means of healing described in the seventh-century collection of miracles by Artemius. A miracle that occurred at the church of Michael at Eusebios in Constantinople, described by Pantaleon in his *Narration of the Miracles of the Mighty Archangel Michael*, illustrated this transition from the behavioral model of the Chonae miracle story to

74. The first extant representation of the miracle is found in the Church of St. John, north chapel #4, at Güllü Dere (ca. 900). See N. Thierry, *Haut moyen-âge en Cappadoce. Les églises de la région de Cavusin* (Paris, 1983) 155–56, pl. 71; C. Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce. Le programme iconographique de l’abside et ses abords* (Paris, 1991) 37ff. The earliest example of an illustration of the miracle at Chonae, in the canonical scheme, is found in the late tenth-/early eleventh-century *Menologium* of Basil II (Vat. gr. 1613, page 17). The iconography of the miracle is treated thoroughly by Gabelić, “The Iconography of the Miracle at Chonae,” 96–98.

orthodox worship that includes icons.⁷⁵ The miracle occurred immediately following the reintroduction of images in the reign of Michael III (842–867) under the regency of his mother, Theodora.

The story described Marcianus, a candle maker, and a godly servant of the shrine of Michael. Marcianus was never ill, according to the miracle story, but if he felt the slightest pain he needed only go into the church in order to recover. Once, however, Marcianus became ill and went to the shrine, but not before he was convinced by one of the doctors who congregated around the church to wear a poultice with some medicine. That night Marcianus slept in the church, as was the custom at this shrine, and, as in an ecstasy, he saw a terrifying vision. All the doors of the church were suddenly flung open and towards him came “a fearful man as out of the heaven, with a rush descending on a white and terrible steed.” This man got down from the horse and entered the church with an escort, dressed in the costume of court officials. The church also became suffused with an unworldly odor. After a moment, the man came to Marcianus’s cot and inspecting the recumbent man found the doctor’s medicine. He asked Marcianus what it was and identified himself by demanding who had dared bring such medicine into his house. Marcianus told him, and Michael sent his minions off to find the unfortunate doctor. Michael then took Marcianus to a candle hanging before an icon of the Archangel, dipped his finger in the oil, and made the sign of the cross on the patient’s forehead. Michael got back on his horse and rode off into the heavens. Straightaway all the doors of the church closed by themselves and Marcianus was left to marvel.

In the morning, Marcianus told his vision to the deacon who, seeing the cross on the man’s forehead, believed all he had been told. The deacon then sent to discover what had happened to the doctor

75. Pantaleon, *Narr. mir. max. Arch. Mich.*, XXVI–XXVIII, PG 140:586A–8A, and F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins d’Ochrida, Candie et Moscou* (Brussels, 1963) 147ff.

The text in praise of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel by Michael of Stoudios (late ninth century) also described the connection between icons and healing. See “Éloge des archanges Michel et Gabriel par Michel le Moine (BHG 1294a),” ed. T. Matantseva, *JbB* 46(1996):145 (XI.8).

and learned that the doctor had taken gravely ill during the night. Marcianus went to the doctor, saw his suffering, and ordered that the doctor be brought on his bed to the shrine of Michael to beg forgiveness and mercy. Marcianus re-enacted the method of healing with the oil and icon shown to him by Michael, and so offered the shrine's model for successful healing; forthwith, the doctor was miraculously relieved of his suffering.

Clearly, this text fully integrated images and worship, a remarkable development when compared to the image-less miracle story of Michael at Chonae, and to the unflattering portrait of iconophile worship of angels' images in the *Vita* of Leo of Catania. Behavior was not in the first place the means of gaining an epiphany in the episode described by Pantaleon, but the Archangel himself demonstrated the methods of efficacious healing; this method of approach was convincing by its results and was henceforth reproduced (we are led to believe) at the shrine of Michael at Eusebios. In fact, the shrine with its icon and oil provided the only proper method, as the unfortunate doctor learned.

The assimilation of proper behavior and images was the outcome of this long-standing debate on worship. Icons did not exclude other approaches, like Christian virtue as a "true image," but they were now an inextricable component in a complete Christian ethic. Indeed, the ancient Christian custom of accepting images in worship that iconophiles defended in the ninth century has been seen in practice through these miracle stories and saints' lives: despite inherent difficulties in gaining likeness in art, images were granted relation to their models through practice, through the consensus of worship and, most dramatically, through the miraculous example of Michael himself in the shrine at Eusebios.

Five

APPREHENDING THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL

MANUFACTURING SIGNS OF PRESENCE

This chapter examines the means by which hagiographical writings, that is, miracle stories, attempt to describe the presence and appearances of the Archangel Michael. Dealing with several miracle stories at some length demonstrates the ways in which each text persuades its audience of the Archangel's benign proximity. The tales of the miracle at Chonae contribute particularly in this examination since the "pre-history" of this cult is relatively clear and the shrine's activities during the Byzantine period were famous. Discussing other miracle stories, namely of the sanctuary at Monte Gargano in southern Italy and of the shrine in Asia Minor described by Michael Psellus (1018–1081?), allows certain structural similarities to emerge: the miracle stories reveal the Archangel Michael's elusive, elemental force active in a landscape and consequently bind him to places to strengthen expectation of worshippers' devotional return.

Several tales of the miracle at Chonae are extant, and, as accounts of the most popular miracle of Michael in the Byzantine world, they deserve special attention. All narrate the same series of events: a group of pagans attempt to destroy the shrine of Michael at Chonae

along with the guardian, Archippus, by flooding the vicinity. At the last moment, Michael appears and creates a chasm into which the water is forced to flow. The shrine and its newly fashioned spring henceforth work wonders.

The dating of the earliest miracle story cannot be decided with any finality, but more weight should be given to a late date, preferably in the eighth century, since the “lapses” in topographic detail in the miracle story point to a place of composition distant from the shrine itself and a time after the cult has been firmly established. This anonymous text, *Narration of the Miracle Accomplished at Chonae by the Archangel Michael*, was surely a reworking, however, of an early legend, since the cult of angels, and especially Michael, had an ancient history around Chonae. That the miracle story was re-worked in the eighth century attests to the popularity of the cult in the Byzantine world, but also to a contemporary relevance of its subject.¹

One can be certain, just the same, that the “inconsistencies” and “lapses” in the miracle story work to a purpose and communicate important information about the cult of the Archangel. Indeed, the stories of the miracle of the Archangel Michael at Chonae were persuasive texts, intended to communicate models of proper and successful devotion to an audience. The texts also worked to convince an audience of access to Michael, and through him God, guaranteed by the miracle and appearance of the Archangel at a holy place.

The quality of familiarity with the Archangel, however, is of a different order than that derived from “lives” of the mortal ranks of saints. As Symeon Metaphrastes (d. ca. 1000) wrote in the prologue to his version of the miracle at Chonae (20.8–12),

It is a great deal more beneficial to describe the details of the bodiless powers, to proclaim their heavenly portents and marvels. For by this how much more is familiarity and consort with God and these [powers] increased, by this how much greater the beneficence we harvest in these narratives concerning these [powers].²

1. See chapter 4.

2. All citations in the text refer to Bonnet.

The key term in this passage is “parrêsia” (παρρησία), which I have translated here as “consort” but which could also be rendered as “access” or “patronage” or even “boldness.”³ Although this “access” is not unique to the cult of the Archangel Michael, the incomprehensible nature of the Archangel made “access” more difficult than to the mortal saints. The cult of the Archangel Michael posed special problems for all aspects of devotion, based upon the unique, difficult nature of the angels and the archangels. The elemental qualities of Michael, which removed him from the more easily understood traits and operations of the once human saints, compounded this difficulty.

A topos of texts about the angels is the incomprehensibility of angelic beings and the insuperable distance that separates the angels from humanity. Despite its commonplace aspect, the topos has real meaning as a defining characteristic of the angels and archangels. Michael Psellus in his narrative in praise of the Archangel Michael stated that it is difficult to describe the deeds of humanity, but having surpassed any of these deeds the Archangel lies above in measure.⁴ Moreover, the Archangel remains beyond the praise deriving from speech, and is beyond the power of both the artful and artless.

3. On *parrêsia*, see E. Peterson, “Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte von παρρησία,” in *Reinhold Seeberg Festschrift*, ed. W. Koepf, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1929) I:283–97; G. Scarpat, *Parresia. Storia del termine e delle sue traduzioni in latino* (Brescia, 1963); P.S. Frank, *ΑΙΤΕΛΙΚΟΣ ΒΙΟΣ. Begriffsanalytische und begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum “Engelgleichen Leben” im frühen Mönchtum* (Münster, 1964) 67–68; G.J.M. Bartelink, “Quelques observations sur ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ dans la littérature paléo-chrétienne,” in *Graecitas et latinitas christianorum primaeva*, suppl. 3 (Nijmegen, 1970) 5–57, 155–57; C. Mango, *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980) 159.

4. On this *encomium*, see Michael Psellus, *Oratio in Archangelum Michaelem*, in *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, ed. E.A. Fisher (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1994) 230–56, as well as E.A. Fisher, “Nicomedia or Galatia? Where Was Psellos’ Church of the Archangel Michael?” in *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerlink at 75*, ed. J. Duffy and J. Peradotto (Buffalo, 1988) 175–87, and C. Mango, “La croix dite de Michel le Cérulaire et la croix de Saint-Michel de Sykéôn,” *CA* 36(1988): 41–49.

This topos of the author avowing inability to describe is also “an aesthetic choice bearing moral value.” See D. Krueger, “Hagiography as an Ascetic Practice in the Early Christian East.” *The Journal of Religion* 79(1999):216. But “authorial self-denigration” goes one step further for angels.

In other words, Michael surpasses the abilities of language to describe and honor. The difficulties of understanding are crucial since, as Psellus stated, the seeing and the hearing of a paradoxical, incomprehensible event establishes true faith.⁵ The incomprehensible nature of the appearances and the miracles of the Archangel must be understood in ways outside of the purely logical. Faith, in the face of the inexplicable event communicated by the miracle story, is the first step to comprehension. For Pantaleon, the process of apprehension is also indirect, “You illuminate our intellectual eyes of the heart, so that we should know, and apprehend in the mind and pronounce . . . the miracles of your majesty.”⁶ The difficulties inherent in the nature of the Archangel made for special problems of apprehension. For this reason, a textual and devotional footing distinct from the mortal saints determined access (παρρησία) to the Archangel.

Focusing on the generalized portrait of Archippus, a holy man with no real personality, some modern commentators have criticized the anonymous text describing the miracle at Chonae for its lack of inventiveness. Archippus came to the shrine as a boy and, as the miracle story describes it, he led an austere and, with one exception, an uneventful life. This generalization works to a purpose, however, in that it presents a behavior meant to persuade its audience of the best route to fulfilled entreaty. The narrator of the anonymous version has also been charged with being artless, rude in style, and incomplete in knowledge of the event and region.⁷ The burden of nineteenth-century rationalism doubtless blinkered these scholars to some of the positive aspects of the literary tradition of the Chonae miracle. Hopefully, some of these aspects will emerge from the discussion to follow.

5. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 231.3ff. and 240.224–26.

6. *Narratio miraculorum maximi archangeli Michaelis*, II, PG 140:575AB.

7. W. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire Before 170 a.d.* (New York and London, 1893) 468. See also Bonnet, who comments on the lack of coherence and the implausible additions: “nec arte nec ingenio excellentis nec omnino tamen utroque carentis” (vi), and “Genus dicendi tale est fere quale ab eiusmodi narratore expectes, rude et impolitum, modo tritum et volgare modo arcessitum, modo humile et abiectum modo poeticis verbis infucatum, nonnullis locis etiam soloecum aut barbarum” (vii). The hagiography is not, however, without “viribus et nervis” (vii).

The manner in which the anonymous miracle story described the topography of the area of Chonae is undeniably imprecise. For example, the apostles Philip and John appear at Chairitopa, a town otherwise without importance,⁸ and predict the Archangel's appearance in the future; the story places Chairitopa some miles to the southeast of the shrine and is too far distant to be the site where Michael appeared and the famous church was built. The anonymous redactor of the miracle story evidently assumed that Chairitopa was in the vicinity of Chonae.⁹ Yet the etymology of the toponym may be worth remarking because the place name may then refer generally to the place of the encounter, a station then proleptic to the meeting of Michael and his client. Egregious, too, is the way in which the redactor describes the rivers in the area of Chonae.¹⁰ For example, the Lykokapros is a nonsensical combination of two rivers, and the Lykos itself is said to flow in a direction which is clearly errant. Because of these errors, William Ramsay and others have been willing to accept this miracle story as a kind of naive aetiology of a half-forgotten event concerning earthquake and water supplies.¹¹

8. K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, vol. 7 (Vienna, 1990) 221.

9. And this must have been the case, despite the inexactitude of the redactor's description. Chairitopa may have been to the south or west of Colossae. See L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure. Études de géographie antique* (Paris, 1935) 105ff., and further 105–106 n4: "Il n'y a rien à tirer de précis, pour la topographie, de cet absurd babillage; le rédacteur ne connaissait évidemment pas les lieux de façon précise. Sur la valeur topographique nulle de ce récit [cf. Bonnet and Ramsay]. Une fois que j'ai fixé le site de Keretapa, la question ne se pose plus tout à fait de la même manière; l'hypothèse qu'avait d'abord envisagée M. Bonnet ... s'adapte de façon curieuse à la localisation qu'il ne soupçonnait pas; mais je ne crois pas que ce petit problème vaille la peine d'être repris. De ce Miracle on conclura seulement que Chonae et Keretapa devaient être voisines."

10. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 470–71, and see Bonnet xxviii ff.

11. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 471–72, offers three possibilities for the writing of this legend. First, "Some are mere inventions to explain a name. In this way a tale might be made to explain the name Khonai, 'funnels,' as derived from a channel or funnel through which a neighbouring river flows." Second, "In many cases old legends, told originally of some pagan deity, were transferred to a Christian saint." Third, "Some legends were founded on historical facts, which occurred in Christian times." Ramsay favors the last and cites ancient authors on his behalf. Herodotus described Colossae as a place "wherein the

Regardless of the possible historicity of events giving rise to the cult, the anonymous account of the miracle is clearly dependent upon an amount of artifice for its persuasive power.¹² Its purpose is to provide the Archangel with a comprehensive history, an apostolic initiation, and an open ending; in this view, the text is notably successful. The tale takes place in a plausible geography—despite the apparent inconsistencies—which in the course of the story is miraculously altered to a form more or less familiar to contemporaries. At the end of the miracle story, the rivers ran their proper course, the places had the right names, the crevices spewed their healing water—in other words, the actions of the Archangel completely transformed and purified the area (in the text's terms). The text, then, is not a failed document of unlikely aetiology but rather a reinforcement of the object of Michael's cult, which was to make the angel apprehensible and grounded in a specific place from which his bodiless might emanates. Michael assumes, therefore, a "power base" for his cult.¹³

river Lycus plunges into a cleft in the earth out of sight, till it appears again about five furlongs away and issues like the other river into the Maeander" (7.30; trans. A. D. Godley, 7 vols. [London, 1922] III:345). Pliny wrote in the *Natural History*, "At Colossae is a river, and bricks when cast into it are of stone when taken out" (31.20; trans. W. H. S. Jones, 10 vols. [London, 1963] VIII:395).

And Bonnet xxvi, says that this hagiography is not only a fable (of which this is an example "luculentissimum") but also an "αἰτιολογικόν." It is not just for admiration and exhortation, "sed ab uno aliquo homine excogitari, qui, cum ad miraculum aliquod mens conversa sit et causae cognoscendae studio capta, non rem ipsam qualem oculis adspexit et animo exornavit verbis splendidis exprimit, sed quod quaerendo et ratiocinando de rei cause effecisse sibi videtur quasi memoriae proditum et certum exploratumque credulis auditoribus proponit."

12. Evelyne Patlagean warned against those who use a literal approach, seen to some extent in Ramsay's approach to the hagiography, and who see hagiographies "as a mere stringing together, with some variations in their order, of a limited number of legendary themes, among which the authors, who were both stupid and truthful, had inserted certain facts which were the only elements worthy of attention." Using this method exclusively, she adds, "substitutes for the dynamic coherence of a living work a fictive chimera in which cock-and-bull stories and reliable observations are inexplicably interwoven." See E. Patlagean, "Ancient Byzantine Hagiography and Social History," in *Saints and Their Cults. Studies in Religion, Sociology, Folklore, and History*, ed. S. Wilson, trans. J. Hodgkin (Cambridge, 1983) 101 [= "Ancien hagiographie byzantine et histoire sociale," *Annales* 23(1968):106–26, and *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance, IXe-XIe siècle* (London, 1981) item V].

13. See Mango, *Byzantium*, 157.

Localizing the immaterial Archangel was a goal of cult practice, a strategy reflected in the texts of the miracle in several ways. For instance, the miracle takes place at Colossae or Chairetopa, but miracle stories inevitably describe the change of the name of the site. In the so-called *Menologium* of Basil II (late tenth / early eleventh century), a compilation of brief saints' lives according to the liturgical calendar, the tale begins in a deceptively colorless manner. The narrator says, "in a town called Chonae, once Colossae ..." and he then proceeds to explain how this name change took place.¹⁴ Michael appears to his hermit and creates a cleft in the rock into which the water flows, more miraculously than before. The final sentence is, "Thereafter the place was called Chonae." This text is a condensed version of the transformational capabilities of the Archangel, in this case for landscape. The two topographical markers, the setting stated at the outset which signals a change and the final sentence which signals the reason for the change, are parentheses within which Michael's safeguarding of shrine and hermit take place. These markers, furthermore, give the narrative a sense of coherence and, importantly for a healing shrine, continuity.

In the texts, furthermore, the sense of place is also determined at a more fundamental level than narrative. The semantic play on "chone" (funnel) and its verbal form "choneuo" plant Michael's action firmly in the landscape from the moment of his intervention and into the future.¹⁵ The anonymous redactor has Michael commanding the water into its course at the height of the drama, "Fling

14. *Menologium Basilianum*, PG 117:33CD: "In a town called Chonae, once Colossae, there was a man by the name of Archippos, prudent and God fearing. He settled at the spring, which gushed forth on account of the guardianship of the Archistrategos, and because of the many miracles, and conversions and baptisms which occurred at the spring, Archippos provoked the jealousy of the Hellenes, who could not bear to see the wonderful miracles. Gnashing their teeth over the venerable agiasma and over Archippos they gathered a great many sympathisers, and damned two rivers, and mixing them together, unleashed them directly to overturn the church, agiasma and Archippos. As Archippos heard the roaring of the waters, he called on the Archistrategos to help. And straightaway he appeared and struck the rock with his staff which he held and he funneled the water into the opening. Thereafter the place was called Chonae."

15. See H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1968) s.v. χοναεύω, iv [= χονεύω].

yourself into this funnel, and be funnelled into this chasm, and the splendour of this holy place will be throughout ..." (19.5–7). In the version of the miracle written by Symeon Metaphrastes, Michael, before striking the rock, says to the water, "Funnel yourself into the funnel" (27.24). In the *Menologium* text, Michael in the penultimate sentence "funnels the water," and in the last the narrator tells us that the place was henceforth called "funnels" or Chonae.

This play is common, in some form, to all versions of the miracle. The pun binds Michael's act precisely to exact properties of the site, in a region known for its uncertain geology, with fissures and hidden sources, now controlled and marked by Michael, as well as signifying an exact quality of the site as a place made salutary and benign by the extraordinary act of the Archangel.¹⁶ The nature of the act appears to create the name of the site, that is, Michael creates funnels and the place is henceforth known as "funnels." However, the miracle story's pseudo-etymology of "funnels," in linguistic terms, is "retro-motivated."¹⁷ The process of "retro-motivation" implies a paradoxical inversion since the name, here Chonae, determines the character of the event. The place, given new significance in the text, in fact limits Michael's own movements. The paradoxical operation

16. For E. Gothein, "L'arcangelo Michele, santo popolare dei Longobardi," *Rassegna Pugliese di scienze, lettere ed arte* 13(1896):108–109, the chasm created in the hagiography is the reason for the entire cult. It was the work of a demigod, and the impression "che qui si tratti di un culto naturale, è prodotta anche da tutto il resto: dalla sacra fonte e dalla figura fiammeggiante dell'angelo. È un fatto caratteristico, che solo la trasformazione ecclesiastica posteriore delle leggende, la quale va sotto il nome di Metafrasto, gli faccia sedare e respinger l'onde furiose col segno della croce.... Appunto la potenza personale dell'angelo e la trasformazione arbitraria della natura, per la qual cosa egli, più che qualunque santo umano, avvicinavasi alla natura divina, costituiva l'attrattiva per la fantasia popolare."

Similarly, F. W. Hasluck, *Letters on Religion and Folklore* (London, 1926) 85ff., stated that Michael's connection with Chonae was with the chasm and not the spring. He saw Michael's role as primarily a "devil-dompter" at the mouth of hell; as the opponent of the devil, Michael took care of healings and madness.

17. P. Guiraud, "Étymologie et ethymologia (Motivation et rétro-motivation)," *Poétique* 11(1972):408: "Mais dans tous les exemples ici en cause le nom reprend ses droits et c'est lui qui motive le statut sémiologique du signifié: la forme crée le fond, le mot engendre la chose, par un procédé que l'on pourrait appeler 'rétro-motivation.'" And also, N. Struever, "Fables of Power," *Representations* 4(1983):112: "In retro-motivation, names create situations, narratives generate structures, words engender things ... the newly endowed word is then used as a proof of phenomenal character or event...."

both situates him and deprives him of initiative at the heart of his own act. Moreover, the predetermined quality of Michael's act is typologically reinforced by a parallel overtly made to Moses's miracle at Horeb (Ex. 17:6). This retro-motivation and typology indicate the inherent difficulties of describing an indescribable being and the processes by which he made his presence known.

Michael's imprint on the material world, here the physical realignment of his shrine and renewal of the miraculous qualities of the inexhaustible spring, is the only possible relic for a bodiless angel. The relic of an angel can only be negative, as the common epithets of the angels, bodiless (ἄσώματος) or immaterial (ἄύλος), are only negative attributes. At Chonae, the relic is not additive since nothing is left behind; Michael alters the landscape and in that way leaves traces of his immaterial presence. In the face of the natural uncertainties surrounding the Archangel, this alteration is the only positive proof possible. Moreover, the text promotes a place where regular exchange with the incomprehensible Archangel is possible and where a balance of prayer and reward is effected.¹⁸ Cult binds Michael to the site as the retro-motivated act embeds him within the very topography.

This structure of transformation and imprint is common to miracle stories concerning the Archangel Michael and is often an attribute of Michael's successful sanctuaries. For this reason, an examination of other miracle shrines and their texts situates this structure further in the cult of the Archangel Michael. The shrine of the Archangel Michael on Monte Gargano in Apulia in southern Italy has long been recognized as a descendant of the cult of Michael at Chonae.¹⁹ The miracle story of Michael at Gargano dates in its pres-

18. J. Walter, "St Demetrius: The Myroblytos of Thessalonika," *Eastern Churches Review* 5(1973):158 [= C. Walter, *Studies in Byzantine Iconography* (London, 1977) item V], notes the difficulties in dislodging Demetrius from his shrine at Thessalonike, and ventures that, paradoxically, this may have arisen from the fact that Demetrius was not there. The cult relied on proofs deriving from the *ex voto* images set up in his church. In contrast, Michael's cult relied on different kinds of material proofs commensurate with his formless nature.

19. See Gothein, "L'arcangelo Michele, santo popolare dei Longobardi," 111ff.; W.v. Rintelen, *Kultgeographische Studien in der Italia Byzantina. Untersuchungen über die Kulte des Erzengels Michael und der Madonna di Constantinopoli in Süditalien* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1968) 3ff.; idem, "Kult- und Legendenwanderung von Ost nach West in frühen Mittelalter," *Saeculum* 22(1971):98; G. Otranto, "Il 'Liber de apparitione,' il santuario di San Michele sul

ent form to the eighth or ninth century,²⁰ and a Greek version was written in the late ninth or early tenth century, a time of the Byzantine re-conquest of the region.²¹

The Monte Gargano miracle story comprises three distinct, and rather disjointed, sections. At the beginning of the tale, a bull strayed from the herd of a wealthy local landowner, Garganus, on the slopes of the mountain. Garganus set out in search of the animal himself and eventually found the bull in a cave. The hot-headed squire, Garganus, became incensed at the animal and fired an arrow at it, but this arrow inexplicably returned “as if breathed upon by wind,” and struck the sender instead.²² Garganus returned to town and told his story to the locals, who were astounded by the incident. When canvassed, the bishop undertook a fast of three days and nights to discover the hidden cause. On the third night, a vision of the Archangel Michael visited the bishop, and it told the bishop that Michael had returned the arrow. At this Michael identified himself,²³ and said that the reason for his intervention was that he wished “to dwell in this place on earth and guard all.” Going to the mountainside the next day the bishop and townsfolk found that two doors were cut into the face of the mountain.

In the next episode, Michael appeared in another dream of the bishop and predicted the victory of the Sipontini, and their allies the Beneventi, over their enemies, the “heathen” Neapolitans. The next

Gargano e i Longobardi del Ducato di Benevento,” in *Santuari e politica nel mondo antico*, ed. M. Sordi (Milan, 1983) 241ff.

20. G. Otranto, “Il ‘Liber de apparitione’ e il culto di San Michele sul Gargano nella documentazione liturgica altomedievale,” *VetChr* 18(1981):440ff.

21. This text was first reported by A. Petrucci, *Una versione greco-bizantina dell'Apparitione Sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano* (Rome, 1955) and has been subsequently edited by Sandro Leanza. See also G. Otranto, “Per una metodologia della ricerca storico-agiografica: Il Santuario micaelico del Gargano tra Bizantini e Longobardi,” *VetChr* 25(1988):400ff.

22. Leanza 301.38–39, *AASS* Sept. 8:61C, and *MGH* 54I.28–31. Otranto, “Il ‘Liber de apparitione,’” 217ff., sees a trace of the defeat of paganism in this episode, a kind of battle between Garganus, a local god perhaps, and the new occupant, Michael. Although it is true that Garganus is not called *vir* in the texts, neither is paganism mentioned; in the text's terms, Michael's redirection of the arrow is a sign of presence and also nomination.

23. Leanza 315, on ll.48–49, where terms very close to Matt. 2:13 are used, and the Greek text simply substitutes “ἀρχάγγελος” for “ἄγγελος,” and “ἀγιωτάτης ἐπισκόπης” for “Ἰωσηφ.”

day strange things happened on the mountain, amongst them rumblings like thunder, lightning and darkness.²⁴ The “pagan” enemies were frightened off by these inexplicable signs and the Sipontini enjoyed an “angelic victory.”²⁵ Ascending to the site of the doors, the locals entered the cave and found traces there of the Archangel’s presence—“a small trace, as if the footstep of a man, struck there in the marble.”²⁶ By means of the signs of his tracings, this church was called the “place of the footprints.”²⁷

After the third visitation of the Archangel, the shrine was completed. The bishop, wondering about the proper way to consecrate this unparalleled chapel, had another vision, and the Archangel himself told the bishop not to consecrate the church because, “I myself have put it in order and consecrated it. You need only come and approach with your entreaties since I am attending as master in that place.”²⁸ Michael told him to come the next day and he would at that time show them how that place would guide them. The bishop visited the next day and found at the same spot a chapel ready made, carved out of the living rock “as if by the hands of the Archangel” (fig. 18). The chapel was clearly not produced by human hands, the narrator remarks, because the chapel was so irregular and rough, so full of corners and angles, that only an Archangel could have manufactured it.²⁹ They also found there a red cloak covering the altar—recollecting Elijah’s abandoned mantle (2 Kings 2:13)—and a spring erupted nearby which became a famous healing source.³⁰

The structural similarities, in the means by which the immaterial Archangel is grounded and made more really present, are striking in

24. Leanza 303.83ff. and 315–16; *AASS* Sept. 8:61D.

25. Leanza 302.81–303.2.

26. *AASS* Sept. 8:61E, *MGH* 542.23–24, and Leanza 303.98ff.

27. Leanza 303.105–304.107. In Greek, the allusion to the imprint of the feet is more obvious since *Apodonia* is clearly a loan word within the Latin text. See Leanza 313.

28. Leanza 305.139–42. Compare *MGH* 542.39–543.3.

29. Leanza 306.156ff.; *AASS* Sept. 8:62AB; *MGH* 543.4–14.

30. Leanza 307.182–83, which recalls Matthew 4:24 (“And his fame went throughout all Syria: and they brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those which were possessed with devils, and those which were lunatick, and those that had the palsy; and he healed them”); *AASS* Sept. 8:62BC; *MGH* 543.19ff.

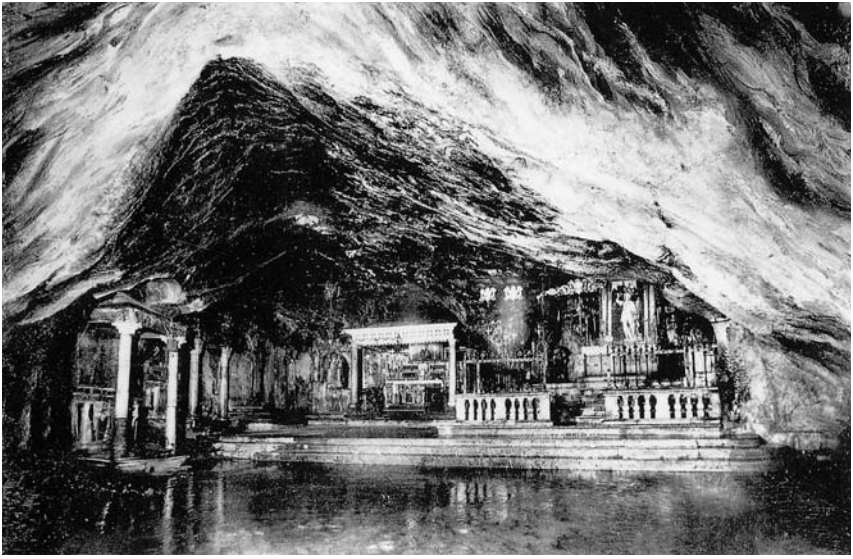


Figure 18. Sanctuary of the Archangel Michael at Mt. Gargano, Apulia, Italy.
Photo: Biblioteca Comunale, Città di Monte Sant'Angelo.

the cases of Chonae and Gargano.³¹ In the Gargano miracle story, the first appearance of the Archangel brings about a renaming of the mountain, for now, “ex eventu,”³² the mountain is named after the wealthy Garganus. As at Chonae, Michael works at this nominative level and also transforms the holy site in a manner that specifically signals archangelic agency. The gradual construction of the chapel and his own heavenly consecration confirm Michael’s voluntary presence. The impression of Michael’s “body” is, furthermore, a dynamic relic, reductive and yet stamped at the focus of cult, the altar, a sign of immanence contained.³³ Footprints are an ancient sign of pres-

31. Rintelen, *Kultgeographische Studien*, 15.

32. *AASS* Sept. 8:60B. The identity of the figure of Garganus has been the source of much speculation. Most authors see Garganus as a remnant of some uncertain pagan deity Michael supplants. See, for an overview, Otranto, “Il ‘Liber de apparitione,’” 213ff., and especially 220ff., on the interesting parallels of the episode with Barlaam and the ass (Numbers 22:22ff.).

33. Footprints are common signs of presence in Greco-Roman sanctuaries throughout the Mediterranean, either of the divinity or of the worshipper (ambivalence is built into

ence, and at Gargano the assurance is essential for an incorporeal being who has chosen a place on earth for his “fleeting abode.”³⁴ Furthermore, the inscription over the door of the church at Gargano reinforces the notion of the spot hallowed by contact with Michael by recalling Exodus 3:5, where Moses is ordered to take off his shoes on account of the holy ground.³⁵

As at Chonae, a moral directive functions in the miracle story that describes the behavior proper to receiving revelation and epiphany of angels. God has sent Michael, the Greek miracle story of Gargano states, as guardian for those who were worthy.³⁶ Inevitably the text presents a moral program for devotees to follow in order to be considered deserving. When Garganus descended with his mysteriously inflicted wound, he naturally appealed to the bishop.³⁷ The bishop then fasted in order to learn the cause, since, as in the case of Archipus, the rules for this kind of appeal were well established in scripture and in other texts. After the bishop had completed the fast, the Archangel visited the bishop in a dream, and he said, “let it be known to you that it occurred because I willed it. For I am the Arch-

these signs). On this, see K.M.D. Dunbabin, “‘Ipsa deae vestigiae ...’ Footprints Divine and Human on Graeco-Roman Monuments,” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 3(1990): 85–109. Christianity absorbed this feature of pagan religions by the fourth century, at least, as the shrine on the Mount of Olives built for the footprints of Christ shows. See B. Kötting, “Fußspuren als Zeichen göttlicher Anwesenheit,” *Boreas* 6(1983):200–201.

For angels the sign of footsteps has a different meaning. The footsteps describe a fleeting presence made imminent and concrete. For instance, at Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome, the marble footsteps of the angel who appeared to Gregory the Great are kept. See M.M. Guarducci, “Le impronte del ‘Quo vadis’ e monumenti affini, figurati ed epigrafici,” *Rendiconti. Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 19(1942/4):315; and B. Pesci, “Il problema cronologico della Madonna di Aracoeli alla luce delle fonti,” *RivAC* 18(1941):53ff. In the case of the angels, footprints serve to give form to formless beings; they are simple, visible signs of past manifestation and constant presence.

34. Gothein, “L'arcangelo Michele,” 142; and see C. Angelillis, *Il santuario del Gargano e il culto di S. Michele nel mondo*, 2 vols. (Foggia, 1956) I:231.

35. Angelillis, *Il santuario del Gargano*, I:47.

36. Leanza 300.9–10. At 311, he also remarks on the same effacement of ancient heresy found in the Chonae hagiographies. In the Latin text Michael is moved in favor of the Sipontini because of his compassion for human frailty, while in the Greek text it is God who has compassion for human fragility and this in turn moves Michael on the behalf of the Sipontini. Leanza plausibly suggests the modification is due to theological preoccupations with making Michael's intervention subservient to God's will.

37. Leanza 301.39ff.

angel Michael, he who always stands in the presence of God.”³⁸ The bishop fasted a second time, “so as to be worthy of Michael’s aid and presence,”³⁹ and had a second vision. Michael’s appearances and construction henceforth miraculously transformed the site, and the access given to the bishop was opened, in lesser degrees, to all those far and wide who were worthy.⁴⁰

Important for devotional ends, however, was the emphasis on presence. The prologue to the Greek text specifies the “digging” and manufacture of the cave-church as an incontrovertible sign of the Archangel’s visitation and presence. The miracle story remarks on the very roughness and oddity of the construction as a mark of the benevolence and heartfelt solicitation of devotion. Michael’s presence infuses every corner and crevice of the chapel because of the superhuman technique of construction, as Michael’s extraordinary act of intervention at Chonae impressed his presence on the spring and chasm. Since Gargano was the radiating point for the cult of Michael for the West, other shrines in Italy and the rest of Europe consistently imitated the idiosyncratic invention and shape of the church.⁴¹ The foundation of the monastery at Mt. Tumba in Normandy self-consciously modeled itself after the Gargano sanctuary, down to the importation of monks and a piece of the altar stone as a relic from Gargano.⁴² In western Europe roughly designed churches

38. Leanza 301.47ff.

39. Leanza 302.66ff.

40. Leanza 307.188.

41. Gothein, “L’arcangelo Michele,” 141: “questa sua miracolosa abitazione terrena lo fece apparir sempre come una specie di divinità naturale”; and in time, Gothein says, the irregularity and the roughness of the shrine became “un simbolo prediletto dall’arcangelo.” He adds that the candles which burn during the day in the grotto are allowed to snuff out at dusk because it is then that the archangel is believed to enter his sanctuary. And see G. Otranto and C. Carletti, *Il santuario di S. Michele arcangelo sul Gargano dalle origine al X secolo* (Bari, 1990) 57–71, and O. Campagna, “La grotta di S. Michele alla Serra di Grisolia,” *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 40(1986):57–65, on the typology of Michael’s cave sanctuaries.

42. The similarities between Tumba and Gargano are striking and indeed entirely purposeful. Michael makes his will known through signs and visions and more importantly in his reshaping of the holy sanctuary. See AASS Sept. 8:75E, 77C, and *Millénaire monastique du Mont-St.-Michel*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1971).

placed on mountain tops became a symbol of the Archangel's presence.⁴³

These palpable signs are momentous within the cult of Michael since, as the narrator of the Greek miracle story states, "order is made through signs and heavenly power."⁴⁴ These signs are more apprehensible when made materially and dramatically. The first incident on Gargano was really a signal of Michael's intent; the returned arrow is noteworthy in the miracle story because of its ambiguity and fleeting quality. Further, the dreams of the bishop are transitory visions in the murky realms of the unconscious, and they are restricted to one person. The irrefutable physical impressions made by the Archangel inspired the collective imagination and other sanctuaries reproduced them. The miracle story presents these marks of voluntary presence as ways in which they bridle Michael so that material signs mediate his immaterial being and make him comprehensible.⁴⁵

Psellus's eleventh-century narrative praising the Archangel Michael provides an important contrast to the stories of the miracles at Chonae and Gargano and their cult certainties. The precise location of the shrine described by Psellus is not known, since he presented little topographical detail, but it may well have been in Galatia in Asia Minor, perhaps in the city of Sykeon.⁴⁶ In the prologue, Psellus extolled the Archangel's splendid qualities. Michael surpasses in mea-

43. See T. Baumeister, "Religionsgeschichtliche und kultgeographische Aspekte der westlichen Michaelsverehrung," in *Memoriam sanctorum venerantes: miscellanea in onore di Monsignor Victor Saxer*, Studi di antichità cristiana, vol. 48 (Vatican City, 1992) 11–19.

44. Leanza 300.5–7.

45. Michael's immanent protection was held to be magically ensured by means of images and names in some popular legends. See, for example, E. Amélineau, *Contes et romans de l'Égypte chrétienne* (Paris, 1888) 41, on the Coptic legend of Euphemia. In the legend, Satan says to Michael, "O Monseigneur l'archange, aie pitié de moi; j'ai eu l'audace de commettre la faute d'entrer dans une chambre où se trouvaient ton nom et ton image: je t'en supplie, ne me fais pas périr avant que le terme de mon existence soit arrivé.... Je vais te promettre devant Dieu de ne plus entrer dans un endroit où sera ton nom."

46. On the topography, see Fisher, "Nicomedia or Galatia?" 170ff.; Mango, "La croix dite le Cerulaire," 48; V. Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture (582–867): Its History and Structural Elements*, *Orientalia christiana analecta*, vol. 237 (Rome, 1991) 242ff., on the village of Sykeon in Galatia, but especially 249; R. Volk, *Der medizinische Inhalt der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich, 1990) 196ff.

sure and magnitude the nature and deeds of humanity. One must “announce the great things of the nature over us” and proclaim the miracles of the Archangel even more than those of the human saints.

Psellus then proceeded to narrate the events that led up to the foundation of the church of Michael. Heraclius (ca. 575–641) was in the course of returning to Constantinople after a triumphant campaign against the Persians in the Holy Land.⁴⁷ His victories were aided in no small part by a miraculous cross, which had powers against unseen hateful ones and all other battling powers. The emperor had decided to rest on this return journey in the vicinity of a church dedicated to the Theotokos, and he deposited the cross on the altar of that church for the duration of the stay. When it was time to recommence the journey, Heraclius sent some soldiers to collect the cross at the church. However, the cross refused to be moved and could not be dislodged from the altar no matter what effort was applied to it, “just as some rocky outcrop is unshaken by waves falling upon it.”⁴⁸ Almost immediately the soldiers were distracted by a second and more wondrous miracle when the cross kindled into strange flame.

The sparks of an unseen fire shone forth at first. Thereupon, the cross caught fire entirely. And the kindling increased a little, and with a little help it, having been brought altogether to a head, also spread through the whole building and around the church. And now [the fire] was thrown from the building and it seemed that the whole thing was about to be burned. . . . But the fire was consumed in the same way as the ancient bush. Whence it burned, it did not consume the church, but rather the church burning to ashes was beaming with light. And in the same way that it had been attacked invisibly, in this same way it was again extinguished with the flames quenched, and the church showed forth as before, only more pure than it had been. But at least I do not suppose that this was a somatic fire, though it had been seen and considered by many in this way, but the divine Archangel decided to appear out of immaterial-

47. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 233.50ff.

48. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 238.158ff.

ity possessing a being of fire, in the church of the Mother of God, since the intelligible lightning of burning heat was being made manifest to the onlookers as sensual burning heat.⁴⁹

When the emperor heard of this miracle, he was greatly moved and he commissioned churches for the Archangel and the Mother of God as well as providing monks for the foundation, thereby “making an angelic order on earth for the Archangel.”⁵⁰ And Psellus concluded by saying that the former flame still burns in the hearts of those practicing there and the Archangel oversees them still.

This is a remarkable miracle not least because of the inscrutability of the cause. Psellus did not declare Michael’s agency except by the nature of the miracle, which itself has congruity with Michael’s own nature. Michael’s fiery and spiritual constitution seems to have been the only possible means by which such a paradoxical miracle could have been accomplished. Psellus, moreover, could not state the reason for Michael’s intervention in a church of the Theotokos through an object which he himself said is inextricably linked to Christ. Psellus offered two possibilities: “Either he wanted to take up residence in this sacred church and to perform miracles there, or honouring the image of the Virgin, he desired to serve under the personal command of the queen there.”⁵¹ Psellus confessed he did not know for certain. He continued his miracle story with descriptions of some of the miracles that followed on this miraculous enunciation of intent by the Archangel. Michael brings about cures and miracles in a number of ways, either through the agency of the cross, or by a person’s simply being in the church or taking sacraments. By these means, Michael shows his “great power” and his “overshadowing presence.”⁵² The inscrutability of Michael’s presence is noteworthy when

49. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 238.179–239.192. The icon that is not consumed by fire also has a history. See O. Meinardus, “A Typological Analysis of the Traditions Pertaining to Miraculous Icons,” in *Wegzeichen. Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Prof. Dr. Hermangild M. Lieberman OSA*, ed. E. C. Suttner and C. Patock (Würzburg, 1971) 220–21.

50. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 239.203ff.

51. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 239.198–201.

52. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 247.404–406.

compared to the direct, unmistakable traces left at Chonae and Gargano. And yet the cross contained and channeled Michael's presence through the cross there. This object is in some sense a conduit for Michael's activity "by which and in which the great Archistrategos works miracles."⁵³ Michael's immanence has thereby found some kind of cast.

These miracle stories all display the extraordinary means necessary for the foundation of cult shrines of the bodiless Archangel. These special strategies are even more evident when contrasted to miracle stories of the mortal saints. For example, in the ninth century, Nicephorus, a priest at the church of the Virgin in Blachernai at Constantinople, wrote an encomium in honor of Theodore of Sykeon (d.613) in which he described the procession of the body of Theodore from his home province of Galatia to Constantinople. A miracle which has striking similarities to Michael's initial miracle described by Psellus occurred in the course of that procession.⁵⁴ Theodore of Sykeon's bier halted of its own accord outside the walls of the capital and could not be moved. A second miracle followed this first as one of the team of animals drawing the cart spoke in order to make the saint's will known. Reminiscent of Balaam's ass (Numbers 22:22ff.), the animal said that the saint wished to reside in this place and work wonders there.⁵⁵ The immovable object followed by a more fantastic miracle constitutes a striking similarity between the miracles of Theodore of Sykeon and Michael.⁵⁶

53. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 244.319ff.

54. K. Kirch, "Nicephori Sceuphyllacis encomium in S. Theodorum Siceotam," *AB* 20(1901):269.22–32.

55. Similar foundation legends are noted by G. Dagron, "Constantinople. Les sanctuaires et l'organisation de la ville religieuse," *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne. Lyons, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 Septembre 1986)*, 3 vols. (Vatican City, 1989) II:1072–73.

56. Fisher, "Nicomedia or Galatia?" 182. She sees several elements in common between the two hagiographies: first, a sudden and persistent immovability and, second, a greater miracle which serves to confirm the first. Moreover, Fisher posits the dependence of the hagiography of Psellus on that of Theodore of Sykeon on account of local competitiveness between the two local cults. She also sees significance, in both instances, of an offering of an explanation for the incidents, even though Psellus's interpretation is notably vague. Michael is connected to the phenomenon at the church because of its elemental force, the natural association of Michael with fire. Fisher also sees "imagery of flashing light associated with the

Important, however, are the differences which do show the particular character of Michael's cult. In the narrative of Psellus, Michael works through the cross. By contrast, Theodore of Sykeon continued to operate after his death through his corporeal relics, thus making his presence known on earth thereafter. In fact, relics are key in the cult of most mortal saints and serve to distinguish them from the cult activity of the Archangel.⁵⁷ Moreover, as the sermon of Severus of Antioch (ca. 465–538) shows, the church often introduced relics of mortal saints into shrines of angels in order to make the cult of angels palatable to authorities.⁵⁸

With or without a relic, Michael's presence at the church Psellus described is simply inexplicable and unpredictable, but undeniably there. The ambiguity of Michael's appearance is also noteworthy in comparison to the unmistakable communication of Theodore of Sykeon's will concerning his earthly remains. Michael's will, on the other hand, asserts itself through a kind of immanence and an effect on the shrine that purifies through invisible contact with the Archangel. Michael has left traces on the site in that he has perceptibly altered the church, and the subsequent thaumaturgic character of the shrine proves this alteration.

holy one," although I do not see this figuring in the Theodore text in the same way. What seems more important, then, are the factors not shared, notably relics, an unambiguous revelation of will and the incomprehensible angelic manifestation. On the textual level, moreover, one can make an equally strong case for scriptural precedents as providing clearer paradigms for the Psellus hagiography.

57. M. Rouche, "Le combat des saintes anges et des démons: La victoire de Saint Michel," *Santi e demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (secoli v–xi)*, Settimane vol. 36, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1989) I:534.

58. See chapter 2 for the sermon, but see also the Council of Carthage (ca. 400?) which ruled that churches and shrines of the saints themselves must not be founded without relics. The Fathers of this Council decided against the custom of establishing shrines by the faithful who invoke some apparition of saints or of the martyrs in dreams or revelations. See G. A. Ralles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, 6 vols. (Athens, 1852–1859) III:508ff. On relics and angels, see P. Canivet, "Le *Michaelion* de Huarte (Ve s.) et le culte syrien des anges," *B 50*(1980):110ff.; P. and M. T. Canivet, *Huarte. Sanctuaire chrétien d'Apamène (IVe–VIe s.)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1987) I:279ff.; Severus of Antioch (ca. 465–538), *Les homiliae cathedrales*, PO vol. 8/2, ed. M. Brière (Paris, 1919; rp. Turnhout, 1971) 84ff.; and P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1985) 56. And see *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1970) I:36 (40.10ff.), 57 (70.1ff.), 80 (100.1ff.), 82–83 (103.1ff.), 140 (161.51ff.), on the association of St. George and Michael in Galatia.

Another telling comparison can be made to the “life” and cult of Thecla.⁵⁹ The saint, according to her miracle story, appears in dreams and in other ways beyond her shrine at Seleucia in southeastern Asia Minor. The “life” states that the shrine is located on the site of her descent into the living rock. According to the “life,” God opened the rock in order to engulf her, saying,

“Do not fear . . . behold how it has opened up before you, for there shall be your eternal dwelling place, and there you shall receive shelter.” And . . . Thecla beheld the rock opening up, as much as made room for a person to enter . . . and she entered the rock. And the rock closed straightaway. . . .⁶⁰

The legend is clearly charged with explaining the lack of actual relics or known grave site. The rock simply split at the altar and all suffering and illness were dispelled at that spot. Gilbert Dagron saw this as an alternate tradition that arose locally in Seleucia, orally perhaps, in order to compensate for the absence of relics.⁶¹ For the locals, he proposed, Thecla continued to inhabit the place, eternally resting and alive, like Enoch. Indeed, Severus of Antioch wrote in his homily on Thecla that the saint’s body was entrusted to the earth whence her miracles and healings continue.⁶²

The relics of Cyrus and John, on the other hand, are witness to the authenticity of the cult, at Menuthis near Alexandria.⁶³ The relics had been found by Cyril of Alexandria (378–444),⁶⁴ though they were previously unknown, and brought to the sanctuary at Menuthis. The author of the “life,” Sophronius (ca. 560–638), would brook no doubt on the subject of the relics’ worth and veracity. In one of the miracles, a woman called Athanasia from Alexandria re-

59. L. Deubner, *De incubatione capita quattuor* (Leipzig, 1900) 98ff.

60. Deubner, *De incubatione*, 102.

61. *Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle. Texte grec, traduction et commentaire*, ed. G. Dagron (Brussels, 1978) 50ff.

62. *Les homiliae cathedrales*, 136–37.

63. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d’Orient*, 384ff.

64. *Homilia xviii. Fragmenta de translatione reliquiarum martyrum Cyri et Joannis*, PG 77:1100C ff.

fused the title of martyr to Cyrus and John because no documents existed to satisfy her concerning the saints' deeds and the provenance of their relics.⁶⁵ Sophronius observed that many martyrs do not have documentation for their relics and that devotees piously venerated them for their qualities as intercessors. He further claimed that Cyril of Alexandria's texts are documentation enough for the relics' authenticity. Even without this indisputable fact, he continued, the martyrs' *bona fides* is the number of miracles, which exceeds those of certain other martyrs. Athanasia was willfully deaf to any argument and was struck by paralysis as punishment; only with her repentance was the affliction lifted. With mortal saints, the traces of activity constituted a partial proof of their existence; and yet the infallible proof was their relics.

In contrast to the mortal saints, the bodiless Archangel, who has no earthly existence, is made known by imprints and transformations of the perceptible world; remnants of a physical, mundane past are not possible. The relative stability of the effects, and the wonders deriving from them, is a necessary counterbalance to the essentially incomprehensible nature of the cause, the Archangel Michael. The invisible movements and inscrutable purposes of the angels are sometimes manifest, however, and in a way recognizable and approachable even to humanity. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite described the invisible, intellectual life of the angels using the metaphor of the lion who walks towards the sun without leaving any trace.⁶⁶ In this manner, the angels themselves imitate divine discretion in dissimulating the traces of their intelligence. The angels are permitted a divine illumination in enveloping mysteriously and without arrogance this ascension towards the Thearchy. The intellectual nature of the angels' activities necessitates that unmistakable tracks be left behind to signal the protective presence of Michael, or any other angel, for cult. The abstract and recondite nature of the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius could not have satisfied any desire for

65. *Homilia xviii*, XXIX, PG 87.3:3508A–13C.

66. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, SC vol. 58, ed. G. Heil and M. de Gandillac (Paris, 1958) 185 n1.

devotional certainties. Just the same, these passages on the intellectual life of the angels describe the remoteness and incomprehensibility of the angelic host. This theological conception, then, is the counterpoint to the miracle stories' descriptions of Michael's effect on place. The continuing guardianship manifest in Michael's traces, and underlined in the miracle stories, maintain his immanence in the wake of his difficult epiphany.

The Archangel's own promise of intent in the accounts of the Chonae miracle underlines the importance of place in his cult. At the climax of the miracle story, with the water standing before them to the height of ten persons, Michael struck the impenetrable rock, which resounded throughout the land like thunder. Michael then made his vow (18.8–12): "In this very place will be crushed all suffering and every evil and illness and enchantment and poison and all workings of wickedness. Here all fetters will be loosened and the troubled and the feeble will be healed."

At Gargano also Michael made explicit the motive behind his appearances. He appeared to Garganus and to the bishop, and constructed the chapel, in order that he might make known his will to remain present with benevolent purpose at that site. The material traces of this difficult presence at a blessed place are the signs the cult depended upon and are the common structure of these texts and the cult the texts relate.

Pilgrimage is an extension of this basic impulse to find ongoing testimony of Michael's benevolent activity. The hope of finding deliverance is greater at places where presence is promised and proven.⁶⁷ Victor and Mary Turner have written, "All sites of pilgrimage have this in common: they are believed to be places where miracles once happened, still happen and may happen again."⁶⁸ The shrine at Chonae was the site of pilgrimage and famous festivals in honor of the saint, at least until the late twelfth century and possibly

67. V. Turner and M. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture. Anthropological Perspectives* (New York, 1978) 6.

68. Turner / Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 6.

beyond.⁶⁹ Testimony establishes that pilgrims came to Chonae for the efficacious quality of a site where the presence of the bodiless Archangel was tangible, visible and constant.⁷⁰

The difficulties of perception and comprehension of the angels, particularly of the active and popular Michael, made certain strategies desirable in cult and its textual manifestations. The enigmatic nature of the Archangel found counterbalances in the positive proofs of cult, that is, material traces of the bodiless Archangel. On a textual level, the miracle stories underscore the importance of material traces by such devices as retro-motivation and re-nomination. Pilgrims sought the Archangel's favor, and healing and other assistances were expressions of his material interventions of a benevolent character: these were the cult certainties that the devotion to an immaterial being demanded. According to the stories of the miracle at Chonae, the landscape witnessed in a crucial sense Michael's presence and still contains the effects of that intervention. In a more radical, more thoroughgoing way, the landscape is a witness, since—as will be seen in the following section—autopsy is elusive and illusory.

69. Michael Choniates (ca. 1138–ca. 1222) described the gatherings for the shrine of Michael in this way: “The miracles in the church gave rise to a festival, a multitudinous festival, about it. It is multitudinous, indeed very multitudinous, for it draws, not to exaggerate, all the neighbouring towns, but also in addition the Lydians, Carians, Paphlagonians, and Lycians from beyond, and in addition barbarian Iconiotes, in order to buy and sell.” See Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιατοῦ τὰ Σωζόμενα, ed. S.P. Lampros, 2 vols. (Athens, 1879–1880) I:56; trans. S. Vryonis, Jr., “The *Panegyris* of the Byzantine Saint: A Study in the Nature of a Medieval Institution, Its Origins and Fate,” in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London, 1981) 216.

70. On the pilgrimage to Chonae, see S. Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkeley, 1971, 20, 33 n165, and B. Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa. Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche* (Münster, 1950; rp. Münster, 1980) 166ff., Belke/Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, 223, and Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient*, 385.

Pilgrims also made their way to the shrine of Michael described by Psellus. He mentions a *panegyros* held for Michael there (Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 246.388), and a pilgrims' hostel (Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 246.368–72). And for Gargano, the long and well-documented history of pilgrimage is outlined by Angelillis, *Il santuario del Gargano*, II:163–250.

By their use of metaphor and scriptural model, miracle stories reveal the distance that separates human comprehension from full knowledge of the Archangel. The disparity between this desire for a greater apprehension and the ultimate failure to describe marks the verbal impasse in reports of the Archangel and his activities. Material images also share in this impasse. They normally show a winged youth, as in the Sinai icon of the Chonae miracle (fig. 15), but such a representation is simply an allusion to a transcendent nature rather than a literal rendering of an angel's appearance. Descriptions from miracle stories examined here do not provide stable models for representing the Archangel as they can for human saints. Like images, miracle stories provide a means for apprehension that not only compels contemplation but also denies resemblance and complete discernment of the archangelic subject.

Pre-existing structures derived from scripture and other texts determine to a large extent verbal descriptions in miracle stories of angels, including the Archangel Michael. These descriptions are recognizably "borrowed" and thus venerable because of their origins. They create familiarity and persuade the audience as to the miracle story's verity. At the same time, the unoriginal quality of the descriptions work to another purpose: descriptions of the Archangel obtained from scriptural passages reporting epiphanies indicate the impossibility of language truly rendering an Archangel or angel.

The encounter of holy man and angel at Chonae, as described in the miracle stories, is very much within the scriptural structure of divine epiphany. Furthermore, the encounter indicates the difficulties attendant upon confronting and perceiving an angelic being. Archippus had no sooner finished his Psalm than there arose a great peal of thunder outside the chapel and the Archistrategos appeared (14.16ff.). In the dialogue that ensues, Michael tries to calm the shaken monk. This structure of awful epiphany and conciliation—not to mention the preparations—has an obvious antecedent in the appearance of the "one like the similitude of the sons of men" to Daniel (Dan. 10:1ff.). Michael called out to the monk in a "great

voice” to leave the shrine before he is plunged in the water. Archippus came out very cautiously and saw a vision “glancing like lightning,” and he fell to the ground “as if dead.”⁷¹

At this moment Archippus is given a full vision of the power of his protector, and of his faith: the Archangel is a pillar of fire from earth to heaven.⁷² Exodus described the Angel of the Lord who led the Israelites out of the desert identically, “through the pillar of fire and of the cloud” (Ex. 14:24).⁷³ Moreover, Michael’s fiery nature, established by scripture, Psalm 104:4 most notably, often manifests itself in texts on epiphanies. Fire is a textual veil referring to the difficult nature and aspect established by scripture.

The Archangel thereupon told Archippus to stand firm and witness the power of God. Michael commanded the still approaching rivers to stop, and the waters stood to the height of ten persons. And then, Sissinius says, Michael acted just as Moses at the Red Sea: “For as Moses once formed walls of the waters when he struck them with his staff, and led the people to the promised land out of Egypt, why not even (greater) by the word of the Taxiarch Michael, leader of the entire host of heaven?”⁷⁴ Michael is able to stop the waters with a

71. Sissinius, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 15, AASS Sept. 8:46EF, describes Michael further as a “flashing forth of angelic glory,” an implicit comparison to Moses at Exodus 34:29ff. For instance, Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 330–ca. 395), *In Canticum Cantorum homiliae* xii, XII, PG 44:1025C, says that Moses was like the sun, with “the light flashing forth from his face.”

Archippus’s reaction is not untypical of such a dreadful epiphany: see C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven. A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York, 1982) 367.

72. The same description is found in the Metaphrastic version (Bonnet 27.8–9). Sissinius, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 15, AASS Sept. 8:46E, signals the indescribable nature of the vision with ὥσει στύλος πρὸς ἄπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν standing on the hard rock near the shrine. The “just as” (ὥσει) is a significant marker of an approximate description.

A fiery nature is one of the aspects of the angels’ being naturally. See, for instance, Pseudo-Dionysius, *De coelestii hierarchia*, XV.2, *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, 166–71.

The importance of the fiery nature in theology is translated into hagiographical description as seen in the Chonae hagiographies. See also T. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1901–1907; rp. New York, 1975) I:87.

73. See Theodore of Stoudios (759–826), *In sanctos angelos*, 3, PG 99:733CD, on this passage: the “divine angel transformed himself into a pillar of fire,” and “the beauty of the countenance took on the image of a cloud.”

74. Sissinius, *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 16, AASS Sept. 8:46F–7A.

word, Sissinius also says, while Moses had to use his staff. The first miracle of stopping the water, then, is comparable to Moses's, but the second is even greater. Michael struck the impenetrable rock which resounded like thunder and shook the entire land, leaving the inhabitants in the surrounding area panic-stricken. At the creation of the chasm Michael made his important promise, that his benign presence would overshadow that place (18.8–17).⁷⁵

The encounter clearly owes some of its structure of awful epiphany, incomprehensible vision, and comforting and revelations to the Book of Daniel, as well as to the Gospel according to Matthew (28:2ff., for example). The identification of the vision is equally fraught. Michael asks, “Do you know who I am, that you shudder at my sight?” To this Archippus can only deny knowledge. Michael thereupon states his identity in terms that evoke the meeting of Joshua and the angel before the battle of Jericho (Joshua 5:14).⁷⁶ Like Joshua, Archippus misapprehends the nature of the epiphany but he saves the situation by not falling on his face and worshipping the “captain of the host of the Lord” as Joshua did. The appearance of the angel to Joshua occurs on holy ground for he tells Joshua, “Loose thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place whereon thou standest is holy” (5:15). This comparison is not explicit in the miracle story but the appearance of Michael at Chonae is *also* the marking of a permanently hallowed spot, as his promises indicate. In other words, the sanctification of the site, and the identification of the agent of that sanctification, is predetermined.

Michael's appearances at Chonae in the miracle story are multi-form. His first appearance is in a dream to the Laodicean pagan. The story described Michael as merely a “night vision” (4.2ff.) in the

75. Μηναία τῷ ὁλοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, 6 vols. (Rome, 1888–1901) I:71 on Moses and Michael at Horeb (Ex. 17:6), and, 73, at the Red Sea. Michael is at the Burning Bush (Ex. 3:2), as described in the *Analecta hymnica graeca*, ed. A. Kominis (Rome, 1972) 232; the text also suggests a comparison between Moses who parted the sea with his staff (Ex. 14:16.21) and Michael's own similar deed (237). See Pantaleon, *Narratio miraculorum maximi archangeli Michaelis*, XIII, PG 140:580C–1A, on Michael's role in the engulfing of Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea (Ex. 14:1ff.).

76. Elliott, *Roads to Paradise*, 116ff., notes that in the Book of Tobias Raphael identifies himself in this way: Ego enim sum Raphael angelus (12:15).

anonymous version; in the Metaphrastian version, the pagan saw “a more Godly vision announcing better goodnesses” (22.13ff.). The Laodicean pagan is granted an incomplete glimpse of the Archangel, although his vision, according to Metaphrastes again, was a vision of some intellectual being standing beside him (22.22–23). “For he was not worthy of being a spectator of such things, how then can he see with the eyes of his soul, embracing as he did, an unbeliever, that gloom of the faithless” (22.18–20)? And the apparition told the pagan to go to the spring, and the result was the new chapel for Michael’s shrine (22.23ff.).

Later, in the destructive schemes of the local pagans, Michael makes his presence known in several different ways. The first plan of the pagans was direct assault, but this went wrong when they encountered at the source an inexplicable phenomenon: “Those who came saw flames of fire reflecting from the water in their own faces. And in this way the disbelievers were turned back, having been overpowered” (9.2–5). After this the pagans determined an indirect approach would accomplish their ends better and they diverted the Chryses; but Michael’s invisible intervention subverted that plot as well: the river divided in two and missed the shrine altogether. The pagans then decided to go one better; they dammed the Lykokaphros and the Kouphos until the rivers should have enough power to overwhelm the shrine, the hermit and the holy spring. At this point the most dramatic epiphany occurs:

In order therefore that the just be safeguarded, and the site of his holy spring, and church . . . and that God be extolled, he who makes great and inscrutable miracles, the Archangel Michael acting as servant was seen just as a pillar of fire reaching from the earth to the heavens and standing on the immovable rock by the shrine. . . .⁷⁷

77. *Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 15, AASS Sept. 8:46E. According to Sissinius, Michael disappeared as incomprehensibly as he arrived, “The venerable one saw him as if a flame of fire streamed up into the heavens, filled with puzzlement and fear, he went back to sing psalms in the holy shrine, ‘God has sent his angel and liberated and saved me from the snares of the beasts, and he guarded his sacred shrine from the inundation of the waters’” (*Acta apparitionis in Chonis*, 18, AASS Sept. 8:47AB).

The miracle story describes, then, a progression of revelation, all of a difficult and incomprehensible nature. Michael's mutability is an inescapable aspect of his appearances, as well as the manner in which human comprehension and description come up short in the face of such epiphanies. The security of angelic epiphanies from Hebrew scripture offers a kind of textual anchor in these miracle stories for otherwise impossible descriptions.

The epiphany on the mountainside at Gargano, for instance, uses direct borrowings from scripture to describe Michael's terrible appearance. The day after he had appeared in a dream to the bishop predicting "angelic victory" of the Sipontini, Michael made his presence on the mountain known through rumblings, darkness and lightning, which borrow directly from Exodus 19:16: "And it came to pass on the third day, when it was morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of a trumpet exceeding loud; and all the people that were in the camp trembled." The Greek text is more overt than the Latin version about its scriptural models and also calls up images from Isaiah 60:2 ("For behold, darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people; but upon thee the Lord will arise, and His glory shall be seen upon thee").⁷⁸ The fire that mysteriously announces the presence of Michael at the shrine of Psellus has appropriated the particulars of the textual description from the scene of Moses and the Burning Bush in Exodus (3:2ff.). Michael as the fire which does not consume the bush, as the pillar of fire that led the Israelites, as the lightning and darkness on Sinai, are all sanctioned allusions to incomprehensible epiphanies of divine power.⁷⁹

78. Leanza 303.83ff. and 315; *AASS* Sept. 8:61D.

79. One further example is the appearance of Michael to Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604) on top of Hadrian's Mausoleum, subsequently Castel San Angelo, in 590 (*AASS* Sept. 8:72BC). Michael appears and silently returns his sword to its sheath, thereby signaling the reconciliation between God and the people of Rome. This reconciliation is effected through the disclosure of the source of the affliction and of the cessation of its attack. Michael is the bearer of reconciliation, not particularly benign, and of the abeyance of heavenly wrath, which is very much in the tradition of an Old Testament appearance. Rome is likened implicitly to Jerusalem, and Gregory to David, as the appearance has an antecedent at 1 Chronicles 21:15–27: "And God sent an angel unto Jerusalem to destroy it: and as he was destroying, the Lord beheld, and he repented him of the evil, and said to the angel

The miracle stories did not efface Michael's character as an angel of nature or as an elemental force. The choice of texts from scripture emphasizes this aspect of the Archangel's nature while also pointing to the Archangel's essential indescribability. The miracle stories describe Michael's appearance at Chonae as fire, thunder and lightning. Miracle stories often express Michael's character by such naturalistic metaphors, and, as Olga Rojdestvensky wrote, Michael is typically described in such elemental terms as "flashes of lightning, explosions of thunder, babbling of springs, sound of water falls, mystery of abyss and of grottoes, eternal silence of summits."⁸⁰ The descriptions of Michael are in an essential way profoundly dissembling, and the revelation at Chonae and his personal intervention in the local geography were strategies by which Michael's expansive and elusive character gained delineation and real presence.⁸¹

The topos concerning the distance between humanity and the angels common to theological speculation is equally present in the descriptions in miracle stories of the acts of the angels in this world. Pantaleon, in his miracle story of the Archangel Michael, is explicit about the inability of words to convey, and human comprehension to embrace, the nature of the angels.

How therefore shall we undertake to praise you according to your excellence, by what means shall we aspire to your praises, O Leader of the Host of the almighty God? What incorporeal voice, accord-

that destroyed, It is enough, stay now thine hand. . . . And David lifted up his eyes, and saw the angel of the Lord stand between the earth and the heaven, having a sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem. . . . And the Lord commanded the angel; and he put his sword again into the sheath thereof." Again, scripture provides the structure for these difficult epiphanies.

This connection of the appearance of Michael to Gregory and 1 Chronicles was noted by Hasluck, *Letters on Religions and Folklore*, 84–85.

80. O. Rojdestvensky, *Le culte de saint Michel et le moyen âge latin* (Paris, 1922) 54, and also 53: "La dramatique légende de saint Michel, pleine de jeux de lumière et d'ombre, devait ressusciter avec une puissance toute particulière là où les forces volcaniques et neptuniennes creusaient les précipices, faisaient jaillir les cascades, là où les vapeurs, fumées et flammes sulfuriques faisaient irruption." See also W. Lucken, *Michael. Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morganländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael* (Göttingen, 1898) 73–74.

81. Gothein, "L'arcangelo Michele," 108–109.

ing with the level of your incorporeal intelligence, shall we offer by means of our material and corporeal lips? What sounds shall we use to signify the ineffability and inexplicability of your glory? It is doubtful in truth that the collective nature of all earth born creation could laud and praise you, you who are the Leader of the Heavenly Host. For the matter of your divine beauty and splendor cannot be narrated and told by words. For in this way marvelous knowledge of God was made by us. . . . It is not possible by human comprehension for him to be apprehended and discovered.⁸²

If real description is therefore impossible, then recognition and identification of angelic epiphany is equally laden with risk of failure. As noted above, Archippus was completely at a loss until Michael revealed his identity in terms comprehensible to a man—and to the listener—thanks to the scriptural meaning behind this particular identification. At Gargano, Michael was identified subsequently by dream revelation and more securely by the material effects. Pantaleon also relates a miracle at the church of Michael at Eusebios, Constantinople, concerning a certain candle-maker Marcianus. All the doors of the church were suddenly flung open and towards him came “a fearful man as out of the heaven, with a rush descending on horseback on a white and terrible steed.”⁸³ Michael is dressed in the robe of a *praepositus*, or court official.⁸⁴ Marcianus knew only the terrifying aspect of his ecstatic vision until Michael declared his proprietorship of the shrine. Although Michael led Marcianus to the candle before his own icon, the icon plays no role in

82. *Narr. mir. max. arch. Mich.*, I, PG 140:573B–4B.

83. The parallel with the appearance of the angels to drive Apollonius out of the temple in the Third Book of Maccabees is striking: “there appeared from heaven angels, with flashing armour, who filled them with dread and terror. Then did Apollonius fall half dead in the court of the Gentiles and he stretched his hands to heaven. . . .” See *The Third and Fourth Book of Maccabees*, trans. M. Hadas (New York, 1953; rp. New York, 1976) 164 (4:9–14).

84. F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins d’Ochrida, Candie et Moscou* (Brussels, 1963) 149–50; the other comes from the Life of Andrew the Fool (seventh century?), 233–36, PG 111:877A–80C. Other examples are found in Ch. Angelidi, “La version longue de la Vision du moine Cosmas,” *AB* 101(1983):86.188–187.196; Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, I:86.8ff.; and Achmet ibn Sirin (late eighth/early ninth century), *Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexler (Leipzig, 1925) 5–6 (#10).

determining the identity of the vision but only the place and means of real healing.

Visual identification of an Archangel is not possible since miracle stories and theology both agree that he has no form fully comprehensible to humans. Consequently, any stable resemblance in images of such a being remains out of reach. Cyril Mango has written that the angels are represented as they are, that is, as beardless, winged young men, because that is how they generally appear. "Whenever angels and archangels make themselves manifest in the Lives of saints and other edifying texts they do so in the guise of eunuchs or imperial *cubicularii*, not that of emperors."⁸⁵ Instances of the angels appearing as eunuchs are not uncommon.⁸⁶ Yet the texts are not homogeneous in this regard, as the miracle stories of the Archangel Michael discussed above show.⁸⁷ Moreover, the relation between description in miracle stories and the images of angels is not straightforward. Making images of angels is not a matter of transcription of visual information (or even textual description), since visions of these beings are clearly difficult to process, comprehend and render.

85. C. Mango, "St. Michael and Attis," *DChAE* 12(1984):44.

86. The post-Iconoclastic assimilation of court officials, particularly eunuchs, and angels, and the incongruities of that assimilation, have been examined recently by E. V. Maltese, "Gli angeli in terra: sull'immaginario dell'angelo bizantino," *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 24(1990):111–32 [= *Dimensione bizantina. Donne, angeli e demoni nel medioevo greco* (Turin, 1995) 69–92].

87. Finally, one need only browse through the many texts concerning Michael and the other angels collected by Amélineau, *Contes et romans de l'Égypte chrétienne*, to realize the endless variations possible. For instance, Michael appears to Donatius, in "Comment se convertit la ville d'Athènes," as "un homme lumineux sous l'apparence d'un général d'armée, tenant un sceptre d'or à la main" (ibid., 2). And in the "Vision de Saint Jean l'Évangile racontée par le patriarche Timothée," Michael "descendit du ciel monté sur sa barque de chérubims, escorté de tous les anges, des saints, des plus grands parmi les prophètes et les martyrs: ils étaient tous enveloppés d'une gloire indescriptible" (ibid., 13–14). And the Archangel Gabriel in the "Histoire d'Aour" appeared to the young Aour in another fashion: "Depuis le jour de ma naissance, le vingt-deuxième jour de chaque mois, il vient à moi vers le matin un oiseau dont le face brille comme le soleil; il est ceint d'une ceinture dorée, coiffée d'une couronne d'émerande et tient à sa maison une baguette d'or rouge. Son corps semble du feu, ses pieds du cuivre brillant, sa figure est celle d'un homme, ses traits étincellent et le son de sa voix est comme le bruit des flots de la mer quand elle est agitée. Toutes les fois que je l'ai vu ... je suis tombé à ses pieds rempli d'effroi et il m'a relevé en disant: Ne crains pas! je suis l'archange Gabriel que me tiens devant le trône de Dieu ..." (ibid., 112–13).

Identification of an angel by means of the description on an image is theoretically possible, however, if not in any way definitive. In the text praising Michael written by Psellus, a monk named Ephraim was able to recognize Michael because the Archangel had chosen the form manifested on his image for this epiphany in the monastery's church.⁸⁸ And the miracle story of Artemius, written in the 660s about his shrine in the church of John the Baptist in Oxeia at Constantinople, describes an identification of an angel.⁸⁹ One of the stories in the miracle story describes the night vision of a young girl, Euphemia.⁹⁰ In her vision angels led her to the lead coffin of the eponymous saint of the shrine, Artemius, and made her lie down in it. The coffin was then locked by the saint, trapping her inside. When she awoke, recovered from her illness, she gave an account of her vision. Her mother asked her if she had seen the angels, and Euphemia replied that she had. Her mother then asked her in what form had they appeared.⁹¹ The girl answered by indicating the images of the angels found in that church.⁹²

The mother's question is telling. In asking what form the angels appeared, she was acknowledging the possibility of other guises. And in voluntarily making themselves commensurate with their appearance on images in the church, the angels revealed their ability to condescend in form for human comprehension. In other words, angels manifest their terrible elemental force in famous instances of awesome intervention but for this girl the angels took a benign aspect in keeping with her youth and fitness.

The topos of recognition of a holy person by means of his or her image, therefore, has relevance for discussion of miracle story de-

88. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae*, 253, 565–69. On this episode, see A. Cutler and R. Browning, "In the Margins of Byzantium? Some Icons in Michael Psellos," *BMGS* 16(1992):24–25.

89. C. Mango, "On the History of the *Templon* and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople," *Zograf* 10(1979):40ff.

90. V.S. Crisafulli and J.W. Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios. A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-Century Byzantium* (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1997) 176–84, and Mango, "On the History of the *Templon*," 43.

91. Crisafulli/Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, 180.23.

92. Crisafulli/Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, 180.23–24.

scriptions of angels. For Gilbert Dagron, images play a central role in the identification of saints in miracle stories, to the point of fundamentally determining the manner in which Byzantines visually perceived their saints.⁹³ For example, Cosmas and Damian approach the bed of a supplicant “in the form in which they are outlined.”⁹⁴ A letter of Nilus of Ankara (d. ca. 430) describes an episode of St. Platon’s life in which he freed a monk’s son from prison. Platon was recognized by the son through the saint’s image.⁹⁵ A similar episode exists in the tenth-century *Vita* of Irene of Chrysobalanton: “... while the holy woman stood interceding with her hands lifted up, she saw Basil the Great standing before her, looking such as the icons represent him.”⁹⁶

The second way miracle stories can state resemblance are instances where the saint appears to provide a perfect model for a painter, effectively taking the brush out of the painter’s hand. For instance, the “life” of Cornelius the Centurion emphasized the fidelity of the saint’s image, which was venerated at Skepis in the Hellespont. The exactitude of the copy, after the archetype, was particularly commended. The painter Egratius was hired by the bishop to make a copy of this image in order to send it from Skepis to Caesarea in

93. G. Dagron, “Holy Images and Likeness,” *DOP* 45(1991):30ff.; and idem, “Rêver de Dieu et parler de soi. Le rêve et son interprétation d’après les sources byzantines,” in *I sogni nel medioevo*, ed. T. Gregory (Rome, 1985) 42ff.

94. L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian. Texte und Einleitung* (Leipzig, 1907) 133.23–24.

95. See Mansi XIII:32C–3C.

96. *The Life of St Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton. A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes and Indices*, ed. J. O. Rosenqvist (Uppsala, 1986) 56.9–13: “... τοιοῦτον οἶον αἱ εἰκόνες γράφουσιν.”

Other examples are found in the seventh-century *Vita* of Theodore of Sykeon, written by his disciple George; see *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, I:34 (39.5–6): “The two saints were seen by him according to the likeness therefore of that which is seen in divine worship.” Festugière translates this as “sous l’aspect qu’ils avaient en cette image de culte.” The monk is said to be praying beneath the icon of Cosmas and Damian. And also at I:29 (32.9–13), Theodore’s mother has a vision of George according to the depicted story of the martyr George. George is described as a golden youth with curly hair and shining aspect.

And from the tenth-century “Vision of Cosmas the Monk”: “And suddenly, as if sent by someone, two men appeared with white robes and very venerable, and I recognised them to be the apostles Andrew and John, as I was put in mind (ἀναλογιζόμενος) of their appearances on the holy icons.” See Angelidi, “La version longue de la Vision du moine Cosmas,” 4.125–28.

Palestine. Egratius was then afflicted and healed by the saint, and with thanks he made an image “just he had seen him.” The portrait was then sent to Palestine and valued, the narrator says, because of the exactitude of its copying.⁹⁷ From examples such as these, Dagron concludes that the relationship between images and their models is reversed and “that [images] are no longer attached to the past but to the future.”⁹⁸ And further, “It is no longer the image that resembles the saint, but the saint who resembles his image.”⁹⁹

The number of examples in which the image determines the nature of the vision is, however, quite limited. The majority of examples of appearances of saints, by far, is in forms of disguise, if the miracle story provides a description at all. Artemius appears as a butcher, sailor, patrician, and in other guises.¹⁰⁰ Cosmas and Damian appear in many different guises (in the form of clerics, for example), alone or with a third person; they do their work either by “invisible hands” or “their own hands.”¹⁰¹ This last denotes the really important aspect: their activity and traces of their activity radiate from the center of their cult, that is, their bodies and relics. Nevertheless, the most significant admission concerning the nature of the saints’ appearances is that they appear “in a form *not* their own,”¹⁰² as the miracle story states. The miracle story of Cyrus and John furnishes another important example. It describes the two saints as appearing fulgent, in white robes, in a monk’s habit, as doctors, as the deacon Julian and in various other guises, but also, significantly, in

97. F. Halkin, “Un abrégé inédit de la vie ancienne et disparue de Corneille le Centurion,” *RSBN* n.s. 1(1964):37 (#6). And other examples are found in the *Vita S. Mariae Iunoris* (before 866?–ca. 902/3), *AASS* Nov. 4:699BC, and the life of Athanasius the Athonite (925/30–ca. 1001), *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, *Corpus Christianorum*, Series Graeca, vol. 9, ed. J. Noret (Turnhout, 1982) 122 (#254).

98. Dagron, “Holy Images and Likeness,” 31.

99. Dagron, “Holy Images and Likeness,” 31, and also: “more than ever it is [the saints’] cult image that serves as a reference.”

100. Crisafulli/Nesbitt. *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, 88.15–16, 96.22, 104.12–13, 144.21, 194.15–16.

101. See Deubner, *De incubatione*, 68ff.

102. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 99.21 (my emphasis). And other examples of guises: 135.25, “appearing in the form of a περιχύτος,” and 145.43–44, “the two appeared to him in the forms of clerics.”

their *own* form.¹⁰³ Again, the saints must acknowledge an earthly existence, even after death, that determines the essential nature of their being, even if this does not altogether regulate their subsequent manifestations. Angels have no such mooring. They are changeable by nature and essentially unknowable—*all* their outward forms are not their own.

This chapter has sought to indicate the means by which miracle stories, and cult as well, made the Archangel Michael more apprehensible and proximate. For a being that is bodiless, immaterial and elemental, the signs of appearance and presence made apparent in the texts are tangible and incontrovertible. Moreover, because of Michael's uncontainable nature, they are impressions; Michael does not relinquish anything of his "body," only indications of attendance. These signs that are both tangible and provisional give the texts and cult their special tension in that they simultaneously assert that he is really present but also powerfully immanent. By means of retro-motivation, indeed, Michael's acts, and even his will, are superseded by the texts' logic. The place name engenders its own sequence of activities and the text works backwards from "the place was thereafter known as Chonae" to create Michael's seminal act preset by language itself.

This desire for more apprehensibility is the complement of the other textual device examined in this chapter, that is, how miracle stories "got round" the difficulties of expressing the inexpressible nature of Michael. The seamless application of scriptural description to this task of expression is the clearest sign of descriptive impasse. On an overt level, the scriptural passages indicate enigmatic theophanies and venerable acts that parallel and prefigure Michael's own appearances and acts. Michael is like Moses in the miraculous manipulation of water for the protection of God's chosen people. Michael's manifestations recall the phenomena revealed to the prophets during sacred disclosures in the past. And the scriptural structures of receiving epiphany found in Daniel, Joshua and Matthew provide a mold within which witness under the New Covenant can be cast. In this

103. Deubner, *De incubatione*, 80ff.

sense, the narrators of these miracle stories of Michael provided scriptural models of revelation that were recognizable and accessible descriptions of the Archangel's famous moments on earth.

On the level of latent meaning, the arrogation of description signals at important points the lack of ability, or even intent, of speech and text to render in an original or descriptive fashion a being like the Archangel Michael. On this level, recognition of the original site of the text, in Exodus or Matthew for instance, is not essential for the audience. The descriptions of Michael as fire and earthquake and lightning do not rely for their full meaning on the audience's identifying the original context of the description. They signal the difficulty of comprehension, just the same, in their evocation of grand, irrational phenomena: the formless Archangel assumes all of these elements as his cloak but none are his own, none make him fully known.

Material images are likewise allusive to difficult nature, and this allusive quality makes angels' images incapable of possessing real likeness. Beings as transcendental as angels possess no definitive likeness inherently, and images partake equally of this indefinable resemblance. Recalling the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius, images are dissembling signs which the viewer engages in intellectually and without adherence. Describing an approach to images of angels, Agathias's epigram reveals an ability to interpret material images as the symbolic means to knowledge of an incomprehensible creature.¹⁰⁴ In this description of the image of the Archangel, the difficulty of comprehension derives from the incorporeal nature which would seem to be incompatible with material representation; but in Agathias's conception, the image also provides the viewer with the means to approach knowledge of the distant and immaterial Archangel by way of contemplation of the colors and outlines on the surface of the image. The material image is, therefore, the bridge between mundane reality and spiritual truths otherwise unattainable.

Michael's bodiless, relic-less existence provides such signs for human comprehension; less ambiguous material effects such as

104. Discussed in chapters 2 and 3.

Michael's transformations of landscape, imprints of invisibility, are essential proofs for a degree of knowledge of his activity and nature. Miracle stories and images work subtly. Texts exploit recognizable patterns from scripture to give the descriptions of events and appearances structure but at the same time deny any essential descriptiveness in their evocation of elemental and multiform wonders. In a comparable way, images depend on their non-resembling qualities to attract and lead the viewer to recognition of a higher, invisible reality. Michael transcends the ability of words and images to describe such a reality but it is this inability that attracts and compels contemplation.

CONCLUSION

This study has been concerned with representation in the widest sense. Examinations of material images notwithstanding, it has primarily explored conceptual problems involved in representing angels that arise from the unquantifiable nature of the bodiless host. “Subtle bodies” was a favored theological formulation for the nature of angels. The formulation was ascribed to Macarius the Great,¹ but it was the primary definition used by John of Thessalonike (d. 649?) in his defense of the worship of angels’ images ostensibly before a pagan opponent.² Moreover, the fathers of the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 included the “dialogue” between John of Thessalonike and the pagan in the conciliar acts, and so the definition—slippery, imprecise, but apt—became the basic definition of the nature of God’s messengers. Complementary to its examination of the representational problems of angels, this study has also examined the “image” of the holy man who sought the intercession of the Archangel

1. See the Introduction.

2. Mansi, XIII:164–65; H. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit vor dem Bilderstreit*, Texte und Untersuchungen, vol. 139 (Berlin, 1992) 327–28. And see G. Peers, “Imagination and Angelic Epiphany,” *BMGS* 21(1997):113–31, on this text.

Michael and witnessed the awful result of that prayer. Clearly, worship of angels, their “persons” and their images both, was a divisive issue in the Byzantine world, and the story of the miracle at Chonae was an attempt to establish a basis for a more seemly and more orthodox worship.

Evidently, then, angels raised issues that writers of theology and miracle stories tried to resolve. Many of the difficulties arose from the pagan antecedents to angel worship and, indeed, their iconography in Christian art. The “dialogue” of John of Thessalonike reveals just this difficulty as late as the seventh century, and its resolution by this earlier theologian still had relevance for the Council at Nicaea in the following century. The pagan, with whom John was in theory debating, had no difficulty in seeing the parallels between pagan worship of gods and Christian worship of angels. In a most polite manner, he observed that Christians paint the angels as human and worship them through these paintings, despite the belief that these beings were not human but incorporeal and spiritual. Surely, he reasoned, like Porphyry long before, this practice is no different than the pagan worship of their gods. John, of course, sidestepped the parallel drawn and offered a complete rebuttal to this possible rapprochement. He based his position primarily on the truth of the Christian pantheon versus the falseness of the pagan gods, but the fact that such a rebuttal was necessary as late as the seventh century shows that perceived parallels between angels and pagan beings were still possible.

The miracle story of Michael’s appearances at Chonae is further proof of an ongoing problem that the church thought necessary to combat. The story itself reveals that in the eighth century the issue of proper approach to angels was still alive. The caretaker Archippus is a prescriptive “image” of the appropriate manner of praying to the Archangel, and his answered prayer is the clearest indication of its appropriateness. The Archangel nonetheless revealed his origins as an angel of uncontrollable natural forces—earthquake, lightning, thunder and water—and, although the story sublimates these forces in scriptural allusions, Michael still had some of the overweening characteristics that made an orthodox presentation of angelology neces-

sary in the miracle story. The miracle story could not altogether efface Michael the Nile god of the Coptic text examined in the Introduction.

This study has also sought to demonstrate that representing angels—in miracle stories and material images—was part of a desire to make these bodiless beings more comprehensible and proximate. As theological discussion of angels had antecedents in pagan vocabulary and concepts, and contended with these antecedents, so self-conscious continuity from the Classical past was a characteristic of descriptions of angels in the visual arts. Sculptors, painters and mosaicists clearly were aware of models available in pagan art that could aid them in their search for an iconography capable of describing, albeit partially, the special immaterial, formless nature of angels. As seen on the Sarigüzel sarcophagus (fig. 3), they borrowed iconographic elements from pagan art, most notably wings, to this end, but maintained at the same time the angels' peculiarity as Christian beings.

Most Christian viewers evidently found this iconography sufficiently expressive of angelic nature and activity. On the evidence of sixth-century epigrams, painted panels with single figures of angels or Archangels became more common in devotion in this period. As a way of communicating the nature and activities of this invisible host, many Christians perceived these icons as “guarantors of knowledge,”³ even if images of angels ultimately frustrated full comprehension of the models.

In the period preceding Iconoclasm, sources dealing with images of angels reveal an increasing desire to regulate and define the place of images in Christian worship.⁴ For some Christians, the break with the Classical past in the visual arts was not clear enough, and the iconography of angels, though consciously distanced from its antecedents, was sullied by any association with pagan art. From the fourth to the seventh century, the writings of Macarius Magnes, Severus of Antioch and John of Thessalonike reveal a defensiveness on the part of Christians concerning the iconography of these bodi-

3. Cameron, “The Language of Images,” 2.

4. See Cameron, “The Language of Images,” 30.

less beings. The writings of opponents to angels' images also show dissent over the route to knowledge that images provide. For these opponents, material signs were clearly inadequate to describe the transcendental nature of angels.

Yet the increasing importance that images came to have in the period preceding Iconoclasm attests to a wide acceptance of material images as a means to understand divine things. The divergence shown in these two positions stands for a fundamental divide in Byzantine society over appropriate commemoration and worship. This study has attempted to describe the long-standing debate over the conceptual problems of representing angels, both visually and verbally. In the course of the sixth and seventh centuries, as Christian images became more common in devotion, these debates became more acute. This study has traced the "realignment" in Byzantine society that Averil Cameron describes but with specific regard to angels in texts of this period, taking passages from theological writings on images, question and answer guides and anti-Jewish tracts.⁵ All of these writings showed an increased concern over the meaning and nature of angelic signs, appropriate commemoration and material worship. This struggle over worship and images only became more acute in the eighth and ninth centuries, when this crisis came to a head with the declaration of Iconoclasm in the 720s, and the sources from the period of Iconoclasm attest to the role angels and their images played in this conflict.

The end of Iconoclasm in 843 effectively resolved the debate over the role of images of angels that had been decided in favor of a careful and abundant synthesis of material signs in spiritual worship. Just the same, images of angels always partake of a measure of ambiguity despite their full acceptance into Byzantine worship. Cameron writes, "Religious images ... fell naturally into place as one of the signs by which the impossibility of understanding God through language could be circumvented."⁶ This statement implies, however,

5. See Cameron, "The Language of Images," 3–4.

6. Cameron, "The Language of Images," 30; and see L. Brubaker, "Byzantine Art in the Ninth Century: Theory, Practice, and Culture," *BMGS* 13(1989):75ff.

that the debates over images that lasted from the sixth to the ninth century were resolved in favor of images that were explicit and literal in their description of spiritual reality.⁷ Rather, the tension between manifest form and incomprehensible nature, evident in the texts—epigrams, theology and miracle stories—is a defining characteristic of images of angels throughout the Byzantine period. This tension continued to determine the production and perception of images of angels long after the end of Iconoclasm. This Conclusion also aims, then, to examine briefly the tension between presence and transcendence, description and incomprehensibility, in images and texts of the middle and late Byzantine periods.

A Palaiologan icon of the Archangel Michael in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, is a particularly fine example of the pull between materiality and incorporeality that images of angels can communicate (fig. 19).⁸ This icon, in fact, manifests an especially subtle manipulation of style and iconography. Michael's spiritual qualities were made immediately clear to the Byzantine viewer since the Archangel is winged. Michael gracefully holds a staff and an orb in his hands, and a delicate fillet, tied at the back, is visible in his shoulder-length hair. The face of the Archangel is handled with great refinement. Indeed, the qualities of his face and expression, the full mouth, finely modeled cheeks and chin and detailed shaping of luxuriant hair, show a desire on the part of the painter to manifest a degree of sensuality in this image. Yet the painter at the same time denies the apparently terrestrial presence of the Archangel, in particular through his treatment of the eyes which are large and focused directly on the beholder. The Archangel's piercing eyes create a distance from the realm of the viewer that the sensual handling of the Archangel para-

7. This position is taken also by H. L. Kessler, "Real Absence: Early Medieval Art and the Metamorphosis of Vision," in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo*, Settimane vol. 45 (Spoleto, 1998) II:1157–70. But as C. von Schönborn, *L'icône du Christ. Fondements théologiques élaborées entre le Ier et le IIer Concile de Nicée (325–787)* (Fribourg, 1976) 217ff., has demonstrated, the characteristic of an image of Christ is opacity and particularity.

8. See M. Soteriou, "Παλαιολογεῖος εἰκὼν τοῦ Ἀρχαγγελοῦ Μιχαήλ," *DChAE* 1(1959): 80ff., M. Alpatov, "Sur l'iconographie des anges dans l'art de Byzance et de l'ancienne Russie," *Zograf* 11(1980):6, and *Conversation with God. Icons from the Byzantine Museum of Athens (9th–15th Centuries)*. The Hellenistic Centre, London, 22 May–20 June 1998 (Athens, 1998) 65–69.



Figure 19. Icon of the Archangel Michael, Byzantine Museum, Athens, Palaiologan. Photo: Byzantine Museum, Athens.

doxically encourages. But the eyes also impart a sense of presence since the archangel is not gazing frontally out of the icon. In order to accommodate the equipment he presents, he has his right shoulder pushed closer to the picture plane than the left, and consequently his head turns slightly back to the left. This turning, found in some early icons also (fig. 1), gives the impression of animation, of the

body and eyes swiveling in order to take the viewer into account. So the eyes have the ability to create distance and presence at the same time, both through the penetrating scrutiny and the illusion of alertness which the sidelong stare implies. On this icon, style and iconography form a conjunction of corporeality and transcendence that encourages approach but thwarts familiarity: ultimately, the icon describes a nature contingent upon our material world, a nature that is only partially described and describable.⁹

While a formal analysis of this particularly fine example shows that painters could communicate the conditional quality of human comprehension of angelic nature, epigrams and ekphraseis from the Middle and Late Byzantine periods demonstrate that this quality was fully appreciated by the Byzantine viewer. The contingency of angelic nature, which images can state so subtly and compellingly, evoked articulate responses in writers on images and these responses show a striking continuity in writings about images of angels from the sixth century on. The persistence of these responses could be interpreted as normative, that is, as literary topoi that reappear periodically in Byzantine culture without demonstrable connection to real images.¹⁰ Yet formal analyses of images of angels show that painters did sometimes employ elements of style and iconography to attempt description of the problems of angelic nature. Texts about images of angels demonstrate that Byzantine viewers were fully engaged with these artistic attempts. The allusive, contingent quality of such images was a significant intellectual and devotional assumption that had real and ongoing meaning for the Byzantine viewer. Noteworthy, too, is the continuity from iconophile descriptions of angelic appearance and images to these later texts; evidently, iconophile image theory did have a degree of influence over the perpetuation of certain

9. Charles Barber has described the non-representational quality of Byzantine art as its primary attractive component; that is, the tension between reality and abstraction draws the viewer to contemplate the image in a more active manner. See C. Barber, "From Transformation to Desire: Art and Worship after Byzantine Iconoclasm," *ArtB* 75(1993):12: "one could argue that the formal practices employed in Byzantine art draw attention to the pictorial field itself as an autonomous significant space rather than as a representational space."

10. A problem addressed in D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago and London, 1989) 291–94.

perceptions of images after the issues had been decided in the mid-ninth century.

Several epigrams on images of angels by John Mavropus (ca. 1000–ca. 1075/81), Metropolitan of Euchaita, reveal continuity with earlier epigrams and image theory, and also a meaningful engagement with conceptual problems raised by material images of immaterial beings. Like the epigram of Agathias on the icon given in thanksgiving to the Archangel Michael, Mavropus also described an icon vowed because of particular devotion to the Archangel:

“On the bodiless one”: Who can give shape to the shapeless nature? The faithful Theodora [has provided] a crown. And how does one depict the unknowable sight? Faith easily reconciles all these things. And what reward does this most pious woman desire? She yearns after the spiritual saviour of all things. Archistrategos, hasten, fulfill the yearning. This faithful woman will hold to this desire especially.¹¹

In relating Theodora's longing for the protection of the Archangel, Mavropus played on the idea of Michael's immanence. The epigram noted the transcendence of Michael's nature, the “shapeless” and “bodiless” quality of the Archangel, that is essentially “unknowable.” The gap between this unknowable nature and human comprehension is bridged by two complementary means: the tension between the material shaping of “the shapeless nature” and “the unknowable sight,” and the faith of the viewer that leads him or her to contemplation and conviction. This process is a remarkable condensation of the elaborate image theory of the Iconoclastic period. The need to prove the circumscribability of a formless, immaterial host and the subsequent defense of the symbolic, non-resembling iconography of angels had lost any urgency that the eighth- / ninth-century context demanded; yet this same theoretical construct that justified the making of images of angels and the value they have for Christians was still valid in the eleventh century.

11. *Versus iambici*, PG 120:1177AB; *Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in codice vaticano graeco 676 supersunt*, ed. P. de Lagarde (Göttingen, 1882; rp. Amsterdam, 1979) 38 (#73).

Another epigram by Mavropus also described the tension between matter and immateriality that is the defining characteristic of images of angels; while this tension was common in some form to other religious images, capturing ethereal formlessness on a material image is an act peculiar to representing angels. In this epigram, Mavropus recounted the unresolved coincidence of color and formlessness on an image of the Archangel Michael:

“On the Archangel Michael”: Light, spirit and fire, we know the angels to be altogether above baseness and feeling: but the leader of immaterial host is set here formed out of colours. O faith, such wonders have you the power to bring about, so easily [you give] shapeless nature in shapes. Yet the representation reveals what is represented, not as he is by nature, but as he was made manifest many times.¹²

The irresolution that such an image manifests is, in fact, its compelling feature. As the subject is transcendent “light, spirit and fire,” delineating the Archangel does not capture his nature in any essential way; rather, this act shows him in one of his forms made manifest in the past. Moreover, the sense that such an image is contingent on this partial disclosure of the Archangel’s true nature lends the image its attractive quality to the viewer. As Mavropus said, the fact that the bodiless Archangel has condescended to assume a form comprehensible to humanity in material colors and lines makes Michael paradoxically present: in these shapes, Michael’s presence is somehow brought nearer, made more proximate. Like the neo-Platonic descriptions of Agathias and the iconophiles on the apprehension of

12. *Anthologia graeca*, ed. E. Cougny, 3 vols. (Paris, 1871–1890) III:413; very like the epigram at *Versus iambici*, PG 120:1139A, *Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae*, 11–12 (#24). See also *Anthologia graeca*, III:361–63; III:415, “On the Archistrategos: In gold, like fire, from silver, as light, I shape you, light to me, flames to enemies”; and III:401: “On the Archistrategos: How does a material hand render the immaterial? The spirit the spirit renders, the hand the sign.” On some of these epigrams, see H.G. Thümmel, *Bilderlehre und Bilderstreit. Arbeiten zur Auseinandersetzung über die Ikone und ihre Begründung vornehmlich im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg, 1991) 161ff.

such images, the material image is conceived as a non-resembling symbol that paradoxically makes the object of desire proximate.

If Mavropus described the compelling paradox of angels' images, Michael Psellus—who, incidentally, knew Mavropus—attempted an interpretation of the appearance and attributes used to render angelic nature and activity. In an analysis of the iconography of angels, Psellus separated the appearance of angels in images into its component parts. The most notable aspect is their anthropomorphic form: “this shows them to be rational beings; for man alone among all living creatures has been enriched with intellect and reason.”¹³ The puzzling quality of the angels' appearances in images had profoundly discomfited such theologians as Epiphanius of Salamis and Severus of Antioch; that is, the depiction of angels as men with pagan-style dress and attributes was manifestly incommensurate with the angels' spiritual quality. Like the iconophiles, Psellus accepted the distance between angelic nature and material representation as a positive provision of incomplete knowledge of angels for humanity. Psellus's description is strikingly close in detail to the Palaiologan icon discussed above. While this icon is an especially fine example, and so worthy of examination, it is not exceptional iconographically, and clearly Psellus was examining an image very similar to that Palaiologan icon of the Archangel Michael. An ekphrasis closer in time to this Palaiologan icon is not lacking, however. For example, Symeon of Thessalonike, who died in 1429, responded in a similarly symbolic vein before just such an image.¹⁴ Both Psellus and Symeon, it should be

13. The individual attributes also hold clues for understanding the angels' being. The wings indicate “their exalting and heavenly upward motion”; the sphere often placed in one hand “suggests their quickness of movement: for the sphere is such that, touching a tiny portion of the ground, it is able to arrive independently of time and in less than an instant wherever it wishes”; the fillet denotes “the purity and chastity of their undefiled nature.” See K. Snipes, “An Unedited Treatise of Michael Psellos on the Iconography of Angels and on the Religious Festivals Celebrated on Each Day of the Week,” in *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerlink at 75*, ed. J. Duffy and J. Peradotto (Buffalo, 1988) 200ff.

14. *Responsa ad Gabrielem Pentapolitanum*, PG 155:869B–D. He was asked the reason why the angels wear the fillet in images, why the angels and saints have nimbi, and why in the hands of the angels there are circular, cloudy forms. With regard to the fillet, he an-

noted, took seriously the iconography of the angels as imparting, or showing covertly, the divine truths which are otherwise difficult of access.¹⁵

As these two ekphraseis show a continuity in engagement with the iconography of angels, so Palaiologan epigrams consistently reveal an appreciation of the tension between materiality and immateriality that images of angels play on. Nicephorus Kallistus Xanthopoulos (before 1256?–ca. 1335?) wrote specifically on the presence evoked through representation, and, while the paradoxical quality of the description of immateriality in colors is raised, this quality is left at the level of an irreconcilable contradiction. Michael's presence is some-

swered, "In examining the images of the holy angels, one surmises that the fillet worn round their heads shows covertly (ὑπεμφαίνει) the purity of their intellect, since it is worn round the place of the intellect, so that they are even bonded intellectually to God, and by these things are offered [such] for our contemplation and care in a fine appearing manner (ἀγαθοειδώς). And moreover, as they are pure and immaterial beings, they wear [the fillet] just as a crown of their endless and heavenly virtue. And they have worn this (δεδεμένως) about their hair, so that they do not move confusedly or superfluously, but only concerning divine compulsion, and their intellect is speeded from above." Furthermore, the nimbi of the angels and of the saints "show covertly" the grace and radiance and action descended from God. Lastly, he addressed the reason for the orb carried by the angels, "And the cloudy and circular thing that the angels hold in their hands symbolises the consecration by the Spirit, and that they have been fixed immobile in the dispensation of the Saviour. In the midst of the circle is seen written this figure, X, so that by this Christ is revealed. But the form of the circle is also a theological sign. For if Christ teaches that he was made flesh, he also teaches that as God he has neither beginning nor end, and that Christ rules the universe, and has the whole cosmos in his hand, as David says." The orb is not the symbol of fleetness that it was for Psellus but a sign of Christ's duophysite nature, and of the delegation of offices to the angels in the new dispensation brought about through the incarnation. In contrast to the incorruptibility that the fillet denoted for Psellus, the fillet was a sign of the angels' intellectual unity with God for Symeon of Thessalonike.

15. See, however, the negative remarks of C. Mango, "St. Michael and Attis," *DChAE* 12(1984):39, on these texts. But see, too, H. Saradi-Mendelovici, "Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries," *DOP* 44(1990):58, who describes how far Byzantine viewers were from understanding pagan statues. She cites the interpretation of the iconography of a statue of Athena from the eighth-century *Parastaseis* as an example: Athena is represented without helmet because her wisdom is invisible, the gorgon on her chest is to show the speed of her mind, and so on. See *Constantinople in the Eighth Century. The "Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai"*, ed. Averil Cameron, J. Herrin et al. (Leiden, 1984) #3; and see 215–16. The text does not demonstrate detachment or ignorance since indeed it is following a literary tradition from antiquity, as in the writings of Porphyry on statues (see chapters 2 and 3). Likewise, Psellus's and Symeon's interpretations are not banal or without real explanatory power but take their form from ancient topoi and newly apply them to symbolic, Christian images of angels.

how alluded to by the representation, for he is by some inexplicable means made present in this ambiguous image:

“On the Archangel Michael, a work of art by the famous painter, master Eulalios”: It seems either that the painter has dipped his brush in immateriality to delineate a spirit, or else the spirit remains unobserved in his picture, hiding in colours his incorporeal nature. How is it that matter can drag the spirit down and encompass the immaterial by means of colours? This is [a work] of ardent love (as shown by the facts), and it kindles the heart.¹⁶

The “kindling of the heart” implicitly refers to the intellectual or spiritual process which, paradoxically, the material image initiates. The closing sentence, then, indicates an important function of images of the Archangel as it was described in the sixth-century epigrams of Agathias and Nilus, and in the elaborate image theory of the iconophile theologians. Indeed, as stated in chapter 3, the conceptual framework established by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite determined subsequent approaches to symbolic images of divine things, namely angels. In this framework, the symbols best suited for contemplation of divinity are non-resembling, since the intellect cannot adhere to these symbols and become simply mired in its material reality. Xanthopoulos’s epigram describes this very process: either matter has overcome its limitations and ascended to spirit or spirit has condescended to be captured in matter; the issue is not resolved, in fact is unresolvable, and leaves the image as allusive to the model in some indeterminate but compelling way. By this lack of essential likeness, the viewer is forced beyond the material surface to contemplation of a transcendent reality. In other words, images of angels remained fine examples of areopagite symbols.

The numerous epigrams of Manuel Philes (ca. 1275–ca. 1345) on images of angels exhibit the same basic dependence upon this neo-Platonic framework. Like other epigram writers, Philes engaged the

16. “Νικηφόρος Κάλλιστος Ξανθόπουλος,” ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *BZ* 11(1902):46–47 (#16); trans. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire. 312–1453. Sources and Documents* (Toronto, 1986) 231.

incongruity of matter attempting to capture a spiritual creature. Writing on an image of an Archangel, Philes noted that paradoxically the matter of the image contains intellect, spirit, light and fire; the image is “intellect visible, spirit caught fast.”¹⁷ More strangely, he wrote, the flame submitted to be captured in human form, clothed, with hair and feathers, but marvelously the icon does not burn. The face ought to be red to indicate that fiery nature but, instead, the painter has used clever artifice and manipulated material color, that is yellow, to show the fire of the model. Like Xanthopoulus’s epigram, this epigram reveals an awareness of the distance between craft that deceitfully manifests an angelic form and the reality that is unknowable and uncontainable; in fact, this tension makes these images remarkable and compelling for the writers. At the same time as the images appear to make the Archangel apprehensible, they declare his transcendence:

Just now we see a strange blending in life. The painter mingles the flame with water. For having described the immaterial nature by means of flesh, he provides water to the faithful [to quench] the flames of desire.¹⁸

As the texts adduced in this Conclusion show, the irresolvable problem of depicting angels became a determining and compelling feature that always made their images a distinctive kind of representation. Representing angels brought angels nearer to their desiring worshippers, as Xanthopoulus averred, but not so near as to satisfy

17. *Manuelis Philae carmina ex codicibus Escorialensis, Florentinis, Parisinis et Vaticanis*, ed. E. Miller, 2 vols. (Paris, 1855–1857) II:202 (CLXXXVII).

18. *Manuelis Philae carmina*, II:415 (XLVIII). Philes also wrote the following two epigrams: “‘On an icon of the Archangel Michael’: If you desire to depict animation, Why do you depict, painter, a winged man, But not the intellect and spirit and light and flames? If not for the fact that no one can depict the immaterial in matter?” (ibid., I:357–58 [CXCI]) and, “‘On the guardian in stone’: You (are) spirit and flame, but behold, before me you do not burn. And you are found as a guard armed for us. Michael, loosening all darkening of sufferings into stony fire, you return to the light” (ibid., II:158–59 [CXVIII]). See also *Manuelis Philae carmina graeca*, ed. G. Wernsdorf (Leipzig, 1768) 28ff. (I.109ff.). Philes also wrote an epigram on the miracle at Chonae; see *Manuelis Philae carmina*, II:236 (CCXXVI).

that desire; as all writers on images of angels maintained, the angels are always absent from their images. But, by representing these creatures materially as well as verbally, Byzantines felt this spiritual world was made tantalizingly near and an immanence was provisionally contained.

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discriminately combined. The book was translated into Greek and from Greek into Ethiopic. Only part of the Greek translation is extant. The Book of Enoch is quoted in the Epistle of Jude (14–15) in the New Testament and its influence has been discovered at many other points in the New Testament and in the Church Fathers (cf. Charles, *Apocrypha*, 2 (1913), 180–5). Of the Greek translation, chapters 1–32 were found in Egypt in 1886–7 and were published by Bouriant in 1892. In 1930 the University of Michigan purchased this manuscript, as well as the manuscript of chapters 97:6–104, 106–107, which were published by Bonner (*The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek*, 1937). The most complete Ethiopic version was published by R.H. Charles as *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch edited from 23 Mss.* (1906). There are the following translations of the Ethiopic text into modern languages: English, Charles, *Apocrypha*, 2 (1913), 163–28; German, G. Beer, in: E. Kautsch (ed.), *Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, 2 (1900), 236–310; French, F. Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch* (1906); Hebrew, A. Kahana, *Ha-Sefarim ha-Hizonim*, 1 (1936), 19–101.

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[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

ENOCH, SLAVONIC BOOK OF (known as **11 Enoch**; abbr. **11 En.**; also entitled the **Book of the Secrets of Enoch**, or several variations on this), apocryphal work translated in the tenth or 11th century from Greek into Slavonic. The dating is deduced from the evidence of certain linguistic peculiarities. The first complete edition of the work was published by A. Popov in 1880. It was edited and studied by M. Sokolov (1899 and 1910) who made a special examination of the quotations from Old Russian literature it contains. An edition and translation of the work into French was made by A. Vaillant (1952). There are considerable differences between the two recensions (one long and one short) found in the manuscripts. Vaillant and other scholars maintain that the short recension is closer to the original text than the long one, which in their view contains many interpolations made by two revisers. Nonetheless the long recension seems to contain some material belonging to the original text omitted from the short recension.

The Slavonic Book of Enoch begins with *Enoch's account of his journey on the wings of angels through the seven heavens. This account, which contains astronomical information and descriptions of various classes of obedient and rebellious angels, recalls, despite considerable differences in detail, similar passages in the Ethiopic Book of *Enoch. In the seventh heaven Enoch sees from afar the Lord, who speaks to him and orders the angel Vreveil to describe to him the workings of heaven and earth, as well as disquisitions on various other

topics, and commands Enoch to record these in 360 books. This is followed by an account of the creation given to Enoch which is succeeded in turn by Enoch's exhortations to his sons. These exhortations include moral admonitions, injunctions concerning sacrifices, a description of what Enoch has seen in the heavens, and an eschatology. The tale continues with Enoch being carried away by angels. His son Methuselah is ordained as a priest, offers animal sacrifices, and at the end of his life sees in a vision the Lord, who announces the deluge and commands him to choose Nir, the second son of Lamech (i.e., Noah's brother), as his successor in the priestly office. After the death of Methuselah, Nir offers animal sacrifices. After more than 200 years, when people have changed for the worse, Sophonim, Nir's wife, becomes pregnant in her old age. Rebuked by her husband who believes her unfaithful, she dies. A child comes forth from her corpse. He has the distinctive signs of priesthood and is named Melchizedek. When the time of the deluge approaches, the Lord informs Nir that Melchizedek will be taken to Eden by the archangel Michael and will be forever the priest of priests, or, as Nir puts it, the head of the priests of the "other" people (those who will live after the deluge).

In the long recension the Lord refers to the 13 priests headed by Melchizedek's son Nir who precede the Melchizedek known from the Bible and to 12 priests who follow the second Melchizedek; after them will come the great high priest, the Word of God, who created all things visible and invisible. This allusion to the Christian concept of the Christ has no counterpart in the short recension. The latter, which ends with the removal of the first Melchizedek, is possibly cut short, and in this case the long recension may have preserved some original materials.

Various hypotheses have been put forward on the origin of the Slavonic Book of Enoch and the influences discernible in it. There are unmistakable echoes of Christian doctrine in the long recension, but only doubtful ones, or none at all, in the short. If, as seems probable, the latter text is comparatively free from interpolation, there does not appear to be any firm ground for maintaining, as Vaillant does, that the work originated in a Christian milieu. It is possible that it reflects tendencies of one or even several Jewish groups; there are many quotations from biblical texts and allusions to them and to Ben Sira. It is reasonably likely that the original work, which is more or less represented by the short recension, was an amalgam of two or more texts of differing provenance. A significant clue may be provided by the fact that in two passages – in Enoch's exhortations to his sons (Vaillant, p. 58–59) and in the account of the sacrifice offered by Methuselah (p. 66–67) – the text makes it clear that the four legs of the sacrificial animals should be tied together. A passage in the Babylonian Talmud (Tam. 31b) characterizes this way of tying sacrificial animals as a custom of the sectarians (*minim*). It is therefore a possibility that some portions of the Slavonic Book of Enoch, or the whole of it, reflect the views of a Jewish sect which was heterodox in rabbinic eyes. In this connection, it may be asked if

the story of Melchizedek recounted in this work also belongs to the lore of this sect.

Some portions of the Slavonic Book of Enoch show Iranian influences. A passage in the exhortations of Enoch (Vaillant, p. 56–57) referring to the souls of animals accusing man certainly derives, as W. Otto noted, from the Zoroastrian scriptures; its ultimate source may be found in the Avestic Gathas (Yasna 29). The reference in the same passage to the habitation assigned to the souls of the animals in the Great Aeon may also reflect Zoroastrian views. It may be significant that these passages immediately precede the sectarian passage of sacrificial animals (Vaillant, p. 58–59). A passage in the exhortations of Enoch (p. 60–63) in which he refers to God having established the division of time in the Aeon of Creation and to these divisions (the years, months, days, and hours) disappearing in the eschatological Great Aeon is also reminiscent of Iranian doctrines on the creation of the Time of Long Dominion (which has the ordinary divisions of time) and to its merging at the end with Infinite Time (which has none). It has been claimed, with good reason, that the account of the creation the Lord gives to Enoch (Vaillant, p. 28–31) also contains some Iranian elements. The book also shows an Egyptian influence. The Greek original of the Slavonic text appears to have been full of Hebraisms; it may be supposed that the author was familiar with the language of the Septuagint. However, in at least one case (Vaillant, p. 10) a post-biblical Hebrew expression, *porkei 'ol*, seems to have been translated.

Chronologically the Slavonic Book of Enoch comes after the Ethiopic Book of Enoch. A *terminus a quo* is suggested (though not established) by the hypothesis that the Mishnah may include a reference to the sacrificial usages of a sect within which at least some portions of this text may have originated. There are some not wholly conclusive indications that the Greek original of the work may have still existed in the 13th century.

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[Shlomo Pines]

ENOCH BEN ABRAHAM (d. after 1662), talmudist and preacher. In 1649, after having served as preacher in Cracow, he left for Gnesen where he was appointed rabbi. He afterward became *dayyan* at Posen. As a result of the suffering and poverty caused by the Chmielnicki rebellion (1648–49), Enoch left Poland and settled at Oettingen (Germany) where he was appointed rabbi, remaining there, probably until his death. His works, published posthumously, are *Vikku'ah Yosef ve-ha-Shevatim* (Amsterdam, 1680), an attempt to exonerate Joseph's brothers; *Reshit Bikkurim* (1708), three sermons on God's existence, revelation, and reward and punishment, published as part one of his grandson Enoch b. Judah's book

of the same title. The introduction mentions his commentaries on Psalms, Proverbs, and Esther; *Berit Olam*, homilies on the Bible; and novellae on the *Tur Oraḥ Hayyim*. Some of his responsa, together with those of his son Judah and his grandson, appear in *Hinnukh Beit Yehudah* (1708).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Perles, *Geschichte der Juden in Posen* (1865), 82, 83; J.E. Sokolow, *Gan Peraḥim* (1890), 120.

[Jacob Hirsch Haberman]

ENOSH (Heb. עֲנוֹשׁ; “man, mankind”), eldest son of *Seth and the father of Kenan (Gen. 4:26; 5:6, 9; 1 Chron. 1:1–2). He lived 905 years (Gen. 5:11). It was in his day that the name YHWH was first invoked (*ibid.* 4:26).

In the Aggadah

The generation of Enosh is the “counsel of the ungodly” of Ps. 1:1. Enosh and his contemporaries studied and practiced the arts of divination and control of heavenly forces, thereby making way for the generation of the flood (Zohar 1:56a), and were also the first to practice idolatry (Sif. Deut. 43; see also Shab. 118b). Four revolutions in nature occurred during the days of Enosh: the mountains became barren; corpses began to putrefy; the faces of men became apelike (rather than Godlike); and demons lost their fear of men (Gen. R. 23:6).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cassuto, in: *EM*, 1 (1965), 450; E.A. Speiser, *Genesis* (1964), 37–38. IN THE AGGADAH: I. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 73.

EN-RIMMON (Heb. עֵין רִמּוֹן), ancient town in the northern Negev. Originally part of the territory of Simeon (Josh. 19:7), it was absorbed by the tribe of Judah in the time of David (*ibid.* 15:32; 1 Chron. 4:32). It was resettled by Jews in the Persian period (Neh. 11:29). In the masoretic text of the Books of Joshua and Chronicles, En-Rimmon appears as two separate cities (Ain and Rimmon) but as one city in the Book of Nehemiah and the Septuagint. In the fourth century C.E. Eusebius refers to it as a large Jewish village (Onom. 88:17; 146:25). The name may be preserved in the Arabic Khirbat Umm al-Ramāmin, about 8 mi. (13 km.) north of Beersheba.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ENRIQUES, PAOLO (1878–1932), Italian zoologist. Born at Leghorn, he became director of the Institute of Zoology at Padua in 1921 and remained there until his death. His zoological studies dealt with comparative physiology and protozoology. Among works of wider scope were his *La teoria cellulare* (1911), in which he attempted a synthesis of modern biological problems; *Riproduzione nei protozoi* (1924); and a series of monographs on genetics and evolution in which Enriques attempted to reconcile Mendelian heredity with the Darwinian theory of evolution.

[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

A early Christian document translated from old church Slavonic [and edited]. From a series of documents about the lives of the ancient patriarchs. Presumably from Clement's age AD 64-99.

LIFE OF ADAM AND EVE

1.

Adam in Paradise before the Fall had all the power of his,
all under his rule lived.

2.

And when God banished him from the Garden,
and he was sitting in the Garden before the doors of paradise,
I saw a dream that Cain and Abel will be born,
and of when Cain killed Abel.

3.

And the angel rebuked him tell it to Eve.

4.

And so he lived 79 years old, and was with sickness of the gut,
and did not know what kind of disease he had.

5.

And all from young and old alike and marveled, and said to Eve,
"O our mother, you know all his secrets,
so declare to us with what our father is so ill?"

6.

And all the people Adam, it was around 6,000 men.

7.

Eve then said,
"From the start I will tell you, my children.

8.

When God created Paradise in the East and the whole world,
and created your father and me,
and entrusting to us Paradise,
and all the beasts and creeping things, and birds of all birds,

9.

Adam kept the eastern and northern part,
and I kept the western and southern.

10.

And then the Lord, He gave us the commandment, saying,
"You can eat all that is in Heaven, only the fruit of one tree you shall not eat,"
and showed us a tree.

11.

And up to heaven, *went* our Lord.

12.

And we both owned the whole of Paradise,
and without commanded Adam and all my animals and beasts,
and reptiles do not dare neither walk nor lap or eat anything, as long as they do not solve.

13.

And then we come to the Devil, bright, like an angel, and said to us,
"What you allow God is and what is not told is in Paradise?"

14.

Adam said,
"All we are allowed to have, only one tree fruit is forbidden us,
and commanded us beware of him."

15.

The devil said,
"It is a pity to me *for* you,
for you know that if he ate of the fruit, then you would be gods."

16.

So he said, and left us.

17.

And he found a snake and brush up on her, the Serpent,
and I thinking that he was an angel that came to me and showed me the fruit of that tree.

18.
And I beheld that the snake loves God more than all animals,
and took of the fruit and ate it.

19.
And my heart fainted within me suddenly,
and in my part of paradise trees shed their leaves.

20.
I hid it under the tree, the fruit that was eaten,
and called to Adam and said,
"Come here, Adam,
and you will see a great miracle."

21.
I only opened my mouth,
and my tongue it spoke automatically, unto Adam, to eat.

22.
Adam also picked fruit from the tree that I ate.

23.
And it opened our eyes, and we saw our nakedness,
and our hearts fell out with lust.

24.
And it happened,
and all the trees shed their leaves,
only the tree of figs its leaves it did not shed.

25.
Adam also burst into tears and told me,
"The wife, that you and I have done!"

26.
Yet my heart is not turned back to Adam,
and we hid under the tree, which was not defoliated,
and we sewed fig leaves together and made us clothes.

27.
And then heard the voice, the cry from heaven, the angel called angels,
"Come all - tells the Lord, and get off to Paradise, because Adam sinned."

28.
And then the Lord came down with all his angels,
and the throne and was placed in the middle of Paradise,

29.
And the Lord called a loud voice,
"Adam, Adam, where are you?"

30.
Yet Adam had disappeared.

31.
And *the Lord* caught us angels,
and violently beat us, and drove us out of Paradise.

32.
Adam also wept and prayed, saying,
"Have mercy on us,
may the Lord have mercy on us!"

33.
Yet it is not the Lord *that* had mercy on us,
for the archangel Michael incessantly prayed for us before the throne.

34.
And *the Lord* drove us out of Paradise and rejected us.

35.
We were deprived of Eden,
and Adam fell to his knees and wept.

LIFE OF ADAM AND EVE

36.
And it was so 15 days,
and I fainted from hunger, and said to Adam,
"Sir, get up and look for refuge,
my heart was already defeated by hunger and little is my strength."
37.
Adam is, exclaiming, said,
"On the Eve, arises in the heart
my desire to turn away from thee,
38.
yet not with whom I stay and fear God,
and my heart does not reject you. "
39.
And we got up and went around the earth,
and did not find anything edible, except thistle and grass of the field.
40.
And again we came to Paradise and crying, grieving,
and Adam said,
"Lord, give me the incense that you burn incense."
41.
Then the Lord sent him incense,
and Adam took it and offered his prayer to the Lord.
42.
And then the Lord was gracious,
and the archangel Joel separated the 7th part of Paradise and gave it to us.
43.
And eat the fruit [ternovnyimi] first 17 days,
and then took the wheat and honey, and oil,
and ate and were satisfied.
44.
And God took cattle and animals from Paradise,
and gave them to Adam.
45.
Adam also separated them and made wild and domestic,
and gave them all names and everything feeds them.
46.
And the Lord said,
"The thorns and thistle shall grow out of your labors."
47.
And Adam, he took the oxen and plowed the land.
48.
And the devil came and stood in front of the oxen,
to disallow Adam to plow.
49.
"Because," said the Devil, "*this is my land,*
and God's *land is* heaven and paradise.
50.
And if you want *to be in my land, go to be the land of Pasha.*
51.
If you want God to be, then go to Paradise.
52.
"And Adam said,
"God the heavens and the earth with all that it inhabits."
53.
The devil did not give it *to Adam* to plow and said,
"Write *for me with* your hand, you're mine,
and you're going to work on the ground."
54.
Adam said,
"Whose land *shall I plow,*
that I and my children *live?*"

55.
Yet Adam knew that the Lord must come to earth and be born of a virgin.

56.
The devil was very happy and said,
"Work for me."

57.
And he took a stone and plaque Adam wrote the handwriting, and said,
"Whose land *I plow*, that I and my children *live*."

58.
The devil took the handwriting and hid at home.

59.
I, *Eve*, said to Adam,
"Sir, so far, maybe the Lord will deliver us from the Devil."

60.
Adam said, "he had fasted forty days."

61.
I said,
"You, my lord, he had fast for 40 days,
and so I will fast *for* 44 days.

62.
He said to me,
"Come thou unto the Tigris River,
and put a stone on his head,
and the other under their feet,

63.
and stand up to your neck in water,
yet do not listen to anybody that nobody deceives you again."

64.
And he showed me a secret sign, and said to me,
"Do not go out of the water, until I arrive."

65.
And Adam stood up and went to the Jordan,
to repent, and gather together there all the beasts and birds,
and a host of angels *that* mourned *for* Adam.

66.
Adam also fell all in the Jordan River
and spent so 40 days.

67.
The devil came to Eve as an angel bright,
tears dropping on the ground, and said to me,

"Eve, the Lord heard your prayer,
and our, angels, praying for you.

68.
God has sent me to you to withdraw from the river of Adam."

I did not believe him.

69.
Again after 3 days he came,
taking the form of Adam, and long tempted me.

70.
I did not agree to go, until I saw a sign that showed me Adam.

LIFE OF ADAM AND EVE

71.

And when Adam finished 40 days of *penance* for repentance,
he came from *the Jordan river*, and *I* found *a* trace *that* the Devil came to me,
and very scared, I was [enticed] [*returned*] back *into the water*.

72.

And when he saw me in the water, *he* was very happy,
Yet when he came to me, I did not believe it was my lord.

73.

And he showed me a sign,
then I believed it *and* went out of the river.

74.

So the Lord delivered us from the Devil,

75.

And we settled in Midian,
and there gave birth to Cain and Abel,
and all the days they were both looking after the cattle.

75.

One day Adam got up from his bed and said to me *about his dream*,
"The wife was 14 years old,
to shed blood of Abel, killed by Cain.

76.

Give me the ass, I'll go and find him."

77.

When I heard, my heart stirred,
and Adam sat on a donkey, *and* went and found Abel murdered
and did not say anything, for so the angel told him.

78.

And *Adam* brought Abel to a place called Reon, and buried him there.

79.

And when I gave birth to Seth, then *I* said to Adam,
"Sir, do not rend your heart,
because once again *we* had a son instead of Abel, and gave his name Seth."

80.

Then Adam Eve interrupted, exclaiming,
"O Eve, be silent, I'm already weak in spirit."

81.

And Seth said,
"My lord, my father,
I will go to heaven and bring something out of Paradise,
and see, and be comforted."

82.

Adam said,
"Son, how to get you in heaven?"

83.

You come close to Paradise, weeping,
the Lord may allow you to take a branch from the olive tree,
and who knows, maybe I will release this disease."

84.

Seth asked,
"Father, how is your illness?"

85.

Adam said,
"O son, my serious illness.

86.

When have I sinned, and thy mother, as the Lord had said,
"I will multiply your pain", Cain will be in mourning.

87.

And I will give you three of the disease,
the first disease *of the womb*,
the second *disease will make you disgusted, (nauseous)*
then I'll add one *more disease*."

88.

And your mother said,
"It's always your husband shall rule over you,
and when you will give birth, death will threaten you."

89.

Seth heard this and went to Paradise with his mother,
and Eve saw *there that* a ferocious beast named the crocodile chased her son Seth.

90.

And stopped, said to him,
"O beast, you do not remember it, as you,
I cherished my hands?"

91.

How dare [razevat] their mouth to the image of God,
how dare his teeth snap *at my son!*"

92.

And then the beast, responding to Eve, said,
"On the Eve of *when* you went wrong,
when you dared to encroach on the victuals,
which the Lord *God* does not allow you,

93.

that's why I want to eat your child."

94.

Then Eve burst into tears,
and it was heard crying from the east to the west, and said,
"Oh, woe is me, my God,
now and forever I will curse all the people."

95.

Then Seth said,
"I charge you, the beast in his lair thou *shall* continue until Judgment Day,
again encroaching on the hope of humanity.

96.

So he abides forever." Seth said,
and went with his mother and wept before the Paradise,
and put dust upon his head.

97.

And the angel appeared before them and asked them,
"*For* what *do you* cry out?"

98.

And Seth said,
"Lord, my father fell ill and wants *of* paradise goodness,
he wants to see the olive branch from the tree,
so that then can subside his illness."

99.

Then the angel said to Seth,
"There is no medicine for Adam,
for the days of his death and the end of his life."

100.

And he broke off from the tree,
because of which Adam was expelled from Paradise,
and gave Seth three branches,
and Seth has brought them to where Adam was lying, his father.

101.

And then I saw Adam and recognized them, and took them,
and sighed heavily, platted a crown and put it on his head,
and he saw the hand of the Lord, to take his soul.

102.

And then Eve *took the* censer with incense, *and* perfumed body of Adam,
and three angels *were* holding candles.

103.

And Seth looked up and saw the soul of Adam, his father, standing away from the Lord,
and a host of angels, praying for Adam.

104.

When it came to the archangel Michael, when all the angels were silent,
and then the Lord had mercy, *and* put out his hand, and took the soul of Adam.

105.

And the Lord sent an angel to bury his body,
and taught Seth, and took the body and taken to a place called Gerus swamp.

106.

When *with a fossil the* grave *the* archangel sealed *the* coffin,
there was a voice from heaven, *that* cried, "Adam, Adam,"
and he answered, "Here I am, Lord."

107.

And the Lord said,
"I have declared to you
that you, [*lord of*] the land, and the land shall go."

And the land of the Lord said,
"Thine own *children* of thine bring you everything."

108.

And so Adam was buried with a wreath that was on its head,
Eve *with the* same mournful voice praying, asked,
"Good Lord, take my soul."

109.

And so *for* 6 days of *mourning for* Adam,
he bowed his head,
and poured out his soul to God.

110.

And here is buried Eve and her son Abel,
and in the place of the crown of the tree grew, which was led by Adam.

INVENTER LES ANGES
DE L'ANTIQUITÉ À BYZANCE :
CONCEPTION, REPRÉSENTATION, PERCEPTION

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MINISTERING SPIRITS, GUARDIANS, INTERCESSORS: THE DISCOURSE OF ANGELS IN BYZANTINE LITURGICAL TEXTS*

Eirini AFENTOULIDOU

In a dialogue written by the Christian philosopher Aineas of Gaza (5th c.), Theophrastos asks his interlocutor Euxitheos why God keeps creating human beings and did not create them all at once, as he had created the angels. Euxitheos answers that God knew that human beings could easily be deceived into worshipping angels as uncreated and eternal deities:

God has foreseen that men, marvelling at the rational powers, believing them to be without beginning and un-generated, and making many Principles and innumerable gods, would introduce a disorderly democracy instead of the well-ordered monarchy.¹

It is for this reason, Euxitheos continues, that God keeps creating human beings: so that people know that there is a creator, and therefore understand that the same creator created the angels. Both the question and the answer may be somewhat hard to follow for modern readers. Yet this passage among others testifies to anxieties in Late Antique Christianity that people would give the angels honours belonging to God alone.

Devotional practices involving angels could be deemed as idolatry, superstition, or magic—as some texts hint. Let us consider a homily titled “On the deposition of the holy bodies of the saints and martyrs Procopius and Phocas in the Church called after Michael” (delivered in 514-515 by Severus, the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch). Severus epitomises what in his opinion constitutes the Christian attitude towards angels, as opposed to what he deems as Pagan practice:

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1. *Enea di Gaza. Teofrasto*, ed. critica a cura di M. E. Colonna, Napoli 1958, pp. 37, 16–38, 18. English transl.: *Aeneas of Gaza, Theophrastus, with Zacharias of Mytilene, Ammonius*, transl. by J. Dillon, D. Russel, and S. Gertz, London – New York, NY 2012, p. 35.

Inventer les anges de l'Antiquité à Byzance: conception, représentation, perception.
éd. par D. LAURITZEN (Travaux et mémoires 25/2), Paris 2021.

For the angels are given as guardians even to peoples and to cities and to each human being. [...] But in mistaking their rank as soldiers and stewards, let us not, therefore, through pagan error, dishonour them by honours which are beyond the limit (of what is fitting). For everything which is offered to the glory of the one who alone is God is for them a dishonour. [...] Do not suppose, therefore, that even the angels are anything other than ministers and stewards.²

Severus was not the first to associate aspects of the cult of angels with idolatry. As early as the second half of the fourth century, the council that convened in Laodicea condemned invoking angels in a canon surviving in the following form:

It is forbidden for Christians to abandon the church of God and to depart, invoke (ὀνομάζειν) angels, and hold gatherings. Therefore, if someone should be discovered taking part in this secret idolatry, let him be anathema, because he has abandoned our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and entered into idolatry.³

The contextualisation of such texts and the angelologies they adhere to or refute have been the focus of important studies.⁴ These angelologies were exemplified in ritual texts of Late Antiquity and beyond. On the one hand, angels appeared as ministering spirits at the throne of God. They also had to guard human beings at God's command. It is in this function that we encounter angels in the priestly prayers included in the liturgical books of the Byzantine Church. On the other hand, angels are ubiquitous in Late Antique amulets, whether they can be identified as Christian or not. In this devotional form angels, named or unnamed, are invoked as protective powers, often directly addressed. As Christianity gradually obscured the previous religious traditions, the texts of the amulets adopted several elements from Jewish-Christian traditions, and the liturgical discourse of the Church.⁵ Among the most common liturgical formulas found in amulets is the Trisagion,

2. *Sévère d'Antioche. Les homiliae cathedrales, version syriaque de Jacques d'Édesse*, éd. critique et trad. par M. Brière (PO 12.1), Paris 1919, hom. 72, pp. 71–89. English transl.: *Severus of Antioch*, transl. by P. Allen and R. C. T. Hayward, London – New York, NY 2004, pp. 126–35, here pp. 131–3.

3. *Discipline générale antique IX, 1/2, Les canons des synodes particuliers (IV^e-IX^e s.)*, éd. critique par P.-P. Joannou, Grottaferrata 1962, pp. 1444–5: 'Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανοὺς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν καὶ συνάξεις ποιεῖν, ἅπερ ἀπηγόρευται. Εἴ τις οὖν εὐρεθῇ ταύτῃ τῇ κεκρυμμένῃ εἰδωλολατρεῖα σχολάζων, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα, ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπεν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἰδωλολατρεῖα προσῆλθεν. English transl.: R. CLINE, *Ancient Angels. Conceptualising Angeloi in the Roman Empire* (RGRW 172), Leiden – Boston, MA 2011, p. 143.

4. CLINE, *Ancient Angels* (quoted n. 3), esp. chapter 5, 'Angels of The Spring: Variations on Local Angelos Veneration and Christian Reaction', pp. 105–36, and chapter 6, 'Angels of a Christian God: Christian Angelos Veneration in Late Roman Anatolia', p. 137–66; E. MUEHLBERGER, *Angels in Ancient Christianity*, Oxford 2013; G. PEERS, *Subtle Bodies. Representing Angels in Byzantium* (TCH 32), Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA – London 2001, pp. 1–11.

5. Th. DE BRUYN, *Making Amulets Christian. Artefacts, Scribes and Contexts* (Oxford Early Christian Studies), Oxford 2017.

which is regarded as the hymn of the angels. Whatever the religious affiliation of those who made and wore such amulets might have been, the way angels appear could easily arouse the suspicion that they were treated as divine beings with agency of their own—precisely what Severus alleges that Pagans did.

The discourse of angels in the priestly prayers of the Byzantine Church remained remarkably distinct throughout the centuries. Yet, the border between angels as ministers and guardians, and angels as protecting powers with independent agency is not always clear. There was far from consensus on where the distinction between these two roles for angels lied. Thus, prayers transmitted in the liturgical books of the Byzantine Church sometimes appropriate elements originating from the amuletic discourse, including the discourse on angels.⁶

With the consolidation of the cult of angels and the flourishing of hymnography in Byzantine Christianity, further liturgical discourses on angels developed. Hymns dedicated to angels proliferated. The way angels are depicted in these hymns differs significantly both from the discourses of priestly prayers and amulets: angels become increasingly similar to saints by assuming a role as intercessors to God on behalf of humanity. Angels became depicted as personalised, establishing relations with human beings.

In this article I will concentrate on Byzantine liturgical texts, notably priestly prayers and hymns. I will not discuss the angelology of amulets and devotional practices labelled as “magic,” since this is examined elsewhere in this volume.⁷ However, these practices were also part of Late Antique and Byzantine Christian devotion. The liturgical texts I will discuss represent the voices within the Church that sought to draw a line between magic and “appropriate” liturgy—and their angelological discourse was developed against this background. I will demonstrate how the angelology codified by Church authorities such as the authors of the Canons of Laodicea and Severus of Antioch corresponds to the discourse on angels in Byzantine liturgical prayers. Moreover, I will trace elements in liturgical books that point to the angelology of amulets. Finally, I will examine the hagiographic traits developed in Byzantine hymnography, most notably in liturgical kanones. I leave out of my scope non-liturgical Christian discourses on angels, such as the discourse of the apocalypses, the accounts of the hour of death and the posthumous judgement with the angels as psychopomps,⁸ and also monastic discourses of the angel-like polity.

6. Ei. AFENTOULIDOU, *Between Incantation and Prayer: From Late Antique Amulets to the Eucharist*, *StP* 108, forthcoming.

7. See in particular the articles by Korshi Dosoo, Alexandros Tsakos, and Magdalena Łaptaś.

8. J. BAUN, *Tales from another Byzantium. Celestial Journey and Local Community in the Medieval Greek Apokrypha*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 194–5; see also Ei. AFENTOULIDOU, *Space and Power in Byzantine Accounts of the Aerial Tollhouses*, in *Cultures of Eschatology, II, Empire, Death and Other Worlds in Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism*, ed. by V. Wieser, V. Eltschinger, and J. Heiss, Berlin – Boston, MA 2020, pp. 603–15; EAD., *Gesellschaftliche Vorstellungen in den byzantinischen Berichten von posthumen Zollstationen*, *ZRGG* 67/1, 2015, pp. 17–42.

I will be more detailed as regards the priestly prayers. It has often been correctly observed that in the process of Christianisation, amulets have adopted (Judeo-) Christian elements such as invocations of angels, and liturgical formulas. This claim is valid; however, it often ignores the nuances that the discourse of angels takes in Christian liturgical texts. With this article I hope to contribute to the understanding of the dialectics of the various angelological discourses in Late Antique and Byzantine text used in the liturgy.

I. EUCHOLOGION PRAYERS

The Euchologion is the liturgical book of the Byzantine Church containing prayers and services to be used by the priest.⁹ Its contents vary from manuscript to manuscript. The earliest Euchologion manuscript, codex Vaticanus Barberini gr. 336, dates from the late eighth century.¹⁰ However, many services contained in the Euchologion developed much earlier, notably the prayers of the Eucharistic liturgy, the daily services and baptism.¹¹

A typical Euchologion may contain one or more eucharistic liturgies (mainly those attributed to John Chrysostom and Basil the Great, and the liturgy of the Presanctified), other services (baptism, matrimonial services, clerical ordinations, monastic tonsuring, funerary services, unction of the sick, blessing of waters), daily services and occasional or “small” prayers addressing various concerns in the life of the community.¹² The distinction between occasional prayers and other services is somewhat arbitrary. This is rather a methodological distinction serving scholarly study of the prayers and may differ, according to the specific set of research questions applied. Here I follow the definition of occasional prayers established by the Vienna Euchologia Project.¹³ The occasional prayers are particularly relevant in the present study, because they often deal with concerns including health and healing, birth and childbed, protection of the household, of children,

9. Byzantine Euchologia are the focus of the Vienna Euchologia Project at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (<https://www.oeaw.ac.at/byzanz/gesellschaft-und-landschaft/euchologia-projekt>). See C. RAPP – E. AFENTOULIDOU – D. GALADZA – I. NESSERIS – G. ROSSETTO – E. SCHIFFER, *Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History and Daily Life*, *JÖB* 67, 2017, pp. 173–211.

10. *Euchologij Barberini Gr. 336*, ed. E. Velkovska – S. Parenti, Omsk 2011³.

11. See Á. T. MIHÁLYKÓ, *The Christian Liturgical Papyri: An Introduction* (STAC 114), Tübingen 2019.

12. On the occasional prayers see C. RAPP, *Euchologia and “Occasional Prayers,”* in RAPP *et al.*, *Byzantine Prayer Books* (quoted n. 9), here pp. 174–82.

13. Occasional prayers are for example prayers for a woman after giving birth, for the sealing of a child on the 8th day, for churching a child on the 40th day, for churching a woman on the 40th day, for the hair-clipping of a child, for veiling women or girls, adelphopoiesis (ritual brotherhood), exorcisms outside baptismal context, prayers for illness, commemoration of dead people or saints (kolyba) outside a funerary context, etc. Excluded are baptism, betrothal, wedding, unction of the sick, funeral, monastic tonsure, water blessing, etc. For a fuller version of this definition see the introduction to the forthcoming Checklist of Occasional Prayers in Printed Editions (COPE) by the Vienna Euchologia Project.

of crop and livestock, protection from demonic attacks, etc. These were themes for which there existed a rich tradition of ritual texts involving angels. The prayers included in the Euchologion—whether prayers for the eucharistic liturgies, for daily services, or occasional prayers—have a standardised structure. They begin by addressing God. The address is followed by the anamnesis—a relative participle or clause with a biblical event or a divine feature. A short form of the anamnesis can be a divine epithet. The subsequent epiklesis or petition consists of the main concern of the prayer. The prayer concludes with a trinitarian doxology.

1. “Together with these blessed powers:” Eucharistic liturgies

The belief that praying human beings join the angelic hosts in praising God was developed in Second Temple Judaism. The heavenly liturgy, which human beings also participated in, became prevalent in the Qumran communities.¹⁴ Christian angelology applied the idea of the presence of angels and the common praise of angels and human beings, especially to the eucharistic liturgy. In this central event in Christian worship, the atemporal praise offered to God by angels and the eucharistic liturgy offered by the Church collapse into one co-celebration.¹⁵ It is therefore hardly surprising that mentions of angels in the Euchologia are mostly concentrated in the eucharistic liturgies.

The eucharistic liturgies that prevailed in the Byzantine rite are those attributed to John Chrysostom (CHR) and Basil the Great (BAS). The development of the Byzantine liturgy and its types is a complex phenomenon, which exceeds the scope of this article.¹⁶ However, the basic structure of the eucharistic liturgies is largely consistent, so that it is possible to trace the references to angels by examining the CHR and BAS liturgies in parallel. In this section I will use the edition by Miguel Arranz, which is based on early manuscripts of the Constantinopolitan tradition.¹⁷ Although Arranz’ editorial approach has received

14. *Gottesdienst und Engel im Antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*, hrsg. von J. Frey und M. R. Jost (WUNT 2/446), Tübingen 2017; D. ΚΑΙΜΑΚΙΣ, «Τὰ Ἐλοχίμ δὲν θὰ ταραχθοῦν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα...». Ζητήματα Παλαιοδιαθηκικῆς καὶ Μεσοδιαθηκικῆς Γραμματείας, Thessaloniki 2006.

15. On angels as co-celebrants in liturgical and patristic texts see P. SKALTSIS, Η Αγγελολογία της θείας Λειτουργίας, in Εισήγηση στο 13ο Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο Ελληνικής Βιβλικῆς Εταιρείας Βιβλικῶν Θεολόγων, 7-9 Νοεμβρίου 2013, Σέρρες, <http://katallagi.web.auth.gr>. See also A. MARINESCU, Gemeinschaft, Heiligkeit, Realpräsenz. „Angeloī“ und „Isangeloi“ in der orthodoxen Göttlichen Liturgie. Eine Studie, in *Gottesdienst und Engel* (quoted n. 14), pp. 291–395. Angels as co-celebrants are also depicted in Byzantine iconography of the melismos, the breaking of the consecrated bread before Holy Communion. Here, the ministering angels take the role of the deacons in Byzantine liturgy: Ch. KONSTANTINIDI, Ο Μελισμός. Οι συλλειτουργούντες ιεράρχες και οι άγγελοι – διάκονοι μπροστά στην Αγία Τράπεζα με τα Τιμία Δώρα ή τον Ευχαριστιακό Χριστό, Thessaloniki 2008, esp. pp. 117–24.

16. For the history of and a rich bibliography on the eucharistic liturgy attributed to John Chrysostom, see R. TAFT – S. PARENTI, *Il grande ingresso. Edizione italiana rivista, aggiornata e ampliata. Storia della liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo II* (Ανάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρρης 10), Grottaferrata 2014.

17. *L'eucologio Constantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI*, a cura di M. Arranz, Roma 1996.

a lot of well-founded criticism—mainly concentrating on the futility of reconstructing a hypothetical Euchologion that probably never existed¹⁸—his edition offers a representative sample of early texts and constitutes a workable basis for the present study. I will also cite selected texts from the edition of the earliest extant Euchologion by Elena Velkovska and Stefano Parenti.¹⁹

The first prayer to mention angels in BAS is the “prayer of the entrance”—CHR does not mention angels in this prayer. In BAS, this prayer introduces the theme of the angels as co-celebrants:

Master and Lord our God, you have established in heaven the orders and hosts of angels and archangels to minister to your glory. Grant that the holy angels may enter with us that together we may serve and glorify your goodness. For to you belong all glory etc.²⁰

The next reference to angels is in the prayer introducing the Trisagion hymn, which is then sung by the faithful. The Trisagion is among the most common liturgical phrases, widely used both in liturgy and in Christian/christianised amulets. It is based on biblical phrases attributed to liminal beings: “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory” (Is. 6, 3) and “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God Almighty” (Rev. 4, 8). The Trisagion appears in many variations, depending on the local liturgical tradition.²¹ The prevailing Byzantine form is: “Holy God, holy mighty, holy immortal, have mercy on us.” It does not come as a surprise that both BAS and CHR elaborate on the theme of the angels glorifying God in the prayer introducing the Trisagion. This prayer differs significantly in the two liturgies. In BAS the text begins as follows:

Holy God, you dwell among your saints. You are praised by the Seraphim with the thrice holy hymn, and glorified by the Cherubim, and worshiped by all the heavenly powers.²²

18. See V. POLIDORI, L'edizione delle fonti liturgiche greche: una questione di metodo, *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 10, 2014, pp. 173–97.

19. *Euchol. Barber.*, ed. Velkovska–Parenti (quoted n. 10).

20. *Eucol. Constantinop.*, ed. Arranz (quoted n. 17), Bs:05, p. 468: Εὐχή τῆς εἰσόδου. Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν/ ὁ καταστήσας ἐν οὐρανοῖς/ τάγματα καὶ στρατιάς ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων/ εἰς λειτουργίαν τῆς σῆς δόξης/ ποιήσον σὺν τῇ εἰσόδῳ ἡμῶν/ εἴσοδον ἁγίων ἀγγέλων γενέσθαι/ συλλειτουργούντων ἡμῖν/ καὶ συνδοξολογούντων τὴν σὴν ἀγαθότητα. Ὅτι πρέπει σοι πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις. When no translator is indicated, the translation is mine. If the texts are included in current practice, I also consulted the English texts used by the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America (<https://www.goarch.org/chapel/texts>), and *The Great Book of Needs. Expanded and Supplemented*, transl. from Church Slavonic by St. Tikhon's Monastery, I-IV, South Canaan, PA 2000, <https://app.logos.com>.

21. S. JANERAS, Le Trisagion: une formule brève en liturgie comparée, in *Acts of the International congress Comparative liturgy fifty years after Anton Baumstark* (OCA 265), Rome 2001, pp. 495–562.

22. *Eucol. Constantinop.*, ed. Arranz (quoted n. 17), Bs:06, p. 469: Εὐχή τοῦ τρισαγίου. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπανόμενος/ ὁ τρισαγία φωνῇ ὑπὸ τῶν σεραφὶμ ἀνυμνούμενος/ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν χερουβὶμ δοξολογούμενος/ καὶ ὑπὸ πάσης ἐπουρανίου δυνάμεως προσκυνούμενος.

In CHR the prayer is missing in many early Euchologia. The Codex Barberini gr. 336 has the following version:

[God,] whom the four-faced beings glorify with unceasing voice; holy is God, who is being revered and glorified invisibly by a multitude of trembling holy angels and archangels; holy is God, who watches over the multi-eyed Cherubim with the unceasing cry and bending your ear; holy is God, who is seated on the six-winged Seraphim and accepts their victory hymn, the “Holy, holy, holy Lord Sabaoth,” as they clap their wings and sing. For you are holy, our God, whom revere Principalities, Authorities and Dominions in heaven and human beings praise in song and worship on earth.²³

The next major reference to the co-celebrating angels, and the first explicit statement of the faithful as representing angels, is the Cherubikon hymn, sung by the faithful:

We who mystically represent the Cherubim and sing the thrice-holy hymn to the life-giving Trinity, let us lay aside all worldly care to receive the king of all escorted by the angelic corps unseen.²⁴

During this hymn, the priest recites a prayer in BAS, which praises God as sitting on the throne of the Cherubim without any explicit reference to the presence of angels at the divine liturgy:

For you alone rule over all things in heaven and on earth. You are seated on the throne of the Cherubim, the Lord of the Seraphim.²⁵

The central part of the eucharistic liturgy is the anaphora, during which bread and wine are consecrated. The anaphora is structured in the pre-Sanctus, which is a thanksgiving prayer, the Sanctus hymn, which is sung by the faithful, and the post-Sanctus prayer, in which bread and wine are consecrated. There exist many types of anaphora prayer, but they all include a description of the angelic hosts at the throne of God. Anaphora prayers in BAS and CHR (as edited by Arranz) begin as follows:

23. *Evchol. Barber.*, ed. Velkovska-Parenti (quoted n. 10), no. 25: “Ὁν τὰ τετράμορφα ζῶα ἀκαταπαύστῳ φωνῇ δοξάζουσιν· ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ὁ ὑπὸ πλήθους ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων ἀορασίᾳ τρεμόντων προσκυνούμενος καὶ δοξολογούμενος· ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ὁ τοῖς πολυομμάτοις Χερουβείμ τῇ ἀσιγήτῳ φωνῇ, τῷ ἀκοιμήτῳ ὄμματι ἐπιβλέπων καὶ ἐπικλίνων τὸ οὖς σου· ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ὁ τοῖς ἑξαπτερύγοις Σεραφεῖμ ἐποχοούμενος, καὶ κροτούντων τὰς ἑαυτῶν πτέρυγας καὶ τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον ὑμνούντων, τὸ Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαὼθ προσδεχόμενος. Ἅγιος γὰρ εἶ, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὃν ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐξουσίαι, κυριότητες ἐν οὐρανῷ προσκυνοῦσιν, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἄνθρωποι ἀνυμνοῦσιν καὶ σέβουσιν...”

24. Greek text and English transl. in R. TAFT, *The Great Entrance. A history of the transfer of gifts and other pre-anaphoral rites of the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (OCA 200), Rome 1975, p. 54. See also TAFT – PARENTI, *Il grande Ingresso* (quoted n. 16), p. 156.

25. *Eucol. Constantinop.*, ed. Arranz (quoted n. 17), Bs:4, p. 473: Εὐχὴ ἣν ποιεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τῶν χερουβικῶν λεγομένων. [...] σὺ γὰρ δεσπόζεις τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων/ ὁ ἐπὶ θρόνον χερουβικῶν ἐποχοούμενος/ ὁ τῶν σεραφίμ κύριος.

BAS: For You are praised by the angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities, powers, and the many eyed Cherubim. Round about you stand the Seraphim, one with six wings and the other with six wings; with two they cover their faces; with two they cover their feet; with two they fly, crying out to one another with unceasing voices and ever resounding praises, singing the victory hymn, proclaiming, crying out, and saying: Holy etc.²⁶

CHR: We thank You also for this liturgy, which deign to receive from our hands, even though thousands of archangels and tens of thousands of angels stand around you, the Cherubim and Seraphim, six-winged, many-eyed, soaring aloft upon their wings, singing the triumphal hymn, exclaiming, proclaiming, and saying: Holy etc.²⁷

The hymn introduced as sung by angels is the Sanctus:

Holy, holy, holy, Lord Sabaoth, heaven and earth are filled with your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.²⁸

Thus, the participants of the liturgy and the angels unite in praise. This is stated explicitly in the priestly post-Sanctus utterance:

BAS: Together with these blessed powers, loving master, we sinners also cry out and say: Truly you are holy.

CHR: Together with these blessed powers, master, who loves mankind, we also exclaim and say: Holy are you.

With the anaphora and the Sanctus, the elaboration on the co-celebration of angels and humans reaches its peak and conclusion. Angels are not mentioned in the remaining part of the liturgy.

A special form of liturgy is that of the Presanctified, in which Holy Communion consecrated on the previous Sunday is distributed.²⁹ The liturgy of the Presanctified results

26. *Eucol. Constantinop.*, ed. Arranz (quoted n. 17), Bs:6, pp. 477–9: Σὲ γὰρ αἰνοῦσιν ἄγγελοι ἀρχάγγελοι/ θρόνοι κυριότητες ἀρχαὶ ἐξουσίαι δυνάμεις/ καὶ τὰ πολυόματα χερουβὶμ/ σοὶ παρίστανται κύκλῳ τὰ σεραφὶμ/ ἕξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ ἕξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἐνὶ/ καὶ ταῖς μὲν δυσὶ καλύπτουσιν τὰ πρόσωπα ἑαυτῶν/ ταῖς δὲ δυσὶ τοὺς πόδας/ καὶ ταῖς δυσὶ πετόμενα/ κέκραγεν ἕτερον πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον/ ἀκαταπαύστοις στόμασιν ἀσιγήτοις θεολογίαις/ τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον αἰδοντα βοῶντα/ κεκραγόντα καὶ λέγοντα· Ἄγιος. Μετὰ τούτων τῶν μακαρίων δυνάμεων, δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε, καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ βοῶμεν καὶ λέγομεν· ἄγιος εἰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ... ἀγγέλους ἐπέστησας φύλακας.

27. *Ibid.*, Bs:6, p. 503: Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς λειτουργίας ταύτης/ ἥν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν δέξασθαι καταξίωσον/ καίτοι σοὶ παρεστήκεισαν/ χιλιάδες ἀρχαγγέλων/ καὶ μυριάδες ἀγγέλων/ τὰ χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ σεραφὶμ/ ἕξαπτέρυγα πολυόματα μετάρσια πτερωτά./ Τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον αἰδοντα βοῶντα. Μετὰ τούτων καὶ ἡμεῖς τῶν δυνάμεων/ Δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε/ βοῶμεν καὶ λέγομεν/ ἄγιος εἰ...

28. G. WINKLER, *Über die Bedeutung des Sanctus-Benedictus und seine Wurzel in der Qedussa, Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 8/1, Roma 2004, pp. 91–100.

29. S. ALEXOPOULOS, *The Presanctified Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite. A Comparative Analysis of its Origins, Evolution, and Structural Components* (Liturgia Condenda 21), Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2009.

from the fusion of parts from daily services, notably the Vespers. Since the parts of the liturgy examined above (Trisagion, Cherubikon, Anaphora with Sanctus) are missing, references to angels are much fewer. Angels are depicted as being present at the procession, at which the presanctified bread and wine are placed onto the altar. This moment is addressed in the priestly prayer said in preparation of the procession:

Behold, His spotless body and life-giving blood are about to make their entrance at this hour, to be laid on this mystical table, invisibly attended by a multitude of the heavenly hosts.³⁰

The hymn sung at this point is equally explicit:

Now the powers of heaven minister invisibly with us. For, behold, the king of glory enters.³¹

A little later, the altar is likened to God's throne of the Cherubim:

Look upon us your undeserving servants as we stand, as at your throne of the Cherubim at this your holy altar.³²

Angels functioning not as ministering spirits but as guardians are rare in the eucharistic liturgies.³³ The anaphora prayer in BAS includes among God's benefactions to humanity: "You appointed guardian angels."³⁴ Moreover, one of the diaconal petitions (*i.e.* a litany of petitions said by the deacon) requests: "For an angel of peace, a faithful guide, a guardian of our souls and bodies, let us ask the Lord."³⁵ This petition marks a departure from the angelology of the heavenly liturgy. The guardian angel, for whom the faithful ask in the eucharistic liturgy, may be viewed as a widening of the liturgy to encompass everyday life. As Mateos put it: "la litanie de l'ange de paix fait le passage de la célébration liturgique à la vie ordinaire."³⁶

30. *Evchol. Barber.*, ed. Velkovska-Parenti (quoted n. 10), no. 45: Ἰδοὺ γὰρ τὸ ἄχραντον αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ ζωοποιὸν αἷμα κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ὥραν εἰσπορευόμενα, τῇ μυστικῇ ταύτῃ προτίθεσθαι μέλλει τραπέζῃ ὑπὸ πλήθους στρατιᾶς οὐρανίου ἀοράτων δορυφορούμενα.

31. Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σὺν ἡμῖν ἀοράτως λατρεύουσιν· ἰδοὺ γὰρ εἰσπορεύεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. See ALEXOPOULOS, *The Presanctified Liturgy* (quoted n. 29), p. 228.

32. Ἐφίδε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀναξίους δούλους σου τοὺς τῷ ἁγίῳ τούτῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ ὡς τῷ χερουβικῷ σου παρισταμένους θρόνῳ. *Evchol. Barber.*, ed. Velkovska-Parenti (quoted n. 10), no. 46.1.

33. On guardian angels see MUEHLBERGER, *Angels in Ancient Christianity* (quoted n. 4), esp. pp. 89–147, and J. DANIELOU, *Die Sendung der Engel*, transl. by W. Dittrich (Reihe Wort und Antwort 30), Salzburg 1963, pp. 89–107 (chap. VII).

34. *Eucl. Constantinop.*, ed. Arranz (quoted n. 17), Bs:6-b, p. 480, l. 29: Ἀγγέλους ἐπέστησας φύλακας.

35. H. ENGBERDING, Zum besseren Verständnis einiger diakonaler Aufforderungen des byzantinischen Ritus, *Ostkirchliche Studien* 13, 1964, pp. 3–14. See also TAFT – PARENTI, *Il grande ingresso* (quoted n. 16), pp. 525–9.

36. J. MATEOS S. J., *La célébration de la parole dans la liturgie byzantine. Étude historique* (OCA 191), Rome 1971, p. 158.

The angelology of the eucharistic liturgies is consistent throughout the prayers: Angels are liturgical spirits ministering at the throne of God, and co-celebrating the liturgy with human beings. References to angels in the liturgy serve to underline the cosmic character of the liturgy and the presence of both visible and invisible world. Angels are never addressed. The addressee is exclusively God. Apart from the two mentions of a guardian angel (always dispatched by God) in the BAS anaphora and in the diaconal petitions, angels are always in plural. They are the angels, the hosts, the powers, the orders in general, or specific orders, mostly the cherubim and the seraphim. But we find no names of individual angels.

2. Daily services

Much less elaborate are the mentions of angels in the prayers recited by the priest in the daily services. Most of them consist of addressing God as “Lord of the hosts” (or similar), at the beginning of the prayer. It is the same angelology of angels as ministering spirits expressed in the prayers of the eucharistic liturgies—in a concise form. It would exceed the scope of this article to address the complex history of the daily services.³⁷ In this section I will present the mentions of angels in the prayers of the daily services as found in Arranz’ edition, without details on the history of the services.

One prayer said in the first hour begins by addressing God as “Lord of the hosts.”³⁸ A further prayer, said at the *tritoekte* and at the first hour, begins by “God, who sits upon the cherubim and is glorified by the seraphim.”³⁹ A prayer for the third hour begins with: “God, who established the transcendent powers to your unceasing laudation,”⁴⁰ a prayer for lucernary with: “Praised by the heavenly powers with hymns that are never silent and doxologies that never cease,”⁴¹ a prayer for the vigil service with: “God, who receives the doxologies that never sleep and never cease by the bodiless and spiritual powers in heaven”⁴² and a prayer in matins with: “It is in your constitution, Lord, that the day perseveres, and it is you that the heavenly powers praise in hymns.”⁴³

37. See R. TAFT, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West. The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today*, Collegeville, MN 1986.

38. *Eucol. Constantinop.*, ed. Arranz (quoted n. 17), pri:6, p. 103: Εὐχὴ πρωινῆ: Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων.

39. *Ibid.*, II b 02, tri:1: Εὐχὴ ὥρας α΄ ἀντίφωνον β΄: Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ καθεζόμενος/ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σεραφὶμ δοξαζόμενος. *Ibid.*, pri:1, p. 100: Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου α΄ τῆς τριτοέκτης.

40. *Ibid.*, ter:3, p. 106: Εὐχὴ ὥρας γ΄ ἀντίφωνον γ΄: Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τὰς ὑπερκοσμίους κτίσας δυνάμεις/ πρὸς ἀένναόν σου δοξολογίαν.

41. *Ibid.*, III lyc:4, pp. 67–8: Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου δ΄: Ὁ τοῖς ἀσιγήτοις ὕμνοις καὶ ἀπαύστοις δοξολογίαις/ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις/ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων δυνάμεων ἀνυμνούμενος.

42. *Ibid.*, V pan:3, p. 82: Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου γ΄: Ὁ τὴν ἄψυκτον καὶ ἀκατάπαυστον δοξολογίαν/ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἄσσωμάτων καὶ νοερῶν/ ἁγίων δυνάμεων/ δεχόμενος Θεός.

43. *Ibid.*, ort: XIV, p. 98: Εὐχὴ πιστῶν β΄: Τῇ διατάξει σου Κύριε Κύριε/ διαμένει ἡ ἡμέρα/ καὶ σὲ ὑμνεῖ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις τῶν οὐρανῶν.

Angels as guardians rather than ministering spirits are rare. In one prayer God is asked to:

command your holy angels to guard us in all our ways and save us from the arrow that flies by day, from the thing that walks in darkness, from the mishap and demon of noonday.⁴⁴

This is also one of the rare mentions of demons in the Euchologion in prayers other than exorcisms. Incidentally, this is a quote from Psalm LXX 90, which was one of the most common biblical texts in Christian amulets;⁴⁵ in the text of the psalm, however, God acts without the mediation of angels. Also in a prayer of the lucernary, God is asked to “Compass us about with your holy angels.”⁴⁶

3. *Other services*

a. “The spiritual powers tremble before you.” Baptism and the Great Water Blessing

The first text recited by the priest that mentions angels in the baptismal service is the first baptismal exorcism.⁴⁷ Unlike the typical prayers, the exorcisms address the devil, and adjure him to leave the exorcised person. The angelology of this exorcism is mainly that of the ministering spirits at the throne of God. What distinguishes it from the prayers of the eucharistic liturgies, however, is the emphasis on fear. The angels inflict fear, but in their turn, they fear and tremble before God. The more afraid the angels, all the more should the demons fear and tremble:

I forbid you by God, who has revealed the tree of life, who also has established the cherubim and the flaming sword turning round about to guard it. [...] Fear God, who sits on the cherubim and looks upon the depths, before whom tremble angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities, powers, the many-eyed cherubim, and the six-winged seraphim [...] Who makes his angels spirits, and his ministers a flaming fire.⁴⁸

44. *Ibid.*, tri:4, p. 59: Εὐχή μετὰ τὴν εἴσοδον: “Ἐντεῖλαι τοῖς ἁγίοις σου ἁγγέλοις/ τοῦ διαφυλάττειν ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἡμῶν/ καὶ ῥύσασθαι ἀπὸ βέλους πετομένου ἡμέρας/ ἀπὸ πράγματος ἐν σκότει διαπορευομένου/ ἀπὸ συμπτώματος καὶ δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ.

45. DE BRUYN, *Making Amulets Christian* (quoted n. 5), pp. 166–71.

46. *Eucol. Constantinop.*, ed. Arranz (quoted n. 17), III lvc:IX: Τείχισον ἡμᾶς ἁγίοις ἁγγέλοις.

47. On the exorcisms see C. RAPP, Reflexionen der Normativität in der Praxis? Exorzismus-Gebete, in C. RAPP – E. SCHIFFER – E. AFENTOULIDOU, *Das Wiener Euchologien-Projekt: Anlassgebete als Quelle zur Sozial- und Alltagsgeschichte. Drei Fallbeispiele, Mittelalter* 24/2, 2019, pp. 1–33, DOI: 10.1515/mial-2019-0038, here pp. 4–13.

48. *Eucol. Constantinop.*, ed. Arranz (quoted n. 17), B2:2, p. 174–5: Ἀφορκισμὸς α': ὀρκίζω σε/ κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ δείξαντος τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς/ καὶ τάξαντος τὰ χερουβὶμ/ καὶ τὴν φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν/ τὴν στρεφομένην φρουρεῖν αὐτό/ [...] φοβήθητι τὸν Θεὸν/ τὸν καθημένον ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ/ καὶ ἐπιβλέποντα ἀβύσσους/ ὃν τρέμουν σὶν ἁγγελοὶ ἀρχάγγελοι/ θρόνοι κυριότητες ἀρχαὶ ἐξουσίαι δυνάμεις/ τὰ πολύμματα χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ ἐξαπτέρυγα σεραφίμ/ [...] τοῦ ποιούντος τοὺς ἁγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα/ καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον.

This is the most elaborate mention of angels in the baptismal exorcisms. The only other reference to angels in the baptismal exorcisms is in the third exorcism. Although titled “exorcism,” the text is addressed not to demons, but to God, asking him to expel the demons. God’s form of address is “Lord Sabaoth.”⁴⁹ This is noteworthy, because the Hebrew term Sabaoth is rare in the Euchologion, in which the Greek equivalent “τῶν δυνάμεων” (*i.e.*, of the hosts) is preferred. In amulets, on the other hand, the term Sabaoth is one of the most common Judaeo-Christian elements.

Angels attending to God in fear appear also in a prayer for the blessing of the baptismal water; this prayer is included in the same form in the water blessing at the feast of Epiphany (January 6):

The spiritual powers tremble before you [...]. The angelic powers minister unto you; the choirs of archangels worship before you; the many-eyed cherubim and the six-winged seraphim, as they stand and fly around you, veil themselves with fear of your unapproachable glory [...]. Make it (*sc.* this water) filled with angelic might.⁵⁰

In some manuscripts, the prayer for the water blessing at Epiphany concludes with a phrase which is unique in adding a material dimension to the already discussed theme of cosmic worship:

So that through the elements and the human beings and the angels and the visible and invisible things your all-holy name is glorified.⁵¹

Only once is a guardian angel mentioned in the baptismal service, in the prayer after the catechuminate. This appearance is in conjunction with the deliverance from the demon of noonday (Psalm LXX 90) discussed above:

Join to his life an angel of light, who may deliver him from every snare of the adversary, from encounter with the evil one, from the demon of noonday, and from evil illusions.⁵²

A few more brief mentions of angels are scattered in prayers related to initiation throughout the Euchologion. The theme of the heavenly hosts at the throne of God is resumed in a prayer related to the initiation into the Byzantine Church: “the one seated

49. *Ibid.*, B2:4, p. 177: Ἀφορκισμὸς γ': Κύριε σαβαῶθ.

50. *Ibid.*, B5:2, p. 184–91 and T4a, p. 200–2: Σε τρέμουν σὶ νοεραὶ πᾶσαι δυνάμεις/ [...] Ἀγγελικαὶ δυνάμεις σοὶ λειτουργοῦσιν/ οἱ τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων χοροὶ σὲ προσκυνοῦσιν/ τὰ πολυόμματα χειρουβὶμ καὶ τὰ ἐξαπτέρυγα σεραφὶμ/ κύκλῳ ἐστῶτα καὶ περιπτάμενα/ φόβῳ τῆς ἀπροσίτου σου δόξης κατακαλύπτεται. [...] Ποίησον αὐτὸ (*sc.* τὸ ὕδωρ) [...] ἀγγελικῆς ἰσχύος πεπληρωμένον.

51. *Ibid.*, T4b:8, p. 204: ἵνα καὶ διὰ στοιχείων/ καὶ διὰ ἀνθρώπων/ καὶ διὰ ἀγγέλων/ καὶ διὰ ὁρωμένων καὶ δι' ἀοράτων/ δοξάζηται σου τὸ πανάγιον ὄνομα.

52. *Ibid.*, B3, p. 178: Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὸ ποιῆσαι κατηχούμενον τὸν πρὸς ὥραν βαπτιζόμενον. [...] σύζευσον τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ ἄγγελον φωτεινὸν ῥυόμενον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ ἀντικειμένου ἀπὸ δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ ἀπὸ φαντασμάτων πονηρῶν.

upon the cherubim and glorified by the seraphim” is God’s epithet in a prayer for the conversion of a heretic.⁵³

A further prayer for the making of the holy myron is indirectly related to baptism, since the anointment with myron is part of the Byzantine baptismal service. According to the petition in this prayer, the anointed shall be “recognised by the holy angels and archangels, and every heavenly power.”⁵⁴ This implies that Christian initiation establishes a special connection with angels. Yet, it has a different nuance from an appointment of a guardian angel to the newly initiated. Here, the angels and archangels are in plural, and they are not expected to accompany the baptised through life. The wording rather reminds one of the discourse of the eucharistic liturgies: the heavenly hosts recognising the initiated as their co-celebrant.

b. “An Antitype of the Angels’ Service:” Prayers Related to the Altar

The idea of the ecclesiastic hierarchy as a type of heavenly hierarchy was elaborated by Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita.⁵⁵ In a prayer for the consecration of an altar the address and anamnesis (or divine epithets) outline the theology of the priests as antitype of the angels, who minister at the heavenly liturgy:

Lord of heaven and earth, who with ineffable wisdom have founded your holy church and have appointed the order of the priesthood upon the earth for an antitype of the angels’ service in heaven.⁵⁶

God is addressed as “Lord/ God of the hosts” in five further prayers: two prayers for the consecration of an altar, two for the restoration of an altar that has been moved, and one for re-opening a church after use by heretics.⁵⁷

Occasionally, the idea of antitype extends to worldly authorities. In a prayer for the designation of high officials the latter are explicitly said to imitate the angelic hosts—implying that the emperor imitates God. The prayer says of God: “You appointed in it (*sc.* the earthly polity) principalities and authorities imitating your angelic hosts.” In a further prayer for the same occasion, God is addressed as “God of the hosts.”⁵⁸

53. *Ibid.*, B1III-b:1: Ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ καὶ δοξαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν σεραφίμ.

54. *Ibid.*, B8:1, p. 217: Ἐπιγινώσκεισθαι δὲ [...] ὑπὸ ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων/ καὶ ὑπὸ πάσης ἐπουρανίου δυνάμεως.

55. *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, II, *De coelesti hierarchia*, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, *De mystica theologia*, *Epistulae*, kritische Ausg. von G. Heil und A. M. Ritter (PTS 67), Berlin – Boston, MA 2012², pp. 61-132.

56. *Eucol. Constantinop.*, ed. Arranz (quoted n. 17), ded:4, p. 237: Κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς/ ὁ τὴν ἁγίαν σου ἐκκλησίαν ἀρρήτῳ σοφίᾳ θεμελιώσας/ καὶ ἀντίτυπον/ τῆς ἀγγελικῆς ἐν οὐρανῷ λειτουργίας/ τὴν τῆς ιεροσύνης τάξιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς συστησάμενος.

57. *Ibid.*, o. c., ded:5, p. 232; alt:1, p. 248; alt:2, p. 250 and ape:1, p. 252: Κύριε τῶν δυνάμεων; ded:2: Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων.

58. *Ibid.*, H2, p. 338: Καὶ θέμενος ἐν αὐτῇ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας/ κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἀγγελικῶν σου δυνάμεων; o. c., H5:2, p. 343: Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων.

c. “Angels Register your Vows”

Occasionally, the angels appear as registering the vows given at the baptism or monastic tonsure. The texts, in which angels exercise this function, are not prayers *per se*, as they are not addressed to a higher being, but exhortations addressed to the candidates. Some Euchologia transmit an exhortation to be delivered by the patriarch of Constantinople to the catechumens. Among other sources of divine authority, the patriarch asserts that:

All the powers of heaven are present here; all the angels and archangels invisibly register your utterances; now the cherubim and the seraphim lean over from heaven in order to receive your professions and bring them to the master.⁵⁹

Similarly, according to the service of monastic tonsure: “it is angels who register your vows.”⁶⁰ Angels were also declared present at the posthumous tribunal, in which the baptised or the monks will render an account of whether they fulfilled their vows. These angels appeared in similar exhortations: “the entire human nature is present and judged; myriads of angels, camps of archangels, the orders of angels,” “when we all stand before angels and humans.”⁶¹ Apart from this function of angels, the theme of the “angelic polity” appears often in the monastic services. I will not discuss this discourse in detail, as it exceeds the scope of this article.

Professing before angels and people appears as a formula in two prayers for establishing non-biological familial ties. The first is a prayer for ritual brotherhood (*adelphopoiesis*), a rite which has its origins in the monastic milieu:

these servants of yours want to enter into brotherhood and want to profess, before angels and people, spiritual love in everything.⁶²

The second is a prayer for filial adoption:

so that he boldly says at the terrible tribunal and impartial court before angels and people: “you gave him to me.”⁶³

59. *Ibid.*, B4-II:K1, p. 208: Πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐνταῦθα πάρεσι/ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ ἀρχάγγελοι/ ὁράτως τὰς ὑμετέρας φωνὰς ἀπογράφονται/ τὰ χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ σεραφὶμ/ νῦν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν παρακύπτουσιν/ ἵνα δέξωνται ὑμῶν τὰς συνθήκας/ καὶ προσκομίσωσι τῷ Δεσπότη.

60. *Ibid.*, R3:Q, p. 400: Ἄγγελοι εἰσὶ οἱ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὴν ὁμολογίαν σου.

61. *Ibid.*, B4-II:K2, p. 210: Πᾶσα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ φύσις κρινομένη παρέστηκεν/ ἀγγέλων μυριάδες ἀρχαγγέλων στρατόπεδα/ τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων τὰ τάγματα; *o. c.*, R4:C-2, p. 410: παρίστασθαι ἐνώπιον ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀνθρώπων.

62. On *adelphopoiesis* see C. RAPP, *Brother-Making in Late Antiquity and Byzantium* (Onassis Series in Hellenic Culture), Oxford 2016. The quoted prayer is in A. DMITRIEVSKIĬ, *Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках Православного Востока*, II, *Εὐχολόγια*, Kyiv 1901, p. 122: τοὺς βουλομένους εἰς ἀδελφότητα ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ὁμολογήσας ἐπὶ πᾶσιν πνευματικὴν ἀγάπην ἐπὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀνθρώπων. Transl.: RAPP, *o. c.*, Prayer E, pp. 296–7.

63. Unedited, transmitted in codices Patm. 703, f. 61v; Patm. 811, f. 93v–94r; Patm. 690, f. 86v–87r: Οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος καὶ ἀδεκάστου κριτηρίου ἐπὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀνθρώπων μετὰ

The theme of the registering angels is borrowed from non-liturgical Late Antique and Byzantine texts, notably ones related with the posthumous judgment: angels register every single deed, good or bad, in the life of the humans and confront the soul with them after death. The angels have important functions in the bureaucracy of the other world.⁶⁴ However, a study of these sources (apocalyptic journeys, accounts of visions, beneficial tales, homilies) exceeds the scope of the present article, which is limited to the discourse of ritual texts. It is worth mentioning in this context that the archangels Michael and Gabriel are among the holy persons invoked as witnesses in the Magisterial Oath that features in the Codex Justinianus. The Codex's oath for magistrates accepting appointment to office has them vow:

I swear by omnipotent God, by his only son our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the Holy Spirit, by the glorious, perpetually Virgin Mary, by the four Gospels which I hold in my hand, by the holy archangels Michael and Gabriel.”⁶⁵

d. “Guard her by your bright angels:” Protection in the Household and Beyond

The Euchologion prayers discussed until now—mainly prayers in the eucharistic liturgies, daily services, and baptism—assign little significance to the function of angels as guardians and protectors. This changes in later prayers for concerns related to protection in the household, in the fields and in the sea. The prayers I will discuss in this section are occasional prayers. Although some occasional prayers could be also said in a church, the following prayers are meant to be said in other locations: at home, on the fields, at the sea, etc. This is noteworthy, as it indicates that the significance of angels as protectors increased, once one departed from the space of the church. Prayers for protection and household prayers often come in many versions, meaning that each iteration rarely appears in more than a few manuscripts. Again, once a prayer was performed outside of the sacred space of the church, priests felt at greater liberty to improvise by creating new texts. Therefore, in this section I will present, together with prayers edited in the already mentioned editions by Miguel Arranz and Elena Velkovska – Stefano Parenti, also texts from the editions by Jacques Goar, Alexei Dmitrievskii and Valerio Polidori.⁶⁶ Moreover, I will present unedited

παρρησίας εἰπεῖν· καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδωκάς μοι. For the unpublished texts I use the transcriptions made by the Vienna Euchologia Project team with some adaptations.

64. See for example AFENTOULIDOU, *Space and Power* (quoted n. 8).

65. *Corpus iuris civilis*, rec. R. Schoell et G. Kroll, III, Berolini 1885 (repr. Hildesheim 1963), Novella 8, Coll.II tit.3, p. 89: Ὁμνυμι ἐγὼ τὸν θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν ἑνδοξον θεοτόκον καὶ ἀειπαρθένον Μαρίαν, καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια, ἃ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ μου κρατῶ, καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀρχαγγέλους Μιχαὴλ καὶ Γαβριὴλ etc. Transl.: *The Novels of Justinian. A Complete Annotated English Translation*, transl. by D. J. D. Miller and P. Sarris, Cambridge 2018.

66. *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum*, rec. J. Goar, Parisiis 1647, Venetiis 1730² (repr. Graz 1960), p. 261; DMITRIEVSKII, *Εὐχολόγια* (quoted n. 62); *L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto: Cod. Otroboni gr. 344 (AD 1177)*, ed. critica a cura di V. Polidori (Independent publication Amazon KDP), 2018.

material transcribed by my colleagues and myself during library visits in the framework of the Vienna Euchologia Project.

The largest group of prayers including mentions of the guardian angel are prayers said on the day that a woman gives birth to a child. These prayers were said in the house in which the child was born. The main concerns of these prayers are the accouchée's ritual purity (which was disturbed by the pollution of birth), health and healing (mainly for the woman, but also for the new-born), protection from demonic influence, and protection for the household. These were concerns for which Byzantine Christians had been seeking divine help for centuries, with means and rites that were sometimes approved by the official church, and sometimes condemned as magic. However, it is only in the fifteenth century that prayers addressing these concerns are included in the Euchologion to be said by a priest. The prayers for the day of birth vary largely from manuscript to manuscript. Usually, formulas appear in various combinations in different prayers. A number of prayers address the issue of protection from demonic influence, as new-borns and their mothers in the liminal stage of childbed were considered particularly vulnerable to demonic attacks in Byzantine Christianity and beyond. Prayers approached this by asking God for angelic protection:

Guard her from every tyranny of the devil. Preserve the child born from her from every sorcery, from every hardship, from every distress coming from the opponent (*sc.* devil), from evil spirits of the day and the night ... guard her by your joyous and bright angels and preserve her from every attack of the invisible evil ones.⁶⁷

Order an angel to preserve her together with the born infant day and night from every tangled and wily contrivance of the devil.⁶⁸

Preserve her together with her child from every tyranny of the devil, from every sorcery, from every hardship, from every distress coming from the opponent, from evil spirits of the night ... and guard them by your bright angels.⁶⁹

Moreover, four manuscripts include among the prayers for the day of birth the third baptismal exorcism discussed above. The text is repurposed, as is common in Euchologia, for the occasion of the birth. In this prayer, God is addressed as "Lord Sabaoth."⁷⁰

67. *Euchologion*, ed. Goar (quoted n. 66), p. 261: Διαφύλαξον αὐτήν, ἀπὸ πάσης τοῦ διαβόλου τυραννίδος, καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς κυηθὲν νήπιον διατήρησον, ἀπὸ πάσης φαρμακίας, ἀπὸ πάσης χαλεπότητος, ἀπὸ πάσης ζάλης τοῦ ἀντικειμένου, ἀπὸ πνευμάτων πονηρῶν, ἡμερινῶν τε καὶ νυκτερινῶν [...] καὶ δι' ἁγγέλων σου φαιδρῶν καὶ φωτεινῶν, ταύτην περίθਾਲσον, καὶ περιφρούρησον, ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπελεύσεως τῶν ὁρατῶν πονηρῶν.

68. Codex Serdic. NB 39, f. 93v, unpublished: Κέλευσον ἄγγελον διατηρεῖν αὐτήν σὺν τῷ τεχθέντι παιδίῳ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἀπὸ πάσης τοῦ διαβόλου πολυπλόκου καὶ πολυτρόπου μηχανουργίας.

69. Codex Patm. 690, f. 66v, unpublished: Διαφύλαξον αὐτήν μετὰ τοῦ ἑαυτῆς παιδίου ἀπὸ πάσης τοῦ διαβόλου τυραννίδος, ἀπὸ πάσης φαρμακίας, ἀπὸ πάσης χαλεπότητος, ἀπὸ πάσης ζάλης τοῦ ἀντικειμένου, καὶ ἀπὸ πνευμάτων νυκτερινῶν ... καὶ δι' ἁγγέλων φωτεινῶν τούτους περίθਾਲσον.

70. Codices Vindob. theol. gr. 286, f. 37v; Sin. gr. 968, f. 75v; Patm. 689, f. 79v–80r; Paris. gr. 393, f. 134v.

Besides childbirth, angelic protection is sought for further concerns, though less often. Among the numerous prayers for the blessing of a house, some mention angels. In the following prayer for the blessing of a house, a biblical event involving angels is part of the anamnesis:

Eternal God, who blessed the tent of Abraham under the oak of Mamre and set it an unbreakable foundation and sent him angels and archangels etc.⁷¹

A variation of this anamnesis appears in a prayer for threshing. Again, prayers for threshing are common in the Euchologia. But very few include references to angels:

God, the maker and creator of all, who blessed the tent of Abraham because of his observance and revealed the angels as visible.⁷²

A later Euchologion manuscript transmits a different prayer for the blessing of a house, which includes the supplication that God sends a guardian angel—again with the quote from Psalm LXX 90 discussed above:

Order your faithful angel to guard them (the inhabitants) in this (the house) from all things that walk in darkness, from the mishap and demon of noonday.⁷³

Two prayers for animal sacrifice include the petition that God protects those who offer the victims through angels:⁷⁴

Accept, Lord, our prayer and dispatch the angel for peace and bless this ox and these lambs.⁷⁵

Accept this sacrifice as an offering of spiritual fragrance; make their ox fat, multiply their wheat harvest, safeguard their herds to be prolific in their goings and comings (Ps. LXX 120, 8) through angelic power.⁷⁶

71. Codex Sinait. gr. 966, ed. DMITRIEVSKII, *Euchologia* (quoted n. 62), p. 218: Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ θεμέλιον οἰκίας. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος, ὁ εὐλογήσας τὴν σκηνὴν Ἀβραάμ ὑπὸ τὴν δρῦν τὴν Μαμβρὴν καὶ θεμέλιον αὐτῇ τιθεὶς ἄρρηκτον καὶ ἀποστείλας αὐτῷ ἀγγέλους καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους.

72. Codex Hierosol., Patriarchal Library 273 (274) (15th c.), ed. DMITRIEVSKII, *Euchologia* (quoted n. 62), p. 525: Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἄλωνα. Ὁ Θεός, ὁ τῶν ὅλων ποιητὴς καὶ πάντων δημιουργός, ὁ εὐλόγησας τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ διὰ τῆς τηρήσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγγέλους ὁρατοὺς δεῖξας.

73. Codex Patm. 703, f. 183v, unpublished: Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα ἐπὶ θεμελίου οἴκου κοινοῦ. [...] ἔντειλα ἄγγελῳ σὺ πιστῷ τοῦ διαφυλάξαι αὐτοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀπὸ παντὸς πράγματος ἐν σκότει διαπορευομένου, ἀπὸ συμπτώματος καὶ δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ.

74. See B. CASEAU, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes. La culture alimentaire à Byzance* (MTM 46), Paris 2015, pp. 158–60. V. PERMIKOV, “Thine Own of Thine Own”: Prayers for Animal Sacrifice in Byzantine and Non-Byzantine Euchologia, paper presented at the XVII. International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford 2015.

75. Codex Sinait. gr. 957 (9th-10th c.), f. 28r, ed. DMITRIEVSKII, *Euchologia* (quoted n. 62), p. 6: Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ θυμάτων. [...] πρόσδεξαι, Κύριε, τὴν εὐχὴν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐξαπόστειλον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἄγγελον καὶ εὐλόγησον τὸν βοῦν τοῦτον καὶ τοὺς ἄρνες τούτους.

76. Codex Sinait. gr. 959 (11th c.), f. 60, *ibid.*, p. 46: Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ προσφερόντων θυσίαν. [...] πρόσδεξαι καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας· τοὺς βόας αὐτῶν παχεῖς ποιήσον, τὴν σιτοποιίαν αὐτῶν πληθύνον, τὰ ποίμνια αὐτῶν πολυτόκα πληθύνοντα ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις αὐτῶν καὶ εἰσόδοις ἀγγελικῇ δυνάμει κατασφάλισον.

In two further prayers for the construction of a ship, God is asked to send a guardian angel. The first is edited by Jacques Goar, without information on the manuscripts used: “Do you yourself, Lord, preserve this ship now. Give it a good peaceful angel. Guard those who will sail in it.”⁷⁷

The second prayer is transmitted in an Euchologion from Patmos. The guardian angel is this time named, which is highly unusual for any text included in an Euchologion: “Send your angel Michael to guard and govern and save this ship from evil and unclean spirits.”⁷⁸

The occasional prayers examined in this section seek angelic protection for concerns of the lay community. Most of these prayers also address the danger coming from evil spirits. The prayers mark a shift compared to the prayers of the eucharistic liturgies and the other services examined in previous sections: a shift from the liturgy to everyday life, from the church to the household and/or spaces of laypersons’ labour, from the exclusively male space of the altar to spaces of female agency—that is, a shift to spaces, in which angels had long been seen as protectors.

This does not mean that the roles of angels as ministers and as guardians were mutually exclusive. As the seventh-century author Eustratios the Presbyter put it:

the servitude of the angels is their unceasing praise to God, and their ministering and serving and being dispatched and assisting those in need and guiding the misled.⁷⁹

Accordingly, the angels in these prayers are still God’s ministers: they are never directly addressed to come and help, but are dispatched as guardians at God’s command. Yet, contrary to the eucharistic liturgies, angels in these prayers never appear praising God and attending his throne. They are not the hosts and powers of the eucharistic prayers, but individual, albeit mostly unnamed, angels. Thus, the prayers examined in this section still have the same structure as the prayers of the eucharistic liturgy, but they include elements from amuletic traditions. Most notably, angels appear as protecting powers against demons and other dangers. In this sense, these prayers represent efforts of the official Church to consolidate priestly authority in the lay community. They pursued this by selectively appropriating elements from ritual traditions, which were established as providing protection in concerns such as childbirth, household integrity, and seafaring.

77. *Euchologion*, ed. Goar (quoted n. 66), p. 559: Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ κατασκευάσαι πλοῖον. [...] αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν Δέσποτα καὶ τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτον διατήρησον. δὸς αὐτῷ ἄγγελον ἀγαθόν, εἰρηνικόν, τοὺς μέλλοντας πλέειν ἐν αὐτῷ διαφύλαξον.

78. Codex Patm. 690, f. 92r–93r, unpublished: Ἀπόστειλον τὸν ἄγγελον Μιχαήλ, ἵνα περιφυλάττῃ καὶ κυβερνῇ καὶ λυτρῶνῃ τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἀπὸ πονηρῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων πνευμάτων.

79. *Eustratii presbyteri Constantinopolitani De statu animarum post mortem* (*Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca* 60), ed. by P. Van Deun, Turnhout – Leuven 2006, I. 1199–1202: Δουλεία δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἢ πρὸς θεὸν ἀκατάπαυστος δοξολογία, καὶ τὸ λειτουργεῖν καὶ διακονεῖν καὶ ἀποστέλλεσθαι καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ χειραγωγεῖν τοὺς πεπλανημένους.

c. “I adjure you by the Lord Sabaoth:” Exorcisms and Prayers Against Demonic Influence

Some of the texts discussed in previous sections name demons as one of the dangers to be averted through angelic protection. In the texts that will be discussed subsequently, demonic influence is the main concern. Not every Euchologion includes texts against demonic influence or possession. But whenever such texts are included, they almost invariably mention angels. Indeed, in no other priestly texts as in those against demonic influence are angels so consistently present. Some of these texts are titled “prayer” (εὐχή), whereas others bear the title “exorcism” (ἐξορκισμός/ ἀφορκισμός). Some supplicate God, while others adjure the demons.

Already the oldest surviving Euchologion, codex Barberini gr. 336, includes a text titled “Prayer for a house bewitched or otherwise bothered by evil spirits.” The structure is that of a typical Euchologion prayer. The divine epithets are along the well-known lines of God sitting on the throne of Cherubim. But they are much more elaborate than the ones used in the eucharistic liturgies:

Lord, [...] who is borne upon the Cherubim and rides upon the Seraphim, who is above every principality, authority, power, and dominion.

Part of the supplication is that the beneficiaries of the prayer are “guarded by an angelic camp.”⁸⁰

The two exorcisms transmitted in the Otranto Euchologion from the year 1177 have a different form. They are attributed to famous church fathers—a common feature of exorcisms, meant to enhance their credibility and power.⁸¹ These adjurations are addressed to the demons in the name of God, who is then characterised by divine epithets—including ones elaborating on his dominion over the angels:

Exorcism of saint John Chrysostom on those possessed by spirits. [...] He himself (*sc.* God) shall forbid you, devil, who is ministered and praised in fear by innumerable flaming heavenly orders, to whom make obeisance and glorify in terror the undepictable choruses of angelic hosts. The lord shall forbid you, devil, who is praised by the spiritual most horrible six-winged seraphim, who surround him; with two wings they cover their faces, and with two wings their feet so as not to be burned down by the unspeakable glory of the incomprehensible godhead, and with two wings they fly, while proclaiming the unceasing trisagion hymn and filling the whole heaven with their horrifying cries.⁸²

80. *Euchol. Barber.*, ed. Velkovska–Parenti (quoted n. 10), no. 257: Εὐχή ἐπὶ οἰκίας περιεργασμένης ἢ ἄλλως πως ὀχλουμένης ὑπὸ πνευμάτων πονηρῶν. Κύριε [...] ὁ τῶν Χερουβεὶμ ἔποχος καὶ τῶν Σεραφὶμ ἡνίοχος, ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος [...] ἀγγελικῶ στρατοπέδῳ φρουρούμενοι.

81. I. NESSERIS, First-Person Prayers attributed to the Church Fathers, *StP* 108, forthcoming.

82. *L'Eucologio di Otranto*, ed. Polidori (quoted n. 66), no. 200: Ἀφορκισμός τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἐπὶ πνευματιζομένων. [...] Αὐτὸς ἐπιτιμῆσαι σοι, διάβολε, ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναριθμῶν

Exorcism by our holy father Gregory the wonderworker and expeller of spirits on those attacked by an unclean spirit. [...] He himself will forbid you, unclean spirits, [...] the creator of angels and archangels, the king of all powers.⁸³

The exorcisms are among the rare liturgical texts that use the term Lord Sabaoth for God, as already shown in discussing baptismal exorcisms. An exorcism first attested in the first quarter of the twelfth century adds two further Hebrew words: “I adjure you, unclean spirit, by the Lord Sabaoth and all the hosts of God’s angels, Adonai, Elohim.”⁸⁴ The names Adonai and Elohim refer to God in Hebrew, but in Late Antique and Medieval Christian amulets they were often understood as angelic names. All three terms, Sabaoth, Adonai and Elohim appear frequently in amulets. For many Medieval Christians these Hebrew words would be more meaningful than other *voces magicae* and *nomina barbara* of ancient and Late Antique amulets. Yet, the “exotic” sounds would have a similar function in enhancing the power of the exorcism. Tellingly, the database CÉNOB (Corpus des énoncés des noms barbares) includes the names Sabaoth, Adonai and Elohim/Eloi among the *nomina barbara*.⁸⁵

Among the prayers for agricultural concerns transmitted in the Euchologia, there are some which are formulated as exorcisms. Often, they address and adjure the danger (illness, bugs, etc.) instead of supplicating God. This adjuration is sometimes framed by a *historiola*, an otherwise unattested narration that enables the ritual practitioner (in this case a priest, as the text is transmitted in an Euchologion) to utter an adjuration in the name of a powerful persona.⁸⁶ Often, these texts are attributed to Saint Tryphon (for agriculture)⁸⁷

ἐπουρανίων ταγμάτων πῦρ φλεγόντων φόβῳ λειτουργούμενος καὶ ὑμνούμενος, ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνεικάστων χορῶν ἀγγελικῶν στρατιῶν τρόμφ προσκυνούμενος καὶ δοξαζόμενος. Ἐπιτιμήσαι σοι κύριος, διάβολε, ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν κυκλῶθεν παρεστώτων νοερῶν φρικωδεστάτων ἐξαπτερύγων Σεραφὶμ αἰνούμενος, τῶν τὰ πρόσωπα ἑαυτῶν ταῖς δυσὶ πτέρυξι καλυπτόντων, ταῖς δὲ δυσὶ τοὺς πόδας εἰς τὸ μὴ κατακαυθῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἀρρήτου δόξης τῆς ἀκατανοήτου θεότητος, καὶ ταῖς δυσὶ πετομένων τὸν ἀκατάπαυστον τρισάγιον ὕμνον κεκραγόντων καὶ πάντα τὸν οὐρανὸν πληρούντων ἐκ τῆς φρικτῆς αὐτῶν βοῆς.

83. *Ibid.*, no. 201: Ἀφορκισμὸς τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ καὶ πνευματοδιδάκτου ἐπὶ χειμαζομένους ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἀκαθάρτου. [...] Αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ἐπιτιμήσει τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις [...] ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων ποιητής, ὁ τῶν δυνάμεων πασῶν βασιλεὺς.

84. Codex Vat. gr. 329, f. 84v–88v, unpublished: Ἐξορκίζω σε πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου Σαβαώθ καὶ πασῶν στρατιῶν ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ, Ἀδωναί, Ἐλωί. Another version of this exorcism is edited in *Euchologion*, ed. Goar (quoted n. 66), p. 578.

85. Corpus des énoncés des noms barbares, <http://www.cenob.org>. See also *Noms barbares*, I, *Formes et contextes d'une pratique magique*, éd. par M. Tardieu, A. Van den Kerchove et M. Zago (BEHE 162), Turnhout 2013.

86. D. FRANKFURTER, Narrating Power. The Theory and Practice of the Magical Historiola in Ritual Spells, in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, ed. by M. Meyer and P. Mirecki, Leiden *et al. loc.* 1995, pp. 455–76.

87. M. DIMITROVA, Molitvite na sv. Trifon v trebnik № 167 ot Chilendarskija manastir, in *Svettsi i sveti mesta na Balkanite*, II, Sofia 2013, pp. 328–51.

or to Saint Mamas (for livestock)⁸⁸. It is not surprising that such texts almost invariably mention angels.

Thus, a sixteenth-century Euchologion transmits the following prayer:

We call upon you, master who loves humankind, Lord Jesus Christ, only-begotten son of the only God and Father, and your Holy Spirit, of one essence and almighty. Send your holy angel to expel and strike and exterminate all sixteen mean and harmful beasts that damage the vineyard and the field and the garden etc.⁸⁹

The prayer resembles the typical Euchologion prayers, inasmuch as it addresses God, although the petition that God sends an angel is unusual. In the same Euchologion, in another text for the same occasion angels again are described as striking the beasts. But this time, it is not a prayer addressed to God, but a *historiola* narrated by Saint Tryphon in the first person:

I, Tryphon, prayed to the Lord my God. Seven angels descended from heaven to strike down and expel all harmful beasts.⁹⁰

The last example of a Tryphon prayer to be discussed here is transmitted in an Euchologion from the year 1613. Here, it is only in the title that we learn that the prayer is put in the mouth of Saint Tryphon. While beginning by addressing God, the speaker abruptly turns to the bugs, and adjures them. Besides adjuring the bugs by the angels at the throne of God, the exorcism threatens them that God will send an angel named Phirigiel to expel them. Further *nomina sacra* / *nomina barbara* are Adonai Elohim Sabaoth:

I adjure all of you by the order of the name of God; Adonai Elohim Sabaoth; whose name the stone heard and immediately broke and scattered and became like dust in the face of the wind as if from threshing. I adjure you before those who fly around God and cry: Holy, holy, holy Lord Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of your glory. I adjure you to leave quickly this vineyard, this garden and these vegetables. If you disobey me, you will not have to do will me, but with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, who will come to judge living and dead. For he will send his angel Phirigiel, your head, and he will expel you from all this.⁹¹

88. A. MARAVA-HATZINIKOLAOU, 'Ο ἅγιος Μάμας, Athina 1953.

89. Codex Patm. 811 (16th c.), f. 112r, unpublished: Ἐπικαλούμεθά σε δέσποτα φιλόανθρωπε Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ υἱὲ μονογενὲς τοῦ μόνου Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός καὶ τὸ Πανάγιόν σου Πνεῦμα, ὁμοούσιόν τε καὶ παντοδύναμον· ἀπόστελλον τὸν ἄγγελόν σου τὸν ἅγιον, ὥστε ἐκδιῶξαι καὶ πατάξαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι πάντα τὰ φαῦλα καὶ κακοῦργα δεκαέξη θηρία τὰ ἀδικοῦντα τὴν ἄμπελον τὴν χώραν καὶ τὸν κῆπον.

90. Codex Patm. 811 (16th c.), f. 110v, unpublished: Ἐγὼ Τρύφων προσευξάμενοι πρὸς Κύριον τὸν Θεόν μου· κατήλθον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι πατάξαι καὶ διῶξαι πάντα τὰ κακοῦργα θηρία.

91. Codex Patm. 763 (a. 1613), f. 33r–36v, unpublished: Εὐχαὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Τρύφωνος, λεγομέναι εἰς κῆπον ἢ χώραν βλαπτόμενα ὑπὸ ἐρπετῶν: ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς πάντα προστάξει τοῦ

Similar texts against ailments of herd animals are usually associated with Saint Mamas or Saint Modest. The following text, transmitted in a sixteenth-century Euchologion, begins with a *historiola*:

Saint Mamas, the arch-shepherd, herded a thousand five hundred sheep and milked them and filled big and small flasks and made cheese and gave them to widows and orphans. And Satan, who fell from heaven, says: let us make Mamas blaspheme the Lord his God. [The Satan poisons the sources and Mamas finds his sheep poisoned]. And the Lord sent the two archangels Michael and Gabriel because of his [*sc.* Mamas'] sighs. And they say to him [the archangels inquire about the cause of Mamas' distress, and advise him to take a bell, water and salt and say the following words, which the Lord ordered]: "Neither thirst, nor [a list of various names for rabies follows], nor (demonic) influence, nor possession, nor any other from the thousand myriads of poisons; but multiply, Lord, the livestock of the servant of God so and so, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."⁹²

Occasionally, Euchologia include texts in the tradition of exorcisms and amulets for human illnesses. These included fever, migraine, and gynaecological concerns. Thus, a text "against paroxysm" added to an Euchologion by a later hand begins as follows—the syntax seems improvised:

ονόματος Θεοῦ Ἀδονέ· Ἐλωί· Σαβαώθ· οὐ τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούσασα ἡ πέτρα, παραχρῆμα εὐθὺς διερράγη καὶ διεσκορπίσθη καὶ γέγονεν ὥσει χνοὺς κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀνέμου ὡς ἀπὸ ἄλωνος θερινῆς· ὀρκίζων ὑμᾶς ἐνώπιον τῶν περιεπταμένων κύκλῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ κραζόντων· ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος Κύριε Σαβαώθ· πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου· ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς τοῦ φυγεῖν ἐν τάχει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμπέλου ταύτης· ἐκ τοῦ κήπου καὶ τῶν λαχάνων καὶ τῆς χώρας· εἰ δὲ παρακούσητέ μου, οὐκ ἔχετε πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν ταπεινόν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τὸν ἐρχόμενον κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐξαποστελεῖ τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ Φιριγιήλ τὸν ἑξαρχον ὑμῶν καὶ διώξει ὑμᾶς ἐκ πάσης ταύτης.

92. Codex Patm. 689, f. 120v–121r, unpublished: Ὁ ἅγιος Μάμας ὁ πρωτοποιμὴν, χίλια πεντακόσια πρόβατα ἔβοσκε καὶ ἤρμεγεν αὐτά καὶ ἐγέμιζε βρασκία καὶ παραβράσκια· καὶ ἐποίει τύρον καὶ τυροτρόχην καὶ ἔδιδεν αὐτὰ χερῶν καὶ ὀφρανῶν. Καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Σατανᾶς ὁ πεσὼν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, λέγει· δεῦτε ποιήσωμεν Μάμαν ἵνα βλαστημήσῃ πρὸς Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν αὐτοῦ· ἐλθὼν δὲ ἡ εὐλαπτος καὶ ἐπικατάρατος καὶ ἐπῆρε τὰ δώδεκα φάρμακα καὶ ἀνήλθεν ὅπου ὁ ἅγιος Μάμας ἔβοσκε καὶ ὅπου ἐπότιζε· καὶ ἐξέραςε καὶ ἐμόλυνε τὰς πηγάς. Καὶ ἀπήγαγεν ὁ ἅγιος Μάμας νὰ ποτίσῃ τὰ ποίμνια αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐφαρμακώθησαν ἐκ τοῦ ἰοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας. Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ἅγιος Μάμας αὐτὰ φαρμακωμένα, ἐθλίβην περὶ αὐτ(.). Καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Κύριος τοὺς δύο ἀρχαγγέλους Μιχαήλ καὶ Γαβριήλ διὰ τὴν ἀναστέναξιν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· χαῖρε Μάμα, ἀρχιποιμὴν προβάτων· διατὶ ἀναστέναξας πρὸς Κύριον τὸν Θεόν καὶ ἤκουσε Κύριος τοῦ ἀναστεναγμοῦ σου καὶ ἔστειλεν ἡμᾶς πρὸς σέ· Καὶ λέγει ὁ ἅγιος Μάμας· κύριοί μου, ζῶα εἶχον, καὶ ἄρτι οὐκ ἔχω. Καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ ἄγγελοι λέγοντες· ἔπαρον ἐκ τῆς μάνδρας κουδούν(.). εὐλαλον· καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ ἀνατ(....)ην πηγῇ· καὶ ποία δρᾶξ ἄλας καὶ ράνον αὐτὰ σταυροειδῶς· καὶ εἶπε τοὺς λόγους τούτους, οὓς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· μὴ δίψα, μὴ στεροδίψα· μὴ ὕξα· μὴ ὑπερξ(.). μὴ ἐνέργειαν· μὴ σεληνιακόν· μὴδὲν τι ἄλλον ἐκ τῶν χιλίων μυρίων φαρμάκων· ἀλλὰ πλήθυνον αὐτὰ Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τὰ κτήνη τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ δεῖνα· εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου <Πνεύματος>.

Holy angel, chosen one, Michael, upon two-year and four-year [mistakenly for tertian and quartian] and quotidian chills, you disrupt the chills from the servant of God NN, because he cannot bear the chills.⁹³

The text is followed by the rubric “write (this) on Thursday, Friday or Saturday,” indicating that it is an instruction for making an amulet.

The texts discussed in this section belong to the tradition of exorcisms. There are indications that their inclusion in the Euchologion was considered an irregular phenomenon. Most of the oldest Euchologia do not transmit exorcisms apart from baptismal exorcisms. Exorcisms other than baptismal exorcisms sometimes are later additions to the manuscript, or the textual tradition is so fluid that there is no standard text. These prayers contain formal features that are common in amulets, but uncommon in the Euchologion. Some of these features are related to an increased role of the angels.

First, the frequency in which angels appear in these prayers is unusual in the Euchologion: almost every exorcism mentions angels in one way or another. Contrastingly, in the rest of the Euchologion references to angels are mostly concentrated in the eucharistic liturgies and few other prayers. Moreover, references to angels are more expanded than the address “Lord of the hosts” or the divine epithet “who sits upon the cherubim” found in other parts of the Euchologion. The function of the elaboration of the cherubic throne theme is to exemplify God’s magnitude and might. Angels are also more strongly involved in human affairs: they are asked to come to help and expel the demons or whatever endangers crops and livestock. This is related to another feature that distinguishes most exorcisms from the other Euchologion texts: the addressee is not God who is asked to dispatch angels. Rather, the addressees are the demons and other dangers threatened that the angels will come, or the angels asked to come to help. Finally, some of these texts do not mention angels or angelic orders collectively, but name specific angels. These can be the “canonical” Michael and less often Gabriel, or other (pseudo) angelic names such as Uriel, Adonai and Elohim, or even otherwise unattested names such as Phirigiel. In general, there is a tendency to avoid the most obvious deviations from the typical prayer form in the texts included in the Euchologion: Whereas it is not unusual to find texts against demonic influence addressing God as “Lord of the hosts” or asking him to send angels in an Euchologion, texts adjuring demons are less often. Euchologia with texts addressing angels or naming individual angels are the exception.

93. Codex Patm. 703 (composite codex, 12th–15th c.), f. 115v, unpublished: Τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ τοῦ παροξυσμοῦ. Ἅγιε ἄγγελε ἐκλεκτὲ σὺ Μιχαὴλ καταπάνω τοῦ ῥιγοपुरετοῦ διετοῦς καὶ τετραετοῦς [sic, lege τριταίου et τεταρταίου] καὶ ἀφεμερινὸν [?] σὺ διάρρηξον τὸν ῥιγοपुरετὸν ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὃ δεῖνα ὅτι οὐ δύναται βαστάζειν τὸν ῥιγοपुरετὸν [...] γράφε ἡμέρα Πέμπτη ἢ Παρασκευή ἢ Σάββατο.

II. HYMNOGRAPHY

The second group of liturgical texts examined here are hymns. Hymns are meant to be sung as part of a liturgical service. Poems of private devotion, which are often also titled “hymn” in the sources and in secondary literature, are beyond the scope of this article. Unlike the priestly prayers discussed above, hymns can be sung also by non-ordained Christians. The hymnographic material is not only much larger and often unedited, or even uncatalogued and undated, but also more multifaceted than the prayers. The following is not a comprehensive study on angels in Byzantine hymnography. Rather, I discuss selected hymns that represent some trends and developments in the way angels are represented in hymns.

1. “*The bodiless nature, the cherubim.*” *Stichic hymns*

The first hymnographic texts to be examined here are a group of stichic (or κατὰ στίχον) hymns, that is, hymns consisting of lines that follow the principles of isosyllaby and stress regulation.⁹⁴ Except for the first hymn, they are first attested in the Horologium Sinaiticum, i.e. codex Sinaiticus graecus 864, a ninth-century manuscript, but they are earlier. These hymns are not associated with a feast day, and it is not clear in which service they were originally sung. But they were presumably meant for the daily cycle. In the Horologium Sinaiticum they are part of the Midnight Service. These are the following:

- a) Ἡ ἀσώματος φύσις τὰ (τῶν) Χερουβίμ. Earliest witness: Papyrus Lond. III 1029 (6th c.), possibly from Fayum.⁹⁵
- b) Δεῦτε πάντες πιστοὶ προκυνήσωμεν. Earliest witness: Horologium Sinaiticum (9th c.).⁹⁶
- c) Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν, δεῦτε ἱκετεύσωμεν. Earliest witness: Horologium Sinaiticum (9th c.).⁹⁷
- d) Τῇς σαρκός σου Χριστὲ μετελάβομεν. Earliest witness: Horologium Sinaiticum (9th c.).⁹⁸

94. See A. GIANNOULI, Hymn Writing in Byzantium: Forms and Writers, in *A Companion to Byzantine Poetry*, ed. by W. Hörandner, A. Rhoby, and N. Zagklas, Leiden – Boston, MA 2019, pp. 487–516, here pp. 491–2.

95. P. MAAS – G. S. MERCATI – S. GASSISI, Gleichzeitige Hymnen in der byzantinischen Liturgie, *BZ* 18, 1909, pp. 309–56, here no. 1, pp. 311–2. On the Papyrus Lond. 1029 see ΜΗΑΛΥΚΟ, *Christian Liturgical Papyri* (quoted n. 11), multiple references, cf. index. The hymn is included also in later Horologia.

96. *Livre d'heures du Sinai (Sinaiticus graecus 864)*, éd. critique et trad. par M. L. Ajjoub et J. Paramelle (SC 486), Paris 2004, no. 35, pp. 268–72; MAAS *et al.*, Gleichzeitige Hymnen (quoted n. 95), no. 2, p. 313.

97. *Livre d'heures du Sinai*, ed. Ajjoub–Paramelle (quoted n. 96), no. 36, pp. 272–3 and MAAS *et al.*, Gleichzeitige Hymnen (quoted n. 95), no. 3, p. 314.

98. *Livre d'heures du Sinai*, ed. Ajjoub–Paramelle (quoted n. 96), no. 37, pp. 274–7 and MAAS *et al.*, Gleichzeitige Hymnen (quoted n. 95), no. 4, pp. 314–5.

The structure of these hymns bears some similarities: They begin by venerating or thanking God, who is praised by the angels—in hymns b) and c) this is formulated as a call to venerate God. In hymn d) the theme of the angelic praise is preceded by a thanksgiving for having received communion and finished the day. In the next verses, holy human beings are called to intercede on behalf of the faithful: Mary Theotokos, prophets, apostles, martyrs, all saints. In hymns b) and d) the addressee changes from God, or the faithful to the holy intercessors, whereas in hymn a) the addressee is still God. In all four hymns, there is a sharp distinction between the angels who praise God, and the sanctified human beings who intercede for humanity—even if both angels and human beings unite in worship. The angels are never addressed and never called to intercede. Thus, the stichic hymns examined here follow the angelology of the prayers of the eucharistic liturgy in ascribing to the angels the role of the attendants to God's throne and not addressing them directly.

For example, in hymn c) cited below, verses 1–3 address the brethren, who are called to venerate God. It is in this part that the angelic orders are mentioned: in a relative clause that functions as divine epithet, they appear as praising the Trinity. In verses 4–5 the hymn turns to sanctified human persons in order of reverence, who are asked for intercession:

- 1) Venez, prosternons-nous, venez, supplions celui que louent les Anges et les Archanges ;
- 2) les Vertus célestes, les Trônes, les Seigneuries, les Principautés et les Puissances servent Dieu.
- 3) Père céleste, Fils coéternel et Éspirit très saint, Paraclet, (que) glorifient sans dormir les Chérubins glorieux (et devant qui) les Séraphins se cachent le visage.
- 4) Souveraine Toute Sainte, prophètes, apôtres et saints martyres, suppliez
- 5) le seul Ami de l'homme, le seul Compatissant, en demandant l'absolution pour nos âmes.⁹⁹

2. "The Archangel Invites us to a Joyful Banquet:" *Hagiographic Hymns*

With the consolidation of the cult of angels, and especially Michael,¹⁰⁰ in Byzantine Christianity, hymnographic texts mentioning angels or dedicated to them proliferated. Angels appeared in biblical narrations that became major celebrations of the Byzantine

99. *Livre d'heures du Sinai*, ed. Ajjoub–Paramelle (quoted n. 96), Greek text and French transl.: pp. 272–3: Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν, δεῦτε ἱκετεύσωμεν ὃν ὑμνοῦσιν ἄγγελοι καὶ ἀρχάγγελοι, / δυνάμεις οὐράνιαι θρόνοι κυριότητες ἀρχαὶ ἐξουσίαι <τε> λειτουργοῦσιν Θεῷ. / Πατέρα οὐράνιον καὶ Υἱὸν συνάναρχον καὶ Πνεῦμα πανάγιον τὸ Παράκλητον, / ἀύπνω δοξάζουσιν Χερουβὶμ τὰ ἔνδοξα, Σεραφὶμ τὰ πρόσωπα συγκαλύπτουσιν. / Παναγία Δέσποινα, προφῆται, ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἄγιοι μάρτυρες, δυσωπήσατε / τὸν μόνον Φιλάνθρωπον, τὸν μόνον Οἰκτίρμονα, ἰλασμὸν αἰτούμενοι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν.

100. P. ALLEN, Severus of Antioch and the Homily: The End of the Beginning?, in *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?*, ed. by P. Allen and E. Jeffreys (Byzantina Australiensia 10), Brisbane 1996, pp. 163–75. On the cult of Michael in Late Antique–early Abbasid Egypt see A. PAPA-CONSTANTINOU, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes* (Le monde byzantin), Paris 2001, pp. 168–73.

Church. These included the angel at the Annunciation, the angelic hosts at the Nativity, the angel announcing the Resurrection, and the angels at the Ascension. Hymns—notably the *kontakion*, a lengthy hymnographic composition in strophes (“*oikoi*,” houses) that flourished in the fifth-sixth centuries¹⁰¹—further elaborate biblical scenes involving angels by expanding the dialogues between angels and humans. Even when the biblical narrative does not mention angels, hymnographers dramatise events from the life of Christ by adding the angels as spectators who wonder at their Lord’s condescension: “While the angels sang hymns to the lover of men, Mary advanced, holding him in her arms,” wrote Romanos the Melodist in a *kontakion* on the feast of the presentation (Hypanante, February 2).¹⁰²

Moreover, an increasing number of “hagiographic” hymns are dedicated to angels. They share features of hymns dedicated to saints: the praise is addressed directly to the angels. They include “biographic” elements, in this case biblical events involving angels. There is a reference to a cult: a church dedicated to the celebrated person, a feast day, many miracles. And most importantly, there are supplications to the celebrated holy person to intercede to God on behalf of the faithful.

One of the earliest “hagiographic” hymns dedicated to angels is a *kontakion* on Gabriel the archangel falsely attributed to Romanos the Melodist.¹⁰³ The date of composition is unknown. It is probably later than Romanos (6th c.), but not much later than the seventh century. At this point, the *kanon* (see below) prevailed over the *kontakion* as a lengthy hymnographic composition. The *kontakion* on the archangel Gabriel consists of 19 strophes. The first 14 strophes either address God, praising him for creating the angels as guardians of humans, or narrate biblical events featuring Gabriel. Strophes 15–19, however, are entirely addressed to Gabriel: the poetic self praises Gabriel for the protection and the healing miracles that take place in the church dedicated to him and asks him to continue providing protection and pray to God on behalf of the faithful. These last strophes constitute a departure from the discourse of the prayers and the stichic hymns discussed above. Even if the date of the hymn is only approximate, it is one of the earliest examples of a hymn addressed directly to an angel and asking for protection and intercession.

Other early hymns dedicated to angels and asking for intercession are transmitted in the already mentioned *Horologium Sinaiticum*, and in the *Ancient Iadgari*.¹⁰⁴ Besides the stichic hymns discussed above and other texts, the *Horologium Sinaiticum* includes

101. See GIANNOULI, *Hymn Writing in Byzantium* (quoted n. 94), pp. 492–6.

102. “Υμνοῦν ἐν τούτοις οἱ ἄγγελοι τὸν φιλόανθρωπον, Μαριὰμ δὲ ἐβάδιζεν ἀγκάλας τοῦτον βαστάζουσα. *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica*, I, *Cantica genuina*; II, *Cantica dubia*, critical ed. by P. Maas and C. A. Trypanis, [Oxford 1963] Berlin 1970, here I, hymn 4, strophe 3. Engl. transl.: *Kontakia of Romanos, Byzantine Melodist*, I, *On the Person of Christ*, transl. by M. Carpenter, Columbia, MO 1970, p. 40.

103. Rom. Melod., *Cantica dubia* (quoted n. 102), hymn 62 and Appendix II, pp. 189–90.

104. Uzvelesi Iadgari (the most ancient hymnal), codex H 2123 of the Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, Tbilisi. *L’hymnaire de Saint-Sabas (V^e-VIII^e siècle): le manuscrit Géorgien H 2123, I-II*, éd. critique et trad. par Ch. Renoux, PO 50:3, 53:3, Turnhout [2008] 2015.

a group of four hymns (stichera) on the angels. They are all addressed to God, but in one of them the angels are said to “te supplient en notre faveur.”¹⁰⁵ The Ancient Iadgari is a ninth/tenth-century Georgian hymnal transmitting fifth to the eighth-century hymns, translated from Greek. It was copied at the Lavra of St. Sabas, Palestine, but the hymns are of Jerusalem provenance. The Iadgari includes a group of hymns for the feast of the archangels (November 14), some of them addressed to the archangels. The theme of the angels at the throne of God is prominent, but in some of the hymns it is connected with the intercession for the humanity, such as in the following hymn:

Glorieux Archanges,
 Vous qui intercédez pour la race des hommes,
 Intercédez sans cesse pour le salut de nos âmes, nous vous en prions,
 Afin que descende sur nos âmes une grande miséricorde.¹⁰⁶

In the following centuries, especially from the ninth century onwards, hymns dedicated to the angels in general, or the archangels in particular, proliferate. The archangel Michael seems especially favoured. These hymns are in the form of kanones, a hymnographic genre that prevailed from the seventh century onwards: lengthy hymnographic compositions, with strophes (troparia) grouped in odes modelled after or inspired by the first nine biblical odes.¹⁰⁷

Besides the fixed feast of the archangels according to the yearly cycle, in Byzantine tradition usually set on November 8th,¹⁰⁸ angels gradually become part of the eight-week cycle as well. Sporadically in tenth-century Oktoechoi (*i.e.* the liturgical books with hymns and readings of the eight-week cycle, organised according to the eight-mode system), and more often from the eleventh-twelfth centuries, Mondays are dedicated to the Bodiless Powers.¹⁰⁹ This means that besides the hymns for the yearly feast, there are hymns for further eight days of the eight-week cycle in the Byzantine liturgical books. Kanones on angels are thus among the most common ones. Apart from the numerous kanones edited in modern editions of liturgical books and elsewhere, many kanones remain unedited: Papailiopolou registered the unusually high number of 23 unedited kanones on angels in

105. *Livre d'heures du Sinai*, ed. Ajjoub–Paramelle (quoted n. 96), no. 90, pp. 396–9, here 398.6.

106. *L'hymnaire de Saint-Sabas*, ed. Renoux (quoted n. 104), p. 656.

107. GIANNOULI, Hymn Writing in Byzantium (quoted n. 94), pp. 496–9.

108. For alternative dates for the feastday of the archangels/the archangel Michael in Egypt see PAPAConstantinou, *Le culte des saints* (quoted n. 100), pp. 172–3. In the above mentioned Iadgari the feastday is November 14: *L'hymnaire de Saint-Sabas*, ed. Renoux (quoted n. 104), p. 655.

109. E. D. V. BULAEV, *Rukopisnie istočniki vizantiiskogo Oktoicha i ich tipologija*, Dissertation, Postgraduate and Doctoral Studies Programme of the Russian Orthodox Church St. Cyril and Methodius, Moskva 2020; O. A. KRASHENINNIKOVA, K istorii formirovaniia sedmičnykh pamiatei oktoicha, *Bogoslovskie trudy* 32, 1996, pp. 260–8. I wish to thank Epifanii Bulaev, Alexandra Nikiforova and Daniel Galadza for sharing their expertise in early Oktoechoi and Tropologia.

the codices she examined—six of them written by Joseph the Hymnographer (9th c.) are meanwhile edited.¹¹⁰

In all these kanones, angelic intercession is a central theme: just like Mary Theotokos and the saints, angels ask God to have mercy upon humanity. Angels are often addressed directly: instead of asking God to send a guardian angel, the poetic self asks the angels to intercede, so that God shows mercy. Thus, in a kanon by George the Hymnographer (9th c.),¹¹¹ the initial of the strophes form the acrostichis: “Michael, together with Gabriel guard and shelter me. By George.”¹¹² In the text proper, terms denoting intercession (πρεσβεία/δέησις) appear eight times—Michael’s intercession is the main manifestation of his guardianship.

The collective or individual poetic selves who ask the angels for intercession sometimes refer to themselves as “servants” of the angels in phrases such as “Become a helper for us, your servants, in all times” and “fulfil the prayers and petitions of your servants.”¹¹³ The self-designation “servant” is common for petitioners in Byzantine culture. In the priestly prayers examined above, the formula “servant of God NN” refers to the recipient of a blessing in the third person. In first-person hymns and prayers, the self-designation “servant” mostly means servant of God, but can also mean of other holy persons, notably Mary Theotokos. Referring to oneself as “your servant” when addressing angels is a further hagiographic element that brings the veneration of angels closer to the veneration of saints. It marks a departure from the angelology of the eucharist, in which the humanity joins the angels in ministering the one and only Lord.

The portrayal of angels as intercessors for humanity in Middle Byzantine kanones is connected with their individualisation and humanisation. Angels as beardless male humanlike individuals appear in Byzantine art early.¹¹⁴ In the early liturgical texts discussed above, however, references to angels are collective. Naming angelic orders already implies non-human like beings. In many of these texts, non-human features like six wings and many eyes are explicitly mentioned. In Middle Byzantine hymns, angelic orders fade out: apart from the occasional cherubim and seraphim, mentions of other orders are rare. Instead, angels and archangels, especially Michael and less often Gabriel are celebrated. This results

110. E. PAPAILIOPOULOU-FOTOPOULOU, *Ταμείον ἀνεκδότων ἁσματικῶν κανόνων*, Athina 1996, nos. 186–208. Six kanones are edited in *Joseph the hymnographer: Kanones on saints according to the eight modes* (Byzantinistische Studien und Texte), ed. by P. Toma, Berlin – Vienna 2018. On Joseph the Hymnographer see also E. I. TOMADAKIS, *Ἰωσήφ ὁ ὑμνογράφος. Βίος καὶ ἔργον*, Athina 1971.

111. E. PAPAILIOPOULOU-FOTOPOULOU, Προβλήματα βυζαντινῆς ὑμνογραφίας ἢ περὶ τινῶν ἀκροστιχίδων τοῦ ὑμνογράφου Γεωργίου, *Δίπτυχα* 6, 1994–5, pp. 43–78.

112. AHG, III, kanon 17: Σὺν Γαβριήλ με Μιχαὴλ φρουρῶν σκέπε. Γεωργίου.

113. Ios. Hymn., *Kanones*, ed. Toma (quoted n. 110), Kanon 10, p. 105, l. 37–88: Γενοῦ ἡμῖν τοῖς δούλοις σου παντὶ καιρῷ βοηθός and *ibid.*, Kanon 11, p. 122, l. 205–7: τὰς προσευχὰς καὶ τὰ αἰτήματα τῶν σῶν δούλων ἀποπλήρωσον.

114. PEERS, *Subtle bodies* (quoted n. 4).

to a masculinisation of angels, beginning with the grammatical gender: cherubim and seraphim are neuter plural; orders, powers, principalities, and authorities are feminine plural; angel and archangel, on the other hand, are masculine, and so are all names of individual angels. Tellingly, it is in these kanones that the archangels are often named “commanders-in-chief” (ἀρχιστράτηγοι, ταξίαρχαι): whereas words such as “powers” are vague, the term “commander-in-chief” would evoke images of military masculinity, similar to the image of Michael in Byzantine iconography.

An aspect of this humanisation is the portrayal of angels as beings with emotions. Patristic and Byzantine authors leave out of their scope any emotions that their praising God and guarding humanity might evoke for angels. Angels praise God in fear in theological literature, and also in the liturgical texts examined above—but this state can hardly be considered an emotion. A biblical passage that could be interpreted as the angels’ emotional response to an event is “joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repents” (Lk 15, 7). In patristic and Byzantine literature this passage is often quoted, and interpreted as referring to angels. Yet, even these elusive mentions of rejoicing angels prompted Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite in the sixth century to conclude his *De coelesti hierarchia* with the clarification that the joy of angels is unlike human emotions. Instead, Pseudo-Dionysius tells us their response was more similar to the spiritual joy of the mystics:

There remains for accurate explanation, the statement respecting the rejoicing of the Heavenly Orders; for they are utterly incapable of our impassioned pleasure. Now they are said to rejoice with God over the discovery of what was lost, as befits their Divine good nature, and that Godlike and ungrudging rejoicing over the care and salvation of those who are turned to God; and that joy, beyond description, of which also holy men often partake, whilst the deifying illumination of the Deity rest upon them.¹¹⁵

All the more noteworthy are the numerous mentions of angels’ emotions in hymns from the ninth century onwards. The most common emotion is joy. Even if the hymnographers would subscribe to Pseudo-Dionysius’ claim that the angels’ joy is of a different nature than worldly joy, the hagiographic topos of the angels’ joy mark a new interest in angels as persons. Christ or Mary Theotokos are often “the joy of angels,” implying that angels feel joy at the presence and contemplation of these persons: “rejoice, joy of angels” wrote Joseph the Hymnographer in a kanon to Mary known as “kanon of the Akathistos.”¹¹⁶

115. Dion. Areop., *CH*, ed. Heil–Ritter (quoted n. 55), pp. 58.23–59.4: Λοιπὸς ἡμῖν εἰς διασάφησιν ὁ περὶ τῆς χαρᾶς τῶν οὐρανίων διακοσμῆσεων λόγος. Καὶ γὰρ ἄδεκτοι παντελῶς εἰσι τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐμπαθοῦς ἡδονῆς, συγχαίρειν δὲ θεῷ λέγονται τῇ τῶν ἀπολωλῶτων εὐρέσει κατὰ τὴν θεοειδῆ ῥαστώνην καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ προνοίᾳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἐπὶ θεὸν ἐπιστρεφόμενων ἀγαθοειδῇ καὶ ἄφθονον εὐφροσύνην καὶ τὴν εὐπάθειαν ἐκείνην τὴν ἄρρητον ἥς ἐν μεθέξει πολλάκις γέγονασι καὶ ἄνδρες ἱεροὶ κατὰ τὰς θεουργοὺς τῶν θείων ἐλλάμψεων ἐπιφοιτήσεις. Engl. transl.: *Dionysius the Areopagite. Works*, transl. by J. Parker, London 1897, pp. 65–6.

116. *Τριψῆδιον κατανυκτικόν*, Romi 1879, pp. 509–20, here p. 512: Χαῖρε, τῶν Ἀγγέλων χαρμονή.

Angels rejoice not only at contemplation of God, but also at human participation in their feast:

When the choruses of angels see their commander-in-chief being praised with hymns by human beings, they are filled with joy in a mystic way.¹¹⁷

The choruses of angels apprehend you as being praised longingly in hymns by human choruses and they are filled with perpetual joy, archangel Michael, and glorify God, who because of his compassionate mercy joined those who are below to the heavenly ones in a mystical way.¹¹⁸

Indeed, the angels' interaction with humanity is often described in a language that comes in sharp contrast to the image of the passionless (ἀπαθήs) angelic state: "With sighs and tears I fall down before you, as you are compassionate/sympathetic"¹¹⁹ prays Joseph the Hymnographer, whereas in other kanones the same author refers to Michael or to the archangels in general as "warmest intercessors."¹²⁰

The angels can also feel intense love towards God, which is sometimes described with an erotic language. In a kanon by Theophanes (9th c.) transmitted in the Oktoechos to be sung on Mondays of the first mode we read:

Inflamed by divine desire, the principalities, authorities and powers, the second ranks [*i.e.* second to God] sing hymns of praise with incessant mouths to the one divine principle, of one essence and power.¹²¹

In a further kanon the same Theophanes addresses the angels:

In a steadfast love and unyielding relationship, bowing to the beauty of the creator, you, choruses of angels, become second lights, crying "Blessed is God."¹²²

This strophe exemplifies another typical point in the humanisation of angels: biblical hymns sung by human biblical persons are attributed to angels. In this case it is Dan 3,

117. AHG, III, kanon 18, l. 100–3: Ὁρῶντες τῶν ἀγγέλων οἱ χοροὶ ὑμνολογούμενον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων χαρᾶς πληροῦνται τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον τούτων μυστικῶς.

118. AHG, III, kanon 18, l. 352–60: Τῶν ἀγγέλων οἱ χοροὶ κατανοοῦντές σε πόθῳ χοροστασίαις βροτῶν ὑμνούμενον χαρᾶς πληροῦνται ἀδιαδόχου καὶ δοξάζουσι Θεόν, τὸν διὰ σπλάγχνα οἰκτιρῶν τοὺς κάτω συνάψαντα τοῖς οὐρανίοις μυστικῶς, ἀρχάγγελε Μιχαήλ.

119. Ios. Hymn., *Kanones*, ed. Toma (quoted n. 110), kanon 11, p. 120, l. 218–220: Στεναγμοῖς καὶ δάκρυσι/ σοὶ προσπίπτω/ ὄντι συμπαθεῖ.

120. *Ibid.*, kanon 12, p. 131, l. 167 and kanon 15, p. 167, l. 195: τὸν θερμότερον πρέσβυν and πρεσβευταὶ θερμότετοι.

121. Παρακλητικὴ ἦτοι Ὁκτώηχος ἡ μεγάλη, Romi 1885, p. 29: Πόθῳ θεῷ πυρπολούμεναι αἱ Κυριότητες, Ἐξουσίαι, αἱ Δυνάμεις, αἱ τάξεις αἱ δεύτεραι ἀσιγήτοις στόμασι θεαρχικὴν ὑμνολογούσι μίαν οὐσίαν καὶ δύναμιν.

122. Παρακλητικὴ (quoted n. 121), p. 209: Ἀκλινεῖ τῷ ἔρωτι ἀνεκδότῳ σχέσει τε νεύοντες ταῖς καλλολογαῖς τοῦ Κτίσαντος, τῇ θέσει γίνεσθε φῶτα δεύτερα· εὐλογητὸς εἰ, κράζοντες, ὁ Θεός, οἱ τῶν Ἀγγέλων χοροί.

26-56, which in Byzantine rite is known as seventh biblical ode. Phrases from the seventh biblical ode, notably “Blessed is God,” often function as a refrain in strophes of the seventh ode of Byzantine kanones. In the biblical text this ode is sung by Azariah and his two companions in the furnace. Here, however, it is angels who sing the hymn of the three human youths—a reversal of the human congregation singing the angelic Trisagion at the eucharistic liturgy.

Moreover, just like saints, the angels have a direct connection with humans (most notably Michael). Besides their willingness to act as intercessors on behalf of humanity, angels actively seek contact with human beings by inviting them to co-celebrate, and rejoice over human participation in their feast, as seen above. As a reward, the angels show human beings their glory, which causes joy similar to divine contemplation:

Today the commander-in-chief sounds the trumpet loudly, calling all to a joyful banquet. He presents those who glorify the Lord of all with his shining as treats.¹²³

Rather than fear and awe, angels in hymnography instil love and desire: “look upon the desire of my soul, look upon my heart’s clear disposition towards you.”¹²⁴ The faithful praise the angels with the same terms employed in hymns celebrating Mary Theotokos, the saints—and God. Joseph the Hymnographer, for example, uses the following verbs of praise to Michael in a single kanon:¹²⁵ praise in song (ὕμνολογῶ, l. 8, 55, 101), worship (σέβω, l. 40), praise in song (ἀνυμνῶ, l. 88, 336, 499), love (στέργω, l. 89), honour (γεραίρω, l. 111), magnify (μεγαλύνω, l. 208), praise (εὐφημῶ, l. 261, 296), sing in praise (ὕμνῶ, l. 354).

The humanisation of angels is also reflected in the short hagiographic texts for the saints of the year known as Synaxarion. The biographical pattern of these Synaxarion notes also apply to the angel Michael. Thus, we encounter the praise of the celebrated person’s high origin:

When the all-good God who loves humankind wanted to create this world, first he reflected on creating the angelic and heavenly powers, and the thought became deed.¹²⁶

In place of ascetic struggles or martyrdom, Michael is praised for his steadfast loyalty to God, as he did not follow Satan in his fall and hindered the fall of further angels. For this, God rewarded him as he rewards the saints:

123. AHG, III, kanon 17, l. 1–8: Σαλπίσας ἐξάκουστον ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος σήμερον συγκαλεῖται ἅπαντας εἰς εὐωχίαν φαιδράν, ὡς ἐδέσματα τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐπιλάμψεις προθεῖς τοῖς δοξάζουσι τὸν πάντων Κύριον.

124. Ios. Hymn., *Kanones*, ed. Toma (quoted n. 110), kanon 11, p. 115, l. 36–8: ἴδε μου τὸν πόθον τῆς ψυχῆς, ἴδε μου τῆς καρδίας/ τὴν καθαρὰν πρὸς σὲ διάθεσιν.

125. AHG, III, kanon 18.

126. *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi, Adjectis synaxariis selectis* (Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum novembris), rec. H. Delehaye, Bruxellae 1902 (repr. 1954), col. 203–4, here 203, l. 5–9: Βουληθεὶς ὁ πανάγαθος καὶ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον δημιουργῆσαι, πρῶτον ἐνένόησε τὰς ἀγγελικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ οὐρανίους καὶ τὸ ἐννόημα γέγονεν ἔργον.

Because he kept the gratitude to the master like a most faithful servant [...] he was set as principle of the archangelic and spiritual orders by the ruler of all.¹²⁷

Hence, the praised one is granted the power to work miracles in favour of the faithful. The archangel's apparitions in the Old Testament count among these miracles.¹²⁸ This structure introduces (or at least emphasises) a temporal dimension in the life of the archangel, one that is in sharp contrast to the notion of the atemporal praise of the ministering angelic hosts.

In this article I concentrated on Christian ritual texts encountered in the liturgical books of the Byzantine Church. These texts bear witness to different angelologies: angels are not equally present in all these texts. And whenever they are present, their function varies. In the Euchologion, angels are mainly ministers surrounding the throne of God. They are mentioned primarily in the eucharistic liturgies, in which the visible and invisible world unite in the praise of God. In the daily services, angels are again surrounding the throne of God and giving praise. However, mentions of angels are infrequent; they are mostly short divine epithets such as "Lord of the hosts." Angels as guardians of human beings are mentioned occasionally in petitions asking God to dispatch a guardian angel. In other services and prayers, angels appear even less frequently, in functions depending on the occasion of the prayer. Yet, some prayers for protection in lay spaces appropriate elements from non-liturgical traditions for seeking protection, including angels as guardians against demons. This is notably common around childbirth. Some of these texts, such as several prayers on the day of birth, have the typical structure and diction of an Euchologion prayer. Other texts are formulated as exorcisms, addressing the danger directly, invoking individual named or unnamed angels, using *historiolae* and *nomina barbara*, etc. These texts are rare in early Euchologia, but they become more frequent from the fifteenth century onwards.

The angelology exemplified in these features is consistent with the concerns of the church authors quoted at the beginning of this article. Namely: God is the absolute Lord of heaven and earth. Accordingly, the hosts of angels surrounding and ministering him and performing tasks such as guarding people and registering their deeds at his command, only testify to his infinite power. This angelology is more or less consistent throughout the history of the Euchologion. This consistency is noteworthy, considering that Euchologia varied from manuscript to manuscript and that there was no centralised instance to control the contents of liturgical books.

127. DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium* (quoted n. 126), app., l. 39–41: Τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δεσπότην εὐγνωμοσύνην ὥς πιστότατος οἰκέτης διαφυλάξας [...] τῶν ἀρχαγγελικῶν καὶ νοερῶν τάξεων πρωτεύειν ἐτάχθη παρὰ τοῦ Παντοκράτορος.

128. *Ibid.*, app., l. 42–7.

Early hymnography mostly reflects this angelology: Whenever they do not make the dramatisation of biblical events more vivid, angels are the hosts surrounding the throne of God. They are not addressed, and their function is strictly distinguished from that of sanctified human beings—who are addressed directly, by name or rank, and asked to help.

The transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Middle Ages marks a shift in the angelology of the hymns. From this point on, angels are more and more venerated as saints. This ‘humanisation’ of angels reaches its peak in the hymnography of the *kanones*, especially from the ninth century onwards. At this point individual angels—Michael and to a lesser degree Gabriel—become among the most popular figures of Byzantine hagiographic hymnography. Similar to saints, angels became directly addressed in prayer. This did not constitute a departure from the Late Antique concerns about not worshipping angels as Gods. Instead, in the Byzantine hymnography of the *kanones*, we see angels move closer to human beings. Together with holy human persons, the angels bridge the space between God and humanity. They are not the powerful beings one can invoke to frighten the demons and achieve protection. Nor are they the angelic hosts at God’s throne, who interrupt their praise to attend to human affairs only when they are dispatched by God. Instead, they are the ones seeking communication with human beings. As they are depicted in Byzantine hymns, angels enjoy human hymns, they invite people to their feast, they listen to people’s requests, and they can even be moved to intercede and transfer people’s concerns to God. Angels served as a point of address, when the divine seemed too remote to be addressed directly. In Byzantine hagiographic hymnography, God’s supreme authority is uncontested—but the vast space between God and humanity is populated by benign, human or humanlike beings.

Eirini Afentoulidou

Wien, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Byzanzforschung

RÉSUMÉS – ABSTRACTS

Komait ABDALLAH, *L'iconographie des anges en Syrie à l'époque byzantine* p. 521

The archaeological work in Syria has revealed evidence about the existence of angel's cult in Late Antiquity, well attested by the texts of the Syriac church fathers. The majority are epigraphic documents. Less known than epigraphy, iconography also testify the spread of this cult. The image of the angels is found on buildings, especially in churches, and on devotional objects. These iconographic documents confirm widespread use of the images of the angels in Syria in the Byzantine era and the relations with the propagation of their cult in the region at that time.

Eirini AFENTOULIDOU, *Ministering spirits, guardians, intercessors: the discourse of angels in Byzantine liturgical texts* p. 631

This chapter focuses on Christian ritual texts encountered in the liturgical books of the Byzantine Church, notably priestly prayers, and hymns. These texts bear witness to different angelologies. Angels are not equally present in all these texts and whenever they are present, their function varies. In priestly prayers, angels appear as ministering spirits at the throne of God and they protect human beings at God's command, according to the angelology codified by church authorities. Some prayers for protection in lay spaces go a step further in asking for protection through guardian angels, appropriating elements from non-liturgical traditions. From the 7th-8th centuries onwards hymns dedicated to the angels, notably Michael and Gabriel, proliferate. In these, angels become more and more humanised, and their veneration resembles the cult of saints.

Stéphanie ANTHONIOZ, *Mutations angéliques ?* p. 3

Written in the 2nd century BCE, the book of Daniel testifies to an unprecedented angelic interest (Dn 9:2Salamyeh; 10:5-6.13.21), confirmed by Qumran manuscripts, the Gospels and the apocryphal literature as a whole. Though angels are little known in the Hebrew Bible, they become the object of new theological speculations. The question of the birth of an angelology is not new, but it is not easy to write its history. It is clearly concentrated between the period of the closure of the Torah/Pentateuch, in the Persian-Achaemenid period, and the first centuries of the Christian era. This birth seems to be related to some particular traditions and not all texts reflect this new interest. In order to shed light on these developments, we first consider the etymology and semantics of the root *l'k. We then study the angel *mal'āk* among other mediating entities of the divine. This will allow us to propose an in-depth examination of the biblical angels, before questioning the historical and theological conditions of these evolutions.

Inventer les anges de l'Antiquité à Byzance : conception, représentation, perception.
éd. par D. LAURITZEN (Travaux et mémoires 25/2), Paris 2021.

Luc BRISSON, *Les anges chez Proclus*

p. 173

In his *Elements of Theology*, Proclus (5th c.) situates angels, along with demons and heroes, at a specific level of the hierarchy of his metaphysical system, seemingly adopting a tripartition derived from the Chaldean Oracles. In so doing, he remains faithful to the project of the Neoplatonic School of Athens, which aimed at demonstrating the agreement between the scientific theology of Plato, as set forth in the second part of the *Parmenides*, and the *Orphic Rhapsodies* and the *Chaldean Oracles*. We are thus in a context in which philosophy has become theology: a scientific theology opposed to Christianity, and derived from the allegorical interpretation of the central myth of the *Phaedrus* and the Myth of Er in Book X of the *Republic*.

Béatrice CASEAU, Jean-Claude CHEYNET, *La place des anges dans l'iconographie des sceaux*

p. 307

This chapter focuses on Byzantine seals and analyses the presence of angels, comparing their iconography with other types of artistic representations. Angels appear on imperial seals of the late 6th century. They replace Victories, winged figures close to angels in iconography. They are also found in biblical scenes, such as the Annunciation, the baptism of Christ, the Crucifixion, the Women at the Tomb, the Ascension and the Dormition. These scenes are rare on mediaeval seals, except for the Annunciation. After the period of Iconoclasm, Archangel Michael is quite frequently depicted on seals, because he is perceived as an effective protector, his shrines are popular and have been developing since the High Middle Ages. The archangel is often chosen by sigillants who bear his first name. He does not seem to be particularly chosen by eunuchs.

François CASSINGENA-TRÉVEDY, *Les messagers du haut silence : l'angélogie d'Ephrem de Nisibe (Hymnes sur la Foi) : entre fonction liturgique et apophatisme exemplaire*

p. 617

Ephraem de Nisibis, a Syriac writer in the middle of the 4th century, employs a rich angelology throughout his hymns. In his collection of "Hymns on the Faith", he attacks the rationalist posture of Arian theology by relying on scriptural examples and the referring to the model of the silent and reverent angels. They therefore appear as models of the apophatic theology that he promotes. They are also actors in a celestial liturgy of which earth is a reflection, according to the concept widely shared by the Syro-Antiochian liturgical tradition.

Paolo CESARETTI, Basema HAMARNEH, *Visualising angels in the Life of Andrew, the Holy Fool (BHG 115z). Its sources and parallels*

p. 695

This chapter examines the various ways in which angels are sketched in the *Life of Andrew salos* (BHG 115z). The composition of the hagiographic narrative concerning this fictional Holy Fool, whose life is set in an artificial 5th century Constantinopolitan context, is dated to the 10th century. It is characterized, in general, by alternating episodes with a strong

visual impact, long conceptual—even abstract—digressions, and more specifically, by the ascendancy and authority of its protagonist, Andrew, on angels. This aspect is relevant when the text is compared to its 7th century model, the *Life of Symeon salos* (BHG 1677) by Leontios of Neapolis, and in parallel to the *Life of Basil the Younger* (BHG 264), one more fictional saint whose life is a product of 10th century Constantinopolitan hagiography. These texts, despite differences in authorship and settings, address various patterns of the reception of angels, especially seen from the perspective of human interaction with God, and the strive towards a proper Christian life and behaviour. The life of Andrew delineates the effective power of angels in the struggle against demons, and in fending off evil spirits. However, the stories and episodes in which angels are outlined seem to respond to a specific instructive intent, and touch upon a wide range of eschatological concerns in which angels appear to be utterly decisive.

Jean-Charles COULON, *Le développement de la légende de Hārūt et Mārūt et des origines de la magie dans les premiers siècles de l'islam*

p. 891

Hārūt and Mārūt are two angels ambiguously mentioned in a single verse of the Qur'ān. While angels are supposed to be created of light, inhabiting the heavens and totally subservient to the divine order, Hārūt and Mārūt are notably accused of teaching magic and the art of separating spouses in Babylon. This verse thus poses a number of problems, which have been reflected in an abundant exegesis that has attempted both to identify these angels and to develop their story in order to answer the theological questions they raise, including the question of the angels' sinfulness or their relationship to human beings. One account includes two angels who descended to earth and were seduced by Venus, who caused them to commit sins, for which they were punished in Babylon. Studies have been made of the possible ancient sources of these two angels in the Qur'ān (Indian, Zoroastrian, Hebrew, etc.), but the aim of this chapter is to trace the development of the exegesis of these verses in the early centuries of Islam, to see how the story was formed and how exegetes tried to reconcile this verse with the rest of the Qur'ān and its theological issues.

Korshi DOSOO, *Ministers of fire and spirit: knowing angels in the Coptic magical papyri*

p. 403

The Christianisation of Egypt, completed by the fifth century, produced a shift in the conception of the superhuman world found in magical texts, with the traditional Greek and Egyptian gods being almost entirely replaced by divine beings of the Christian religion—the Trinity, the saints, and, above all, the angels. This discussion surveys the role of angels in Christian magical texts written in Coptic, dating to between the fourth and twelfth centuries, focusing on two aspects—their role as agents of the divine will, which may be experienced positively or negatively by human beings; and the ways in which these (normally) unseen beings make their presence felt through their effects upon the material world. Beginning with a survey of the role of angels in older Graeco-Egyptian and Jewish magic, we then turn to the key roles of angels in Coptic magical texts—the gathering angel, the angelic name, the helping angel, and the dangerous angel.

Philippe FAURE, *Le rayonnement angélique de Byzance en Occident (x^e-xiii^e siècle)* p. 809

This study attempts to identify the modalities of the Byzantine influence on Western medieval art from the 10th to the 13th century in the field of the representation of angels, through the analysis of some major iconographic themes and motives. The main artistic centres concerned (Italy, Sicily, Catalonia) show that the Byzantine representation of angels is closely linked to the visionary, glorious and theophanic dimension of Christianity, which is expressed in particular in the conceptions of the kingdom of God and the heavenly court. The spread of this inspiration is so powerful that it can be found in works painted in Germany, France, and even Great Britain. The treatment of themes such as the angels beside Christ or the Virgin, the heavenly Jerusalem, the celestial hierarchy and the Last Judgement bear witness to this inspiration, but also to a work of appropriation and adaptation. The figures of the archangels are particularly significant in this process: as prince of heaven, Michael appears to be associated with the dramaturgy, eschatology and liturgical celebration. Gabriel, on the other hand, benefited from the promotion of the founding scene of the Annunciation. The creative process led to the integration of Byzantine models in the active form of quotation and the invention of new works. The orientation of Western piety in the 13th century, which tended to focus on the humanity and the Passion of Christ, was accompanied by a gradual retreat from Byzantine inspiration. However, the hieratic nature of the angelic figures tended to be maintained, within the framework of another pole of devotion, the representations of the Virgin in majesty, inseparable from her angelic escort.

Ryan HAECKER, *Origen's speculative angelology* p. 95

Origen of Alexandria (fl. AD 184-253/4) should be acknowledged as the founder of a Christian science of angels, or angelology. In 'On First Principles' (1.5-8), he introduces angels as the first created 'rational beings' who, in contemplating the divine Logos, freely choose to direct their will as holy angels in service to or as wicked demons in antagonism against the love of God. The angels and demons thereafter guide the movements of all spirits, substances, and signs in the created world. Origen's angelology has been regarded as an early Christian alternative to Middle Platonic daemonologies. After Karl Barth, his angelology has often been dispensed from Christian theology. However, as Jean Daniélou has observed, Origen departs from the principles of Platonic daemonology in affirming that angelic mediacy must pass away like the light of the stars before the Logos of Christ. He had assimilated the relative mediacy of the angels to the absolute mediation of Christ. And in assimilating angelic to Christic mediacy, Origen also assimilates the reason with which the world is moved to the divine Logos of Christ in God as Trinity. Origen's angelology can thus be read before and after Barth to recommend a new speculative angelology.

Magdalena ŁAPTAŚ, *The apotropaic function of the archangels in Nubian art* p. 479

People in the Nile Valley lived in the constant fear of monsters, demons and other misfortunes threatening them. Therefore, they had to turn to God for protection. God however was far in the Heavens, while his angelic messengers were closer, moving between celestial and earthly spaces. To ensure their protection, their images and names were placed wherever the exposure to the evil forces was the greatest. An attribution of these protective functions is not always clear

from the way the archangels were depicted in art. The figures are shown frontally, frequently freestanding. For the most part, it is the context or accompanying inscriptions that allow an image to be identified as an archangel in its apotropaic function. Therefore, for this chapter, three groups have been chosen connected with the protection of buildings and their interiors; protection of the bodies of living Nubians and finally with deceased. Writing this paper, the author was aware that the subject is so rich that the presented material and its interpretations are only an introduction to further research, which will be gradually undertaken.

Delphine LAURITZEN, *Des Amours et des anges dans l'art de l'Antiquité tardive* p. 207

Angels are usually depicted anthropomorphically. We argue here that this appearance was drawn from Eros/Cupid, the god of love in Ancient Classical mythology. The paper compares and contrasts five main features: wings, age, genre, clothing, and number. Both cupids and angels are intermediaries. Two horizontal figures flying on each side of a central medallion is a favourite theme of Roman sarcophagi. In a funerary context, it symbolizes the transition from life to death. Transposed to angels, the motive encompasses a broader meaning. Angels (*angeloi*) are messengers who cross both ways between the divine and the human level. Moreover, angels never supplant cupids in Late Antique art. One may think that they served different purposes: decorative *vs* religious. The reality appears more nuanced. The meaning of cupids and angels' images is therefore reconsidered on the ground of their common, protective function.

Frederick LAURITZEN, *Psellos' angels between Homer, Proclus, and Dionysius*
(Phil. Min. 1.42 Duffy) p. 739

Psellos' essay on Homer's *Iliad* 4.1-4 offers one an insight into his angelology. He interprets Homer's gods as being God's angels. He achieves this identification by combining his reading of Plato's *Cratylus* with the *Gospel* of John. Moreover, he associates the angels with imperial courtiers. The analysis is the result of his reading of Proclus and specifically his commentary on the *Timaeus* of Plato. His analysis also appears to be in tune with the recent treaty of hierarchy written by Nicetas Stethatos. Thus, Psellos interprets the essay, not as an allegory, but as a transposition (μεταπόιησις) of myth into truth.

Maria LIDOVA, *Divine Presence: gazing upon the angels in Early Byzantine art* p. 241

This chapter focuses on the selection of roles played by angels in early Byzantine visual culture. In church decorations, the winged beings regularly appeared in pairs as guardians, assuming the likeness of courtiers or military officials. It is argued that within related depictions which show two winged guardians flanking a central motif, the significance of heavenly beings could vary depending on what was placed at the centre, be it a holy figure, a sacred object, or even an ecclesiastical space. Angels could also be depicted in narrative compositions representing the events of the Old and New Testaments. In these compositions, they often performed the role of divine agents enabling the realization of God's will. The chapter analyses the significance of angelic representations in visual rendering of the scriptural and apocryphal events using the rich and detailed programme of the so-called Murano ivory diptych (6th c.) as an example.

Jean-Pierre MAHÉ, *Anges d'Arménie : gloire divine, liturgie, hiérarchie* p. 847

In the Armenian tradition, angels are the emissaries of divine glory, that is to say, not mere envoys, but the living substance of the radiance of the divinity. Angels and glory are closely associated in the liturgy and in the decoration of the vessels, instruments and fabrics of the celebration. By representing the wonder of the angels before the Eucharist, this mystagogy stages the salutary effect of the Incarnation, the restoration of the first glory of Adam, created in the image of God. According to the Areopagite, the nine degrees of the angelic orders are the heavenly archetype of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. At the end of the seventh century, the Armenian Church structured itself accordingly to justify its autocephaly.

Marc MALEVEZ, *The angels in Late Egyptian Antiquity: a study mainly based on two travelogues* p. 341

After an introduction to the monastic spiritual approach described by Evagrius Ponticus, we evoke the travelogues in general, then more specifically *The Mission of Paphnutius / Life of Onnophrius*, of which we will present the various manuscripts and fragments of the Nile tradition known to this day, before we turn to the second travelogue analysed in this chapter, the *Story of Pambo / Life of Cyrus*, less famous and whose Coptic and Ethiopian versions we have studied to date. This will allow us to question the angelic nature, before focusing on the functions of angels in the world of Coptic desert monks, through our two texts. The conclusion is followed by quotations from the studied manuscripts not mentioned in the body of the chapter.

Jérôme MOREAU, *Les anges, λόγοι de Dieu dans l'exégèse de Philon d'Alexandrie* p. 43

Philo of Alexandria presents the angels (*angeloi*) as *logoi*. While he carefully dismisses the word *daimon* for the superstition it carries, he still refers to a Platonic demonology, where the angels are intermediary beings, messengers to and from God, but only insofar as it is confirmed by an exegesis of Scripture. Indeed, as always in his works, his conceptions lie only on the (little) information about angels he can find in the Pentateuch. His system allows him to claim that perfect human souls may also be qualified as angels, as they truly act as intermediaries between God and human beings, and that the Logos in itself, as well as God's Pneuma, are *angeloi*. However, Philo's intellectual angelology does not allow him to fully explain texts in which the angels are told to appear sensibly to someone, despite their purely intellectual nature: he is compelled to avoid this problem rather than addressing it directly.

Cécile MORRISSON, *Les anges sur la monnaie byzantine : de l'omniprésence à la personnalisation* p. 293

The image of the angel on coins replaces that of the Victory starting from the *solidi* of Justin I in 522. Its assimilation to the Eternal Victory of Rome gave it the wings that would become its characteristic feature. It also completed the slow Christianisation of this element

derived from Hellenistic and Imperial coinage. In the 5th century numerous Christian attributes (*labarum*, *globus cruciger*, cross) were added and later disappeared completely at the beginning of the 6th century. From the 11th century onwards, the predominant image is that of the Archangel Michael, the patron saint of the military aristocracy. The archangel remains associated with the ideal of power and illustrates the protection granted to the emperor by the Pantocrator of whom he is, after the angels, another winged envoy. The late numismatics of the Thessaloniki workshop made the wings, attached to an effigy of the sovereign or alone, an imperial attribute, symbol of power and legitimacy.

François PACHA-MIRAN, *Images des anges dans l'enluminure syriaque de l'Antiquité tardive*

p. 267

Images of angels rarely appear in Late Antique Syriac manuscripts. Only two witnesses dating back to the 6th century contain such representations: Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Plut. I 56, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. syr. 33. Yet, the evidence of Syriac angels turns out to be essential to a better understanding of the formation and diffusion of iconographic patterns that marked Medieval art, such as the Annunciation and the Resurrection. These two manuscripts firstly attest the existence of a common visual language, shared among the Eastern Christian communities. The angels simultaneously adopt a role of messengers, witnesses, and heralds, that originates both in Christian literature and Classical art. The images also allow us to examine the different methods of layout and illustration used by Syriac artists, and the close relationships that linked the miniatures to the biblical texts. The presence of inscriptions on and around the miniatures reveals an astonishing concern for the creation of an ‘iconographic soundspace’. Through a careful depiction of the dialogues, the angels thereby embody the pronounced sensitivity of Syriac Christianity toward the written word and the dialogue. Between the lines, they finally evoke the vocal performance of hymns and canticles, sung during the main liturgical celebrations.

Ilaria L.E. RAMELLI, *Conceptualities of angels in Imperial and Late Antiquity: nature and bodies of angels, degrees of corporeality, and comparative angelologies / daemonologies in “Pagan” and Christian Platonism*

p. 115

The chapter studies the ways in which angels were conceptualised in Imperial and Late Antiquity, their nature or essence (for Origen, the same as that of all rational creatures), and their bodies. The reflection on their corporeality or incorporeality will be framed within the theories of degrees of corporeality in both “pagan” and Christian Platonism and within the relativity of notions such as “corporeal/incorporeal” and “material/immaterial.” Attention will be paid to the genderlessness of angels, contrasted with the apparent descriptions of Satan as a male creature. Finally, a brief comparative study will be offered of d(a)emonologies in “pagan” and Christian Platonism. This will point out, among other interesting elements, the partial overlap of angels and good δαίμονες.

Denis J.-J. ROBICHAUD, *The Star of the Magi or the afterlife of Chaldean angels in Iamblichus, Proclus, Psellos, Pletho, and Ficino* p. 763

This chapter studies how angelic epiphanies are understood in the exegetical tradition on the *Chaldean Oracles* in the writings of the Syrian Iamblichus, the Greek Proclus, two Byzantines, Michael Psellos and Georgius Gemistus Pletho, and the Florentine Marsilio Ficino. Working backwards from Ficino, the culmination of this philosophical approach to the *Chaldean Oracles*, it reconstructs this tradition through Ficino's sources for his sermon the *De stella magorum* and his eighteen-volume *Platonic Theology*. Examining new manuscript evidence, it demonstrates how this tradition of Chaldean epiphanies is central to Ficino's understanding of the Star of the Magi in the Gospel of Matthew and the angelic apparition to the shepherds in the Gospel of Luke, as well as the philosophical considerations on angels in Ficino's *Platonic Theology*.

Hélène ROCHARD, *Le trône divin et les quatre Vivants dans la peinture égyptienne (VI^e-XIII^e siècle)* p. 435

The depiction of Christ surrounded by the four living creatures is a widespread image of medieval art and a well-studied theme of Christian iconography. This type known as *Maiestas Domini* and principally based on the John's vision of the throne of God in Heaven and the vision of the Old Testament prophet Ezekiel is one way to visualize the divine. Christ in Majesty occurs in various forms in the Early Byzantine world and Egyptian examples provide several variants among which are the oldest remains of Christian art. In most early Egyptian wall paintings, the throne of Christ is carried by four beasts and four wheels. This chapter focuses on the allegorical interpretation of the divine throne and the living creatures in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt.

Artur RODZIEWICZ, *Heft Sur – the Seven Angels of the Yezidi tradition and Harran* p. 943

The chapter, based mainly on field research conducted by the author in Iraq, Turkey, and Georgia, is devoted to the Yezidi cult of the Seven Angels and their leader, called the Peacock Angel. Following an introduction to the Yezidi religion, it focuses on the relationship between the Yezidi concept of God's essence (*sur*) and the Seven Angels, who, like the seven Yezidi saints and the seven planets, are its manifestations and objects of religious worship. Apart from an attempt to answer the question which of the heavenly bodies the Peacock Angel is connected with and to which angel it corresponds to in other religious traditions, another object representing him, the *sanjak*, is discussed. The search for the origins of the Yezidi cult points to several other religions which also refer to the seven angels, and concludes with the Harranian 'Sabians', whose beliefs were a mixture of elements of Platonism and local traditions. The preserved accounts about them allow the conclusion that, after the destruction of their temples, when the last representatives of the Sabians migrated to the area of Mardin and Mosul, they could have joined the religious community that was forming there between the 12th and 14th centuries and which became known as Yezidis.

Anna SALSANO, *The archangel Michael in Coptic homilies*

p. 383

On the basis of the roles of the archangels Michael and Raphael in Coptic tradition and specifically fifteen Coptic homilies on the archangel Michael, one can say that he has different functions including devil's antagonist, intercessor, avenger, healer, rescuer, guardian, messenger, guide, encourager, archistrategus, tamer of beasts, Christ's fellow and psychopomp. Some roles show a specialization towards a particular aspect, others are more diversified. This chapter will analyse these roles and the related epithets applied to the archangel Michael. It will also include the comparison of these homilies with other types of literary texts such as hagiographic and apocryphal sources.

Georges SIDÉRIS, *Quelques remarques sur les anges eunuques dans le*
Récit sur la construction de Sainte-Sophie

p. 721

Through an analysis of the presence of eunuch angels and eunuchs in the *Narrative on the Construction of Hagia Sophia* and the sources used by the anonymous author, the chapter proposes to date the writing of the *Narrative* during the reign of Leo VI the Wise (886-912), in the circles close to the emperor. It also argues that the work was perhaps written by an imperial eunuch. Concerning the eunuch angels, the author was inspired in particular by the *Life of John the Chaplain* composed by Leontios of Neapolis in the 7th century and known at the time in Byzantium. For the eunuchs he consulted sources dating from the reigns of Justinian I and Justin II, from which he drew an onomastic reserve. He was able to consult these sources in the Palace library. The aim of the *Narrative* is to exalt Leo VI, the new Justinian, to assert his authority over Hagia Sophia and the Imperial Church, to promote and legitimise the court eunuchs through the angels, their role with the Emperor and in the imperial ceremonial, as well as their presence in Constantinople, the city of eunuchs. The *Narrative* is presented as a historical and patriographic text, composed according to the technique of *ekphrasis*, the art of description, but it is in fact a work of propaganda.

Michel TARDIEU, *Les anges du bouddhisme*

p. 921

The god-kings of Buddhist mythology are recognisable by the name of angels, given to them in the non-Christianised epilogues of the Arabic versions of the History of Barlaam and Jehoshaphat. There are four of them, installed at the cardinal points as guardians of the universe, they intervene in dreams and transport their protégés in the air. What environment favoured the passage of the god-kings from the polytheistic Indian world to a monotheistic system or systems? The transfer cannot depend on Byzantine Greek writing, since it derives from Arabic via Georgian. Nor can it come from Qur'anic angelology, since the narrative, transmitted by the Ismaili and Shi'a Imamite compilations, is only superficially Islamised. The study compares the representations of the infant oracle with the biographical episodes of the Buddhist legend, as attested by the Barlaamian literature, by Rashid al-Din and in the Chinese Manichean iconography preserved in Japan. It follows from the comparison that the transfer of the god-kings into angels took place through contact with the Eastern Manichaeans.

Sipana TCHAKERIAN, *Anges de pierre en Géorgie et en Arménie tardo-antiques : le témoignage des monuments crucifères à stèle quadrilatérale*

p. 547

In Late Antique Armenia and Iberia, the cult of the Cross was materialized through an original type of carved architecture: the cross-bearing monument with a four-sided stela. This paper investigates the role of the angels in the decorative program of these monuments and in the experience of the faithful praying before them. After evoking the depictions of angels represented on diverse media throughout the region, the various types of angels identified on monumental crosses (angels, archangels, seraphim, cherubim) and their iconography are analysed. It appears that the angel contributes to the primary function of these peculiar monuments, namely the exaltation of the Cross of Christ. Moreover, the study of the angels' iconographical formulas and their display on the monument provides noteworthy information for a better understanding of these structures, especially when it comes to the hierarchization of their decorative program and to their functions as objects of prayer and sacred space. These monuments take advantage of their morphology, both vertical and polygonal, to offer the faithful a dual dynamic space, both circular and ascending. Through its plural presence, the angel accompanied the ritual apprehension of these monumental crosses.

Marie-Emmanuelle TORRES, « Chanter comme les anges ». *Discours et pratiques d'une sensorialité « isangelique » dans les monastères cénobitiques (IX^e-XV^e siècle)*

p. 665

From the 8th–9th century onwards, the Stoudios monastery required the coenobite monk to “live like the angels.” In this way, the monk could win divine favour for the Empire and for the founders. In fact, the imitation of the angels through chanting occupies most of the monk's life, providing him with a reason for being, an ascetic practice and an effective spiritual exercise. This chanting wins divine favour, contributes to the sanctification of the monk and allows him to approach the angelic model. This support in asceticism makes the isangelic transformation possible. To be effective, this chanting must be carried out without error, and each founder acts as a “vocal coach.” He chooses the songs, the places, the voices... but also the state of mind, the sensations, the emotions, the body attitude that are appropriate. This definition of the singer's body and voice is directly inspired by the common perception of angels. All these musical indications shed light on the way the angels' senses and body are understood. These *typika* thus show how to make an anthropomorphic angel.

Antonis TSAKALOS, Χιλιάδες ἀρχαγγέλων καὶ μυριάδες ἀγγέλων.
Angels in the painted decoration of Karanlık kilise, Cappadocia

p. 577

In the *katholikon* of the Cappadocian monastery of Karanlık kilise, the abundance of angelic portraits is in perfect accordance with the *topos* of the “angelic life” in monastic practice—the moral perfection monks and ascetics seek to achieve. Our analysis underlines the diversity of the archangels' functions as healers, protectors, guardians, and intercessors during life and at the moment of death, as well as intermediaries between the faithful and God. Two major themes are highlighted in the sophisticated iconographic programme: the

reality of the Incarnation of the Logos and Christ's dual nature, in combination with the idea of defending the Orthodox faith against heretics or other religious apostates (which is unsurprising for the border region of Cappadocia during the agitated period of the second half of the 11th c.). The innovative arrangements in Karanlık kilise's painted decoration are so numerous that they should not be considered as simple confusion or random coincidence. The dynamic network of interactions among the images constitutes an important indication of the seven donors' interventions in shaping the architectural setting and the layout of this exceptional iconographic programme, connected with certain liturgical practices.

Alexandros TSAKOS, *Invoking graphically archangels: the case study of the Archangel Michael in Christian Nubia*

p. 461

The role of intermediate beings in the belief system of African Christianity cannot be overestimated. In the Sudanese Nile Valley, three Christian kingdoms thrived during the period that is termed "Medieval" or "Christian Nubia", and from the rich archaeological record that they have produced it appears that the most popular intermediate being was the Archangel Michael. The intermediation of Michael was manifested in his culturally conditioned appearances to humans, according to theological norms or by expressions of art and language. All manifestations of this archangel—as of all angels—were a message, either from God to the humans or from the humans to God. The study offers a qualitative presentation of the forms that these messages take, with a focus on the letter-shaped ones, and especially monograms and cryptograms. These are perceived as "grapho-linguistic techniques" which knowledgeable individuals use on the basis of a set of skills that has been termed "graphicacy". In some cases, the message is the archangel himself. New interpretations for understanding Nubian Christianity—as well as related Oriental Christianities—open up by investigating this possibility.

Françoise VINEL, *Les anges, proches de Dieu, proches des hommes : jalons d'une réflexion, du livre de Tobit à la littérature chrétienne des premiers siècles*

p. 69

The Old Testament's Book of *Tobit* was probably written during the 2nd century BCE. The short tale facilitates a comprehensive understanding of the angelic nature and qualities in the Biblical and Christian tradition. In the context of the development of Jewish angelology, Raphael's role with Tobit and his family reveals an angelic invisible people who are both close to God and close to the believer people who need some help. In Early Christian literature, especially in Origen's *De oratione*, the idea of guardian angels is formed. An important aspect of these celestial beings is their eschatological and liturgical missions. According to biblical images, the angelic army inhabits the whole universe and is ready to fight against evil's powers, as well as never stops praising God and inviting human beings to join its prayer. If we keep also in mind the legacy of the Greek *daimones*, there is some evidence that, from Origen to Augustine, the angelic Christian doctrine takes consistency, before Dionysius' developments and synthesis.

Marilena VLAD, *Dionysius' concept of Hierarchy*

p. 189

The chapter concerns both Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Proclus, specifically the idea of a structured reality. Dionysius' *Celestial Hierarchy*, even if influenced by Proclus' perspective, transforms the understanding the structure of the reality, namely as a *hierarchy*, or sacred governing of the reality. There is a double act of revelation at work between the *hierarchy* and the divine principle or *thearchy*, so that the role of the angelic hierarchy can only be understood inside this reciprocal manifestation. The difference between Dionysius' celestial hierarchy and Proclus' structure of the intelligible world, reveals that the hierarchy is not the highest object of knowledge, but rather a system through which God transmits knowledge and manifests his presence throughout the reality. In Dionysius' perspective, there is no knowledge about the hierarchy, but only knowledge transmitted inside the hierarchy, so that his own interpretative activity becomes a hierarchical act.

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APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

(First to Second Century A.D.)

A NEW TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION

BY R. RUBINKIEWICZ

The theme of the Apocalypse of Abraham seems to be Israel's election and its covenant with God. The document can be divided into two parts, chapters 1-8 and chapters 9-32. Chapters 1-8 constitute a story of Abraham's youth and his perception of idolatry. Abraham concludes that his father's idols are not gods, because some stone idols are crushed and a wooden idol is accidentally consumed by fire. Abraham consequently beseeches God to reveal himself, whereupon he hears God's voice, which instructs Abraham to leave his father's house.

Abraham is commanded to offer a sacrifice so that God will reveal "great things which you have not seen . . ." (9:6). God sends his angel Iael to lead Abraham up to heaven (15:4), where he sees seven visions: the light and fiery angels (15:5-7), the fire (17:1-3), the throne (18:1-14), the firmaments (19:4-9), the world (21:2-7), the seven sins of the world (24:3-25:2), and the destruction of the Temple (27:1-3). Finally God announces the punishment of the gentiles through ten plagues (chs. 29f.) and the victory of the just (chs. 31f.).

Texts

The Apocalypse of Abraham is known only in an Old Slavonic translation, which has come down to us in several Russian redactions. The combined witness of six manuscripts that contain essentially the full text allows us to discern fairly clearly the original form of the Slavonic text, although many details remain obscure. Four manuscripts provide confirmatory evidence only for the first eight chapters. Other fragments, summaries, and reworkings are obviously derived from the older long form; they will not concern us here.

The apocalypse appears as a completely independent unit only in one manuscript, but basically the same text is found in a second manuscript with a slightly different beginning and a radically truncated ending. A slightly different redaction is reflected in the text that has been incorporated into the Explanatory Palaia (*Tolkovaja Paleja*), a broad account of Old Testament history interspersed with exegesis, much of it anti-Jewish polemic. These are the manuscripts:

- S- Sil'vestrovskij sbornik, Moscow, Central'nyj Gosudarstvennyj Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov, Sin. Tip. 53, fols. 164-83. 14th cent. Facsimile published as vol. 99, *Obščestvo ljubitelej drevnej pis'mennosti*, St. Petersburg, 1891. Published by N. S. Tikhonravov in *Pamjatniki otrečenoj russkoj literatury* (St. Petersburg, 1863) vol. 1, pp. 32-53.
- D- A miscellany, Lenin Library, Moscow, Tikhonravov 704, fols. 70-79. 16th cent. Unpublished.
- A- The Volokalamsk Paleja Tolkovaja, Moscow, Lenin Library, Mosk. Dukh. Akad. 172/549, fols. 85-101. 15th cent. Printed in N. S. Tikhonravov, *Pamjatniki*, vol. 1, pp. 54-77.
- B- The Synodal Paleja Tolkovaja, Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej, 869 (Sin. 211) fols. 76-90. 16th cent. Unpublished.

C—A Palaia, Lenin Library, Moscow, fond 173.III, No. 136, fols. 18–43. 16th cent. Unpublished.

K—Solovec Palaia, Leningrad, Public Library, Kaz. Dukh. Akad. 431, fols. 79–95. 16th–17th cent. Published by I. J. Porfir'ev, in "Apokrifičeskie skazaniia o vetkhov-zavetnykh licakh i sobytijakh po rukopisjam Soloveckoj biblioteki," *Sbornik Otd. russ. jaz. i slov. Imp. Akad. Nauk* 17 (1877) 111–30.

We were able to consult the unpublished texts D, B, and C in microfilms, which were made available through the cooperation of the libraries and museums of the U.S.S.R.¹

The Palaia manuscripts, which contain the longer form of the Ladder of Jacob, have the first eight chapters of the Apocalypse of Abraham; this is the later Palaia redaction. The earlier redaction, represented by the Kolomna manuscript of A.D. 1406, has only a few fragments of the Apocalypse of Abraham. An abbreviated text, summarizing chapters 1–12, 15, 17, 20, and 30, is found in two manuscripts, while a derived legend is found in seven. They are not helpful in establishing the early Slavonic text.

Most critics have distinguished two parts to the Apocalypse of Abraham: chapters 1–8 and chapters 9–32; they claim that the former did not belong to the original apocalyptic work but was added later by an editor.² If our interpretation of the apocalypse 1–6 is correct, these chapters form an integral part of the work and were written by the same author who composed the rest of the apocalypse. It is generally accepted that the present text of the apocalypse has many insertions which are due to Slavonic editors. All of chapter 7 seems to be redactional.³

Original language

A thorough investigation of the original language of the Apocalypse of Abraham has never been undertaken. A. Rubinstein studied only ten passages from the apocalypse and concluded that the document probably was written in Hebrew.⁴ The Slavonic text of the Apocalypse of Abraham contains several Hebrew names, words, and phrases. The most impressive examples are the following: Ioavan is a Slavonic deformation of the Hebrew *ywn* (Greece); Souzouch is probably a transcription of the name *kwrs* (Cyrus); and Maroumat is an abbreviation of the Hebrew *Martā Rômā*. The use of parts of the body instead of a simple pronoun is frequent: "My heart was perplexed" (1:4), "Why now have you afflicted my heart?" (27:6).⁵ The parallelism of the verses reflects Semitic thought.⁶

The positive instead of a comparative betrays a Semitic original. "It was heavy of a big stone" (1:5) renders the Semitic *khd mn* (cf. also 6:9), which has to be translated: "heavier than a big stone." Moreover, the prepositions are sometimes utilized according to Hebrew rather than Slavonic syntax (for example: 8:4, "for the sins," lit. "in the sins"; 12:10, "you will see all," lit. "you will see in all" [= Heb. *ʾh bʾ*]; 27:11, "to rule from them in them," lit. "to rule in them" [= Heb. *hmšlytly bhm*]).

The syntax of the temporal phrases reflects the Hebrew original of our apocalypse. Frequently a phrase is introduced by the verb *hyh*: "And it came to pass, that when I saw it, my heart was perplexed . . ." (1:4; cf. e.g. 1:7; 2:5; 5:4; 5:10, 11; 8:5). Numerous other examples could be cited. The foregoing suggests that the Apocalypse of Abraham was written in a Semitic language, probably in Hebrew.

The Slavonic version of the Apocalypse of Abraham was made in the eleventh or twelfth

century A.D. in the south of the Slavic world, probably in Bulgaria. It may be that this pseudepigraphon was translated directly from Hebrew into Slavonic. Between 1108/9 and 1120 the archbishop of Ochride (Macedonia) was Leon Mung, a Jew converted to Christianity.⁸ His teacher was Tobias b. Eleazar (11th cent.), the author of the Midrash *Lekah Tov*. Bulgaria at that time had educated men who could make the translation from Hebrew into Slavonic. Further study needs to be made regarding this issue.

Date

It is commonly held that our pseudepigraphon was composed at the end of the first century A.D. No decisive argument, however, has been given in support of this date. In the following paragraphs the issue will be discussed first in terms of the external and then in terms of the internal data.

The testimonies of Nicephorus,⁹ patriarch of Constantinople (806–15), of Pseudo-Athanasius (6th cent.),¹⁰ and of the Apostolic Constitutions (4/5th cent.)¹¹ are very vague and nothing can be deduced from them in regard to our apocalypse. Epiphanius (4th cent.) speaks about some "Apocalypse of Abraham" used by the Sethians.¹² The same apocalypse was utilized by the Audiens and we know its content, thanks to Theodore bar Konai (8th cent.)¹³ and Origen.¹⁴ There can be no doubt, however, that the writing used by the Sethians and our pseudepigraphon are two different works.

The text of Recognitiones (2nd cent.) gives us at least two traditions. The first one presents Abraham as an astrologer (Rec. 32:3f.), the second one (33:1f.) may be an allusion to the Apocalypse of Abraham. These witnesses permit us to suggest that the Apocalypse of Abraham was possibly known by the second century.

Our pseudepigraphon was written after A.D. 70, because the author describes the destruction of Jerusalem (cf. ch. 27). Hence, the apocalypse—that is the early Jewish stratum—was composed sometime after A.D. 70 and before the middle of the second century.¹⁵ It is unwise to speculate further regarding the date of the apocalypse in the present collection of documents.¹⁶

Provenance¹⁷

If the original language of the Apocalypse of Abraham is Hebrew, then it was most likely composed in Palestine. It is necessary to be conservative regarding the probable provenance of the apocalypse for two main reasons: First, it is preserved in Slavonic manuscripts that are far removed from the conjectured time and place of the original composition. Second, as stated herein by H. G. Lunt and F. I. Andersen respectively in the presentations of the Ladder of Jacob and 2 Enoch, pseudepigrapha preserved only in Slavonic may have been considerably altered by the Bogomils (a medieval dualist sect), who were influenced by passages in the pseudepigrapha and composed new ones.

⁸ Cf. "Notitia Archiepiscopi Iannis Comneni," ed. in: *Fontes Historiae Bulgaricae* (Sofia, 1968) vol. 7, p. 110; see also: N. Snegarov, *Istirija na Ochridskata archiepiskopija* (Sofia, 1924) vol. 1, pp. 204f.; I. S. Emmanuel, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique* (Paris, 1935) p. 34.

⁹ PG, vol. 100, col. 1059.

¹⁰ PG, vol. 28, col. 432.

¹¹ PG, vol. 1, col. 1100.

¹² PG, vol. 41, col. 669.

¹³ Cf. H. Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khoubir* (Paris, 1892) p. 195; H. C. Puech, "Fragments retrouvés de l'Apocalypse d'Allogène," in *Mélanges Franz Cumont* (Brussels, 1936) pp. 937f.

¹⁴ PG, vol. 13, col. 1889.

¹⁵ L. Ginzberg ("Apocalypse of Abraham," *JE*, vol. 1, p. 92) placed the ApAb in "the last decades of the first century." G. H. Box and J. I. Landsman argued that the ApAb was composed between A.D. 70 and the first decades of the 2nd cent. See their discussion in *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, pp. xvf. This n. 15 and the sentence to which it is attached in the text have been added by J.H.C.

¹⁶ [R. Rubinkiewicz speculates on the date for the composition of ApAb in *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en slave. Édition critique du texte, introduction, traduction et commentaire*. He argues that plagues 1, 3, 5, 7, and 9 describe the events of the years A.D. 69 and 70, especially the war between the Jews and the Romans; and that plagues 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10 reflect the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79. On the basis of these observations he suggests that the ApAb was written shortly after A.D. 79, perhaps between 79 and 81. —J.H.C.]

¹⁷ The section of the introduction regarding provenance was written by J.H.C.

¹ A seventh text (Uvarov 85, fols. 297–313, Historical Museum, Moscow) turned out to be a copy of S and therefore of no interest. E. Turdeanu, in his preliminary study of the MSS on the basis of published materials ("L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en slave," *JJS* 3 [1972] 156–64), did not know of MSS C and D, which we found during our work toward a critical edition of the ApAb. He believed that MS Sin. 548 (Historical Museum, Moscow) contained ApAb; N. B. Tikhonirov of the Lenin Library has kindly informed us that this is an error. I am grateful to the editor for polishing the introduction and to H. G. Lunt for improving the English translation.

² Cf. N. Bonwetsch, *Die Apokalypse Abrahams: Das Testament der vierzig Märtyrer*, p. 41.

³ Ch. 7 seems to be derived from *Palaia Tolkovaja* (Moscow, 1892) pp. 123–45.

⁴ Cf. A. Rubinstein, "Hebraisms in the Slavonic 'Apocalypse of Abraham,'" *JJS* 4 (1953) 108–15; idem, "Hebraisms in the 'Apocalypse of Abraham,'" *JJS* 5 (1954) 132–35. He analyzed ten examples: ApAb 8:4; 12:3, 10; 14:4, 6, 13; 29:8, 20; 31:1, 2.

⁵ Cf. also 17:23; 22:2.

⁶ Cf. especially 1:4; 3:1; 6:1, 11; 12:20; 21:3.

⁷ Cf. also 31:4.

The Christian interpolations and gnostic glosses

Chapter 7 appears to be inserted from the legend of Abraham found in the Palaia. The interpolator of 29:3–13 was probably a Christian editor who had nothing to do with gnostic circles. However, the gloss in 22:5, the censure in 20:5, and the gloss in 20:7 reveal that their author wanted to indicate that the God of Abraham is a god of evil. This point of view is usually associated with the gnostics. The gloss in 22:5 and the censured text of 20:5, however, show that they could be made only in the Slavic world. The only Slavs who claimed that the God of the Old Testament was the god of evil were the Bogomils. Their founder was Pope Bogomil (10th cent. A.D.). According to the Bogomils, God had two sons: Satanael and Jesus. Satanael rebelled against God and created the visible world; everything described in the book of Genesis is the work of the devil. If then this world is created by Satanael (= god of the OT), one has to abstain from every contact with the material world. The Bogomils, therefore, condemned marriage, abstained from meat and wine, and did not believe in the resurrection of the body.¹⁸

The glosses in 20:5, 7 and 22:5 perfectly suit their doctrine. We can say the same about the interpolator of 29:3–13; he shows that Jesus came forth from the heathens and not from the Jews (= the people with Azazel!). Perhaps also inserted by a Bogomil were 9:7, an injunction against meat and wine, and 23:4–10, which claims that the sin of Adam and Eve consisted in the conjugal relation. Maybe the same Bogomil editor interpolated 10:6–12 and 17:8b–19. The general content of the account of the sin of Adam and Eve reveals that it comes from Jewish sources. It fit the Bogomil doctrine, however, and therefore was inserted into our apocalypse.

Theological importance

God. The God of eternity (9:3) is the God who protects Abraham and his descendants (9:4). He created the world (9:4), chose Israel, called this nation "my people" (22:5; 31:1), and will give it victory over its enemies (31:1f.).

Angelology. Angelology plays a large role in our apocalypse. The most important figure is the Angel of God, Iaoel. His fundamental role is to protect and strengthen Abraham (10:3).

Demonology. The chief of the fallen angels is Azazel (13:6). His power is over the earth, because he has chosen it for his dwelling place (13:7f.; 14:6). However, his power is limited (13:10) since God does not permit him to tempt all the righteous (13:11). For example, he cannot seduce Abraham (13:14), and he has no power over the body of the righteous (13:10).

Cosmology. God shows Abraham the firmaments in order that he may know that "on no single expanse is there any other but the one whom" Abraham has searched for or who has loved him (19:3). God says to Abraham: "Look now beneath your feet at the firmament and understand the creation that was depicted of old on this expanse" (21:1). Abraham sees then the earth with the wicked men, and the garden of Eden with the just, he sees the sea with Leviathan, and the waters over the firmaments; at last, he watches the men on the right and on the left side of the "picture of creation" (chs. 21f.). Abraham is told that as the world is divided into two parts: earth and Eden, the waters of the sea and the waters over the firmaments, so mankind is divided into the people of God and the heathens (21:3–7).

The numeration of the firmaments is due to editorial expansions, probably by a Slavic editor. The descriptions of the three heavens is similar to that in the Testament of Levi 3:1–4.

Dualism. In the Apocalypse of Abraham there is no ontological dualism. The created world is good before the eyes of God (22:2). There is no other God in the universe than "the one whom" Abraham has "searched for" and "who has loved" him (19:3).

There is evil in the world, but it is not inevitable. God has full control over the world and he does not permit the body of the just to remain in the hand of Azazel (13:10). Azazel is wrong if he thinks he can scorn justice and disperse the secret of heaven (14:4). He will be banished in the desert forever (14:5).

Eschatology. The age of ungodliness endures "twelve periods" (29:2). After the last

period comes the final judgment, which precedes the redemption of the just. God announces ten plagues (29:15; 30:2–8); when they pass, he will send his "chosen one" (31:1) who will gather the dispersed people. Together with him God will punish the heathens (31:2). The apostates will be burned through the fire of Azazel (31:6); the Temple and the sacrifices will be restored (29:17f.).

The doctrine of resurrection is noticeably absent, although it may be reflected in the symbol of the dew (19:4). The Apocalypse of Abraham, however, passed through the hands of the Bogomils, who did not believe in the resurrection of the body. It is possible that phrases mentioning the resurrection were omitted. It is clear, regardless of that possibility, that our author believed in life after death (cf. 21:6).

Relation to the canonical books¹⁹

The books of Genesis and Ezekiel play a fundamental role in the Apocalypse of Abraham. The author begins with the text of Genesis 20:13 (ApAb 1:1), which is quoted according to the exegesis of the Targums; he ends his work with the citation of Genesis 15:13–16 (= ApAb 32:1–3), but he changes the biblical "fourth generation" into "seventh," i.e. a perfect one.

The apocalypse at 8:4 and 9:1–4 reflects respectively Genesis 12:1 and 15:1 seen in the light of Psalm 20:2f. or Deuteronomy 33:29. The author quotes Genesis 15:9f. (ApAb 9:5), and Genesis 15:17a (ApAb 15:1). Apocalypse of Abraham 20:4 calls to mind Genesis 18:27; 20:6 is based on Genesis 18:30.

Chapters 1 and 10 of Ezekiel are behind chapters 18f. Abraham sees four living creatures (ApAb 18:5–11; Ezek 1:10; 10:14), the wheels full of eyes (ApAb 18:3, 12), the throne (ApAb 18:3; Ezek 1:23), and the divine chariot (ApAb 18:12; Ezek 10:6).

There is no direct relationship between the Apocalypse of Abraham and the New Testament. There are some parallel expressions, however, which may indicate that both drew from a shared tradition.

Relation to the apocryphal books

The author of the Apocalypse of Abraham follows the tradition of 1 Enoch 1–36. The chief of the fallen angels is Azazel, who rules the stars and most men. It is not difficult to find here the traditions of Genesis 6:1–4 developed according to the tradition of 1 Enoch. Azazel is the head of the angels who plotted against the Lord and who impregnated the daughters of men.²⁰ These angels are compared to the stars.²¹ Azazel revealed the secrets of heaven and is banished to the desert.²² Abraham, as Enoch, receives the power to drive away Satan.²³ All these connections show that the author of the Apocalypse of Abraham drew upon the tradition of 1 Enoch.

Cultural importance

The Apocalypse of Abraham is one of the most important works written after the destruction of the nation in A.D. 70. The importance of the apocalypse may be compared to that of 2 Baruch or 4 Ezra, but our author analyzes the causes of the destruction of Jerusalem from a different perspective: The defeat was caused by the infidelity of Israel toward the covenant with God and the opportunistic politics of some leaders.

The pseudepigraphon is written with great talent and with a good understanding of biblical exegesis. The symbolical language is clear, logical, and easy to understand. The Apocalypse of Abraham provides us with an insight into the literary "workshop" of the Palestinian

¹⁹ For a full discussion see Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*.

²⁰ ApAb 14:4; 1En 6:4 and ApAb 14:6; 1En 6:1f.; 10:4.

²¹ ApAb 14:6; 1En 86:1.

²² ApAb 14:4; 1En 8:1 and ApAb 14:5; 1En 10:4.

²³ ApAb 14:3; 1En 14:3.

¹⁸ Cf. D. Obolenski, *The Bogomils* (Cambridge, 1948); S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichees* (Cambridge, 1947); D. Angelov, *Bogomilstvo vŭ Bŭlgarija* (Sofia, 1961).

writers of the first century A.D.; in consequence we may understand better the literary genres of that period.

The Apocalypse of Abraham was practically unknown for ten centuries. Neither the Semitic original nor the supposed Greek version has been found. Perhaps the latter never existed. Translated into Slavonic, our document circulated first in Bulgaria and afterward in Russia. Known only in the Orient, it had no influence on occidental literature.

The transmission of the Apocalypse of Abraham²⁴

The Slavonic Apocalypse of Abraham is to be ascribed to the extraordinarily productive burst of cultural activity during the reign of Simeon of Bulgaria (893–927), when a prodigious amount of material was translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic as part of the effort of the Bulgarian emperor to bring his realm to the level of Byzantium itself.²⁵ The translation contains Greek words well known from Old Church Slavonic (*adū*: “*haidēs*, Hades”; *aerū*: “*aēr*, air”; *stuxija*: “*stoicheion*, element”), along with the conventional bizarre rendering of Gehenna as “fiery race” (by a confusion of *gēenna* with *genēd* or some other derivative of the Gk. root *gen-*) and numerous literalistic phrases that make better sense in Greek than in Slavonic. There can be no question that this text, like the whole Slavonic culture of Bulgaria of the time, was translated from Greek.²⁶ It is, then, fully realistic to assume that a Greek text of the Apocalypse of Abraham still existed in the Balkans as late as the ninth century, although no trace has yet been found in surviving Greek manuscripts.

The style is strongly Semitic but generally within the bounds of the biblical Greek that was presumably used by some hellenistic Jews for original works, e.g. Revelation. It is reasonable to hypothesize that the text was composed in Hebrew or Aramaic and rendered very literally into Greek. While no decisive arguments for a Semitic original have yet been advanced, the sheer number of Semitisms is best explained by this hypothesis. The quotation of the Divine Name *El, El, El, El* (retained only in copy S) and *Eli* (glossed “that is, my God”; replaced, except in copy S, by the spelling *Ili*, in line with the accepted form in Mt 27:46) is suggestive but inconclusive. Final *-il* for Hebrew *’ēl* in the names Azazel, Iaoel, and Michael indicates Greek mediation. Perhaps the strange wording of 9:4 reflects the Hebrew of Genesis 15:1 (see n. b to ch. 9). It is not impossible that *puti zemīnū* (10:4) reflects *drk ’rṣ* in the sense of “manners, morality,” but it may be an inept way of expressing “the road to the (promised) land.” This meager evidence may suggest a Hebrew original.

The Slavonic text has come down to us in relatively full form in six manuscripts, the oldest from the early fourteenth century, the second from the fifteenth, and the others from the sixteenth century. The chief distinction among the copies is that four contain the apocalypse more or less integrated into the Explanatory Palaia, while two present the text as an independent (copy S) or nearly independent unit (copy D). The Palaia variants contain long interpolations of anti-Jewish polemical passages, but otherwise the text is so close to S D that only in chapter 7 is a new redaction indicated. The oldest copy, S, is unfortunately extremely faulty, with numerous omissions of syllables, sentences, and even paragraphs; with frequent distortions even of obvious words; and with unsuccessful efforts to update the archaic language, the forms and vocabulary of which were often not understood by the

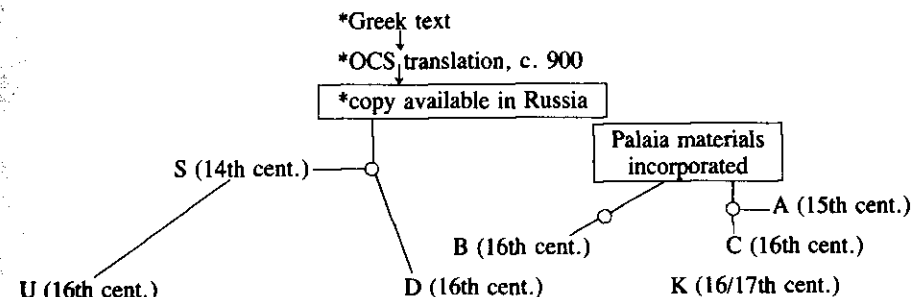
²⁴ [Due to the complicated history of transmission of ApAb, the following remarks by H. G. Lunt are intended to supplement the work of R. Rubinkiewicz. —J.H.C.]

²⁵ The translation of ApAb could be slightly earlier, from the last years of the initial period of Slavonic culture, viz., the Moravian mission of Cyril and Methodius (863–84), and its Bulgarian offshoot after 864; for it appears that the translation was made into an occidental version of OCS and then, like most texts that have come down to us through East Slavic mediation, adapted to the more eastern norm that was elaborated under Simeon. It is impossible, however, to exclude a dating up to about 1050, the end of the OCS period. In any case, the archaic language of ApAb makes Turdeanu's ascription of the translation to the 13th cent. unacceptable (cf. E. Turdeanu, *JSJ* 3 [1972] 156–64). The combined evidence of such works as *IEn*, the Palaia, and the *Visl*s requires us to posit Slavonic versions of many apocryphal and pseudepigraphic works—along with a remarkable store of more orthodox texts—before the final Byzantine military triumph of 1018 and the rapid withering of Slavonic cultural activity in the Balkans. See H. G. Lunt, “On the Language of the Slavonic Apocalypse of Abraham,” *Festschrift for Moshé Altbauer* (Slavica Hierosolymitana; in press).

²⁶ A few translations from Lat., made in Moravia (or Pannonia or perhaps Dalmatia), may have been in use in Macedonia and Bulgaria, e.g. the GNic. The products of western Slavonic culture are somewhat better represented in Russia, where they were introduced between about 988 and 1100.

scribe.²⁷ Copy D stems ultimately from the same *Vorlage* as copy S, but unfortunately the scribe, clearly not at home in the style and special sphere of apocalyptic tradition and allusions, gave up well before the end and simply omitted most of the apocalyptic vision (from 26:5 on), reducing all of it to a few phrases. On the other hand, the Palaia texts A B C K continue beyond the end of S (in 31:3).²⁸ Tikhonravov²⁹ apparently chose to exclude a paragraph (ch. 32) that Porfir'ev,³⁰ probably rightly, assigns to this text rather than to the subsequent episode in the Palaia account of Abraham's life.

It is reasonable to assume that all six copies stem originally from a single old manuscript (very likely with some faults) representing the archaic language in South Slavic orthography. All copies reflect Novgorod phonetics at some state in their history; this shows up in 6:7 (*učinen*: “appointed, installed”) of A B C K instead of S D's correct *učenēn*: “valued.” B is, overall, the most reliable text, occasionally agreeing with S D against A C K (e.g. in retaining in 17:2 *pokljače*, “kneelt,” a word not known in Russian, against the replacement *ponik*, “having bowed his head,” of A C K). A and C often go together,³¹ but they have independent omissions and distortions. K, the youngest copy, shows many clarifying paraphrases or lexical substitutions that are illuminating even when they only show precisely in what way the scribe understood the old text. B has as marginal notes materials K incorporates into the text. The picture is approximately as follows:



Agreement of S D B provides the most reliable readings. On the whole, variations are minor and a plausible text can be established, but there are important passages where the textual corruptive cannot be repaired.

The German translation by Bonwetsch³² and the English one by Box, assisted by Landsman,³³ were based on rather indiscriminate selections of variants from the published texts of S A K. Neither translator was fully acquainted with the medieval language, and both made a number of conjectures and emendations based on modern Russian rather than Old Slavonic. Since these translations have been the basis of much of the work on the apocalypse, we have felt it necessary to point out some of their mistakes in our notes.

The aim of the present translation is to give readers the clearest possible picture of the complicated Slavonic text we believe to have been available in Russia in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The history of that text back to about A.D. 900 and of its Greek model or models of earlier date remains a matter for speculation. It is quite possible that individual component parts have very diverse origins.

The translation follows the chapter divisions established by Bonwetsch and, with a few exceptions, the verses used by Rubinkiewicz in his Rome dissertation. The song in chapter 17 is treated as verse, but 21:3–7, which might be viewed as poetry, is set as prose.

²⁷ The scribe mistreats in the same way the other texts in the codex; however, some of these are far less exotic in theme and archaic in language. Thus no editorial purpose is to be discerned for the odd omissions and distortions in S, although of course they must be noted in cases where we must depend on the witness of other MSS.

²⁸ The scribe of S ends another text in mid-sentence.

²⁹ N. S. Tikhonravov, *Pamjatniki otrečennoj russkoj literatury*, vol. 1, p. 77.

³⁰ I. J. Porfir'ev, *Sbornik Otd. r. jaz. i slov.* 17 (1877) 130.

³¹ E.g. the angel's headdress in 11:3 is *sudarī*, “bandkerchief, sudarium,” in A C, but *kidarī*, “kidaris,” in S D B K. See also the variants discussed in n. c to ch. 8.

³² N. Bonwetsch, *Die Apokalypse Abrahams*.

³³ In G. H. Box and J. I. Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham* (London, 1918).

In view of the difficulty and obscurity of much of the text, the translation has adhered as closely as possible to the original, and the notes supply even more literal renderings when necessary. The notes also point out the most important cases where the translation is based on emendations of S, where various manuscripts have omissions, where significant variants occur, or where the text must be deemed corrupt. Words added in the text to obtain idiomatic English have been enclosed in parentheses.

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THE APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

TRANSLATED BY R. RUBINKIEWICZ

REVISED AND NOTES ADDED BY H. G. LUNT

The Book of the Apocalypse of Abraham, son of Terah, son of Nahor, son of Serug, son of Arphaxad, son of Shem, son of Noah, son of Lamech, son of Methuselah, son of Enoch, son of Jared.^a

Abraham's rejection of idolatry

- 1 On the day I was guarding^b the gods of my father Terah and the gods of my brother Nahor, while I was testing (to find out) which god is in truth the strongest, 2 I (then) Abraham, at the time when my lot came, when I was completing the services of my father Terah's sacrifice to his gods of wood, of stone, of gold, of silver, of copper, and of iron, •having entered their temple for the service, I found a god named Marumath, carved from stone, fallen at the feet of the iron god 4 Nakhin.^c •And it came to pass, that when I saw it my heart was perplexed and I thought in my mind that I, Abraham, could not put it back in its place alone, 5 because it was heavy, (being made) of a big stone. •But I went and told my father, 6 and he came in with me. •And when^d we both lifted it to put it in its place, its head 7 fell off, even while I was holding it by its head. •And it came to pass, when my father saw that the head of his god Marumath had fallen, he said to me, "Abraham!" 8 And I said, "Here I am!" •And he said to me, "Bring me the axes and chisels^e 9 from the house." And I brought them to him from the house.^f •And he cut another Marumath from another stone, without a head, and he smashed the head that had fallen off Marumath and the rest of Marumath.
- 1 2 He made five other gods and he gave them to me and ordered me to sell them 2 outside on the town road. •I saddled my father's ass and loaded them on it and 3 went out on the highway to sell them. •And behold, merchants from Phandana^a of Syria were coming with camels, on their way to Egypt to buy *kokonil*^b from 4 the Nile. •I asked them a question and they answered me. And walking along I conversed with them. One of their camels screamed. The ass took fright and ran

1 a. The heading is only in S; the badly garbled names are normalized here. D contains instead a few introductory lines (following a completely different text, from the Chronicle of John Malalas), which may be rendered as follows: "Moses put together the following, which he wrote in the Book of the Small Genesis (= Jubilees), how Abraham came to know God. For previously he obeyed the gods of his father Terah the astrologist. And (while I was) guarding his gods and the gods of my brother Nahor, my father complained about me. And it came to pass on one of the days . . ."

In the Palaia MSS, A B C K, the preceding text briefly mentions Serug's idol-making and the beginning of idol worship by his son Nahor, continued (to the joy of the Devil) by Nahor's son Terah, father of Abraham. But Abraham perceives that the idols are of unfeeling wood and recalls Ps 115:5–7. Then ApAb begins.

In view of the abrupt opening in all three variants, it is possible that the original beginning of the story

has been lost.

b. The verb is found in no other text. G. N. Bonwetsch (*Die Apokalypse Abrahams*) and G. H. Box and J. I. Landsman (*The Apocalypse of Abraham*) translated "planed," supposing the root *strug, "scrape." Variant readings indicate rather *naslirzajušcu* here, with the root *sterg, "guard."

c. S by error *naricena*, "named"; A *Nakhon*.

d. S *jegda*, "when"; D K *jedva* = A B C *odva*, "scarcely."

e. Exact sense uncertain, but etymologically *izimalo* is "tool for taking (something) out."

f. A B C K omit.

2 a. Probably Paddan-aram, cf. Gen 25:20 and LadJac 4, n. b.

b. Unknown word, perhaps reflecting Gk. *kokkina*, "scarlet clothing," or *koukkinos*, "dour palm; fiber of palm." Bonwetsch's "papyrus" is a groundless conjecture.

away and threw off the gods. Three of them were crushed and two remained (intact). •And it came to pass that when the Syrians saw that I had gods, they said to me, "Why did you not tell us that you had gods? We would have bought them before the ass heard the camel's voice and you would have had no loss. •Give us at least the gods that remain and we will give you a suitable price." •I considered it in my heart. And they paid both for the smashed gods and the gods which remained. •For I had been grieving in my heart how I would bring payment to my father. •I threw the three broken (gods) into the water of the river Gur, which was in this place. And they sank into the depths of the river Gur and were no more.

3 As I was still walking on the road, my heart was disturbed and my mind distracted. •I said in my heart, "What is this inequality^b of activity which my father is doing? •Is it not he rather who is god for his gods, because they come into being from his sculpting, his planing, and his skill? •They ought to honor my father because they are his work. What is this food^c of my father in his works? Behold, Marumath fell and could not stand up in his sanctuary, nor could I myself lift him until my father came and we raised him up. •And even so we were not able (to do it) and his head fell off of him. And he put it on another stone of another god, which he had made without a head. •And . . . ^d the other five gods which got smashed (in falling) from the ass, who could not save themselves and injure the ass because it smashed them, nor did their shards come up out of the river." •And I said to my heart, "If it is so, how then can my father's god Marumath, which has the head of another stone and which is made from another stone, save a man, or hear a man's prayer, or give him any gift?"

WisSol 13:10-16

4 And thinking thus, I came to my father's house. And I watered the ass and gave him hay. And I took out the silver and placed it in the hand of my father Terah. And when he saw it, he was glad, and he said, "You are blessed, Abraham, by the god of my gods, since you have brought me the price for the gods, so that my labor was not (in) vain." •And answering I said to him, "Listen, father Terah! The gods are blessed in you, because you are a god for them, because you made them, for their blessing is their perdition and their power is vain. •They did not help themselves; how then can they help you or bless me? •I was good for you in this transaction,^a for through my good sense I brought you the silver for the smashed (gods)." •And when he heard my speech he became furiously angry with me, because I had spoken harsh words against his gods.

5 But having pondered my father's anger, I went out. And afterward when I had gone out, he called me, saying, "Abraham!" •And I said, "Here I am!" •And he said, "Up, gather wood chips, for I was making gods from fir before you came, and prepare with them food for my midday meal." •And it came to pass, when I was choosing the wooden chips, I found among them a small god which would fit^a . . . ^b in my left hand.^c •And on its forehead was written: god Barisat. •And it came to pass when I put the chips on the fire in order to prepare the food for my father, and going out to inquire about the food, I put Barisat near the enkindling

3 a. S omits through vs. 4.

b. Slav. *likhoti*, usually "excessiveness, superfluity," but it also represents Gk. "anomalia," "unevenness."

c. Though grammatical, (si) *izēdi*, "(this) food," is probably corrupt; *izēdi* usually renders the Gk. *katabrōma*, i.e. "food for beasts." K makes things worse by changing it to *estī zlo prelisti*, "is the evil of deceit," but the pronoun *si* does not fit.

d. Corrupt; perhaps "he made" is omitted.

e. Sic. Perhaps a Hebraism, meaning simply "to myself."

4 a. Slav. *obrjašča*, probably for Gk. *heurēma*, "what is found unexpectedly, piece of good luck; sum realized by a sale."

5 a. S D; A B C K "(was)."

b. Slav. *vū oslony*, meaning unknown. Bonwetsch's (*Die Apokalypse Abrahams*) "in die Streu" and Box and Landsman's (*The Apocalypse of Abraham*) "among the brush-wood" are both thoroughly implausible.

c. Slav. *vū šuici mi* cannot mean "on my left," as Bonwetsch and Box and Landsman render it.

7 fire,^d saying to him threateningly,^e "Barisat, watch that the fire does not go out before I come back! If the fire goes out, blow on it so it flares up." •I went out and I made my counsel.^f •When I returned, I found Barisat fallen on his back, his feet enveloped by fire and burning fiercely. •And it came to pass when I saw it, I laughed (and) said to myself, "Barisat, truly you know how to light a fire and cook food!" •And it came to pass while saying this in my laughter,^g I saw (that) he burned up slowly from the fire and became ashes. •I carried the food to my father to eat.^h •I gave him wine and milk, and he drank and he enjoyed himself and he blessed Marumath his god. •And I said to him, "Father Terah, do not bless Marumath your god, do not praise him! Praise rather Barisat, your god, because, as though loving you, he threw himself into the fire in order to cook your food." 15,16 And he said to me, "Then where is he now?" •And I said, "He has burned in the fierceness of the fire and become dust." •And he said, "Great is the power of Barisat! I will make another today, and tomorrow he will prepare my food."

6 When I, Abraham, heard words like this from my father, I laughed in my mind, and I groaned in the bitterness and anger of my soul. •I said, "How then is a figment of a body made by him (Terah) an aid for my father? •Or can he have subordinated (his) body to his soul, his soul to a spirit, and the spirit to stupidity and ignorance?" •And I said, "It is only proper to endure evil that I may throw my mind to purity and I will expose my thoughts clearly to him." •I answered and said, "Father Terah, whichever of these gods you extol, you err in your thought. Behold, the gods of my brother Nahor standing in the holy sanctuary are more venerable than yours. •For behold, Zouchaios,^a my brother Nahor's god is more venerable than your god Marumath because he is made of gold, valued^b by man. And if he grows old with time, he will be remodeled, whereas Marumath, if he is changed or broken, will not be renewed, because he is stone. •What about^c Ioav, the god on the other god,^c who stands with Zouchaios?^d For he is also more venerable than the god Barisat; he is carved from wood and forged from silver.^e Because he too is a term of comparison,^f being valued by man according to external experience. •But Barisat, your god, when he was still not carved,^g rooted^h in the earth, being great and wondrous, with branchesⁱ and flowers; and praised^j . . . •But you made him with an axe, and by your skill he was made a god. •And behold he has already dried up and his fatness has perished. •He fell from the height to the earth, he came from greatness to smallness, •and the appearance of his face wasted away.^k •And he himself was burned up by the fire •and he became ashes and is no more. •And you say, Let me make another and tomorrow he will make my food for me. •But in perishing he left himself no strength^l for his (own) destruction."

d. Lit. "the enkindling (or catching) of the fire."

e. S *prěšćeníeml*, "with a threat"; A B C K *prěšćeníemū* (D *prě-*), "with a visitation."

f. Old *sūvētū*, "counsel, council, advice," is hopelessly confused orthographically with *svētū*, "light," in all medieval Slav. MSS. We may posit here Gk. *epoiēsa boulēn* (or *phōs*). Box and Landsman suggest this phrase reflects Heb. "sh 'sh in the sense of "execute a plan."

g. S D; A B C K "in my mind and laughing."

h. S D; A B C K "and he ate it."

6 a. Here *zuke*, below in vs. 9 *zukej* or *zukhij* (or possibly *uzukhej*); a Gk. form *Zouchaios* is thus probable.

b. S D *učēnen-*, "valued"; A B C K, by phonetic substitutions common in Novgorod texts, *učēnen-*, "ordered, ordained."

c. S D corrupt; A B C K may reflect text altered

by scribal conjecture. Original possibly "Iao, the other god."

d. S omits from here through vs. 15.

e. D omits.

f. A B C *sūprimirenie*, K *sūprimērenie*; Gk. *symmetria*, *symmetrēsis*; D omits prefix, producing *primirenie*, "reconciliation."

g. D A C K lit. "before being worked"; B "before the division" or "separation."

h. Lit. "uprooted," surely from an early scribal error.

i. C *sū vēiem*, B D *sū vēem*; A K by error *sū vēnem*, "with a bride-price" or "dowry."

j. S omits. The whole sentence is obscure, possibly corrupt.

k. Either *vū istjaskovenie* D or *vū istjaskovenii* B (others distorted), lit. "became in wasting-away."

l. S omits. The sentence is probably corrupt.

(S C)

(A B C K)

- 1 **7^a** This I say:
- 2 "Fire is more venerable in formation, for even the unsubdued (things) are subdued in it, and it
- mocks that which perishes^b easily by means of its
- 3 burning.^c •^d But neither is it venerable, for it is
- subject^e to the waters.^d
- 4 But rather the waters
- are more venerable than it (fire), because they overcome fire and sweeten the earth with fruits. •But I will not call them god either, for the waters subside under the earth^g and are subject to it.^g •But I will not call it a goddess either, for it is dried by the sun (and) subordinated to man for his work.
- 5 More venerable among the gods, I say, is the sun, for with its rays it illuminates the whole universe and the various airs.^h
- 6 Nor will I place among the gods the one who obscures his course by means of the moon and the clouds.ⁱ
- 7 Nor again shall I call the moon or the stars gods, because they too at times during the night dim their light.
- 8 Listen, Terah my father, I shall seek before you the God who created all the gods supposed by us (to exist).^j
- 9 For who is it, or which one is it who made the heavens crimson and the sun golden, who has given light to the moon and the stars with it, who has dried the earth in the midst of the many waters, who set you yourself among the things^k and who has sought me out in the perplexity of my thoughts?
- 10 If [only]^l God will reveal himself by himself to us!"

Abraham, having thought this, came to his father and said, "Father Terah, fire is more venerable than your gods, the gold and silver ones, and the stone and wooden ones, because the fire burns your gods. And your gods being burned obey the fire, and the fire

mocks them while it is consuming your gods. But neither will I call it (fire) god, because it is

subjugated to the waters.^f

The waters

The sun I call more venerable than the earth, for with its rays it illuminates the whole universe.

But I will not call it a god because when night comes it becomes murky with darkness.

But hear this, Terah my father, let me proclaim to you the God who created all things.

But this is the true God who has made the heavens crimson

heavens crimson and the sun golden, who has given light to the moon and the stars with it, who has dried the earth in the midst of the many waters, who set you yourself among the things^k and who has sought me out now in the perplexity of my thoughts.

c. Plural *palenii*, "burnings" (D by error *palenii*, "fallings").

d. S omits.

e. D by error *pokrovenū*, "covered," for *pokorenū*, "subjugated, subject."

f. The plural "waters" is probably a Hebraism.

g. A B C K omit.

h. Cf. *aer* in the sense of "atmosphere" or "firmament" in 15:5 below. D has an ungrammatical phrase which adds a form (instrumental plural?) of the word "man, human."

i. Both S and D are slightly corrupt here, but together they yield a plausible sentence.

j. Lit. "the, supposed by us, gods."

k. Slav. *vŭ g[lagol]lŭ*, "in the words," reflecting Gk. *rēmata* (or *logoi*) for Heb. *dbrym*.

l. Lit. merely "if," which would imply omission of a clause; the Palaia exegesis obviously considers this a complete sentence. Possibly Gk. *eiper* or *eithe* translated as simple *ei*.

7 a. Ch. 7 (plus 8:1) is the only part of ApAb that occurs in the early redaction of the Explanatory Palaia (represented by the 1406 Kolomna MS and its family), where it follows immediately after Abraham's paraphrase of Ps 115:5-7 that in the later type of Palaia (like A B C K) precedes the beginning of ApAb. The ch. was supplied with somewhat clearer opening lines than the obscure text witnessed by S D, and subsequent minor modifications clearly change the emphasis and, as far as can be judged from the faulty work of the scribes of S and D, simply remove difficult phrases. Later, when the first six chs. were inserted into the Palaia type that underlies A B C K, the modified text of ch. 7 was unchanged, even though in B C the third-person reference to Abraham at the beginning violates the first-person narration that precedes and follows.

b. Lit. plural "the things which perish."

- 8 And it came to pass as I was thinking things like these with regard to my father Terah in the court of my house,^a the voice of the Mighty One came down^b from the heavens in a stream of fire, saying and calling, "Abraham, Abraham!" •And I said, "Here I am." •And he said, "You are searching for the God of gods, the Creator, in the understanding of your heart.^c I am he. •Go out from Terah, your father, and go out of the house, that you too may not be slain in the sins of your father's house." •And I went out. And it came to pass as I went out—I was not yet outside the entrance of the court—that the sound of a great thunder came and burned him and his house and everything in his house, down to the ground, forty cubits.^d

The Apocalypse

- 9 Then a voice came speaking to me twice: "Abraham, Abraham!" •And I said, "Here I am." •And he said, "Behold, it is I. Fear not, for I am Before-the-World and Mighty, the God who created previously, before the light of the age." •I am the protector for you^b and I am your helper. •Go, get me a three-year-old heifer, a three-year-old she-goat, a three-year-old ram, a turtledove, and a pigeon, and make me a pure sacrifice. And in this sacrifice I will place the ages.^c •I will announce to you guarded things^d and you will see great things which you have not seen, because you desired to search for me, and I called you my beloved. •But for forty days abstain from every kind of food cooked by fire,^e and from drinking of wine and from anointing (yourself) with oil. •And then you shall set out for me the sacrifice which I have commanded you, in the place which I will show you on a high mountain. •And there I will show you the things which were made by the ages and by my word, and affirmed, created, and renewed. •And I will announce to you in them what will come upon those who have done evil and just things in the race of man."

- 10 And it came to pass when I heard the voice pronouncing such words to me that I looked this way and that. •And behold there was no breath of man. And my spirit was amazed, and my soul fled from me. And I became like a stone, and fell face down upon the earth, for there was no longer strength in me to stand up on the earth. •And while I was still face down on the ground, I heard the voice^a speaking, "Go, ^bIaol of the same name,^b through the mediation of my ineffable name, consecrate this man for me and strengthen him against his trembling." •The angel he sent to me in the likeness of a man came, and he took me by my right

8 a. At this point, the text of A B C K is interrupted by a long passage (identical to that in the older redaction, cf. MS of 1406) with heterogeneous material. There is some exegesis, then the story of how Abraham burned Terah's sanctuary and his brother Haran perished trying to save the gods (derived from the Chronicle of George the Monk), then more exegesis concerning the lineage from Abraham to the Virgin Mary. Then the first part of 8:1 is repeated and ApAb continues.

b. Lit. "fell."

c. S D *vŭ umě srdca svojego*, probably Gk. "en dianoiā kardias sou," "in the thought of your heart." Since *umŭ* often means "mind," B K expanded to "in your mind and the thoughts of your heart," while A C simplified to "in your mind."

d. The syntax of the last two words is obscure.

9 a. D *ite preže pervėje stvorixŭ svĕta vĕka*; S omits *preže*; A B C *preže s. pervėje sv. v.* (K expands to "first created heaven and earth and then the first light of the light and world"). Not fully clear, for both *preže* and *pervėje* may mean "first

of all" and "previously." Further, *svĕtŭ* may represent older *sŭvĕtŭ*, "counsel, council." *Vĕkŭ* reflects Gk. *aiōn*, "age, eternity," Heb. *'olam*; both can also mean "world."

b. Probably Gen 15:1, *'nky mgn lk*, read as *mĕgĕn 'alĕka* and translated absolutely literally.

c. A B C K add "for you." *Vĕky*, "ages," perhaps replaces archaic *vĕtŭ*, "word, pact, agreement, permission"; a similar conjecture was made by the scribe of C, who substitutes *zavĕr*, "covenant," producing the plausible "I will set down a covenant."

d. Slav. *sŭbjudenaja*, possibly Gk. (syn)tērēmēna.

e. Lit. "which issues from fire."

10 a. A B C K add "of the Holy One."

b. Slav. *ioailŭ tŭze* can be restored from the variants here, and at vs. 10:8, 13:1, and 17:7. The element *-il-* in the angels' names shows Gk. mediation, with *-el* for Heb. *'el*. Here *yhw'h*'l is indicated.

5 hand and stood me on my feet. •And he said to me, "Stand up, Abraham, friend
6 of God who has loved you, let human trembling not enfold you! •For lo! I am sent
7 to you to strengthen you and to bless you in the name of God, creator of heavenly
8 and earthly things, who has loved you. •Be bold and hasten to him. •I am Iaoel
9 and I was called so by him who causes those with me on the seventh expanse, on
10 the firmament,^c to shake, a power through the medium of his ineffable^d name in
11 me. •I am the one who has been charged according to his commandment, to restrain
12 the threats of the living creatures^e of the cherubim^f against one another, and I teach
13 those who carry the song^g through the medium of man's night of the seventh hour.^h
14 I am appointed to hold the Leviathans, because through me is subjugated the
15 attack and menace of every reptile. •I am orderedⁱ to loosen Hades and to destroy
16 those who wondered^j at the dead. •I am the one who ordered your father's house
17 to be burned with him, for he honored the dead. •I am sent to you now to bless
18 you and the land which he whom you have called the Eternal One has prepared
19 for you. •For your sake I have indicated the way of the land.^j •Stand up, Abraham,
20 go boldly, be very joyful and rejoice. And I (also rejoice) with you, for a venerable^m
21 honor has been prepared for you by the Eternal One. •Go, complete the sacrifice
22 of the command.ⁿ Behold, I am assigned (to be) with you and with the generation
23 which is predestined (to be born) from you.^o •And with me Michael blesses you
24 forever. Be bold, go!"

1 11 And I stood up and saw him who had taken my right hand and set me on my
2 feet. •The appearance of his body^a was like sapphire, and the aspect of his face
3 was like chrysolite, and the hair of his head like snow. •And a kidaris^b (was) on
4 his head, its look that of a rainbow, and the clothing of his garments (was) purple;
5 and a golden staff^c (was) in his right hand. •And he said to me, "Abraham." And
6 I said, "Here is your servant!" And he said, "Let my appearance not frighten
7 you, nor my speech trouble your soul. Come with me! •And I will go with you
8 visible until the sacrifice, but after the sacrifice^d invisible forever. •Be bold and
9 go!"

10 12 And we went, the two of us alone together, forty days and nights. •And I ate
11 no bread and drank no water, because (my) food was to see the angel who was
12 with me, and his discourse with me was my drink. •We came to God's mountain,
13 glorious Horeb. •And I said to the angel, "Singer of the Eternal One, behold I have
14 no sacrifice with me, nor do I know a place for an altar on the mountain, so how
15 shall I make the sacrifice?" •And he said, "Look behind you." •And I looked

Dan 7:9
Rev 1:14

c. Slav. *na tverdi* is possibly a gloss explaining "on the seventh expanse."

d. Only S has the negation; the others thus read "speakable name."

e. I.e. Heb. *hywt*.

f. Or simply "the cherubim," an apposition explaining "living creatures."

g. A B C K "his song."

h. Slav. *posrēdistvomi človečskija nošči sedmago časa* is unclear, but Box and Landsman's (*The Apocalypse of Abraham*) omission of "medium" and the inversion to produce "the song of the seventh hour of the night of man" requires justification. Perhaps "at the seventh hour" might be possible. Cf. TAdam.

i. S D *povelēnū*, passive "having been commanded"; A B C K *povelēyi*, active "who gave the command."

j. The sentence is clear, but offers no clue as to why these people merit destruction. The verb *diviti sja* unambiguously means "wonder, be astonished at" and often renders Gk. *thaumazein*. Perhaps the Gk. version of ApAb had a related verb or phrase

denoting some wonder-working that involved corpses, a practice abominated by pious Jews.

k. S omits from i to k through homoeoteleuton.

l. Conjecturing that *pull zemenū*, "the way of the land," reflects Heb. *drk 'rs*, we may translate "I have established manners (or morals) for you."

m. A B D K; S "eternal."

n. Probably means "the sacrifice which was commanded," cf. 9:8.

o. Slav. *prougotovlenym is tebe*, lit. "prepared out of you."

11 a. S B *tēla ego*; D A C K *tēla nogu ego*, perhaps "of his body (and) legs," or perhaps sapphire refers only to the legs or feet and a separate description of the body has been lost.

b. Kidaris in LXX is "headdress" (e.g. Ex 39:28), "turban" (e.g. Zech 3:5), and "cap" (e.g. Ezek 45:18). A D by error *sudarī*, "handkerchief" (Gk. *sudarium*), a word known to Slavs from Jn 20:7, but probably unclear in meaning.

c. Or "scepter."

d. B adds in margin "I will be for you."

10 behind me. And behold all the prescribed sacrifices were following us: the calf, Gen 15:9f.
11 the she-goat, the ram, the turtledove, and the pigeon. •And the angel said to me,
12 "Abraham." And I said, "Here I am." •And he said to me, "Slaughter all these
13 and divide the animals exactly into halves. But do not cut the birds apart. •And
14 give them to the men whom I will show you standing beside you, for they are the
15 altar on the mountain, to offer sacrifice to the Eternal One." •The turtledove and
16 the pigeon you will give to me, for I will ascend on the wings of the birds to show
17 you (what)^b is in the heavens, on the earth and in the sea, in the abyss, and in the
18 lower depths, in the garden of Eden and in its rivers, in the fullness of the universe.
19 And you will see its circles in all."^c

1 13 And I did everything according to the angel's command. And I gave the angels
2 who had come to us the divided parts of the animals. And the angel Iaoel^a took
3 the two birds. •And I waited for the evening gift.^b •And an unclean bird flew down Gen 15:11
4 on the carcasses, and I drove it away. •And the unclean bird spoke to me and said,
5 "What are you doing,^c Abraham, on the holy heights, where no one eats or drinks,
6 nor is there upon them food for men. •But these all will be consumed by fire and
7 they will^d burn you up. •Leave the man who is with you and flee! For if you
8 ascend to the height, they will destroy you."^e •And it came to pass when I saw
9 the bird speaking I said this to the angel: "What is this, my lord?" And he said,
10 "This is disgrace,^f this is Azazel!" •^gAnd he said to him, "Shame^h on you,
11 Azazel!" For Abraham's portionⁱ is in heaven, and yours is on earth, •for you have
12 selected here, (and) become enamored of the dwelling place of your blemish.^j
13 Therefore the Eternal Ruler, the Mighty One, has given you a dwelling^k on earth.
14 Through you the all-evil spirit (is) a liar, and through you (are) wrath and trials
15 on the generations of men who live impiously. •For the Eternal, Mighty One did
16 not allow the bodies of the righteous to be in your hand, so through them the
17 righteous life is affirmed and the destruction of ungodliness. •Hear, counselor, be
18 shamed by me! You have no permission to tempt all the righteous.^l •Depart from
19 this man! •You cannot deceive him, because he is the enemy of you and of those
20 who follow you and who love what you wish.^m •For behold, the garment which
21 in heaven was formerly yours has been set aside for him, and the corruption which
22 was on him has gone over to you."

1 14 And the angel said to me,^a "Abraham!" And I said, "Here I am, your
2 servant." •And he said, "Know from this that the Eternal One whom you have
3 loved has chosen you. •Be bold and do through your authority whatever I order
4 you against him who reviles^b justice. •Will I not be able to revile^c him who has
5 scattered about the earth the secrets of heaven^d and who has taken counsel against
6 the Mighty One? •Say to him, 'May you be the firebrand^e of the furnace of the

1En 9:6

12 a. The men are the altar. The infinitival phrase *prinositi tervyu* specifies no subject and its connection with the men remains unclear. Perhaps it should be taken literally, "to carry the sacrifice to the Eternal One."

b. The sentence is incomplete.

c. Obscure, perhaps corrupt. Possibly "in the fullness of the universe and its circles, and you will see . . . in all." Seems to look forward to ch. 21.

13 a. S D A C omit, B in margin.

b. Or "reward"; Gk. *dōron, dōrea*.

c. Or "what business do you have"; Gk. *ti soi*.

d. S (D unclear); A B C K, with unspecified subject, "they all will consume (you) with fire and."

e. Only in S.

f. Gk. *atimia*, "dishonor," or *asebeia*, "im-

piety."

g. S omits.

h. Gk. *oneidos*, "reproach."

i. Texts all have spellings reflecting *čisti*, "honor," but surely *častil*, "part, portion," was original.

j. Or "filth."

k. Texts faulty; emend acc. *tja* to dat. *ti* and read *tičeli*, "dwelling-place" rather than ungrammatical *tičeli*, "dweller."

l. Text odd, more literally "to be a tempter as far as all just men are concerned."

m. Or "want."

14 a. S omits from here through vs. 4.

b. Or "mocks," "mock."

c. Cf. 1En 9:6.

d. Or "torch" or "burning coal"; Gk. *dolos* or *anthrax*.

6 earth! Go, Azazel, into the untrodden parts of the earth.^c •For your heritage is over those who are with you, with the stars and with the men born by the clouds,^f
7 whose portion you are, indeed they exist through your being.^g •Enmity^h is for you
8 a pious act.ⁱ Therefore through your own destruction be gone^j from me!" •And
9 I said the words as the angel had taught me. •And he said, "Abraham." And I
10 said, "Here I am, your servant!" •And the angel said to me, "Answer him not!"
11,12 •And he spoke to me a second time. •And the angel said, "Now, whatever he
13 says to you, answer him not,^k lest his will run up to you.^l •For the Eternal, Mighty
14 One gave him the gravity^m and the will. Answer him not." •And I did what the
angel had commanded me. And whatever he said to me about the descent,ⁿ I
answered him not.^o

Gen 15:17

15 And it came to pass when the sun was setting, and behold a smoke like that
of a furnace, and the angels who had the divided portions of the sacrifice ascended
2 from the top of the furnace of smoke. •And the angel took me with his right hand
and set me on the right wing of the pigeon and he himself sat on the left wing of
3 the turtledove, (both of) which were as if^a neither slaughtered nor divided. •And
4 he carried me up to the edge of the fiery flames. •And we ascended^b as if (carried)
5 by many winds to the heaven that is fixed on the expanses.^c •And I saw on the air^d
6 to whose height we had ascended a strong light which can^e not be described. •And
behold, in this light a fiery Gehenna was enkindled,^f and a great crowd in the
7 likeness of men.^g •They all were changing in aspect and shape, running and
changing form and prostrating themselves and crying aloud words I did not know.

16 And I said to the angel, "Why is it you now brought me here? For^a now I can
2 no longer see, because I am weakened and my spirit is departing from me." •And
3 he said to me, "Remain with me, do not fear. •He whom you will see coming
directly toward us in a great sound^b of sanctification^c is the Eternal One who has
4 loved you. You will not look at him himself. •But let your spirit not weaken,^d for
I am with you, strengthening you."

17 And while he was still speaking, behold the fire coming toward us round
about, and a voice was in the fire like a voice of many waters, like a voice of the
2,3 sea in its uproar. •And the angel knelt down^a with me and worshiped. •And I
wanted to fall face down on the earth. And the place of highness on which we

e. Vss. 6-14 are omitted by S, which has only
"And the angel said to me, 'Answer him not, for
God has given him freedom [lit. 'will'] over those
who answer him.'"

f. I.e. men to whom the clouds gave birth.
g. Or "generation"; Gk. *to einai* or *genēsis*.
The whole sentence is obscure.

h. Possibly Gk. *echthra*, "hatred."

i. Probably Gk. *dikaïōma*, "just action," or
eusebeia, "piety." The sentence is unclear.

j. Lit. "may you have disappeared."

k. D omits.

l. Textual *pritecei*, "runs up to," surely rep-
resents archaic **pritučeti*, "touch, come in contact
with"; "lest his will affect you."

m. Probably Gk. *baros* for Heb. *kbd*, "honor,
glory."

n. Slav. *o sūniti* is clear (Landsman to the
contrary). The word usually reflects Gk. *katabasis*,
referring to Christ's descent into Hades, but it may
also be *synkatabasis* or *sybāsis* in any meaning
possible.

o. S D negative; A C *věščar*, "I said, told," B
onvěščar, "I answered."

15 a. S D omit "as if."

b. S omits from here to "ascended" in vs. 5.

c. Or "firmaments," see note to 19:3, below.

d. Slav. *na aerē* presents the air as a surface.

e. S; others "could."

f. Text somewhat corrupt. Archaic gen. *ognīna
rodu*, "of fiery Gehenna," misread as nom. *ognī
narodu*, "fire for the crowd (or nation)," and the
grammar was adjusted, possibly with the loss of a
word or two.

g. Lit. "of male shape, of male form."

16 a. S D *jako*; A B C K *zane jako*, "for it is as
though."

b. Lit. "in many voice," perhaps rendering Gk.
en polyphōnia.

c. Variants of S D A C establish *svjatiby*, "of
sanctification." Gk. *hagiasmos*. B K understood
this old word in its narrower meaning "threefold
Sanctus" and modified the text to clarify it: "say-
ing, 'holy, holy, holy'" (K adds "[is] the Lord").

d. A B C K add "because of the shouting."

17 a. S D B K; A C replace an unfamiliar verb
with "bent his head."

4 were standing now stopped on high, now rolled down low.^b •And he said, "Only
5 worship, Abraham, and recite the song which I taught you." •Since there was no
ground to which I could fall prostrate, I only bowed down, and I recited the song
6,7 which he had taught me. •And he said, "Recite without ceasing." •And I recited,
and he himself recited the song:^c

8 Eternal One, Mighty One, Holy El,^d God autocrat
9 self-originate, incorruptible, immaculate,
unbegotten, spotless, immortal,
10 self-perfected,^e self-devised,^f
without mother, without father, ungenerated,^g
11 exalted, fiery,
12 just, lover of men, benevolent, compassionate, bountiful,
jealous over me, patient one, most merciful.
13 Eli,^h eternal, mighty one, holy, Sabaoth,
most glorious 'El, El, El, El,ⁱ Iael,
14 you are he my soul has loved, my protector.
15 Eternal, fiery, shining,^j
light-giving, thunder-voiced, lightning-visioned, many-eyed,
16 receiving the petitions of those who honor you^k
and turning away from the petitions of those who restrain you
by the restraint^l of their provocations,
17 redeemer of those who dwell in the midst of the wicked ones,
of those who are dispersed among the just of the world,
in the corruptible age.^m
18 Showing forthⁿ the age of the just,
you make the light shine^o
before the morning^p light upon your creation
"from your face"
to spend the day^q on the earth,^r
19 and in your heavenly dwelling place
(there is) an inexhaustible light of an invincible^s dawning
from the light^t of your face.
20 Accept my prayer "and delight in it,"
and (accept) also the sacrifice which you yourself made
to yourself through me as I searched for you.
21 Receive me favorably,
teach me, show me, and make known to your servant
what you have promised me.

b. That is, the surface is undulating up and down.
c. A B C K add "with me." B has a marginal
note, incorporated into the text of K: "The first
song of Abraham which the holy angel Iael taught
him when he was traveling with him about the air,
crying out like this:"

d. Only S retains "El."

e. Gk. *autoteleios* or *autotelēs*.

f. Assuming original *samosvētine*, Gk. *auto-
boulētos*, rather than the derivationally implausible
sāmosvētine. An inept calque of the Gk. *autophōs*
or *autophōtos*, "absolute light," is not impossible,
however.

g. Slav. *bezrodine* is probably Gk. *agennētos*
or *agenealōgētos* (cf. Heb. 7:3), but it could also
mean "without kin."

h. A B C K all distort this form and add a gloss:
"that is, my God."

i. S only.

j. Possibly a compound, "shining with fire,"
Gk. *pyrophengēs*, *pyrophlogos*.

k. S omits from here to end of first clause in
vs. 22.

l. Or "hold you by the compassing."

m. The translation of vss. 21f. can only be
approximate, for the grammatical relations are
ambiguous.

n. D *projavljaja*; A B C K *ponovljaja*, an
innovated form for expected old *ponavljaja*, "re-
newing, restoring."

o. Or "you, the light, shine."

p. S *utrinimū*; A B C D K *vnuirnimū*, "inner."

q. S omits.

r. Or possibly "by your face, through the agency
of your countenance."

s. Or "continue through the day."

t. D *nepobēdima* (S *nepovēdimo*, surely with v
for b, and with incorrect ending); A B C K
neispovēdima, a late form (for *neispovēdima*),
"indescribable, unexpressible."

u. A C; S D B K plural "lights."

v. S omits.

18 And as I was still reciting the song, the mouth^a of the fire which was on the
firmament^b was rising up on high. •And I heard a voice like the roaring of the sea,
and it did not cease from the plenitude of the fire. •And as the fire rose up, soaring
to the highest point, I saw under the fire a throne of fire •and the many-eyed ones
round about, reciting the song, under the throne four fiery living creatures, singing. Ezek 1:6-12,23
4.5 And the appearance of each of them was the same, each having four faces. •And
this (was) the aspect of their faces: of a lion, of a man,^d of an ox,^e and of an eagle.
Each one had four heads^f on its body so that the four living creatures had sixteen
6 faces. •And each one had^f six wings: two on the shoulders, two halfway down, and
7 two at the loins. •With the wings which were on their shoulders they covered their
faces, with the wings at their loins they clothed their feet, and they would stretch
8 the two middle wings out and fly, erect.^g •And when they finished singing, they
9 would look at one another and threaten one another. •And it came to pass when
the angel who was with me saw that they were threatening each other, he left me
10 and went running to them. •And he turned the face of each living creature from
the face which was opposite it so that they could not see each other's faces
11 threatening each other. •And he taught them the song of peace which the Eternal
12 One has in himself.^h •And while I was still standing and watching, I saw behindⁱ
the living creatures a chariot with fiery wheels. Each wheel was full of eyes round
13 about. •And above the wheels was the throne which I had seen. And it was covered
with fire and the fire encircled it round about, and an indescribable light^j surrounded
14 the fiery crowd.^k •And I heard the voice of their sanctification^l like the voice of Ezek 1:15-25;
10:6-12
a single man. Ezek 1:26-28

19 And a voice came to me out of the midst of the fire, saying, "Abraham,
2.3 Abraham!" •And I said, "Here I am!" •And he said, "Look at the expanses^a
which are under the firmament to which you have now been directed and see that
on no single expanse is there any other but the one whom you have searched for
4 or who has loved you." •And while he was still speaking, behold, the expanses
under me, the heavens, opened and I saw on the seventh firmament upon which
I stood a fire spread out^b and a light^c and dew^d and a multitude of angels and a host
5 else there. •And I looked from on high, where I was standing, downward to the
6 sixth firmament. •And I saw there a multitude of spiritual angels, incorporeal,
carrying out the orders of the fiery angels who were on the eighth^f firmament, as

18 a. Perhaps for Gk. *cheilos* in the sense of "edge, brink," i.e. the fire is envisioned as a brimming lake or river.

b. Or "expanse," see n. to 19:3, below.

c. Ambiguous as to whether *ot ognja*, "from fire," describes the throne or the "many-eyed ones" (Gk. *polymmatōi*), or both; or perhaps the creatures were standing at a distance, "away from the fire."

d. S *člveč* for *člověči*, "of a human being"; D A B C K *mužesk*, "of a male," placed after "of an ox," perhaps under the influence of Rev 4:7.

e. As in Heb. Ezek 1:10; LXX has "calf," as does Rev 4:7.

f. S omits because of homoeoteleuton.

g. The last clause is faulty and obscure. The final word is *prostī*, "simple," but may mean "upright."

h. Obscure; unclear whether "self" refers to the Eternal One or the angel, and whether "which" refers to "song" or "peace."

i. Or "following after."

j. If *světū*; possibly, however, *sūvētū*, "council."

k. Or "nation." Also possible: "an indescribable light (or council) of the fiery crowd (or nation)

surrounded (it)." The text is probably corrupt.

l. Or "acclamation," Gk. *hagiasmos*, cf. 16:3 above.

19 a. Three Slav. roots underlie synonyms for "heaven" that probably stand for three Gk. words. *Tvirđi* (19:6, well-known elsewhere) and *tvirdstvo* (19:4) with a variant *tvirdstvie* (19:8), both known only from ApAb, surely translate *stereōma*, "firmament." *Protjaženie*, "a pulling out tightly," and *prostiranie*, "a spreading out broadly," doubtless reflect forms based on Gk. *ten*. Here *prostiranie* is rendered "firmament" (18:1; 19:3, 6; 21:1, 2) and *protjaženie* "expanse" (19:3, 4; 21:1); but the plural, *prostiraja*, at 15:4 is rendered "expanses."

b. Or "a widespread fire."

c. B adds "great" in the margin; K places it in the text. Cf. n. c to 17:7.

d. Slav. *rosu*; D *ručku*, "vessel, container."

e. S A C K *ot svyše*, D i *tū svyše*, B i *svyše*; perhaps something has been omitted.

f. Surely for "sixth"; the Glagolitic letter-symbol for 8 corresponds to the Cyrillic letter whose numerical value is 6. S has other indications of a fore-text written in Glagolitic.

7 I was standing on its elevation (?)^a. •And lo, neither on this firmament was there
8 in any shape any other host, but only the spiritual angels. •And the host I saw on
9 the seventh firmament commanded the sixth firmament and it removed itself.^b •I
saw there, on the fifth (firmament), hosts^c of stars, and the orders they were
commanded to carry out, and the elements^d of earth obeying them.

20 And the Eternal, Mighty One said to me, "Abraham, Abraham!" •And I said,
3 "Here I am!" •And he said, "Look from on high^a at the stars which are beneath Gen 15:5
4 you and count them for me and tell me their number!" •And I said, "When can
5 I? For I am a man."^b •And he said to me, "As the number of the stars and their Gen 18:27
power^c so shall I place for^d your seed the nations and men, set apart for me in my
6 lot with Azazel."^e •And I said, "Eternal and Mighty One. Let your servant speak Gen 18:30
7 before you and let your fury not rage against your chosen one. •Behold, before
you led me up, Azazel^f insulted me. How then, since he is now not before you,
did you establish^g yourself with them?"^h

21 And he said to me, "Look now beneath your feet at the firmament and
understand the creation that was depicted of old^a on this expanse, (and) the creatures
2 which are in it^b and the age^c prepared after it."^d •And I looked beneath the
firmament at my feet and I saw the likeness of heaven^e and the things that were
therein.

3 And (I saw) there the earth and its fruit, and its moving things and its things
that had souls, and its host^f of men and the impiety of their souls and their
justification, ^gand their pursuit^h of their worksⁱ and the abyss and its torments,^j
4 and its lower depths and (the) perdition in it. •And I saw there the sea and its
islands, and its cattle and its fish, and Leviathan and his realm and his bed and
his lairs, and the world^k which lay upon him, and his motions and the destruction
5 he caused the world.^k •I saw there the rivers and their upper (reaches) and their
circles.

6 And I saw there the garden^l of Eden and its fruits, and the source and the river
flowing from it, and its trees and their flowering, making fruits, and I saw men
doing justice^m in it, their food and their rest.

7 And I saw there a great crowd of men and women and children, half of them

g. Unclear; the word appears to mean lit. "suspensions."

h. Or "to remove itself."

i. "Hosts" here and "host" in vss. 4, 7, 8 above could be translated "powers" or "power."

j. Gk. *stoicheia*.

20 a. Explicitly contrasts with the "look up" of Gen 15:5.

b. B K add "earth and ashes" from LXX Gen 18:27. A C harmonize further by omitting "man."

c. Or "host."

d. Or "to," or perhaps "under."

e. Possibly "the lot [Gk. *klēros*] belonging to me and Azazel." S is slightly corrupt, and the others may represent some sort of modification of the original text.

f. Possibly "before Azazel led me up, he."

g. Or "support" or "secure."

h. S D *sū nīmī*. (A?) B C K *sū nīmū* "with him." The whole sentence is obscure.

21 a. Lit. "formerly shadowed," with a unique verb D *sténovanuju*, S corrupt, A B C K *sténovanuju*, cf. *sténī*, "shadow" which may be a clumsy calque of Gk. *skiagraphēin*, "sketch, outline, depict; prefigure, foreshadow."

b. Viz. "creation."

c. S (D "unto the age, forever"); A B C K "ages."

d. Or "according to it (creation)." The sentence is obscure, not least because *vari* is used apparently both for "creation" and "creature."

e. D A B C K *podobie nebesa*; S corrupt, *podū 6 nbsē*, roughly "under 6th heaven" (less likely "under 6 heavens"), but ungrammatical. The original text was surely acc. *podūnebesie*, Gk. *tēn hyp' ouranon*, i.e. "I saw (the terrestrial world) beneath the sky."

f. Or "power."

g. S omits because of homoeoteleuton.

h. Gk. *epitēdeumata*.

i. Perhaps a gloss; in S it stands after "lower depths and perdition."

j. Or "inhabited world," *oikoumenē*.

k. Lit. "destructions to the world because of him."

l. Slav. *sadū*, usually "plant," Gk. *phyton*; "tree," Gk. *dendron*; here probably "newly planted area." At 12:10 Eden is *vertepū*, *kēpos*, at 23:4 *ovošćnikū*, "orchard."

m. Slav. *pravdu dějuščixū* is not found elsewhere. *Pravida* is "righteousness, justice, rule, truth"; *dikaioσynē*, *dikaion*, *dikaïōma*, *alētheia*.

on the right side of the portrayal, and half of them on the left side of the portrayal.ⁿ

22 And I said, "Eternal, Mighty One! What is this picture of creation?" And he said to me, "This is my will with regard to what is^a in the light^b and it was^c good before my face. And then, afterward, I gave them^d a command by my word and they came into existence. Whatever I had decreed was to exist had already been outlined^e in this^f and all the previously created (things) you have seen stood^g before me." And I said, "O sovereign, mighty and eternal! Why are the people in this picture on this side and on that?" And he said to me, "These who are on the left side are a multitude of tribes who existed previously . . . and after you^h some (who have been) prepared for judgment and order,ⁱ others for revenge and perdition at the end of the age. Those on the right side of the picture are the people set apart for me of the people with Azazel; these are the ones I have prepared to be born of you and to be called my people."

23 "Look^a again at the picture: Who is the one who seduced Eve, and what is the fruit of the tree?^b And you will know what will be and how much will be for your seed^c in the last days. And what you cannot understand,^d I will make known to you because you have been pleasing before my face and I will tell you what I have kept in my heart." And I looked at the picture, and my eyes ran to the side of the garden of Eden. And I saw there a man very great in height and terrible in breadth, incomparable in aspect, entwined with a woman who was also equal to the man in aspect and size. And they were standing under a tree^e of Eden, and the fruit of the tree was like the appearance of a bunch of grapes of the vine.^f And behind the tree was standing (something) like a dragon in form, but having hands and feet like a man's, on his back six wings on the right and six on the left. And he was holding the grapes of the tree^g and feeding^h them to the two I saw entwined with each other. And I said, "Who are these two entwined with each other, or who is this between them, and what is the fruit which they are eating, Mighty One, Eternal?" And he said, "This is the worldⁱ of men,^j this is Adam and this is their thought^k on earth, this is Eve. And he who is between them is the impiety of their behavior^l untoⁿ perdition, Azazel himself."^m And I said, "Eternal,

n. Slav. *obrazstvo*, attested only here, must be more than *obrazŭ*, "image," Gk. *eikōn*, *typos*, implying a suffixed Gk. form like *eikonisma* or *eikonismos*.

22 a. Slav. *kŭ suščemu*, lit. "toward that which is (or exists)," possible Gk. *pros* (or *eis*, *epi*) to *onta*.

b. If *světŭ*; possibly *sŭvětŭ*, "council, counsel."

c. Lit. "became, came to be."

d. The text of the previous sentence is probably corrupt; in any case it provides no clear referent for this plural pronoun.

e. S *načerta sja*; others inappropriately *načertaša*, "they outlined."

f. S B K imply original *vŭ semŭ*, although the reference is not clear; distorted in D A C to *vsemŭ*, "to all."

g. Or "came to stand, took position."

h. Or "because of, through you." The following phrases are in the acc., so loss of a preceding verb must be assumed.

i. Slav. *ustrojenie*, "ordering, being put in order; restoration."

23 a. D A B C K *posmotri*; S *po smotrenii*, "after a look."

b. Slav. *dreva*; A C *črěva*, "of the womb."

c. S differs: "for your name among people."

d. S "days of the age, or how one cannot understand."

e. Or "the things that."

f. Slav. *sadŭ*, not specifically a tree, cf. n. 1 to ch. 21.

g. Slav. *vinična*, probably "of a wild vine"; A K *finična*, "of the palm [Gk. *phoenix*]," is surely secondary within Slav.

h. B C *zalaŭše*, a verb with the specialized sense "put morsels of food into the mouth of someone" (a meaning preserved in Serbo-Croatian), other MSS distorted because this meaning was unknown. Bonwetsch (*Die Apokalypse Abrahams*) and Box and Landsman (*The Apocalypse of Abraham*) ignored the grammar and completely mistranslated the sentence. Here the serpent explicitly is feeding the fruit both to Adam and to Eve.

i. Slav. *světŭ* only rarely means "world," Gk. *kosmos*, ordinarily rendering "light," *phōs*, *phen-gos*, *phōtismos*. Or this may be *sŭvětŭ*, "council, counsel."

j. Or "of man, human."

k. Slav. *pomyšlenie* is "thought" in any possible sense, including "intention, plan" or negative "plot, evil design," and "desire."

l. Slav. *načinanija*, lit. "deed, act, doing."

m. D omits.

n. S A K *vŭ*; B C omit, making "perdition" an apposition with "impiety" and "Azazel."

Mighty One, why then did you adjudge him such dominion that through his works he could ruin humankind on earth?" And he said to me, "Hear, Abraham! Those who desire evil, and all whom I have hated as they commit^a them^b—over them did I give him dominion, and he was to be beloved of them." And I answered and said, "Eternal, Mighty One! Why did it please you to bring it about that evil should be desired in the heart of man, because you are angered^c at what was chosen by you^d . . . him who does useless things^e in your light (?)."

24 And he said to me thus, "Close^a to the nations . . . for your sake and for the sake of those set apart after you, the people of your tribe, as you will see in the picture, what is burdened on^b them. And I will explain to you what will be, and everything that will be in the last days. Look now at everything in the picture." And I looked and saw there the creatures that had come into being^c before me. And I saw, as it were,^d Adam, and Eve who was with him, and with them the crafty adversary and Cain, who had been led by the adversary to break the law, and (I saw) the murdered Abel (and) the perdition brought on him and given through the lawless one.^e And I saw there fornication^f and those who desired it, and its defilement and their zeal; and the fire of their corruption in the lower depths of the earth. And I saw there theft and those who hasten after it, and the system of their retribution, the judgment of the great court.^g I saw there naked men, forehead to forehead, and their shame and the harm (they wrought) against their friends and their retribution. And I saw there desire,^h and in her hand (was) the head of every kind of lawlessness; and her tormentⁱ and her dispersal^k destined to destruction.

25 I saw there the likeness of the idol of jealousy, like a carpenter's figure such as my father used to make, and its body was of glittering copper,^a and before it a man, and he was worshiping it. And (there was) an altar opposite it and boys being slaughtered on it in the face of the idol. And I said to him, "What is this idol, or what is the altar, or who are those being sacrificed, or who is the sacrificer, or what is the handsome temple which I see, the art and beauty^b of your glory that lies beneath your throne?" And he said, "Hear, Abraham! This temple which

o. Reading *vŭvorjaščixŭ* as acc. plural, whereby the sense of the prefix is unclear. Or perhaps "everything I hated in those who commit," reading *vŭ tvorjaščixŭ* as a prepositional phrase.

p. The plural pronoun has no obvious referent; it might be an error and somehow refer to "evil," or there may be an omission here.

q. The rest of the sentence is obscure, probably corrupt.

r. S D *na izvolenoe tebe*; A B C K *na izvolenie tebe* is meaningless.

s. Slav. *dŭlajuščemu nepoleznoje* is clear, but the only possible dat. that could agree is *tebe*, which would mean "by you who are doing useless things." Could Abraham be upbraiding God? If not, there must be a lacuna here.

t. S has *nŭ svŭtstvovjemŭ*, which could be emended to a plausible *svŭtstvovjemŭ* and mean "but through your radiance"; this phrase precedes *dŭlajuščemu*. The D A B C K *vŭ svŭtŭ rojemŭ*, "in your light [or world; or counsel, council]," could well be secondary, an attempt to repair an incomprehensible passage.

24 a. The text is corrupt and at some point there must be omissions. Perhaps "thus" goes with "close." The notion of anger introduced by Bonwetsch and copied by Box and Landsman is totally absent from the passage.

b. Slav. *utjažčenaja*, possibly "things which have been made grievous against"; grammatical connection with the preceding text is not clear.

c. Or "what had come into being in creation."

d. Slav. *jako*, "as," Gk. *hōs*.

e. Slav. *bezakonnikomŭ*, presumably an echo of the description of Cain just before, *vragomŭ bezakoninovavŭšago Kaina*.

f. I.e. Gk. *porneia*.

g. S omits.

h. Slav. *želanie*, a neuter, but the following possessives are feminine, surely reflecting mechanical translation of pronouns referring to Gk. *epithymia*.

i. S omits to end of the sentence.

j. D *mučenie*, Gk. *martyrion*, *basanos*, *timōria*; A B C K *molčanie*, "silence," Gk. *hēsychia*, is surely secondary, a scribal slip in the fore-text common to the Palaia MSS.

k. Slav. *rastočenie*, usually renders the Gk. *diaskorpismos*, but also possibly "alienation," *ekpoiesis*, or "abortion."

l. Slav. *predajemo*, lit. "being given over."

25 a. Or "bronze," Gk. *chalkos*.

b. None of the MSS is quite grammatical. Perhaps emend to *dobrolŭpnu xyrostiju i krasotoju*, "handsome [Gk. *euprepēs*] with the art and beauty."

you have seen, the altar and the works of art, this is my idea of the priesthood of the name of my glory, where every petition of man^c will enter and dwell; the ascent of kings^d and prophets and whatever sacrifice I decree to be made for me among my coming people, even of your tribe. • And the body^e you saw is my anger, because the people who will come to me out of you will make me angry. • And the man you saw slaughtering is he who angers me, and the sacrifice is a killing of those who are for me a testimony of the judgment of the completion at the beginning of creation."

1 **26** And I said, "Eternal, Mighty One! Why did you establish it to be so and to call on the testimonies of this one?" • And he said to me, "Hear, Abraham, and understand what I will explain to you, and answer whatever I ask you. • Why did your father Terah not obey your voice and abandon the demonic worship of idols until he perished, and all his house with him?" • And I said, "Eternal, Mighty One, surely because it did not please him to obey me, nor did I follow his works." • And he said to me, "Hear, Abraham. As the counsel^a of your father is in him, as your counsel is in you, so also the counsel of my will is ready.^b • In days^c to come you will not know them in advance, nor the future (men) you will see with your own eyes that^d they are of your seed. • Look at the picture!"

1 **27** And I looked and I saw, and behold the picture swayed. And from its left side a crowd of heathens^a ran out and they captured the men, women, and children who were on its right side. • And some they slaughtered^b and others they kept with them. • Behold, I saw (them) running to them^c by way of four ascents^d and they burned the Temple with fire, and they plundered the holy things that were in it. • And I said, "Eternal One, the people you received from me are being robbed by the hordes of the heathen. • They are killing some and holding others as aliens, and they burned the Temple with fire and they are stealing^e and destroying^f the beautiful things which are in it. • Eternal, Mighty One! If this is so, why now^g have you afflicted my heart and why will it be so?" • And he said to me, "Listen, Abraham, all that you have seen will happen on account of your seed who will (continually) provoke me because of the body^h which you saw and the murder in what was depicted in the Temple of jealousy, and everything you sawⁱ will be so."^h • And I said, "Eternal, Mighty One! Let the evil works (done) in iniquity now pass by; but make commandments in themⁱ more than his^j just works. • For you can do this."ⁱ • And he said to me, "Again the time of justice will come upon them, at first through the holiness^k of kings. • And I will judge with justice^l those whom I created earlier,^m to rule from them in them. • And from these same ones will come men who will have regard forⁿ them, as^o I announced to you and you saw."

c. Specifically "male."

d. S D; A B K "kingdoms"; C by error "temple."

e. Or "statue."

26 a. S D A C have *světū*, "light," but B specifies *sūvēt* and K the newer spelling *sūvētū*, "counsel, council." B K thus believed that "light" was inappropriate here.

b. Or "prepared."

c. From this point D departs radically from other MSS, reducing the rest of the work to a dozen lines made up of recognizable phrases from later chs., but utterly incoherent and therefore useless for our purposes.

d. Or "for, since." The sentence is not clear.

27 a. Or "a heathen people."

b. S omits because of homoeoteleuton.

c. Slav. *priekšaja*, "(them) running," probably is the heathen, while "to them" denotes the victims; but the passage is not clear.

d. S *suxody*, "descents, goings down"; A B C

K *vuxody*, "entrances, goings in"; philologically also *vuxody*, "ascents, goings up," or *isxody*, "exits, goings out," are justifiable, cf. also 28:4, S below and Ladlac S, n. d. The acc. numeral *četyri* here makes no sense ("four descents running"); instrumental *četyrimi* is to be posited.

e. S omits.

f. A B C K "from now."

g. Or "statue."

h. A B C K omit.

i. S *zapovědi stvori vū nixū*, probably corrupt. Others are not much better, *zapovědi stvorivūšixū*, "those who have made commandments"; but neither acc. nor gen. fits the context.

j. Reference unclear. This whole sentence is garbled and probably has lost words or phrases.

k. Archaic *prēpodobie*, Gk. *hosiotes*, simplified in A B C K to *podobie*, "semblance."

l. Slav. *vū pravdě*, lit. "in justice."

m. Or "at first."

n. Slav. *potūščati*, probably Gk. *spoudazein*.

o. Or "inasmuch as."

1 **28** And I answered and said, "Mighty, Eternal One, you who are sanctified by your power, be merciful in my petition, since for this you informed me^a and showed me. • Since you have brought me up on to your height, therefore inform me,^a your beloved, about whatever I ask: Will what I saw be their lot^b for long?" • And he showed me a multitude of his people. • And he said to me, "For this reason (it is) through the four ascents^c you saw^d (that) my anger will be because of them,^e and in them will be retribution^f for their works. • And in the fourth ascent^g is one hundred years. And one hour of the age will also be one hundred years^h in evil among the heathenⁱ and an hour in their mercy, even with reproaches as among the heathen."^j

1 **29** And I said, "Eternal, Mighty^a One! How long a time is an hour of the age?" • And he said, "I decreed to keep twelve periods of the impious age among the heathens and^b among your seed, and what you have seen will be^b until the end of time. • Count (it) up, and you will understand. • Look down at the picture."^c • And I looked^d and saw a man going out from the left, the heathen side. From the side of the heathen went out men and women and children, a great crowd, and they worshiped him. • And while I was still looking, those on the right side came out, and some insulted this man, and some struck him and others worshiped him. • And I saw that as they worshiped him Azazel ran and worshiped and, kissing his face, he turned and stood behind him. • And I said, "Eternal, Mighty One! Who is this man insulted and beaten by the heathen, with Azazel worshiped?"^d • And he answered and said, "Hear, Abraham, the man whom you saw insulted and beaten and again worshiped is the liberation^e from the heathen for the people who will be (born) from you. • In the last days, in this twelfth hour of impiety, in the twelfth period of the age of my fulfillment,^f I will set up this man from your tribe, the one whom you have seen from my people. • All will imitate him, . . . (you) consider^g him as one called by me . . . (they) are changed^h in their counsels.ⁱ • And those you saw coming out from the left side of the picture and worshiping him, this (means that) many of the heathen will trust in him. • And those of your seed you saw on the right side, some insulting him, some beating him, and others worshiping him, many of them shall be offended^j because of him. • It is he who will test those of your seed who have worshiped him in the fulfillment of the twelfth hour, in the

28 a. S omits because of homoeoteleuton.

b. Lit. "will what I saw be to them."

c. S B C K *sxody*, "descents"; A *isxody*, "exists"; cf. n. d to ch. 27.

d. S A C K "which you saw"; B "as you saw."

e. Obscure. Lit. "will be to me from them anger (or angering)."

f. S B C K *vūzdanie*; A *vzderžanie*, "restraint." g. S *sxodū*, "descent"; A B C K *vxod*, "entrance"; cf. n. c.

h. C omits to end of vs.; but a mark in the MS leads one to expect a marginal note that is not visible in the microfilm.

i. S omits rest of sentence because of homoeoteleuton.

j. Sense of last clause is obscure.

29 a. S omits.

b. Ambiguous, could be "what you have seen will be among your seed even."

c. S omits.

d. This sentence is obscure and may well be corrupt; the translation is strictly literal and retains the original word order. Two opposite interpretations are possible. In one, the phrase "with Azazel" is construed with "by the heathen" to mean that the heathen are being aided by Azazel in insulting,

beating, and, presumably, also worshiping the man. In the other, "with Azazel" is construed with the following participle to mean that both Azazel and the man are being worshiped.

e. Slav. *oslaba*, "liberation, security, relaxation," Gk. *adeia*, *anesis*.

f. Slav. *sūkončanie*, "ending, completion, consummation," Gk. *symplērōsis*, *plērōsis*, *synleleia*.

g. Slav. *pritiūči*, apparently imperative of *pritiūknuti*, "push, touch, prove," which furnishes the stem for the noun *pritiūča*, "comparison, proverb," and related words. The connection of this clause with the context is obscure.

h. This clause is corrupt, and omissions must be assumed. The nom. plural present participle *preminujušče sja* has no subject; and it requires emendation. Assuming the Novgorod substitution of *i* for *ě* (well attested in all MSS elsewhere), *preminujušče sja* means "being exchanged for, turning into." Alternatively, the reflexive particle *sja* may be suppressed, yielding the sense "passing by, going past."

i. The reflexive possessive may refer to the lost subject of the participle, or to some other possessor not preserved in the context. Instead of "counsels," the meaning may be "lights" or possibly "worlds."

j. Or "led into error," Gk. *skandalizontai*.

14 curtailment of the age of impiety. *Before the age of justice starts to grow,^k my judgment will come upon the heathen who have acted wickedly through the people
15 of your seed^l who have been set apart for me. *In those days I will bring upon all earthly creation ten plagues through evil and disease and the groaning of the
16 bitterness of their souls. *Such will I bring upon the generations of those who are on it,^m out of anger and corruption of their creationⁿ with which they provoke me.
17 And then from your seed will be left the righteous men in their number, protected by me, who strive^o in^p the glory of my name toward the place prepared beforehand
18 for them, which you saw deserted in the picture. *And they will live, being affirmed by the sacrifices and the gifts of justice and truth in the age of justice. *And they
19 will rejoice forever in me, and they will destroy those who have destroyed them, they will rebuke those who have rebuked them through their mockery, and they
20 will spit in their faces. *Those rebuked^q by me when they are to see me rejoicing^r with my people for those who rejoice and receive and truly return^s to me. *See, Abraham, what you have seen, hear^t what you have heard, know what you have known. *Go to your inheritance! And behold I am with you forever."^v

1 30 And while he was still speaking, I found myself on the earth, and I said, "Eternal, Mighty One, I am no longer in the glory in which I was above, and all
2 that my soul desired to understand in my heart I do not understand." *And he said to me, "I will explain to you the things you desired in your heart, for you have sought^a to know the ten^b plagues^c which I prepared against the heathen, and I
3 prepared them beforehand in^d the passing of the twelve hours on earth. *Hear what I tell you, it will be thus. *The first: sorrow from much need. The second: fiery
4 conflagrations for the cities. *The third: destruction by pestilence^e among the cattle. *The fourth: famine of the world, of their generation.^f *The fifth: among the rulers,
5 destruction by earthquake and the sword. The sixth: increase of hail and snow. *The seventh: wild beasts will be their grave. The eighth: pestilence and hunger
6 will change their destruction.^g *The ninth: execution by the sword and flight in distress. The tenth: thunder, voices, and destroying earthquakes.

1 31 "And then I will sound the trumpet out of the air, and I will send my chosen one, having in him one measure of all my power, and he will summon my people,

k. This clause may belong to the preceding sentence.

l. It is possible to read "of your seed" as describing the heathen.

m. Presumably on earth.

n. Slav. *tvori*, "creation, creature, creatures"; but also Gk. *epitēdeuma*, perhaps then ultimately here (as in Ezek 20:39) Heb. *gōlīm*, "idols." Yet the whole vs. is obscure, and may well be corrupt.

o. Or "hastening," Gk. *spoudazontes*.

p. S *vū*, "in"; A B C K *kū*, "toward." Either could be secondary.

q. Passage unclear; it is possible that the ones who "will be spitting in their faces" are identical with those "being rebuked."

r. Grammatical agreement fails here and the connections of this and the following participles cannot be established with certainty; the whole verse is corrupt.

s. S *obrazujuščix sja*, "forming themselves, being formed (shaped, depicted)"; B K *obraščajuščix sja* (acc. or gen.), A C *-im sja* (dat.), "returning, turning back, converting."

t. S omits.

u. S omits.

v. At this point A B C K insert a long passage beginning "And the Lord said to him from the clouds: 'Abraham, I am the Lord himself, maker

of heaven and earth.' " In the earlier Palaia which does not contain ApAb this passage is an independent unit, which is introduced by the sentence: "This is written out of the Book of the Sons of Jacob [is knigū iže sutl l'jakovičij]." The passage has some echoes from earlier parts of ApAb, then specific reference to 29:11f., 14, 15, 19, 20, but simplified. (Porfir'ev prints this much in his edition of K, p. 129.) These quotations, or rather paraphrases, are then explicated in the anti-Jewish Christian polemic manner usual in the Palaia commentaries.

30 a. A B C K *iskalū*; S by error *skazalū*, "explained."

b. All *desjatyja*, acc. plural "tenth," surely by error for *desjati*, "ten," but perhaps this is a sign of a more serious corruption.

c. S *vredy* (from *vrédū*), "wound, ulcer, illness; hurt, harm," Gk. *blabē*; A B C K *věry*, "faiths." The word translated "plague" in 29:15 is *jazva*, "wound," Gk. *plēgē*.

d. A B C K *v*; S *po*, "after."

e. S gen. *mora*; A B C K nom. *morū*, making it appositive to "destruction."

f. Obscure.

g. Obscure; possibly means "take turns in causing destruction," but this cannot be certain.

2 humiliated by the heathen. *And I will burn with fire^a those who mocked them and ruled over them in this age^b and I will deliver those who have covered me with
3 mockery over to the scorn^c of the coming^d age. *Because I have prepared them^e (to be) food for the fire of Hades, and (to be) ceaseless soaring in the air of the underworld (regions)^f of the uttermost depths,^g (to be) the contents^h of a wormy
4 belly. *For the makersⁱ will see in them^j justice, (the makers) who have chosen my desire and manifestly kept my commandments, and they will rejoice with merry-making over the downfall of the men who remain and who followed^k after the
5 idols and after their murders. *For they shall putrefy in the belly of the crafty
6 worm Azazel, and be burned by the fire of Azazel's tongue. *For I waited so they
7 might come to me, and they did not deign to. *And they glorified an alien (god).
8 And they joined one to whom they had not been allotted, and they abandoned the Lord who gave them strength.^l

1 32 "Therefore, hear, Abraham, and see, behold your seventh generation shall
2 go with you. *And they will go out into an alien land. *And they will enslave^a Gen 15:13
3 them and oppress them as for one hour of the impious age. *But of the nation
4 whom they shall serve^b I am the judge."^c *And the Lord said this too,^d "Have you
5 heard, Abraham, what I told you, what your tribe will encounter in the last days?"
6 Abraham, having heard, accepted the words of God in his heart.

31 a. S *ognimī*; A B C K *s nimī*, "with him."

b. Slav. *vū věkū*, "in an age, for an age" (or "the age"), but usually "forever," Gk. *eis aiōnion*.

c. Slav. *ukoriznišvo*, unique to this passage; not clearly different from usual *ukorū* or *ukorizna*, "shame, mockery, derision, reproach."

d. S *nastajuščago*, a rare word; A B C K substitute the ordinary *nastajuščego*, "present" (which is used for Gk. *epiousios* in the Lord's Prayer).

e. S *ry*; A B C K to "this."

f. S *podzemnyū*, dat. plural adjective, "underworld, subterranean"; A B C K *pod zemnyū*, "under the earthy," with an instrumental plural noun to be supplied.

g. S ends here; the rest of ApAb is transmitted only in the Palaia texts.

h. C *napolnenie*, "filling"; B adds *ploda*, "fruit," which might mean "fullness of/with fruit" but the syntax is odd; A has past passive participle *napolneny* (acc.), "filled"; K has nom. *napolneni*, plus *ploda*, "filled with (the) fruit." Translation assumes *plod* is a gloss to explain *napolnenie*.

i. Slav. *tvorici*, "doers," Gk. *poiētoi*.

j. Reference unclear.

k. The participle *sedūše* lacks agreement, but this is a common fault of Slavonic MSS. It is probably to be taken as gen. referring to the same people as the previous clause. If it is nom. and belongs with the next clause, then the conjunction *bo*, "for," is inappropriate.

l. Accepting either A *vzmozgšago ja*, "having

strengthened them," or C *vzmozguščago ja*, "strengthening them"; B *vūzmuščago sja*, "who became a man [adult], gained courage," does not fit; and K *vzmozgšago* is meaningless.

32 a. The text gives no clue that the subject of this sentence is different from that of the preceding and following sentences, but perhaps this represents secondary harmonization with LXX Gen 15:13.

b. Lit. "to whom they will be slaves," not exactly either LXX or Heb. Gen 15:14.

c. Lit. "I am the one who judges," reflecting Heb. *dn* translated as (*ho*) *krinōn*.

d. The exact end of ApAb is not certain. Porfir'ev printed vss. 5, 6 in his edition of K (p. 130). Tikhonravov, however, excluded them from his edition of A, surely because he considered them additions made by the editors of the Palaia. To be sure, these two sentences do occur in the older Palaia, following the text referred to above in n. v to ch. 29, but in the absence of detailed studies of the Abraham material in different redactions of the Palaia, it is premature to make a final judgment. After the two sentences, the older Palaia says: "After this, it is said, Abraham rose up (to go) to Egypt because of the famine," and continues with a paraphrase of Gen 12:14-20 about Sarah and Pharaoh. B C (and presumably A K, which are not available), on the other hand, quote Gen 12:1-3 and paraphrase in some detail the following account.

SECRETS OF CREATION IN 2 (SLAVONIC) ENOCH

Enoch was found blameless, and he walked with the Lord
and he was taken away, a sign of עֵתָא for generations.

(Cairo Geniza Ms. B Sirach 44:16)

... the learned savant who guards the secrets of the great gods.

(Tablet from Nineveh, 19)

I. The Secrets

The notion of «secrets» occupies a distinct place in 2 (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*. The importance of this terminology is highlighted by its prominent position in the title of the book. While various manuscripts of 2 *Enoch* are known under different titles, most of them¹ include the word «secrets».² In some of these titles the term is connected with Enoch's books — «The Secret Books of Enoch».³ In other titles «secrets» are linked either to God («The Book[s] [called] the Secrets of God, a revelation to Enoch»)⁴ or to Enoch himself

¹ Several MSS do not include the word «secrets» in their titles. Among them — *J* («The word of Enoch...»), *B* («The life of righteous Enoch...»), *MPr* («From the book of righteous Enoch»), *P²* («The book of Enoch the son of Ared»). Cf. М. И. Соколов, Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе. Выпуск третий, VII: Славянская Книга Еноха Праведного / Тексты, латинский пер. и исследование. Посмертный труд автора приготовил к изд. М. Сперанский // *ЧОИДР* 4 (1910) 2.47; 2.83; 2.106 and 1.145.

² **таинны**. Cf. A. VAILLANT, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch: Texte slave et traduction française* (Paris, 1952) 2. Unless noted otherwise, this and the subsequent Slavonic citations are drawn from Vaillant's edition.

³ Cf. MSS A: «From the secret book(s) about the taking away of Enoch the just», *Tr.*: «Which are called the secret books of Enoch», *U*: «From the secret books about the taking away of Enoch the just», and *Rum.*: «From the secret books of Enoch». Cf. F. ANDERSEN, 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of*) *Enoch* // *ОТР*. Vol. 1. 103; Соколов, Славянская Книга Еноха Праведного... 1.161; 1.111; 1.153.

⁴ MSS V, N «And these are the books (called) the secrets of God, a revelation to Enoch». Соколов, Славянская Книга Еноха Праведного... 1.83. Cf. also *B²* «This is the book of the secrets of God, a revelation to Enoch». *Ibid.* 1.133.

(«The Book of the Secrets of Enoch»):⁵ This consistency in the use of the term «secrets», in spite of its varied attribution to different subjects, may indicate that the authors and/or the transmitters of the text viewed the motif of «secrets» as a central theme of the apocalypse. The purpose of this chapter is to call attention to some details of this theme in *2 Enoch*.

The Story

Despite the prominent role the word «secrets» seems to play in the titles of the book, it occurs, quite unexpectedly, only three times in the main body of *2 Enoch*, twice in chapter 24 and once in chapter 36. It is not, however, coincidental that the term is found in this section of the book. Chapters 24–36 of *2 Enoch* can be viewed as the climax of angelic and divine revelations to Enoch during his celestial tour. From these chapters we learn that Enoch, previously described to have been «placed» into the clothes of glory and instructed by the archangel Vereveil, was called by the Lord. The book tells that the Lord decided to reveal to Enoch the secrets of his creation, which he never explained even to his angels. Further the term «secrets» is applied only to this account of God's creation, conveyed to Enoch by the Lord himself, «face to face».⁶ The content of these revelations includes the following details:

1. Prior to the creation the Lord decided to establish the foundation of all created things;
2. He commanded one of the invisible «things» to come out of the very lowest darkness and become visible;
3. By Lord's command a primordial «great aeon», bearing the name Adoil, descended and, disintegrating himself, revealed all creation which the Lord «had thought up to create»;⁷
4. The Lord created a throne for himself. He then ordered the light to become the foundation for the highest things;
5. The Lord called out the second aeon, bearing the name Arukhas, who became the foundation of the lowest things;
6. From the waters the Lord «hardened big stones», establishing the solid structure above the waters;
7. The Lord fashioned the heavens and the sun;
8. From fire the Lord created the armies of «the bodiless ones»;
9. The Lord created vegetation, fish, reptiles, birds, and animals;
10. The Lord created man.

⁵ Cf. *P* «The book about the secrets of Enoch, the son of Ared», and *R* «The books of the holy secrets of Enoch...» Cf. VAILLANT, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch...* 2; СОКОЛОВ, *Славянская Книга Еноха Праведного...* 1.1.

⁶ ANDERSEN, *2 Enoch...* 140.

⁷ *Ibid.* 144.

While the general structure of the account of creation appears to be similar in the shorter and the longer recension, the latter offers a lengthy account dedicated to Adam's creation and his transgression.

Let it be also noted that the notion of «secrets» sets symbolic boundaries for the story of creation; it begins and closes the account of creation. In chapter 24 the Lord tells Enoch that he wants to instruct him in His secrets. In some manuscripts of the longer recension, chapter 24 even has a specific heading, «About the great secrets of God, which God revealed and related to Enoch; and he spoke with him face to face».⁸ In chapter 36, which serves as a conclusion of the Lord's instruction, the Lord promises Enoch the role of the expert in His secrets — «Because a place has been prepared for you, and you will be in front of my face from now and forever. And you will be seeing *my secrets* (ТАИНЫ МОЯ)...».⁹

Expert in Secrets

The tradition about Enoch as an expert in God's secrets does not begin in 2 *Enoch*. Already in the earliest Enochic books of 1 (*Ethiopic*) *Enoch*, the knowledge and the revelation of secrets become major functions of the elevated Enoch.¹⁰ Later Enochic traditions also emphasize the role of Enoch as the «Knower of Secrets» (יֹדֵעַ סֵּדֵרִים). According to 3 *Enoch*, Enoch-Metatron is able to behold «deep secrets and wonderful mysteries».¹¹ In this Merkabah text Metatron is also responsible for transmitting the highest secrets to the Princes under him, as well as to humankind. H. Kvanvig observes that «in Jewish tradition Enoch is primarily portrayed as a primeval sage, the ultimate revealer of divine secrets».¹²

Two recent important studies¹³ in Enochic traditions trace the origin of the image of Enoch as a primeval sage preoccupied with divine secrets to

⁸ ANDERSEN, 2 *Enoch*... 140.

⁹ Ibid. 161.

¹⁰ The origin of the role in Enochic traditions can be traced to 1 *Enoch* 72:1, 74:2, and 80:1. In 1 *Enoch* 41:1 Enoch is attested as the one who «saw all secrets of heaven...». M. KNIBB, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*. 2 vols (Oxford, 1978) Vol. 2. 128.

¹¹ 3 *Enoch* 11:2. Here and later I have used Philip Alexander's English translation of 3 *Enoch*, and follow his division in chapters. Cf. P. ALEXANDER, 3 (Hebrew Apoc-
alypse of) Enoch // OTP. Vol. 1. 264.

¹² H. S. KVANVIG, *Roots of Apocalyptic: the Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1988) (WMANT, 61) 27.

¹³ J. VANDERKAM, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (Washington, 1984) (CBQMS, 16); KVANVIG, *Roots of Apocalyptic...* On Mesopotamian origins of Enoch's figure, see also: H. ZIMMERN, *Urkönige und Uroffenbarung* // E. SCHRA-
DER, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*. 2 vols (Berlin, 1902–1903) Vol. 2. 530–543; H. L. JANSEN, *Die Henochgestalt: Eine vergleichende religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Oslo, 1939) (Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo II. Hist.-Filos.

some heroes of the Mesopotamian lore. According to these studies, one of these possible prototypes can be an intriguing character of the «Sumerian» Kings list — Enmeduranki, king of Sippar. In three copies of the List he occupies the seventh place, which in Genesis' genealogy belongs to Enoch. In other Mesopotamian sources Enmeduranki appears in many roles and situations remarkably similar to Enoch's story. Among these roles are that of the knower and the guardian of the secrets of gods.¹⁴

The tablet from Nineveh, possibly dated before 1100 B.C.E., is a primary witness to the parallels between the stories of Enoch and Enmeduranki.¹⁵ The text, reconstructed by W. G. Lambert,¹⁶ describes Enmeduranki's initiation into the divine secrets and attests him as «the learned savant, who guards the secrets of the great gods». In this text¹⁷ Enmeduranki also functions as a

Klasse, 1); P. GRELOT, *La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: origine et signification* // *RSR* 46 (1958) 5–26, 181–210.

¹⁴ GRELOT, *La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible...* 182, 186. Enmeduranki was also regarded as the founder of the *bārû* guild, the elite group of diviners, the experts in omens. Cf. VANDERKAM, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition...* 42.

¹⁵ KVANVIG, *Roots of Apocalyptic...* 190.

¹⁶ W. G. LAMBERT, *Enmeduranki and Related Matters* // *JCS* 21 (1967) 126–138.

¹⁷ The text reads as follows:

3. «Šamaš in Ebabbara [appointed]
1. Enmeduranki [king of Sippar],
2. the beloved of Anu, Enlil [and Ea].
4. Šamaš and Adad [brought him in] to their assembly,
5. Šamaš and Adad [honored him],
6. Šamaš and Adad [set him] on a large throne of gold,
7. They showed him how to observe oil on water, a mystery of Anu, [Enlil and Ea],
8. They gave him the tablet of the gods, the liver, a secret of heaven and [underworld],
9. They put in his hand the cedar[-rod], beloved of the great gods.
10. Then he, in accordance with their [word(?)] brought
11. the men of Nippur, Sippar and Babylon into his presence,
12. and he honoured them. He set them on thrones before [him],
13. he showed them how to observe oil on water, a mystery of Anu, Enlil and Ea,
14. He gave them the tablet of the gods, the liver, a secret of heaven and under world,
15. He put in their hand the cedar[-rod], beloved of the great gods.
16. {The tablet of the gods, the liver, a mystery of heaven and underworld;
17. how to observe oil on water, a secret of Anu, Enlil and Ea;
18. 'that with commentary', When Anu, Enlil; and how to make mathematical calculations.}
19. The learned savant, who guards the secrets of the great gods,

mediator between the deities and the people of Nippur, Sippar and Babylon. He instructs them in the secrets, which he received from the deities.

Kvanvig observes that the tablet emphasizes the esoteric character of the divine wisdom revealed to Enmeduranki, reinforced by such terms as *niširtu* (mystery) and *pirištu* (secret).¹⁸

Another important detail in the passage is the juxtaposition of the terms «secrets» and «mysteries» with the phrases «heaven and underworld» and «heaven and earth». Kvanvig points out that both phrases have a «cosmological» meaning.¹⁹ Intended to describe the totality of creation — «the whole world», this terminology can also be related to cosmogonic and creational concepts.

Secrets in Enochic traditions

Just as the role of Enoch as the Knower of secrets does not begin in *2 Enoch*, so also the information about the heavenly secrets is not peculiar only to this apocalypse. We encounter this theme in other biblical and the pseudepigraphical texts,²⁰ including the early Enochic booklets of *1 Ethiopic Enoch*.

20. will bind his son whom he loves with an oath

21. before Šamaš and Adad by tablet and stylus and

22. will instruct him. When a diviner,

23. an expert in oil, of abiding descent, offspring of Enmeduranki, king of
Sippar,

24. who set up the pure bowl and held the cedar[-rod],

25. a benediction priest of the king, a long-haired priest of Šamaš

26. as fashioned by Ninhursagga,

27. begotten by a *nišakku*-priest of pure descent:

28. if he is without blemish in body and limbs

29. he may approach the presence of Šamaš and Adad where liver inspection
and oracle (take place)».

LAMBERT, Enmeduranki and Related Matters... 132.

¹⁸ KVANVIG, Roots of Apocalyptic... 188.

¹⁹ Ibid. 188.

²⁰ On the notion of «secrets» in the Old Testament and the Pseudepigrapha see M. N. A. BOCKMUEHL, Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity (Tübingen, 1990) (WUNT, 2/136). Qumran texts also use extensively the notions of «secret» (סֵּתֶר) and «special knowledge» (עֵלְיוֹן) and apply them to varied things, including the Torah and the halachic precepts. Cf. BOCKMUEHL, Revelation and Mystery... 53–56; W. D. DAVIES, «Knowledge» in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Matthew 1.1:25–30 // W. D. DAVIES, Christian Origins and Judaism (Philadelphia, 1962) 119–144; B. REICKE, Daʿat and Gnosis in Intertestamental Literature // Neotestamentica et Semitica. Studies in Honor of Matthew Black / Eds. E. EARLE ELLIS, M. WILCOX (Edinburgh, 1969) 245–255; H. RINGGREN, Qumran and Gnosticism // Le Origini dello Gnosticismo / Ed. U. BIANCHI (Leiden, 1967) (SHR, 12) 379–388.

I Enoch applies the term «secrets» to various things Enoch acquires during his celestial tour. In 41:1–3 Enoch tells about his experience:

... I saw all the secrets of heaven, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the deeds of men are weighed in the balance. There I saw the dwelling of the chosen and the resting-places of the holy; and my eyes saw there all the sinners who deny the name of the Lord of Spirits being driven from there, and they dragged them off, and they were not able to remain because of the punishment which went out from the Lord of Spirits. And there my eyes saw the secrets of the flashes of lightning and the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are distributed in order to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and of the dew...²¹

The passage shows that in *I Enoch* the secrets include not only astronomical, cosmological, and calendrical information, but also eschatological details which Enoch acquired either himself or through angelic mediators.²² The unity between the cosmological and the eschatological, between the secrets of «heaven» and the secrets of «earth», is prominent in *I Enoch* 52:2, where Enoch attests that he «saw the secrets of heaven, everything that will occur on earth: a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead ...all these things which serve the authority of the Messiah».²³ Markus Bockmuehl notes that cosmological and eschatological secrets occur repeatedly in tandem and show the intimate link between the cosmological mysteries of heaven and the eschatological questions pursued by the visionaries.²⁴

The tendency to include the knowledge about future eschatological events in the notion of «secrets» can be found both in the Pseudepigrapha and in the Bible. Bockmuehl observes that the term רִיב in Daniel always relates in some way to a disclosure of the future.²⁵ The labeling of disclosures of the future as «secrets» becomes a prominent motif in the later «Enochic» text, *Sefer Hekhalot*. In *3 Enoch* 11:2–3 Enoch-Metatron tells R. Ishmael that from the time of his elevation he has acquired an ability to see deep secrets and wonderful mysteries.²⁶ According to the text, before a man thinks in secret, Metatron is able see his thought; before a man acts, he can see his act. Metatron

²¹ KNIBB, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*... Vol. 2. 128–129.

²² For a complete discussion about «revealed things» in apocalyptic literature see M. Stone's pioneering research in M. STONE, *Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature // Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God* / Eds. F. M. CROSS, W. E. LEMKE, P. D. MILLER, Jr. (New York, 1967) 414–452.

²³ KNIBB, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*... Vol. 2. 136.

²⁴ BOCKMUEHL, *Revelation and Mystery*... 35.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 36.

²⁶ להסתכל ברזי עמוקה ובסוד מופלאה. P. SCHÄFER with M. SCHLÜTER and H. G. VON MUTIUS, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (Tübingen, 1981) (TSAJ, 2) 9.

concludes that «there is nothing in heaven above or deep within the earth concealed from me».²⁷ It is clear that the passage understands «secrets» to be foresights of human deeds and thoughts.

3 Enoch also demonstrates some other affinities with *1 Enoch* in its usage of the notion «secrets». First, it applies the word «secrets» to various revealed «things» — «all mysteries of wisdom, all the depths of the perfect Torah, and the thoughts of human hearts».²⁸ Second, in similarity with *1 Enoch*, it includes eschatological and historical details under the category of the «secrets». Third, the angels in *3 Enoch* are aware of God's secrets: «YHWH the God of Israel is my witness that when I revealed this secret to Moses, all the armies of the height, in every heaven, were angry with me...».²⁹ Fourth, Gruenwald's research emphasizes the close proximity between apocalyptic and Merkabah mysticism in the concept of «secret oath/name» which plays a significant role in the cosmology of *1 Enoch* and *3 Enoch*.³⁰

In contrast to these apocalyptic and Merkabah Enochic texts, *2 Enoch* offers a different understanding of «secrets». At least four points of difference need to be noted. First, *2 Enoch* does not apply the notion of «secrets» to many types of revelation. This term occurs very rarely in the book and is reserved only for the particular cosmogonic³¹ revelation of the Lord. Second, the term is never applied to an earthly affair, not even in reference to historical and eschatological information. Third, the «secret name» does not play any significant role in *2 Enoch's* cosmogony. Fourth, the angels in *2 Enoch* do not know about God's cosmogonic «secrets».

Moreover, it seems that in *2 Enoch* the realm of the secrets, even «topologically», transcends the angelic world. The shorter recension tells us that before the cosmogonic revelation took place, the Lord had «placed» Enoch to the left of Himself, closer than Gabriel.³² Further, the Lord confirms the transcendence of the knowledge about creation over the angelic world when He informs Enoch that even to his angels He has explained neither his secrets nor his «endless and inconceivable creation which He conceived».³³

²⁷ ALEXANDER, *3 Enoch*... 264.

²⁸ *3 Enoch* 11:1. Cf. ALEXANDER, *3 Enoch*... 264.

²⁹ Ibid. 315.

³⁰ I. GRUENWALD, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden, 1980) (AGJU, 14) 10–11.

³¹ On cosmogony in *2 Enoch*, see S. PINES, *Eschatology and the Concept of Time in the Slavonic Book of Enoch // Types of Redemption / Ed. R. J. ZWI WERBLOWSKY, J. JOUCO BLEEKER* (Leiden, 1970) (SHR, 18) 72–87; M. PHILONENKO, *La cosmogonie du «Livre des secrets d'Hénoch» // Religions en Égypte: Hellénistique et romaine* (Paris, 1969) 109–116; G. SCHOLEM, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead* (New York, 1991) 98–101; IDEM, *Origins of the Kabbalah* (Princeton, 1987).

³² ANDERSEN, *2 Enoch*... 143.

³³ Ibid. 143.

The «secrecy» of the Lord's revelation is underscored further by several additional factors.

First, immediately following the cosmogonic instructions, the Lord informed Enoch that he appointed an intercessor, the archangel Michael, and guardian angels, Arioch and Marioch,³⁴ for Enoch's writings which should not perish in the impending flood:

For I will give you an intercessor, Enoch, my archistratig, Michael, on account of your handwritings and the handwritings of your fathers — Adam and Seth. They will not be destroyed until the final age. For I have commanded my angels Arioch and Marioch, whom I have appointed on the earth to guard them and to command the things of time to preserve the handwritings of your fathers so that they might not perish in the impending flood which I will create in your generation (33:10–12).³⁵

The motif of the guardian angels of the books is peculiar to the esoteric tradition conveyed to Enoch. It might indicate that we are dealing here with the famous «secret» books by which antediluvian wisdom reached postdeluvian generations. This motif of antediluvian «secret» writings has a number of parallels in Mesopotamian lore.³⁶

Second, the esoteric details of the Lord's cosmogonic revelations do not appear in chapters 39–66, dedicated to Enoch's instructions to his children. In these chapters Enoch shares the information about his heavenly tour and his extraordinary experiences near the Throne of Glory. He conveys to his children an esoteric knowledge which includes meteorological, cosmological, and eschatological information. In this section of the book Enoch even offers a lengthy description of the Lord's limbs «without measure and analogy»³⁷ which, some scholars believe, belongs to another highly esoteric trend of Jewish mysticism.³⁸ The full account of God's cosmogonic revelations, however, does not appear in these instructions of Enoch. Even though the text makes several allusions to the creation story, telling us that «the Lord was the one who laid the foundations upon the unknown things and ... spread out the heavens above the visible and the invisible things»,³⁹ Enoch never discloses to his children the full story about Adoïl and Arukhas.

³⁴ On the origin of the names Arioch and Marioch see J. FOSSUM, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord* (Tübingen, 1985) (WUNT, 36) 321–328; L. GRY, *Quelques noms d'anges ou d'êtres mystérieux en II Hénoch // RB* 49 (1940) 199–200.

³⁵ ANDERSEN, 2 *Enoch*... 157.

³⁶ Cf. GRELOT, *La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible*... 9–13.

³⁷ ANDERSEN, 2 *Enoch*... 163.

³⁸ G. Scholem argues that the terminology of this section in 2 *Enoch* shows apparent similarities to the שֵׁנוֹר קִימָה tradition. Cf. SCHOLEM, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead*... 29.

³⁹ ANDERSEN, 2 *Enoch*... 174.

II. Secrets of Creation in the Merkabah Tradition

Despite the differences in the treatment of «secrets» in *2 Enoch* and *3 Enoch* that have been mentioned earlier, the approach to the mysteries of creation found in *3 Enoch* demonstrates close affinities with that in the *Slavonic Enoch*.

The theme of the secrets of creation plays an important role in *3 Enoch*; it is surrounded by several details found in *2 Enoch*. The similarities include the following points:

1. One of these parallels is Enoch's initiation into the secrets of Creation. The important detail in both texts is that some preparatory instructions before the account of creation were given through angels. In the case of *3 Enoch*, the instructions were given through the angels known as the «Prince of Wisdom» (שֵׁר הַחִכְמָה) and the «Prince of Understanding» (שֵׁר הַבִּינָה); in the case of *2 Enoch* they came through the angel Vereveil (ВЕРЕВЕИЛ). In both books these angelic mediators do not reveal «secrets» but offer instead some preparatory knowledge. In *2 Enoch* Vereveil instructs Enoch in different «things» — «all things of heaven and earth and sea and all the elements and the movements and their courses ... and the Hebrew language, every kind of language of the new song of the armed troops and everything that it is appropriate to learn» (23:1–2).⁴⁰ In *3 Enoch* the Prince of Wisdom and the Prince of Understanding teach Enoch-Metatron «wisdom» — «the wisdom of those above and those below, the wisdom of this world and the world to come».⁴¹

2. Both texts also mention that immediately after these preparatory angelic instructions, the Lord (the Holy One) reveals «the secrets of creation» to Enoch (Metatron). From *3 Enoch* 11:2 we learn that all the secrets of creation (סֵתֵרֵי בְרֵאשִׁית)⁴² now stand revealed before Enoch-Metatron as they stand revealed before the Creator. In *2 Enoch* 24:2–4 the Lord instructs Enoch in the secrets of his «endless and inconceivable creation», the mysteries which he never explained even to his angels:

Whatever you see, Enoch, things standing still and moving about and which were brought to perfection by me, I myself will explain it to you.... And not even to my angels have I explained my secrets, nor related to them their composition, nor my endless and inconceivable creation which I conceived, as I am making them known to you today.⁴³

3. As was mentioned earlier, the notion of «secrets» in *3 Enoch* includes various types of revelations. Even though the book applies the term «secrets»

⁴⁰ ANDERSEN, *2 Enoch*... 140.

⁴¹ ALEXANDER, *3 Enoch*... 264.

⁴² MS M40. Cf. SCHÄFER, *Synopse*... 8. MS V228 instead of «the secrets of creation» uses — «the orders of creation» (סִדְרֵי בְרֵאשִׁית). Cf. SCHÄFER, *Synopse*... 9.

⁴³ ANDERSEN, *2 Enoch*... 143.

to several things, including the Torah, it also seems to use the notion of «the special secret» in reference to certain details of the Account of Creation. According to the book, this special secret plays an important role in «God's creation of everything». We learn about the secret from *3 Enoch* 48D, where Metatron tells R. Ishmael that he was the person who revealed the special secret Moses, in spite of the protests of the heavenly hosts:

YHWH the God of Israel is my witness that when I revealed this secret to Moses, all the armies of the height, in every heaven, were angry with me. They said to me, «Why are you revealing this secret to humankind, born of woman, blemished, unclean, defiled by blood and impure flux, men who excrete putrid drops — that secret by which heaven and earth were created, the sea and the dry land, mountains and hills, rivers and springs, Gehinnom, fire and hail, the garden of Eden and the tree of life? By it Adam was formed, the cattle and the beasts of the field, the birds of heaven and the fish of the sea, Behemoth and Leviathan, the unclean creatures and reptiles, the creeping things of the sea and the reptiles of the deserts, Torah, wisdom, knowledge, thought, the understanding of things above, and the fear of heaven. Why are you revealing it to flesh and blood?»⁴⁴

P. Alexander observes that in this passage «the secret» could be either (1) the Torah, or (2) the secret names of God. He further suggests that «the identification of the secret with the Torah appears to be excluded by the fact that Torah is one of the things created by the secret».⁴⁵ This situation in which the notion of «secret» transcends the realm of the Torah and refers instead to God's creation appears to have close affinities to the position of *2 Enoch*, where the Torah is not listed among God's mysteries.

III. Secrets of Creation in the Zoharic Tradition

The cosmogonic account in *2 Enoch* demonstrates close similarities not only with that in the Merkabah tradition⁴⁶ but also with much later developments of Jewish mysticism. The following analysis is an attempt to trace some affinities between the account of creation in *2 Enoch* and that in some medieval texts of Jewish mysticism.

Stones

In one of his books⁴⁷ G. Scholem points to an interesting detail in the creation narrative in *2 Enoch*. The story involves the enigmatic stones the

⁴⁴ ALEXANDER, *3 Enoch*... 315.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 315.

⁴⁶ On the Merkabah features of *2 Enoch* cf. A. ORLOV, Titles of Enoch-Metatron in *2 Enoch* // *JSP* 18 (1998) 71–86; IDEM, The Origin of the Name Metatron and the Text of 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of*) *Enoch* // *JSP* 21 (2000) 19–26.

⁴⁷ SCHOLEM, Origins of the Kabbalah... 73.

Lord placed in the waters during the process of creation. In chapters 28–29, when the Lord instructed Enoch about the secrets of the Account of Creation, He said:

Then from the waters I hardened⁴⁸ big stones,⁴⁹ and the clouds of the depths⁵⁰ I commanded to dry themselves. And I did not name what fell to the lowest places.⁵¹ Gathering the ocean into one place, I bound it with a yoke. I gave to the sea an eternal boundary, which will not be broken through by the waters. The solid structure⁵² I fixed and established it above the waters (28:2–4).⁵³

The theme of the «big stones» plays an important role in the creation narrative of 2 *Enoch*. G. Scholem draws attention to the relationship between these enigmatic stones and the cosmogonic tradition of «an esoteric baraita»⁵⁴ in which the word *בְּהוֹרֵי וְבְהוֹרֵי* of Genesis 1:2 was interpreted as muddy stones, sunk in the abyss». ⁵⁵ Scholem's remark⁵⁶ invites a further exploration into the role of the enigmatic stones in Aggadic traditions. *m. Hag. 2:1* prohibits the exposition of *מַעֲשֵׂה בְּרֵאשִׁית* in the public. Cosmogonic doctrines, however, were important during all stages of Jewish mysticism,⁵⁷ and occupied a prominent place in such books as *Sefer Yetsirah* and *Sefer ha-Bahir*.⁵⁸ Isaiah Tishby observes that the understanding of the causes and proc-

⁴⁸ The verb *оутвърдити* could be also rendered as «to place». Sreznevskij's Dictionary lists this translation among possible meanings of the Slavonic word. See И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, Словарь древнерусского языка. 3 тома (Москва, 1989) Т. 3. 1306.

⁴⁹ *КАМЕНЬ ВЕЛИКО*.

⁵⁰ *БЕЗДНЫМЪ*. Another choice for translation can be «abyss». Kurz and Sreznevskij equate the Slavonic term with the Greek ἄβυσσος. Cf. J. KURZ (ed.), Slovník Jazyka Staroslovenského [Lexicon Linguae Palaeo-Slovenicae]. 4 vols. (Prague, 1966) Vol. 1. 76; СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, Словарь древнерусского языка... Т. 1. 55.

⁵¹ *БЕЗДНЫ*. Again the same term, which can be translated as «abyss».

⁵² *Твердь*. This Slavonic word can be also translated as «a foundation». The verb *основахъ* («established») favors such a translation.

⁵³ ANDERSEN, 2 *Enoch*... 147.

⁵⁴ *b. Hag. 12a*.

⁵⁵ SCHOLEM, *Origins of the Kabbalah*... 74. He points also to «the muddy stones from which darkness flows» in the Targum on Job 28:8. Another interesting early parallel could be «stones of bohu» in Isa 34:11.

⁵⁶ Gershom Scholem was a unique exception in his field, as he persistently tried to investigate the relationships between 2 *Enoch* and the Jewish mystical traditions. Even though his observations on possible parallels between 2 *Enoch* and Jewish texts are not systematic, they are very perceptive and can provide many insights for students of 2 *Enoch*.

⁵⁷ Cf. G. SCHOLEM, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York, 1954).

⁵⁸ For the discussion of the parallels between the cosmogonies of these two texts and 2 *Enoch* cf. SCHOLEM, *Origins of the Kabbalah*... 73–75; IDEM, *On Mystical Shape of the Godhead*... 98–100.

esses of the formation of the world became one of the central themes in late Jewish mysticism.⁵⁹

In late Jewish mysticism, especially in the *Zohar*, the theme of the big stones placed by the Creator in the waters (in the abyss) occupied an important place. In spite of the late date of the *Zohar*, these materials have preserved important early traditions relevant to the subject of our research. Moreover, this medieval compendium of Jewish mystical knowledge mentions a book under the title «The Book of the Secrets of Enoch»⁶⁰ which is identical with the titles given to *2 Enoch* in some manuscripts.⁶¹

Similarities between *2 Enoch* and the *Zohar* are not confined only to the title of the *Slavonic Enoch*. Several scholars, including G. H. Box and H. Odeberg, have noted striking parallels between both texts, especially in the materials of the longer recension. G. H. Box points to the connection between *2 Enoch* and the *Zohar* and observes that «the *Slavonic Enoch*... is remarkably illuminating in its realistic presentment of some of the Kabbalistic ideas — e.g. as to the process of creation, the constitution of the heavens, and so on».⁶² H. Odeberg, who was Box's student at the University of London, holds a similar view.⁶³ In spite of some apparent deficiencies in his edition⁶⁴ of *3 Enoch* his work contains important insights into possible relationships between the *Slavonic Enoch* and late Jewish mysticism. Odeberg, who used Forbes' separate translations of the shorter and longer recensions of *2 Enoch*, makes a number of provocative comments on the nature of the Jewish mystical traditions incorporated in these texts. In his opinion, the longer recension sometimes contains concepts that belong to a later (post-Hekhaloth) development of Jewish mysticism. In this respect, he found a number of striking similarities with the Zoharic tradition. It should be noted that Odeberg's position was partially conditioned by his favoring of the shorter recension as more ancient and original.⁶⁵ He viewed the longer recension as a later

⁵⁹ I. TISHBY, *The Wisdom of the Zohar: Anthology of Texts*. 3 vols. (London, 1994) Vol. 2. 549.

⁶⁰ וְסֵפֶר הַזֹּהָר, 2.180b. Cf. R. MARGALIT (ed.), *סֵפֶר הַזֹּהָר*. 3 vols. (Jerusalem, 1940) Vol. 2. 360.

⁶¹ Cf. *Р КНИГА О ТАЙНАХЪ ЕНУХОВИХЪ* («The book about the secrets of Enoch») and *Р КНИГИ СВАТИХЪ ТАИНЪ ЕНУХОВЪ* («The books of the holy secrets of Enoch»). Cf. VAILLANT, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*... 1; СОКОЛОВ, *Славянская Книга Еноха Праведного*... 1.1.

⁶² W. O. E. OESTERLEY, G. H. BOX, *A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediaeval Judaism* (New York, 1920) 236.

⁶³ Cf. H. ODEBERG, *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (New York, 1973) 1.22.

⁶⁴ Cf. J. GREENFIELD, *Prolegomenon* // ODEBERG, *3 Enoch*... xi–xlvii.

⁶⁵ Although, «original» might be an inappropriate word here. P. Sacchi rightly observes that «the original is an abstract concept; no one possesses the author's manu-

expansion of the shorter one. In the light of the recent studies of F. Andersen, J. Charlesworth,⁶⁶ A. de Santos Otero,⁶⁷ and C. Böttrich,⁶⁸ who argue for the originality of the longer recension, Odeberg's hypothesis is losing its persuasive power. In this context an investigation of the possible parallels between the story of creation in 2 *Enoch* and the Account of Creation in the *Zohar* can contribute not only to our understanding of the hypothetical provenance of the longer recension but to the provenance of the text in general. It also can clarify the formative value of the account of creation in 2 *Enoch* for subsequent rabbinic developments. The importance of such inquiry constitutes one of the reasons for the inclusion of some materials from the *Book of Zohar* in our research.

Zohar I, 231a reads:

The world did not come into being until God took a certain stone, which is called the «foundation stone»,⁶⁹ and cast it into the abyss⁷⁰ so that it held fast there, and from it the world was planted. This is the central point of the universe, and on this point stands the holy of holies. This is the stone referred to in the verses, «Who laid the corner-stone thereof» (Job XXXVIII, 6), «the stone of testing, the precious corner-stone» (Is. XXVIII, 16), and «the stone that the builders despise became the head of the corner» (Ps. CXVIII, 22). This stone is compounded of fire, water, and air, and rests on the abyss. Sometimes water flows from it and fills the deep. This stone is set as a sign in the centre of the world.⁷¹

Zohar II, 222a continues the theme of the foundation stone:

When the Holy One, blessed be He, was about to create the world, He detached one precious stone⁷² from underneath His Throne of Glory and

script. Even the original of the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* is only the most ancient form of the text available, and therefore the closest to the Original (with a capital 'O')». Cf. P. SACCHI, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History* (Sheffield, 1990) (JSPSS, 20) 237.

⁶⁶ Cf. J. H. CHARLESWORTH, *The SNTS Pseudepigrapha Seminars at Tübingen and Paris on the Books of Enoch* (Seminar Report) // *NTS* 25 (1979) 315–323; IDEM, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament. Prolegomena for the Study of Christian Origins* (Cambridge, 1985) (SNTSMS, 54) 102–106.

⁶⁷ A. DE SANTOS OTERO, *Libro de los secretos de Henoc* (Henoc eslavo) // *Apocri-fos del AT* / Ed. A. DÍES MACHO. 4 vols. (Madrid, 1984) Vol. 4. 147–202.

⁶⁸ C. BÖTTRICH, *Weltweisheit, Menschheitsethik, Urkult: Studien zum slavischen Henochbuch* (Tübingen, 1992) (WUNT, 2/50); IDEM, *Das slavische Henochbuch* (Gütersloh, 1995) (JSHRZ, 5); IDEM, *Adam als Mikrokosmos: eine Untersuchung zum slavischen Henochbuch* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995) (Judentum und Umwelt, 59).

⁶⁹ אֲבֵן שְׂטִיָּה. MARGALIT, *ספר הזוהר*... Vol. 1. 461.

⁷⁰ תְּהוֹמָא. Ibid. 461.

⁷¹ H. SPERLING, M. SIMON (trs.), *The Zohar*. 5 vols (London—New York, 1933) Vol. 2. 399.

⁷² אֲבֵנָא יְקִירָא. MARGALIT, *ספר הזוהר*... Vol. 2. 443.

plunged it into the Abyss, one end of it remaining fastened therein whilst the other end stood out above; and this other and superior head constituted the nucleus of the world, the point out of which the world started, spreading itself to right and left and into all directions, and by which it is sustained. That nucleus, that stone, is called *shethyiah* (foundation), as it was the starting-point of the world. The name *shethyiah*, furthermore, is a compound of *shath* (founded) and *Yah* (God), signifying that the Holy One, blessed be He, made it the foundation and starting-point of the world and all that is therein.⁷³

We will now examine some important similarities between 2 *Enoch* and these Zoharic passages. The text of 2 *Enoch* uses the term **БЕЗДНА**⁷⁴ (literally, «abyss») which also occupied a prominent place in the narrative of the *Zohar*. In the *Zohar*, the Holy One cast a stone into the abyss. 2 *Enoch* does not mention that the stone fell into the abyss but does utilize the phrase, «I did not name what fell to the abyss» (28:3), with the implication that this act of the Lord had already taken place.

Another important motif in relation to the stones in both texts has to do with the theme of «establishing the foundation». 2 *Enoch* tells that the stones (stone) are related to the foundation which the Lord has established above the waters.⁷⁵ This labeling of stones as «foundation» is very typical for the Zoharic narrative, where the stone is referred to many times as **שִׁתִּי** («foundation») or **שִׁתִּי אֶבֶן** («foundation stone»). The concept of the «Foundation Stone» occupies a prominent place in several cosmological stories.⁷⁶ E. Burrows' research points to the Mesopotamian provenance of the concept of the «Foundation Stone», which symbolizes in these traditions the bond between heaven and earth.⁷⁷ Burrows traces the geographical origins of this cosmogonic pattern to «the sanctuaries at Nippur, at Larsa, and probably at Sippar».⁷⁸ The possible connection with Sippar is especially important for the Enochic text, if we keep in mind the possible Mesopotamian origin of Enoch's figure, based on the antediluvian king Enmeduranki of Sippar.

Finally, the difference in the number of stones in both texts must also be explained. The *Zohar* tells about one foundation stone, 2 *Enoch* speaks about

⁷³ SPERLING, SIMON, *The Zohar*... Vol. 4. 258–259.

⁷⁴ **МЛАМЪ ЖЕ БЕЗДНЫМЪ** — the clouds of the abyss, or the darkness of the abyss; **ОУПАДЪКЪ БЕЗДНЫ** — what fell to the abyss.

⁷⁵ **ТВЕРДЬ ВОДРОУЖИХЪ И ОСНОВАХЪ ВРЪХОУ ВОДЪ** (literally — «I erected a firm foundation and established it above the waters»).

⁷⁶ On the concept of the Foundation Stone, see L. GINZBERG, *Legends of the Jews*. 7 vols. (Philadelphia, 1955) Vol. 5. 15; E. BURROWS, *Some Cosmological Patterns in Babylonian Religion // The Labyrinth* / Ed. S. H. HOOKE (London, 1935) 45–59; FOSSUM, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*... 250ff.

⁷⁷ BURROWS, *Some Cosmological Patterns*... 45–59.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 46–47.

stones.⁷⁹ But later in the narrative of 2 *Enoch*, the term switches from the plural to the singular, and refers only to one stone: «From the stone I cut off a great fire... (29:3)».⁸⁰

Adoil and Arukhas: Etymology of the Names

During His instructions in the secrets of creation, the Lord told Enoch that in the beginning of creation he had thought to create a visible creation from the invisible. This process occupies an important place in the narrative of 2 *Enoch* and demonstrates in complicated imagery this stage of creation. To assist our inquiry, the following passage must be quoted:

The Lord told Enoch: And I thought up the idea of establishing a foundation, to create a visible creation. And I commanded the lowest things: «Let one of the invisible things come out visibly!» And Adoil⁸¹ descended, extremely large. And I looked at him, and, behold, in his belly he had a great age.⁸² And I said to him, «Disintegrate yourself, Adoil, and let what is disintegrated from you become visible». And he disintegrated himself, and there came out from him the great age. And thus it carried all the creation which I had wished to create. And I saw how good it was. And I placed for myself a throne, and I sat down on it. To the light I spoke: «You go up higher and be solidified and become the foundation for the highest things». And there is nothing higher than the light, except nothing itself. And I spoke, I straightened myself upward from my throne. And I called out a second time into the lowest things, and I said, «Let one of the invisible things come out solid and visible». There came out Arukhas,⁸³ solid and heavy and very black. And I saw how suitable he was. And I said to him, «Come down low and become solid! And become the foundation of the lowest things!» And there is nothing lower than the darkness, except nothing itself (24–26).⁸⁴

The passage deals with two enigmatic names, Adoil and Arukhas. Much attention has been devoted to the etymology of these words which might indicate that many scholars consider these names as important cues for clarifying the origins of the text.

R. H. Charles asserts that Adoil might be derived from Hebrew, אֵל תְּ, translated as «The hand of God».⁸⁵ M. Philonenko supports this etymology pointing to some Egyptian parallels in which «les premières créatures nais-

⁷⁹ КАМЕНІЕ.

⁸⁰ ANDERSEN, 2 *Enoch*... 149.

⁸¹ АДОИЛЪ.

⁸² ВѢКА БЕЛИКАГО. It can be also translated as «a great aeon».

⁸³ АРЪХАЗЪ.

⁸⁴ ANDERSEN, 2 *Enoch*... 143–145.

⁸⁵ APOT. Vol. 2. 445.

sent du liquide séminal que le démiurge solitaire avait fait jaillir au moyen de sa main». ⁸⁶

L. Gry suggests reading Adoil as אור אל, «the light of God». In his opinion, some letters in the Hebrew word אור, «light», were transformed. *Resh* was changed into *daleth*. *Waw* was transposed. As a result of these transformations, it sounds like Adoil. ⁸⁷

A. Vaillant suggests that the name might be derived from a Hebrew word עד with a suffix, «his eternity, his aeon». ⁸⁸ G. Scholem criticizes this rendering and shows that in Hebrew the word עד has the peculiar characteristic of being unable to carry a pronominal suffix. ⁸⁹ According to Scholem's own interpretation Adoil derives from Sadoqil. ⁹⁰

J. Milik considers the name Adoil as «a Greek and Semitic hybrid: Hades + El». ⁹¹ G. Quispel derives it from *Adonai-el*, where the first element is the circumlocution for the Tetragrammaton. ⁹²

Another proper name in the narrative, Arukhaz, also poses several problems for interpretation. R. H. Charles believes that Arukhaz may have originated from the Hebrew word רקיע («firmament»). ⁹³

A. Vaillant supports the view that the term «Arukhas» is connected with the image of foundation (Greek, στερέωμα; Hebrew, רקיע). In his opinion it was composed from the Hebrew words ערוך «arranged» and עז «hard». ⁹⁴

J. Milik traced «Arukhas» to the Hebrew feminine term ארוכה («geographical basin»), transcribed with the masculine flexional ending as Arukhas. ⁹⁵

F. Andersen, while thinking that the name could probably be derived from the Greek word ἀρχή, points out that the ending -as, which is not Slavonic, is doubtful. ⁹⁶ He opts for another translation that connects the name with a Hebrew word ערוך («extended»). ⁹⁷

However, some materials found in the *Zohar* might lead us to quite different interpretations of the names «Adoil» and «Arukhas». In the *Zohar* I, 17b

⁸⁶ Philonenko, *La cosmogonie du «Livre des secrets d'Hénoch»*... 114.

⁸⁷ See GRY, *Quelques noms d'anges ou d'êtres mystérieux*... 201.

⁸⁸ VAILLANT, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*... xi.

⁸⁹ SCHOLEM, *Origins of the Kabbalah*... 73.

⁹⁰ G. SCHOLEM, *Die Lehre vom «Gerechten» in der jüdischen Mystik // Eranos-Jahrbuch* 27 (1958) 252.

⁹¹ J. T. MILIK, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford, 1976) 113.

⁹² Cf. FOSSUM, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*... 288.

⁹³ APOT. Vol. 2. 445.

⁹⁴ VAILLANT, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*... xi–xii.

⁹⁵ MILIK, *The Books of Enoch*... 113.

⁹⁶ ANDERSEN, *2 Enoch*... 144–145.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 145.

one may find some provocative material from the Account of Creation that describes the same stage in the story of creation which began, just as the passage of 2 *Enoch*, with the idea of establishing a «foundation»:

Let there be a firmament: i.e. let there be a gradual extension. Thereupon *El* (God), the «right cluster», *El Gadol* (Great God),⁹⁸ spread forth from the midst of the waters to complete this name *El* and to combine with this extension, and so *El* was extended into *Elohim* (=El+H, Y, M). These H, Y, M, extended and became reversed so as to form lower waters, Y, M, H. This extension which took place on the second day is the upper waters. The *hé, yod, mim*, form *hayam* (the sea), which the upper waters. The reversal of these letters, *yamah* (seaward), is the lower waters. When they were firmly established, all became one whole, and this name was extended to a number of places. The upper waters are male and the lower waters female. At first they were commingled,⁹⁹ but afterwards they were differentiated into upper and lower waters. This is the meaning of «*Elohim* upper waters», and this is the meaning of «*Adonai* lower waters»; and this is the meaning of upper *Hé* and lower *Hé*.¹⁰⁰

First, the applicable correlation between this narrative and the passage of 2 *Enoch* lies in the similarities between the name «Adail» which is spelled in the majority of Slavonic manuscripts as «Adoil»,¹⁰¹ and אֵל גָּדוֹל — *El gadol* (or *Gadol-el*, «the great one»). Let it be noted that the Slavonic text, after it introduces the name «Adoil», defines it as «the great one» Ѧдоиль превеликы ѡѡло¹⁰² «Adoil, the great one»,¹⁰³ which, in Hebrew, is identical with his name.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ אֵל גָּדוֹל. MARGALIT, ספר הזוהר... Vol. 1. 34.

⁹⁹ Literally: «there were waters within waters» (היו מים במים). MARGALIT, ספר הזוהר... Vol. 1. 34.

¹⁰⁰ SPERLING, SIMON, The Zohar... Vol. 1. 75.

¹⁰¹ In the majority of MSS this name has a form Adoil (Ѧдоиль) with «o» in the middle of the word:

J — Adoil. ANDERSEN, 2 *Enoch*... 144.

R — Adoil. СОКОЛОВ, Славянская Книга Еноха Праведного... 1.25.

P — Adoilju. Ibid. 25.

U — Adoil'. Ibid. 117.

N — Idoil. VAILLANT, Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch... 28.

B — Adoil'; Idoil'. СОКОЛОВ, Славянская Книга Еноха Праведного... 91.

B² — Adoil. Ibid. 137.

Chr — Adoil'. Ibid. 150.

¹⁰² VAILLANT, Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch... 29–30.

¹⁰³ Andersen translated it as «extremely large».

¹⁰⁴ The title *El gadol*, «the great God», can be connected with the term «Great Aeon», which came out from the belly of «Great One» — *Adoil*. Compare also *Zohar*'s narrative: «At first there were waters within waters».

Second, the title *El Gadol* in the *Zohar* is identified with the upper waters. A similar correspondence can be found in *2 Enoch* where Adoil is matched with the upper foundation.

The same symmetrical pattern also shows in the case of Arukhaz: Arukhaz, the lower foundation in *2 Enoch*, and the «other extension», the lower waters in the *Zohar*. Both texts use the term «lower» in reference to Arukhaz. This term can serve as a clue to resolving the etymological mystery of this enigmatic name. The word «Arukhas» in *2 Enoch* might be related to the Aramaic אַרְכַּחַז, translated as «lower».¹⁰⁵ It is noteworthy that *Frg. Tg.* on Gen 1:6 uses this term in the expression «the lower waters» (מִיַּם אַרְכַּחַז).¹⁰⁶

Conclusion

It would be helpful now to offer some concluding remarks about the Account of Creation in *2 Enoch*. These inferences will be concerned mainly with the form and the content of the examined textual material.

1. *2 Enoch* appears to contain a systematic tendency of treating the story of creation as containing the most esoteric knowledge. Even though *2 Enoch* deals with various meteorological, astronomical, and cosmological revelations, it specifically emphasizes the «secrecy» of the account of creation. *2 Enoch*, unlike other early apocalyptic materials (such as the Book of Daniel and *1 Enoch*), does not include the variety of «revealed things» in the notion of «secrets».

2. *2 Enoch's* emphasis on the «secrecy» of the creation story demonstrates an intriguing parallel to the later rabbinic approach to מַעֲשֵׂה בְּרֵאשִׁית as esoteric knowledge. *2 Enoch*, therefore, can be seen as an important step in the shaping of the later rabbinic understanding of «secret things», which eventually led to the esoterism of the Account of Creation.

3. The Account of Creation in *2 Enoch* includes the cosmogonic motifs of God's creation of the primordial order. These descriptions show a number of parallels with late Jewish mysticism, namely the Zoharic tradition. It supports the Box-Odeberg hypothesis, that the creation narrative of the longer recension shows a presentment of some of the Zoharic ideas of creation. At this stage of our research, it is difficult to determine whether these blocks of the Account of Creation are interpolations during the later stages of transmission or whether they belong to the original layer of the text.

4. The story of Creation appears to be more developed in the manuscripts of the longer recension. To illustrate this fact, we could point to the important description of the creation of Adam¹⁰⁷ in chapters 30–32, which are absent in

¹⁰⁵ M. SOKOLOFF, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic* (Ramat-Gan, 1990) 77.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. GRUENWALD, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism...* 51.

the manuscripts of the shorter recension. It supports Andersen's position that «the claims of the longer recension need special attention in the sections dealing with creation, chapters 24–33».¹⁰⁸

ABSTRACT

The article explores the theme of the secrets of creation in *2 Enoch*. The Slavonic pseudepigraphon appears to contain a systematic tendency of treating the story of creation as containing the most esoteric knowledge. Even though *2 Enoch* deals with various meteorological, astronomical, and cosmological revelations, it specifically emphasizes the «secrecy» of the account of creation. *2 Enoch's* emphasis on the «secrecy» of the creation story demonstrates an intriguing parallel to the later rabbinic approach to *מעשה בראשית* as esoteric knowledge. *2 Enoch*, therefore, can be seen as an important step in the shaping of the later rabbinic understanding of «secret things», which eventually led to the esoterism of the Account of Creation.

¹⁰⁸ ANDERSEN, *2 Enoch*... 94.

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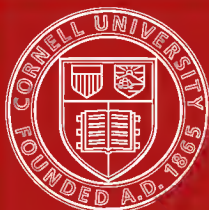
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TRANSLATED FROM THE SLAVONIC

BY

W. R. MORFILL, M.A.

READER IN RUSSIAN AND THE OTHER SLAVONIC LANGUAGES

AND

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND INDICES

BY

R. H. CHARLES, M.A.

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PREFACE



THE Book of the Secrets of Enoch cannot fail to be of interest to students of Apocalyptic literature and of the origins of Christianity. It is with a view to help such that this the first edition of the book has been undertaken. In certain respects it will appeal also to specialists in Assyriology. So far indeed as it does so, I have been able to do little more than refer to the leading scholars in this department, as my knowledge of such subjects is very slight, and all secondhand.

This book has had a peculiar history. For more than 1200 years it has been unknown save in Russia, where acquaintance with it goes several centuries back. Further, by its present name it was never known in any literature save the Slavonic. Even in Slavonic the name was not quite constant, if we may trust one of the MSS. (B); for there it appears as 'The Secret Books of God which were shown to Enoch.' And yet the book was much read in many circles in the first three centuries of the Church, and has left more traces of its influence than many a well-known book of the same literature (see § 5), and it is undoubtedly of much greater importance in respect of exegesis. In its Greek form it passed current probably under the general designation of Enoch. Occasionally we find that it was not distinguished by those who used it from the older book which has come down to us through the Ethiopic. We have, in fact, in this book another fragmentary survival of the literature that once circulated under the name of Enoch.

That such a book had ever existed was not known in Western Europe till 1892, when a writer in a German review stated that there was a Slavonic version of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch. By Mr. Morfill's help it soon became clear that there was no foundation whatever for such a statement, and subsequent study showed that we had recovered therein an old and valuable pseudepigraph. The next step was naturally to secure its publication, and this was soon made possible through the kindness of the Delegates of the Press.

It will be generally understood that great difficulties beset such an undertaking, and particularly in the case of a book of whose existence there had never been even a surmise in the world of scholarship, and to which there was not a single unmistakable allusion in all ancient literature. The editor in such a case has to pursue untravelled ways, and if, in his efforts to discover the literary environment, the religious views, the date, and language of his author, he has fallen once and again into errors of perception or judgement, he can therein but throw himself on the indulgence of his critics.

The first edition of such a work must have many shortcomings. The editor will be grateful for corrections and further elucidations of the text.

In order to appreciate the value of this book in elucidating contemporary and subsequent religious thought, the reader should consult pp. xxix-xlvii of the Introduction.

In conclusion, I must express my gratitude to Mr. Morfill for his great kindness in undertaking the translation of the Slavonic texts, and for his unfailing courtesy and unwearying energy in the prosecution of the task. It is to him that I am indebted for the account of the Slavonic MSS. in § 2.

R. H. C.

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Book of the Secrets of Enoch has, so far as is yet known, been preserved only in Slavonic. It will suit our convenience to take advantage of this fact, and call it shortly 'the Slavonic Enoch,' in contradistinction to the older book of Enoch. As the latter has come down to us in its entirety through the Ethiopic alone, it will be no less convenient to designate it as 'the Ethiopic Enoch.'

This new fragment of the Enochic literature has only recently come to light through certain MSS. which were found in Russia and Servia. My attention was first drawn to this fact when editing the Ethiopic Enoch by an article by Kozak on Russian Pseudepigraphic Literature in the *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.* pp. 127-158 (1892). As it was stated in this article that there was a Slavonic Version of the Book of Enoch hitherto known through the Ethiopic Version, I at once applied to Mr. Morfill for help, and in the course of a few weeks we had before us printed copies of two of the MSS. in question. It did not take much study to discover that Kozak's statement was absolutely devoid of foundation. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch was, as it soon transpired, a new pseud-epigraph, and not in any sense a version of the older and well-known Book of Enoch. In many respects it is of no less value, as we shall see in the sequel.

The Slavonic Enoch in its present form was written somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era. Its author or final editor was an Hellenistic Jew, and the place of its composition was Egypt.

Written at such a date, and in Egypt, it was not to be expected that it exercised a direct influence on the writers of the New Testament. On the other hand, it occasionally exhibits striking parallelisms in diction and thought, and some of the dark passages of the latter are all but inexplicable without its aid.

Although the very knowledge that such a book ever existed was lost for probably twelve hundred years, it nevertheless was much used both by Christian and heretic in the early centuries. Thus citations appear from it, though without acknowledgement, in the Book of Adam and Eve, the Apocalypses of Moses and Paul (400–500 A.D.), the Sibylline Oracles, the Ascension of Isaiah and the Epistle of Barnabas (70–90 A.D.). It is quoted by name in the Apocalyptic portions of the Testaments of Levi, Daniel, and Naphtali (circ. 1 A.D.)¹. It was referred to by Origen and probably by Clement of Alexandria, and used by Irenaeus, and a few phrases in the New Testament may be derived from it.

§ 2. THE SLAVONIC MANUSCRIPTS.

The Slavonic redaction of the text of the Book of Enoch, which is now for the first time translated into English, has come down to us mainly in two versions. It will be clear from the evidence in § 4 that they are translations from a lost Greek original. The manuscripts may be thus classified. I. First those in which we find the complete text, and of these two have been preserved; (a) a MS. in the possession

¹ The grounds for this date of the original. These I hope to give at length in an edition of these Testaments cannot be stated here, nor yet for the assumption some pages later that they sprang from a Hebrew

of Mr. A. Khludov ; this is a South Russian recension. The MS. belongs to the second half of the seventeenth century, and is found in a *Sbornik* or volume of miscellanies containing also lives of the Saints and other religious treatises. This text was published by Mr. A. Popov in the *Transactions of the Historical and Archaeological Society of the University of Moscow*, vol. iii. (Moscow 1880). It is unfortunately in many places very corrupt. It forms the basis of the present text, but where it is corrupt attempts have been made to supply a sounder text from other MSS. It is marked by the letter A in the critical notes to the present translation. (b) A MS. discovered by Prof. Sokolov of Moscow in the Public Library of Belgrade in the year 1886. This is a Bulgarian recension, and the orthography belongs to the middle Bulgarian period. This MS. is probably of the sixteenth century. It contains the account of the priesthood of Methuselah and Nir, the birth of Melchizedek and the Deluge. Though this legend does not belong to this Book of Enoch, it is added as an Appendix. II. There is also a shortened and incomplete redaction of the text of which three MSS. are known ; (a) that preserved in the Public Library of Belgrade ; a Serbian redaction, which was printed by Novaković in the sixteenth volume of the literary magazine *Starine* (Agram, 1884). Many of the readings of this MS. are very interesting. It is of the sixteenth century, and is cited as B. (b) That in the Vienna Public Library, which is almost identical with the preceding ; (c) a MS. of the seventeenth century in the possession of Mr. E. Barsov of Moscow.

Of the above MSS. I have direct acquaintance only with A and B : of the other MSS. I have only an indirect knowledge through the text prepared by Prof. Sokolov, which is based on all the above MSS. Unfortunately, however, this text has not fully discriminated these sources. Accordingly, to avoid misconceptions, this text which is designated as *Sok*,

is to be understood as representing all authorities other than A and B.

Other fragments of the Book of Enoch are to found in Tikhonravov's Memorials of Russian Apocryphal Literature (Памятники отреченной русской литературы), and Рупин's Memorials of Old Russian Literature (Памятники старинной русской литературы). By allusions and citations in early Slavonic literature, we can see that these late manuscripts are only copies of much earlier ones, which have perished. Thus Tikhonravov cites from a fourteenth century MS.

The duty of the translator has been a comparatively simple one—to present a text which would be of service to the Western students of apocryphal literature. To this end all philological questions have been subordinated, and therefore my Slavonic friends must not blame me for not going more into linguistic matters. These would be out of place on the present occasion; certainly the time for such a work has not yet come in England. My translation will have served its purpose by enabling my friend, the Rev. R. H. Charles, to treat the subject as fully and learnedly as he has done from the standpoint of Biblical apocryphal literature. In conclusion, I must say that I am glad in however small a way to be able to contribute to such studies through the agency of Mr. Charles. I wish also to express my thanks to Professors Sokolov and Pavlov of the University of Moscow; to the former for allowing me the use of his emendated text and furnishing me with valuable notes on some obscure passages; and to the latter for the kind interest which he has taken in the book.

W. R. M.

§ 3. THE TEXT FOLLOWED IN THE TRANSLATION.

The formation of the text has been a matter of great difficulty. As I have no knowledge of Slavonic, Mr. Morfill has been so good as to furnish me with literal translations of A, B and of Prof. Sokolov's text. The number of variations

which was unduly great at the outset has to some extent been diminished by Mr. Morfill's critical acumen. This careful scholar, however, I should remark, has conscientiously refrained from all but obvious corrections of the text. Starting then from his translations of the Slavonic MSS. and of Sokolov's text, I resolved after due examination to follow A in the main. B of course is followed when it preserves the obviously better reading, and that it does frequently. When both A and B are corrupt, I have fallen back on the text of Sokolov. Occasionally I have been obliged to follow one reading to the rejection of the others, in cases where all the readings were equally probable or improbable. In only two or three passages have I emended the text, and that in the case of numbers, which are frequently corrupted in tradition through MSS. In all cases the rejected variants are given in the critical notes below, so that, in the event of the discovery of fresh critical materials, the reader can revise the text for himself, and in the process will reverse, no doubt, many of the editor's judgements.

As regards the relative merits of A and B, though the former is very corrupt, it is nevertheless a truer representative of the original than B. B is really a short *résumé* of the work—being about half the length of A. In the process of abbreviation its editor or scribe rejected in some instances and in others recast entire sections with capricious rearrangements of the text. For an example of the method pursued occasionally in B the reader can consult the critical notes on xl.

In A we find many interpolations. Thus in xx. 3 there is a mention of the tenth heaven, and in xxi-xxii. 3 a description of the eighth, ninth and tenth heavens, though the rest of the work directly speaks of and indirectly implies only seven heavens. B omits all reference to this addition in A. The reader will find many other like additions which have as

a rule been relegated to the critical notes or given in the text in square brackets.

The titles at the head of the chapters are given by A. I have enclosed them in square brackets, as they have no claim to antiquity. They are not given in Sokolov's text, nor are they found in B. A few titles do appear in B, but with one exception these consist merely of *Entry of Enoch into the first heaven*, *Entry of Enoch into the second heaven*, &c., &c., *Entry of Enoch into the seventh heaven*.

§ 4. THE LANGUAGE AND PLACE OF WRITING.

1. The main part of this book was written for the first time in Greek. This is shown by such statements, (1) as xxx. 13, 'And I gave him a name (i. e. Adam) from the four substances: the East, the West, the North, and the South.' Adam's name is here derived from the initial letters of the Greek names of the four quarters, i. e. ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία. This fancy was first elaborated in Greek, as this derivation is impossible in Semitic languages. (2) Again, the writer follows the chronology of the LXX. Enoch is 165 years old when he begat Methuselah. According to the Hebrew and Samaritan chronologies he was 65. Josephus also (*Ant.* i. 3. 3), it is true, adopts the LXX chronology. (3) In l. 4 the writer reproduces the LXX text of Deut. xxxii. 35 against the Hebrew. (4) The writer frequently uses Ecclesiasticus, and often reproduces it almost word for word: cf. xliii. 2, 3—Ecclus. xxiii. 7; x. 20, 22, 24: also xlvii. 5—Ecclus. i. 2: also li. 1, 3—Ecclus. vii. 32; ii. 4: also lxi. 2—Ecclus. xxxix. 25: also lxv. 2—Ecclus. xvii. 3, 5. (5) lxv. 4 seems to be derived from the Book of Wisdom vii. 17, 18. So far as we can judge, it was the Greek Versions of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom that our author used.

Some sections of this book were written originally in Hebrew. (See p. xxiv.)

2. This book was written in Egypt, and probably in Alexandria. This is deducible from the following facts. (1) From the variety of speculations which it holds in common with Philo and writings which were Hellenistic in character or circulated largely in Egypt. Thus the existent was created from the non-existent, xxiv. 2; xxv. 1: cf. Philo, *de Justit.* 7; souls were created before the foundation of the world, xxiii. 5: cf. Philo, *de Somno*, i. 22; *de Gigantibus* 3; Wisdom viii. 19, 20. Again, man had seven natures or powers, xxx. 9: cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 40. Man could originally see the angels in heaven, xxxi. 2: cf. Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* xxxii. There is no resurrection of the body, l. 2; lxxv. 6: so the Book of Wisdom and Philo taught. Finally swearing is reprobated by both, xlix. 1, 2: cf. Philo, *de Spec. Leg.* ii. 1. (2) The whole Messianic teaching of the Old Testament does not find a single echo in the work of this Hellenized Israelite of Egypt, although he shows familiarity with almost every book of the Old Testament. (3) The Phoenixes and Chalkydries, xii—monstrous serpents with the heads of *crocodiles*—are natural products of the Egyptian imagination. (4) The syncretistic character of the account of the creation, xxv–xxvi, which undoubtedly betrays Egyptian elements.

We should observe further that the arguments that make for a Greek original tend to support the view that the book was written in Egypt, especially when we take them in conjunction with the date of its composition.

§ 5. RELATION OF THE BOOK TO JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

The discoveries regarding the planets, &c., which Joel (circ. 1200 A.D.) in his Chronography assigns to Seth are, as we have shown on p. 37, most probably derived ultimately from this Book of Enoch. In like manner the statements regarding

the sabbath and the duration of the world, which according to Cedrenus (circ. 1050 A.D.) were drawn from Josephus and the Book of Jubilees are likewise to be assigned to this book ; for nothing of this nature appears either in Josephus or the Book of Jubilees. Cedreus, we should remember, is largely dependent on Syncellus, and Syncellus is very often wrong in his references in the case of Apocalyptic literature (see xxxiii. 1, 2 notes). It is natural that these late writers should err regarding all facts derived from this book, inasmuch as it was already lost to all knowledge many centuries before their day. Let us now pass over these intervening centuries to a time when this book was still in some measure known. Now in the *Book of Adam and Eve* of the fifth century we find two passages drawn from our book which are quotations in sense more than in words. Thus in I. vi we read: 'But the wicked Satan . . . set me at naught, and sought the Godhead, so that I hurled him down from heaven.' This is drawn from xxix. 4, 5: 'One of these in the ranks of the Archangels (i.e. Satan, cf. xxxi. 4) . . . entertained an impossible idea that he should make his throne higher than the clouds over the earth, and should be equal in rank to My power. And I hurled him from the heights.' Again in the *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. viii: 'When we dwelt in the garden . . . we saw his angels that sang praises in heaven.' This comes from xxxi. 2: 'I made for him the heavens open that he should perceive the angels singing the song of triumph.' See notes on xxxi. 2 for similar view in Philo and St. Ephrem. Again in I. xiv of the former book the words: 'The garden, into the abode of light thou longest for, wherein is no darkness,' and I. xi: 'That garden in which was no darkness,' are probably derived from Slav. En. xxxi. 2: 'And there was light without any darkness continually in Paradise.'

Next in the Apocalypse of Moses (ed. Tischend. 1866), p. 19, we have a further development of a statement that appears in our text regarding the sun: see xiv. 2-4 (notes).

In the anonymous writing *De montibus Sina et Sion* 4, we have most probably another trace of the influence of our text in this century. In this treatise the derivation of Adam's name from the initials of the four quarters of the earth is given at length. This derivation appears probably for the first time in literature in xxx. 13 (see note).

In the fourth century there are undoubted indications of its use in the Apocalypse of Paul (ed. Tischend. 1866). Thus the statement, p. 64, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παράδεισος, ἐνθα . . . δένδρον παμμεγέθη (sic) ὠραῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπανεπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον is beyond the possibility of question a Christian adaptation of the Slavonic Enoch viii. 3: 'And in the midst (of Paradise is) the tree of life, in that place, on which God rests, when He comes into Paradise.' Again the words, p. 64, ἐκ τῆς ρίζης αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο . . . ὕδωρ, μεριζόμενον εἰς τέσσαρα ὀρύγματα, and p. 52, ποταμοὶ τέσσαρες . . . ῥέοντες μέλι καὶ γάλα καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον, are almost verbal reproductions of our text, viii. 5: 'From its root in the garden there go forth four streams which pour honey and milk, oil and wine, and are separated in four directions.' With two characteristic features of hell in this Apocalypse, i.e. οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖ φῶς and ὁ πυρινὸς ποταμός (pp. 57, 58), we may compare x. 1 of our text: 'And there was no light there . . . and a fiery river goes forth.'

The peculiar speculation of St. Augustine in the *De Civ.* xxii. 30. 5 seems to be derived ultimately from xxxiii. 2 (see notes). Compare with xxxiii. 2 especially the words: 'Haec tamen septima erit sabbatum nostrum cuius finis non erit vespera, sed dominicus dies velut octavus aeternus.'

In the early part of the third and in the second century there is the following evidence of the existence of our text. Thus in the Sibylline Oracles, ii. 75 ὀρφανικοῖς χήραις τ' ἐπιδευομένοις τε παράσχον, and 88 σὴν χεῖρα πενιτεύουσιν ὀρεξον are too closely parallel to l. 5—li. 1, 'Stretch out your hands to the orphan, the widow [and the stranger, B om.]. Stretch out your hands to the poor,' to be accidental.

In Irenaeus *contra Haer.* v. 28. 3 we have the Jewish speculation in our text, xxxiii. 1, 2, reproduced to the effect that as the work of creation lasted six days so the world would last 6,000 years, and that there would be 1,000 years of rest corresponding to the first sabbath after creation. See text, xxxiii. 1, 2 (notes).

In Origen (according to Methodius; see Lommatzsch edition, xxi. p. 59) we find a reference to this speculation: *χιλίων γὰρ ἐτῶν περιοριζομένων εἰς μίαν ἡμέραν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς θεοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως μέχρι καταπαύσεως μέχρις ἡμῶν, ὥς οἱ περὶ τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν φάσκουσι δεινοί, ἐξ ἡμέραι συμπεραιοῦνται. Ἐξακισχιλιοστὸν ἄρα ἔτος φασὶν ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ εἰς δεῦρο συντείνειν τῇ γὰρ ἑβδομάδι τῷ ἑπτακισχιλιοστῷ ἔτει κρίσιν ἀφίξεσθαι φασιν.* Whether this passage argues a direct knowledge of the Slavonic Enoch is doubtful. There can be no doubt, however, with regard to the direct reference in the *de Princip.* i. 3. 2 ‘Nam et in eo libello . . . quem Hermas conscripsit, ita refertur: Primo omnium crede, quia unus est Deus, qui omnia creavit atque composuit: qui cum nihil esset prius, esse fecit omnia. . . . Sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur.’ Now since there is no account of the creation in the Ethiopic Enoch, Origen is here referring to the Slav. Enoch xxiv-xxx; xlvii. 3, 4.

The fragment of the Apocalypse of Zephaniah preserved in Clement, *Strom.* v. 11. 77, is likewise to be traced to our text: cf. xviii. (notes).

During the years 50-100 A.D. our text seems not to be without witness in the literature of that period. Thus in the Ascension of Isaiah, viii. 16, we read with regard to the angels of the sixth heaven: ‘Omnium una species et gloria aequalis,’ whereas the difference between the angelic orders in the lower heavens is repeatedly pointed out. Now in our text, xix. 1, it is said of the seven bands of angels present in the sixth heaven that ‘there is no difference in their countenances, or their manner, or the style of their clothing.’

In 4 Ezra [vi. 71] the words ‘ut facies eorum luceant sicut sol’ are found in i. 5 ‘Their faces shone like the sun.’

With the Apocalypse of Baruch, iv. 3 ‘Ostendi eam (i.e. Paradisum) Adamo priusquam peccaret,’ compare xxxi. 2.

In the Epistle of Barnabas xv. 4 τί λέγει τό· “*συντελέσειεν ἐν ἐξ ἡμέραις.*” τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι ἐν ἑξακισχιλίαις ἔτεσιν συντελέσει Κύριος τὰ σύνπαντα. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ’ αὐτῷ σημαίνει χίλια ἔτη, we have an exposition of the rather confused words in our text, xxxii. 2—xxxiii. In xv. 5–7, however, the writer of this Epistle does not develop logically the thought with regard to the seventh day; for the seventh day on which God rested from His works should in accordance with the same principle of interpretation as in xv. 4 have been taken as a symbol of a thousand years of rest, i.e. the millennium. In xv. 8, however, this writer shows his return to our text by his use of the peculiar phrase ‘the eighth day’: οὐ τὰ νῦν σάββατα [ἐμοί] δεκτά, ἀλλὰ ὁ πεποίηκα, ἐν ᾧ καταπαύσας τὰ πάντα ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὀγδόης ποιήσω, ὅ ἐστιν ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχή. It may not be amiss here to point out that in the next chapter, in verse 5, the Ethiopic Enoch (lxxxix. 56, 66) is quoted as Scripture. The fact, therefore, that Barnabas does not quote our text as Scripture may point to his discrimination between the two books of Enoch to the detriment of the latter. Again in this Epistle, xviii. 1, the words ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν . . . ἥ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους are derived from our text, xxx. 15, ‘I showed him the two ways, the light and the darkness.’ Though the Two Ways are often described in early literature (see note on xxx. 15), only in Barnabas are they described in the same terms as in our text.

In the New Testament the similarity of thought and diction is sufficiently large to establish a close connexion, if not a literary dependence. With St. Matt. v. 9, ‘Blessed are the peacemakers,’ compare lii. 11, ‘Blessed is he who establishes peace.’ With St. Matt. v. 34, 35, 37, ‘Swear not at all: neither by the heaven . . . nor by the earth . . . nor by

Jerusalem, . . . but let your speech be, Yea, yea : Nay, nay,' compare xlix. 1, 'I will not swear by a single oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God made. . . . If there is no truth in men, let them swear by a word, yea, yea, or nay, nay.' (See notes.)

With St. Matt. vii. 20, 'By their fruits ye shall know them,' compare xlii. 14, 'By their works those who have wrought them are known.' The words 'Be of good cheer, be not afraid,' St. Matt. xiv. 27, are of frequent occurrence in our text, i. 8 ; xx. 2 ; xxi. 3, &c. With St. Matt. xxv. 34, 'Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world,' compare ix. 1, 'This place (i.e. Paradise) O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous . . . as an eternal inheritance.' Next with St. Luke vi. 35 *μηδὲν ἀπελπίζοντες*, compare xlii. 7, 'Expecting nothing in return' Next with John xiv. 2, 'In my Father's house are many mansions,' compare lxi. 2, 'For in the world to come . . . there are many mansions prepared for men, good for the good, evil for the evil.' With Acts xiv. 15, 'Ye should turn from these vain things unto the living God, who made the heaven and the earth,' compare ii. 2, 'Do not worship vain gods who did not make heaven and earth.' In the Pauline Epistles there are several parallels in thought and diction. With Col. i. 16, 'Dominions or principalities or powers,' compare xx. 1, 'Lordships and principalities and powers': with Eph. iv. 25, 'Speak ye truth each one with his neighbour,' compare xlii. 12, 'Blessed is he in whom is the truth that he may speak the truth to his neighbour.' For other Pauline parallels with our text see pp. xxxix-xli. With Heb. xi. 3, 'The worlds have been framed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear,' compare xxv. 1, 'I commanded . . . that visible things should come out of invisible,' and xxiv. 2, 'I will tell thee . . . what things I created from the non-existent, and what visible things from the invisible.' For two other parallels of Hebrews with our text see p. xli. With Rev.

i. 16, 'His countenance was as the sun shineth,' compare i. 5, 'Their faces shone like the sun': with ix. 1, 'There was given to him the key of the pit of the abyss,' compare xlii. 1, 'Those who keep the keys and are the guardians of the gates of hell.' With Rev. iv. 6, 'A glassy sea,' compare iii. 3, 'A great sea greater than the earthy sea.' This sea in the first heaven, however, may be merely 'the waters which were above the firmament' (Gen. i. 7). With Rev. x. 5, 6, 'And the angel . . . sware . . . that there shall be time no longer,' compare lxxv. 7, 'Then the times shall perish, and there shall be no year,' &c.: xxxiii. 2, 'Let there be . . . a time when there is no computation and no end; neither years, nor months,' &c.

Finally, in the Apocalyptic portions of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, which were written probably about the beginning of the Christian era we find our text quoted directly or implied in several instances. In Levi 3 we have an account of the Angels imprisoned in the second heaven: ἐν αὐτῷ εἰσὶ πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ἐπαγωγῶν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἀνόμων. This must be rendered 'In it are all the spirits of the lawless ones who are kept bound unto (the day of) vengeance.' With this statement compare our text vii. 1, where the fallen angels in the second heaven are described as 'the prisoners suspended, reserved for (and) awaiting the eternal judgement.' Again, in the same chapter of Levi, there are said to be armies in the third heaven, οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης. With these compare the angels of punishment in the third heaven in x. 3. The statement from Enoch in Test. Dan. 5 τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πλάνης. 'Ἀνέγνων γὰρ ἐν βιβλῷ Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ Σατανᾶς is drawn from xviii. 3, 'These are the Grigori (i.e. Ἐγγρηγοροί) who with their prince Satanail rejected the holy Lord.' In the Test. Napht. 4 the authority of Enoch is claimed by the writer as follows: Ἀνέγνων ἐν γραφῇ ἁγίᾳ Ἐνὼχ, ὅτι καὶ γε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ κυρίου, πορευόμενοι κατὰ πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ποιήσετε κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν

Σοδόμων. καὶ ἐπάξει ὑμῖν κύριος αἰχμαλωσίαν . . . ἕως ἂν ἀναλώσῃ κύριος πάντας ὑμᾶς. This is a loose adaptation to later times of xxxiv. 2, 3, 'And they will fill all the world with wickedness and iniquity and foul impurities with one another, sodomy. . . . And on this account I will bring a deluge upon the earth, and I will destroy all.' The quotation in Test. Sim. 5 is probably derived from the same source, and that in Test. Benj. 9 ὑπονοῶ δὲ καὶ πράξεις ἐν ὑμῖν οὐ καλὰς ἔσεσθαι, ἀπὸ λόγων Ἐνῶχ τοῦ δικαίου πορνεύσετε γὰρ πορνείαν Σοδόμων, καὶ ἀπώλησθε ἕως βραχύ, may confidently be traced to it. The words in Test. Juda 18 ἀνέγνων ἐν βίβλοις Ἐνῶχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅσα κακὰ ποιήσετε ἐπ' ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις. φυλάξασθε οὖν, τέκνα μου, ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας may likewise be founded upon it. The loose and inaccurate character of the quotations may in part be accounted for as follows.

Although it is a matter of demonstration that the main part of the book was written originally in Greek, it seems no less sure that certain portions of it were founded on Hebrew originals. Such an hypothesis is necessary owing to the above Enochic quotations which appear in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. For the fact that the latter work was written in Hebrew obliges us to conclude that its author or authors drew upon Hebrew originals in the quotations from Enoch. I have not attempted in the present work to discriminate the portions derived from Hebrew originals. For such a task we have not sufficient materials, and what we have, moreover, have not been preserved with sufficient accuracy.

§ 6. INTEGRITY AND CRITICAL CONDITION OF THE BOOK.

In its present form this book appears to be derived from one author. We have in the notes called attention from time to time to certain inconsistencies, but these may in part be due to inaccurate tradition; for the book in this respect has suffered deplorably. There are of course occasional interpo-

lations—of these some are Jewish, and one or two are Christian: xxxvii seems foreign to the entire text.

The text, further, has suffered from disarrangement. Thus xxviii. 5 should be read after xxix, and, together with that chapter, should be restored before xxviii.

§ 7. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP.

The question of the date has to a large extent been determined already. The portions which have a Hebrew background are at latest pre-Christian. This follows from the fact of their quotation in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. As I have remarked above (p. xxiv) it is impossible to define the exact extent of such sections.

Turning, therefore, to the date of the rest of the book, we can with tolerable certainty discover the probable limits of its composition. The earlier limit is determined by the already existing books from which our author has borrowed. Thus Ecclesiasticus is frequently drawn upon: see xliii. 2, 3 (notes); xlvii. 5 (note); lii. 8 (note); lxi. 2, 4 (notes), &c. The Book of Wisdom also seems to have been laid under contribution: see lxv. 4 (note). With this book our author shares certain closely related Hellenistic views. Again, as regards the Ethiopic Enoch, our author at times reproduces the phraseology and conceptions of that book: see vii. 4, 5 (notes); xxxiii. 4 (note), 9, 10 (notes); xxxv. 2 (note), &c.; at others he gives the views of the former in a developed form: see viii. 1, 5, 6 (notes); xl. 13 (note); lxiv. 5; at others he enunciates views which are absolutely divergent from the former: see xvi. 7 (note); xviii. 4 (note). It is noteworthy also that our author claims to have explained certain natural phenomena, but the explanations in question are not to be found in his writings but in the Ethiopic Enoch: see xl. 5, 6, 8, 9 (notes). Finally we observe the same advanced view on Demonology appearing in the Slavonic Enoch and in the latest interpolation in the Ethiopic Enoch; see xviii. 3 (note).

Ecclesiasticus, the Book of Wisdom (?), and the Ethiopic Enoch (in its latest and present form) were thus at our author's service. The earlier limit of composition, accordingly, lies probably between 30 B. C. and the Christian era.

We have now to determine the later limit. This must be set down as earlier than 70 A. D. For, (1) the temple is still standing; see lix. 2 (notes). (2) Our text was probably known to some of the writers of the New Testament (see pp. xxi-xxiii; xxxix-xliii). (3) It was known and used by the writers of the Epistle of Barnabas and of the latter half of the Ascension of Isaiah.

We may, therefore, with reasonable certainty assign the composition of our text to the period 1-50 A. D. The date of the Hebrew original underlying certain sections of our text is as we have already seen pre-Christian.

The author was a Jew who lived in Egypt, probably in Alexandria. He belonged to the orthodox Hellenistic Judaism of his day. Thus he believed in the value of sacrifices, xlii. 6; lix. 1, 2; lxvi. 2; but he is careful to enforce enlightened views regarding them, xlv. 3, 4; lxi. 4, 5; in the law, lii. 8, 9; and likewise in a blessed immortality, l. 2; lxv. 6, 8-10; in which the righteous shall wear 'the raiment of God's glory,' xxii. 8. In questions affecting the origin of the earth, sin, death, &c., he allows himself the most unrestricted freedom and borrows freely from every quarter. Thus, Platonic (xxx. 16, note), Egyptian (xxv. 2, note), and Zend (lviii. 4-6 notes) elements are adopted into his system. The result is naturally syncretistic.

The date (1-50 A. D.) thus determined above makes our author a contemporary of Philo. We have shown above (p. xvii) that they share many speculations in common, but in some they are opposed. Thus our author protests against the Jewish belief in the value of the intercession of departed saints for the living; see liii. 1 (note). Philo undoubtedly taught this, *De Exsecrat.* 9.

§ 8. SOME OF THE AUTHOR'S VIEWS ON CREATION,
ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ETHICS.

God in the beginning created the world out of nothing, xxiv. 2¹. (For a detailed account of each day's creations see xxv-xxx.) In this creation He made seven heavens, xxx. 2, 3², and all the angelic hosts—the latter were created on the first day—and all animal and plant life, and finally man on the sixth day. After His work on the six days God rested on the seventh. These six days of work followed by a seventh of rest are at once a history of the past and a forecasting of the future. As the world was made in six days, so its history would be accomplished in 6,000 years, and as the six days of creation were followed by one of rest, so the 6,000 years of the world's history would be followed by a rest of 1,000 years, i. e. the millennium³. On its close would begin the eighth eternal day of blessedness when time should be no more, xxxii. 2—xxxiii. 2.

As regards man, all the souls of men were created before the foundation of the world, xxiii. 5, and also a future place of abode in heaven or hell for every individual soul, xlix. 2; lviii. 5; lxi. 2. The world was made for man's sake, lxv. 3. When Wisdom made man of seven substances, xxx. 8, at God's command, God gave him the name Adam from the four quarters of the earth—*ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία*—xxx. 13. Man's soul was created originally good, while in the garden he could see the angels in heaven, xxxi. 2. Free-will was bestowed upon him, and the knowledge of good and evil. He was likewise instructed in the Two Ways of light and darkness, and then left to mould his own destiny, xxx. 15.

¹ Or else formed it out of pre-existing elements, xxv. 1, where we have an adaptation of the egg theory of the universe.

² Hell was in the north of the third heaven. It is possible, how-

ever, that there were also seven hells; see xl. 12 (note).

³ This millennium seems to be identical with a Messianic age, xxxv. 3 (note).

But the incorporation of the soul in the body with its necessary limitations biassed its preferences in the direction of evil, and death came in as the fruit of sin, xxx. 16. Men and angels will be judged and punished for every form of sin¹, xl. 12, 13; xlv. 3; lxv. 6; but the righteous will escape the last judgement, lxv. 8; lxvi. 7; and will be gathered in eternal life, lxv. 8, and will be seven times brighter than the sun, lxvi. 7, and they will have no labour, nor sickness, nor sorrow, nor anxiety, nor need, and an incorruptible paradise shall be their protection and their eternal habitation, lxv. 9, 10. As for sinners there is no place of repentance after death, xlii. 2, but hell is prepared for them as an eternal inheritance, x. 4, 6. And there is no intercession of departed saints for the living, liii. 1.

In an ethical regard there are many noble sentiments to be found in our author, but generally in a very unliterary form. The Slavonic Version is, no doubt, partially to be blamed here. I will append here an outline of a man's ethical duties with sundry beatitudes according to our author. Every man should work; for blessed is he who looks to raise his own hand for labour, but cursed is he who looks to make use of another man's labour, lii. 7, 8. And men, likewise, should be unselfishly just; for blessed is he who executes a just judgement, not for the sake of recompense, but for the sake of righteousness, expecting nothing in return, xlii. 7. And men should also practice charity and beneficence. They should not hide their silver in the earth, but assist the honest man in his affliction, li. 2, and stretch out their hands to the orphan, the widow and the stranger, l. 5, and give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen, and walk without blame before the face of the Lord, ix. Furthermore, men should not swear either by heaven or earth or by any other creature which God made, but by a word, yea, yea, or nay, nay,

¹ Observe that men will be specially punished for ill-treatment of animals, lviii. 4-6.

xlix. 1 ; neither should they avenge themselves, l. 4, nor abuse and calumniate their neighbour, lii. 2 ; but endure every affliction and every evil word and attack for the sake of the Lord, l. 3 ; li. 3. Moreover, they should shun pride : for God hates the proud, lxiii. 4 ; and walk in long-suffering, in humility, in faith and truth, in sickness, in abuse, in temptation, in nakedness, in deprivation, loving one another till they depart from this world of sickness, lxvi. 6. Finally, whereas one man is more honourable than another, either on the ground of cunning or of strength, of purity or wisdom, of comeliness or understanding, let it be heard everywhere that none is greater than he who fears God, xliii. 2, 3.

§ 9. THE VALUE OF THIS BOOK IN ELUCIDATING CONTEMPORARY AND SUBSEQUENT RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

On the value of this book in elucidating contemporary and subsequent religious thought I shall be brief, save in the case of the doctrine of the seven heavens. This doctrine is set forth by our author with a fullness and clearness not found elsewhere in literature. Thus many gaps in our knowledge of this doctrine have been filled up. It will not be surprising, therefore, if we are thus enabled to explain certain mysterious allusions bearing on this conception in the Bible and elsewhere, which have hitherto been doubtful or inexplicable.

Some of the beliefs which appear in our text, and which in some instances are either partially or wholly elucidated, are as follows :

1. *Death was caused by Sin.* This was a comparatively late view : see notes on pp. 43, 44.

2. *The millennium.* This Jewish conception is first found in this book, xxxii. 2—xxxiii. 2, and the rationale of its origin is clear from this passage when taken together with statements on the same subject in later writers (see notes *in loc.*, and p. xxvii). Its origin was as follows. The account in Genesis of the first week of creation came in pre-Christian times to be regarded

not only as a history of the past, but as a forecast of the future history of the world so created. Thus as the world was created in six days, so its history was to be accomplished in 6,000 years; for 1,000 years are with God as one day (cf. Ps. xc. 4; Jub. iv. 30; 2 Pet. iii. 8; Barnabas, *Ep.* xiv. 4; Iren. *contra Haer.* v. 28. 2; Justin M., *Dial. c. Tryph.* 80), and as God rested on the seventh day, so at the close of the 6,000 years there would be a rest of 1,000 years, i. e. the millennium.

3. *On the creation of man with freewill and the knowledge of good and evil*, see xxx. 15 (notes).

4. *The Seraphim.* In the Chalkidri¹, xii. 1, we have in all probability the serpents who are mentioned in the Ethiopic Enoch xx. 7 along with the Cherubim. They are a class of heavenly creatures, and like the Cherubim are formed by a combination of the members of different animals. The serpent-like form, however, predominated, and hence they were δρακόντες in Greek (Eth. En. xx. 7), and Seraphim (שרפים) in Hebrew. How the peculiar name Chalkidri (= Χαλκύδραι brazen serpents?) arose I cannot say, as it is by no means appropriate. The main objection to identifying the Chalkidri with the Seraphim of the Old Testament is the fact that our author only mentions them here in connexion with the sun, xii. 1; xv. 1; and speaks directly of Seraphim elsewhere, xx. 1. However this may be, the passage in the Eth. Enoch xx. 7 is conclusive as to the serpent-like forms of the Seraphim. By this interpretation the word receives the meaning which it naturally has in the Hebrew.

5. *On the intercession of Saints*, see liii. 1 (note).

6. *The seven Heavens—an early Jewish and Christian belief.*

Various conceptions of the seven heavens prevailed largely in the ancient world, alike in the far east and in the west. With these we shall deal only in so far as they influenced or were in any degree akin to the views that prevailed on this subject among the Jews and early Christians.

¹ Various spelt in the MSS. as Chalkadri, Chalkidri, Chalkedry.

For the sake of clearness it may be well to indicate the direction our investigations will take. We shall first set forth or merely mention the beliefs of this nature that prevailed among the Babylonians and the followers of Zoroaster in the East and the speculations of certain Greek philosophers in the West. We shall next touch briefly on certain indications in the Old Testament that point in the direction of a plurality of the heavens, and show that Israel was not unaffected by the prevailing traditions of the ancient world.

That we have not misinterpreted such phenomena in the Old Testament, we are assured, when we descend to Jewish Apocalyptic writings, such as the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, the Slavonic Enoch, 4 Ezra, and to the Talmud, and the Mandaic Religion. Having thus shown that speculations or definitely formulated views on the plurality of the heavens were rife in the very cradle of Christendom and throughout its entire environment, we have next to consider whether Christian conceptions of heaven were shaped or in any degree modified by already existing ideas on this subject. We shall find that there is undoubted evidence of the belief in the plurality or sevenfold division of the heavens in the Pauline Epistles, in Hebrews, and in the Apocalypse.

In early Christian literature such ideas soon gained clearer utterance in Christian Apocalypses, such as the Ascension of Isaiah, the Apocalypses of Moses, Ezra, John, Isaac, Jacob, and the Acts of Callistratus. Such writers also as Clement of Alexandria and Origen are more or less favourably inclined to such conceptions. But shortly after this date these views fell into the background, discredited undoubtedly by the exaggerations and imbecilities with which they were accompanied. And thus though a Philastrius declares disbelief in a plurality of the heavens a heresy, Chrysostom is so violently affected against such a conception that he denies any such plurality at all. Finally such conceptions, failing in the course of the next few centuries to find a home in Christian

lands, betook themselves to Mohammedan countries, where they found a ready welcome and a place of authority in the temple of Moslem theology. We shall now proceed as we have above indicated.

Among the Babylonians we find that hell was divided into seven parts by seven concentric walls (see Sayce, *Babylonian Religion*, 1887, pp. 221-227; Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, Strashurg, 1890, pp. 232-3¹). Hence, we may here observe, this view passed over into the Talmud (Feuchtwang, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, iv. 42, 43).

This sevenfold division of things in general was a familiar one among this people². Thus the cities, Erech and Ecbatana, were each surrounded by seven walls, modelled, no doubt, as Jensen conjectures, on their conception of the seven world-zones (*op. cit.* 172). For the world was held to be divided in this fashion according to the *Gudia* (*op. cit.* 173). This division was due either to the overwhelming importance of the sacred number seven, or else specifically to the number of the planets (*op. cit.* 174). We should observe also that the temple of Erech was called the temple of the seven divisions. Since, therefore, both earth and hell were divided into seven zones, it is only reasonable to infer that a similar conception was entertained regarding the heavens. Jensen, indeed, says that he can find no trace of such a division in the inscriptions. But since the sevenfold division of the planets gave birth to the sevenfold division of earth and hell, it is next to impossible to avoid the inference with Sayce and Jeremias that this same division must have been applied to the heavens through which the planets moved.

In Parseeism we find the doctrine of the seven heavens. This does not appear in the earliest writings, but in the *Ardâi-virâf-nâme* there is an account of the seven heavens

¹ See also Jeremias, *Die babyl.-assur. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, 1887, pp. 34-45.

² Cf. Sayce, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 82 note.

through which Sosiash made a progress in seven days. In the first heaven are men who feel heat and cold simultaneously. (If we might infer from corresponding ideas in the Slavonic Enoch, and other apocalypses, we should conclude this heaven to be an abode of the wicked, and not of the good. There is, however, a hell independently of this.) The inhabitants of the second heaven shine as the stars; of the third as the moon; of the fourth as the sun. The blessedness of endless light is reserved for heroes, lawgivers, and the preeminently pious. In the seventh heaven Zarathustra sits on a golden throne. As we have already remarked, there is only one hell mentioned in the Ardâi-virâf-nâme. On the influence which such ideas had on the Talmud see Kohut, *Zeitschrift D M G*, xxi. 562.

If we now turn from the East to the West, we meet first of all with the Pythagorean tenfold division of the universe. In the centre there was the central fire around which revolved from west to east the ten heavenly bodies. Furthest off was the heaven of fixed stars; next came the five planets; then the sun, the moon, the earth, and finally the counter earth¹. According to the *Timæus* of Plato the universe is shaped as a sphere at the centre of which is placed the earth. Next follow the sun, the moon, and the five other planets, revolving round the earth in orbits separated from each other by distances corresponding to the intervals of the harmonic system. The outermost circle is formed of the heaven of fixed stars.

When we turn to the Stoics we find kindred conceptions; in the centre of the universe the earth is placed in a state of repose. Nearest to the earth revolves the moon, and next in their appropriate orbits the Sun, Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn.

We have thus seen that speculations were rife throughout

¹ For further details see the English translation of Zeller's *Pre-Socratic Philosophy*, i. 444-5.

the ancient world on the plurality of the heavens. It is clear further that these speculations were based mainly on astronomical considerations. That ancient Judaism was not unaffected by such views we may reasonably conclude from certain passages in the Old Testament. The plural form of the word for 'heaven' in Hebrew probably points to a plurality of heavens. Such phrases as 'the heaven of heavens,' Deut. x. 14; 1 Kings viii. 27; Ps. cxlviii. 4, cannot be adequately interpreted unless in reference to such a belief. In Job i. 6, 7; ii. 1, 2, 7 we find a further peculiar feature in the ancient conception of heaven. Satan there presents himself along with the angels in the presence of God. The place indicated by the context is heaven. Similarly in 1 Kings xxii. 19-22 an evil spirit presents himself among the heavenly hosts before the throne of God. The presence of evil in heaven, though offensive to the conscience of later times, seems to have caused no offence in early Semitic thought.

We shall find in the course of our investigations that this peculiar idea reasserted itself from time to time in Judaism and Christianity till finally it was expelled from both.

The probability of an Old Testament belief in the plurality of the heavens is heightened, if we consider the fact that the Jews were familiar with and attached names to the planets. Thus Kronos, Aphrodite, Ares, Zeus, Hermes are mentioned respectively in Amos v. 26; Is. xiv. 12; 2 Kings xvii. 30; Is. lxv. 11; xlvi. 1. The Jews were acquainted also with the signs of the Zodiac (Job xxxviii. 32), and offered them an idolatrous worship (2 Kings xxiii. 5).

Since, therefore, we have seen that in the East astronomical considerations, i. e. the sevenfold division of the planets led in due course to a similar division of the heavens, it is not unlikely that this knowledge gave birth to a like result among the Jews.

However this may be, the reasonable probability we have

already arrived at is converted into a certainty when we come down to the Apocalyptic and other writings of the Jews. Of these, the Slavonic Enoch and the Apocalyptic sections of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs were written about or before the beginning of the Christian Era. As the description of the seven heavens in the latter is very brief we shall deal with it first. The rendering that follows presupposes an emendation of Dr. Sinker's text, which I cannot justify here, but hope to do so later in an edition of this work.

The third chapter of the Testament of Levi runs: 'Hear then concerning the seven heavens. The lowest is the gloomiest, because it witnesses every iniquity of men. The second has fire, snow, ice, ready against the day of the ordinance of the Lord, in the righteous judgement of God. In it are all the spirits of the lawless ones which are confined for punishment. (Cf. Slav. Enoch vii.) In the third are the hosts of the armies (cf. Slav. Enoch xvii) which are appointed against the day of judgement to execute vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. . . . In the highest of all the Great Glory dwells, in the holy of holies. . . . In the heaven next to it (i. e. the sixth) are the angels of the presence of the Lord, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous. . . . And in the heaven below this (i. e. the fifth) are the angels who bear the answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord. And in the heaven next to this (i. e. the fourth) are thrones, authorities, in which hymns are ever offered to God.' In chapter ii of the same Testament there is a short reference to the first three heavens: 'And I entered from the first heaven into the second, and I saw there water hanging between the two. And I saw a third heaven brighter than these two.'

We cannot pause here to deal with the details of the above account. We shall only draw attention to the description of the denizens of the second heaven. These are the fallen angels who are reserved for punishment. Although the

description of the seven heavens just given is short, it is too definitely conceived to have appeared thus for the first time in Judaism. In the Slavonic Enoch, whose evidence we shall presently briefly summarize, we have, so far as I am aware, the most elaborate account of the seven heavens that exists in any writing or in any language. 'The Book of the Secrets of Enoch,' as it is named in the Slavonic MSS. in which it is alone preserved, but which for the sake of brevity I call 'the Slavonic Enoch,' was written in the main in Greek, at Alexandria, although portions of it are merely reproductions of a Hebrew original. In the first heaven there is 'a very great sea, greater than any earthly sea.' (Cf. Rev. iv. 6.) This sea seems to be described in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs as 'water hanging between the first and second heavens.' (See above.) In this heaven also are 'the elders and the rulers of the orders of the stars.' Although the number of these is not given, it is either twelve (and then we have here an account related to Eth. En. lxxxii. 9-18, 20) or possibly it is twenty-four, and thus there may be a remote connexion on the one hand between this class of 'elders and rulers . . . of the stars' and the twenty-four elders in Rev. iv. 4, and on the other between it and the Babylonian idea set forth in Diodorus Siculus, ii. 31 *μετὰ δὲ τὸν ζῳδιακὸν κύκλον εἴκοσιν καὶ τέτταρας ἀφορίζουσιν ἀστέρας, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις ἐν τοῖς βορείοις μέρεσι, τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις τετάχθαι φασί, καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ὀρωμένους τῶν ζώντων εἶναι καταριθμοῦσι, τοὺς δ' ἀφανεῖς τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι προσωρίσθαι νομίζουσιν, οὓς δικαστὰς τῶν ὅλων προσαγορεύουσιν* (quoted by Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 308, who establishes a connexion between Rev. iv. 4 and this Babylonian idea). The first heaven, further, contains treasures of snow, ice, clouds, and dew.

In the second heaven (chap. vii) Enoch saw the prisoners suspended reserved for and awaiting the eternal judgement. 'And these angels were gloomy in appearance, . . . they

had apostatized from the Lord and transgressed together with their prince.' For a similar account see Test. Levi, above.

In the third heaven (chap. viii) we have the garden of Eden and the tree of life, and likewise 'an olive tree always distilling oil,' i. e. the *arbor misericordiae* (cf. Evang. Nicodemi, ii. 3). We should observe that the location of Paradise in this heaven agrees with the Pauline account 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3.

But (chap. x) in the northern region of this heaven Enoch sees the place of the damned. 'That place has fire on all sides and on all sides cold and ice, thus it burns and freezes.' When Enoch exclaims, 'Woe, woe! how terrible is this place!' his escort replies: 'This place, Enoch, is prepared for those who did not honour God; who commit evil deeds on earth, sodomy, witchcraft, enchantments, . . . stealing, lying, calumnies, envy, evil thoughts, fornication, murder. (Chap. x. 4.)

In the fourth heaven (chap. xi-xv) Enoch sees the course of the sun and moon, and the angels and the wonderful creatures, the phoenixes and the chalkidri, which wait upon the sun. In the midst of this heaven (chap. xvii) are 'the armed host serving the Lord with cymbals and organs and unceasing voice.' Cf. Test. Levi on third and fourth heavens above.

In the fifth heaven (chap. xviii) are the watchers whose fallen brethren Enoch had already seen undergoing torments in the second heaven. These are troubled and silent on account of their brethren.

In the sixth heaven (chap. xix) are 'seven bands of angels, very bright and glorious,' who arrange and study the revolutions of the stars and the changes of the moon and the revolutions of the sun, &c.; 'And the angels over all the souls of men who write down all their works and their lives before the face of the Lord. In their midst are seven phoenixes and seven cherubim and seven six-winged creatures.'

In the seventh heaven (chap. xx) Enoch sees all the heavenly hosts, the ten great orders of angels standing before the Lord in the order of their rank, and the Lord sitting on His lofty throne.

With regard to this scheme, I will content myself with calling attention to the fact that a preliminary Tartarus is situated in the second heaven (cf. second heaven in the Test. Levi); and that hell is placed in the north of the third heaven, and that evil in various forms is found in the second and third heavens, and dissatisfaction and trouble in the fifth.

In 4 Ezra (vi. 55-74) there is a detailed description of the seven ways of the wicked and the seven ways of the righteous. These ways are represented in a form so essentially abstract, that as Gunkel rightly remarks (*op. cit.* p. 309), they must be derived from what were originally concrete conceptions such as the seven heavens and the seven hells. To the latter conception there is no reference in the Slavonic Enoch: yet see xl. 12 (note).

Passing onward we come to the Talmud. In the Talmud the views of the Rabbis waver. Some thought as the Rabbi Jehuda that there were two heavens, *Chagiga* 12^b, but Rabbi Simeon ben Lakish enumerated seven. This latter view was the usual one. In the *Beresh. rabba* c. 6 and the *Chagiga* 12^b, the seven heavens are as follows. The lowest which is called *vilun* is empty. In the second, named *rakia*, are the sun, moon, and stars. In the third, named *shechagim*, are the mills which grind the manna for the righteous. In the fourth heaven, *zebul*, are the heavenly Jerusalem, the temple, the altar, and Michael. In the fifth, *maon*, are the angels who sing by night, but are silent by day in order that God may hear the praises of Israel. In the sixth, *machon*, are the treasures of the snow, hail, rain, and dew. In the seventh, *aravoth*, are judgement and righteousness, the treasures of life, peace, and blessing, the souls of the departed pious as

well as the spirits and souls yet to be born, and the dew wherewith God will awake the dead. Finally there are the seraphim, ophannim, chayyoth and other angels of service, and God Himself sitting on a throne. See Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmud*, pp. 197-8; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. 467; Wetstein on 2 Cor. xii.

It is well to observe here that, though the Talmudic description of the seven heavens is puerile in the extreme, its character attests the influence of a growing ethical consciousness.

To such a consciousness the presence of evil in heaven could not but seem incongruous. In banishing evil, however, from the precincts of the heavens, the Rabbis weakened the vigour of the old conceptions; for they were not masters of sufficient imagination to fill up adequately the gaps brought about by their righteous zeal. In connexion with Jewish evidence on this subject, we might point out that the same division of the heavens probably prevailed in the Mandaic Religion, since at all events one of its dogmas was the sevenfold division of hell (Brandt, *Die Mandäische Religion*, p. 182).

We have now found that among the Babylonians, the later followers of Zoroaster, the Greeks, in all probability in ancient Judaism, and certainly in Judaism generally from before the Christian Era onward, speculations, and as a rule clearly defined conceptions, were rife on the plurality of the heavens. We have seen also that the prevailing view was that of the sevenfold division of the heavens, and we have observed further that a feature impossible in modern conceptions of heaven shows itself from time to time in pre-Christian religious conceptions, i. e. the belief in the presence of evil in the heavens.

We have now to consider whether Christian conceptions of heaven were shaped, or in any degree influenced, by already existing views of that nature. A knowledge of ancient

thought on this subject would naturally lead us to expect such an influence at work, and we find on examination that our expectations are in certain respects fully realized. First from 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3 we learn that St. Paul believed in a plurality of the heavens. 'I know a man in Christ fourteen years ago . . . such a one caught up even to the third heaven. And I know such a man . . . how that he was caught up into Paradise.'

Heretofore exegetes have been divided as to whether St. Paul believed in the existence of three heavens or of seven. Owing to the fresh evidence on the subject furnished by the Slavonic Enoch there is no longer room for reasonable doubt on the question. In the Slavonic Enoch we have presented to us a scheme of the seven heavens which in some of its prominent features agrees with that conceived by St. Paul. Thus in the Slavonic Enoch Paradise is situated in the third heaven as in 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3, whereas according to later Judaism it belonged to the fourth heaven (see above). In the next place the presence of evil in some part of the heavens is recognized. Thus in Eph. vi. 12 we meet with the peculiar statement 'Against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavens,' *πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*. The phrase *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις* occurs only in Ephesians of the Pauline Epistles. It is found five times i. 3, 20; ii. 6; iii. 10; and vi. 12, and always in a local sense. It is thus in fact = *ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*.

This phrase is then capable of two interpretations. The 'hosts' in question are the fallen angels in the second heaven, or else the powers of Satan, the prince of the air (cf. Eph. ii. 2). For the latter interpretation the Slavonic Enoch xxix. 4, 5 might be quoted as a parallel: 'One of the ranks of the archangels, having turned away with the rank below him, entertained an impossible idea, that he should make his throne higher than the clouds over the earth, and should be equal in rank to My power. And I hurled him from the

heights with his angels. And he was flying in the air continually above the abyss.' The latter explanation of ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις is probably right. In Col. i. 20, however, we must, if we deal honestly with the context, suppose some such a view of the heavens as that given in the Slavonic Enoch to underlie the words: 'To reconcile all things unto Himself, whether things upon the earth or things in the heavens.' That 'things upon earth' need to be reconciled to God is universally intelligible; but so far as I am aware no exegete has hitherto recognized any such necessity on the part of 'things in the heavens.' Yet this is the obvious meaning of the words. Hence 'the things in the heavens' that are to be reconciled to God must be either the fallen angels imprisoned in the second heaven, or else the powers of Satan whose domain is the air. Though to some universalistic aspects of Paulinism the conversion of Satan is not impossible, it is nevertheless unlikely to be his thought here. Hence we seem to be restricted to the other interpretation, and thus we have therein an indirect parallel to 1 Pet. iii. 19, 'He went and preached to the spirits in prison.' Another statement in Eph. iii. 10 belongs to the same plane of thought: 'To the intent that now unto the principalities and the powers in the heavens (ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις) might be made known through the church the manifold wisdom of God.' These 'principalities and powers' may also be taken as the fallen angels in the second heaven; but it is more likely that they are the rulers of the various lower heavens which are mentioned in iv. 10: 'He . . . that ascended far above all the heavens.' This thought of the seven heavens through which Christ passed or above which he was exalted twice recurs in Hebrews iv. 14: 'Having then a great high priest, who hath passed through the heavens' (διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανοὺς); vii. 26: 'Made higher than the heavens' (ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν γενόμενος). Before we pass on to the consideration of the Apocalypse, we should observe

that Paul used *ὀψαρός*¹ frequently (cf. Rom. i. 18 ; x. 6 ; 1 Cor. viii. 5 ; xv. 47), though he believed in a plurality of the heavens.

In the twelfth chapter of Revelation we have a record of the war in heaven between Michael and his angels against Satan and his angels, with the subsequent overthrow and expulsion of the latter. These events spiritually interpreted symbolize, it is true, the victory of good over evil, but when studied in reference to their origin, they mark a revolutionizing of the old Semitic conception of heaven. Evil can no longer be conceived as possible in the abode of righteousness, nor can its place be any more found in heaven. And thus Satan and his angels are cast down to the earth. When once evil in all its forms is driven forth from heaven, the rationale of a sevenfold division of it disappears. There are then no longer conflicting elements which must be restricted to certain divisions and kept apart by concrete barriers. The old Semitic doctrine of the seven heavens really presupposes in some respects dualistic influences. Such a conception could not long hold its ground in a monistic faith. It was this dualistic tinge that made it so acceptable with the heretics. We must now follow the subsequent fortunes of this doctrine in the early centuries of Christianity.

First we find in one of the Christian sections (chaps. vi-xi) of the Ascension of Isaiah an elaborate but sinewless account of the seven heavens. Evil has already been expelled, and the inhabitants of one heaven differ from those of another merely in possessing greater degrees of glory and knowledge. This account of the seven heavens is singularly wanting in variety and imaginative power : it is valuable, however, in an historical reference.

¹ The singular and plural of this word are used, according to Sir J. C. Hawkins, in the New Testament as follows :—

	Mat.	Mark	Luke	John	Acts	Paul.	Heb.	James	Pet.	Rev.
<i>ὀψαρός</i>	27	12	31	18	24	11	3	2	1	51
<i>ὀψαροί</i>	55	5	4	0	2	10	7	0	5	1*

*xii. 12—a quotation from, or reference to Is. xlv. 23 and xlix. 13.

Leaving the Ascension of Isaiah, we shall now give the evidence of Clement of Alexandria and Origen on the prevalence of this doctrine.

In the *Stromata* iv. 25 of Clement there is a reference to the seven heavens which are obviously regarded as a true conception ; while in v. 11 we have a quotation from a lost Apocalypse of Zephaniah : ἀρ' οὐχ ὅμοια ταῦτα τοῖς ὑπὸ Σοφονία λεχθεῖσι τοῦ προφήτου ; καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα καὶ ἀνήνεγκέν με ὡς οὐρανὸν πέμπτον καὶ ἐθεώρουν ἀγγέλους καλουμένους κυρίους . . . ὑμνοῦντας θεὸν ἄρρητον ὕψιστον.

This passage seems to be ultimately derived from the Slavonic Enoch xviii.

In the lost Book of Baruch the Prophet, there was some account of the seven heavens according to Origen, *de Princip.* ii. 3, 6 : 'Denique etiam Baruch prophetae librum in assertionis huius testimonium vocant, quod ibi de septem mundis vel coelis evidentius indicatur.'

But to proceed to Origen's own views we read in *contra Cels.* vi. 21 as follows : ἐπὶ δὲ οὐρανοῦς, ἧ ὅλως περιωρισμένον ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν, αἱ φερόμεναι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἀπαγγέλλουσι γραφαί· ἀλλ' οὐρανοῦς, εἴτε τὰς σφαῖρας τῶν παρ' Ἑλληνισι λεγομένων πλανήτων, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀπορρητότερον εἰκόασι διδάσκειν οἱ λόγοι.

Though Origen says that there is no authoritative teaching as to there being seven heavens, it is clear that he really believes in there being this number ; for elsewhere he identifies these heavens with the planets of the Greeks, *de Princip.* ii. 11. 6 : 'Si quis sane mundus corde, et purior mente, et exercitior sensu fuerit, velocius proficiens cito ad aeris locum adscendet, et ad coelorum regna perveniet per locorum singulorum, ut ita dixerim, mansiones, quas Graeci quidem sphaeras, id est globos, appellaverunt, scriptura vero divina coelos nominat : in quibus singulis primo quidem perspiciet ea, quae ibi geruntur, secundo vero etiam rationem quare gerantur agnoscet : et ita per ordinem digredietur singula, sequens eum, qui transgressus est

coelos, Iesum filium Dei, dicentem : " Volo, ut ubi sum ego, et isti sint mecum. " "

We shall now cite the evidence of Christian Apocalyptic works as attesting the prevalence of this belief in the seven heavens.

In the Apocalypse of Moses, p. 19 (*Apocalypses Apocryphae*, ed. Tischendorf, 1866), Eve is bidden to look up to the seven firmaments : ἀνάβλεψον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου καὶ ἴδε τὰ ἑπτὰ στερεώματα ἀνεωγμένα. On p. 21 Michael is bidden : ἀπελθε εἰς τὸν παράδεισον ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ οὐρανῷ. Thus the writer of this Apocalypse, so far as he touches on the subject of the seven heavens, agrees with the teaching of the Slavonic Enoch. In the Apoc. Esdrae (pp. 29, 30 *op. cit.*) there is mention made of a plurality of the heavens, and of Paradise as lying in the east. In the Apoc. Johannis (p. 84 *op. cit.*) the seven regions of the heavens are spoken of : καὶ γενήσεται κρότος μέγας ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ σαλευθήσονται τὰ ἑπτὰ (α. ἱ. ἐννέα) πέταλα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

In our account of the third heaven according to the Slavonic Enoch, we showed that hell was situated in the north of that heaven. Similarly in the Testament of Isaac (*Testament of Abraham*, ed. James, pp. 146-8) hell is understood to be in one of the heavens. The same holds true of the Testament of Jacob (*op. cit.* p. 153), and of the Apoc. Esdrae, p. 29.

Finally in the Acts of Callistratus (ed. Conybeare), pp. 311-12, the seven circles of the heavens are mentioned.

Speculations about the seven heavens prevailed largely among the heretics. Thus according to Irenaeus, *contra Haer.* i. 5, 2, the Valentinians taught : ἑπτὰ γὰρ οὐρανοὺς κατεσκευασμένοι, ὧν ἐπάνω τὸν δημιουργὸν εἶναι λέγουσι. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἐβδμοάδα καλοῦσιν αὐτόν, τὴν δὲ μητέρα τὴν Ἀχαμῶθ Ὀγδοάδα . . . τοὺς δὲ ἑπτὰ οὐρανοὺς οὐκ (?) εἶναι νοητοὺς φασιν, ἀγγέλους δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑποτίθενται . . . ὥς καὶ τὸν παράδεισον ὑπὲρ τρίτον οὐρανὸν ὄντα, τέταρτον ἄγγελον λέγουσι δυνάμει ὑπάρχειν.

In Tertullian, *Adv. Valent.* xx, practically the same account is given : ' Tum ipsam caelorum septemplex scenam solio

desuper suo fuit. Unde et Sabbatum dictus ab hebdomade sedis suae . . . Caelos autem noeros deputant, et interdum angelos eos faciunt . . . sicut et Paradisum Archangelum quartum, quoniam et hunc supra caelum tertium pangunt.'

The heretic Marcus taught according to Hippolytus a similar doctrine of the heavens, but according to Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* i. 17, 1, he reckoned eight heavens in addition to the sun and moon.

Basilides' view as to their being 365 heavens is well known (Augustine, *de Haer.* i. 4).

The Ophites (Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* i. 30. 4, 5) believed in seven heavens ruled over by seven potentates, named Jaldabaoth, Jao, Sabaoth, Adoneus, Eloeus, Horeus, Astaphaeus—a Hebdomad which with their mother Sophia formed a Ogdoad. A fuller account of this Hebdomad will be found in Origen, *contra Celsum*, vi. 31, and in Epiphanius *Haer.* xxvi. 10.

In the mysteries of Mithras described by Origen, *contra Celsum*, vi. 22, there are certain speculations akin to the doctrine of the seven heavens.

A fragment of Theodotus preserved by Clement is found regarding the creation of man : ὁθεὶς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῷ τετάρτῳ οὐρανῷ δημιουργεῖται¹.

The doctrine of the seven heavens, therefore, being associated with so many grotesque and incongruous features even in the thoughts of the orthodox, became in due time an offensive conception to the sounder minds in the Church, and this offensiveness was naturally aggravated by the important role it played in heretical theology. Augustine, though he expounds a peculiar doctrine of his own which asserts the existence of three heavens (*de Gen. ad Litt.* xii. 67), feels himself beset with abundant difficulties on this question. On the subject in general he writes : ' Si autem sic accipimus tertium coelum quo Apostolus raptus est, ut quartum etiam, et aliquot ultra

¹ The Valentinians also placed Paradise in the fourth heaven.

superius coelos esse credamus, infra quos et hoc tertium coelum, sicut eos alii septem, alii octo, alii novem vel decem perhibent . . . de quorum ratione sive opinione nunc disserere longum est' (*de Gen. ad Litt.* xii. 57). In the fourth century of the Christian era, Churchmen were required according to the clear tenor of Scripture to believe in the plurality of the heavens, but as to the number of these heavens they were at liberty to decide for themselves without prejudicing their orthodoxy. Thus Philastrius, Bishop of Brescia, at the close of the fourth century holds it a heresy to doubt the plurality of the heavens, but a man may without offence believe in seven, three, or two. 'De caelorum diversitate est haeresis quae ambigat. Scriptura enim in primo die caelum et terram facta declarat duo haec elementa, secundo firmamentum aquae factum, et nihilominus ipsum firmamentum caelum appellatum fuisse testatur. David autem dicit de caelis ita: *Laudate dominum caeli caelorum et aquae quae super caelos sunt.* Sive ergo sex caelos, secundum David, et septimum hoc firmamentum accipere quis voluerit, non errat; nam Solomon tres caelos dicit, ita: *Caelum et caelum caeli.* Paulus aequè apostolus usque ad tertium caelum se raptum fatetur. Sive ergo septem quis acceperit, ut David, sive tres, sive duos, non errat, quia et Dominus ait: *Pater qui in caelis est.*' (*De Haeres. Liber xciv.*)

But these and the like speculations had become so objectionable to the master mind of Chrysostom, that despite 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3 he declares the doctrine of a plurality of the heavens to be a mere device of man and contrary to holy scripture: τίς ἂν οὖν λοιπὸν μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην διδασκαλίαν ἀνέχοιτο τῶν ἀπλῶς ἐξ οἰκείας διαβολῆς φθέγγεσθαι βουλομένων, καὶ ἀπεναντίως τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ πολλοῖς οὐρανοῖς λέγειν ἐπιχειρούντων (*Hom. in Gen.* iv. 3). And again, in order to discredit the last traces of this view he maintains that the heaven neither revolves nor is spherical (*In Epist. ad Hebraeos, Hom. xiv. 1*).

Our task is now nearly done. It only remains for us to

point out that this doctrine, on its rejection by the Christian Church, passed over with many similar ones into Mohammedanism. In fact, Mohammedanism formed in many respects the *cloaca maxima* into which much of the refuse of Christianity discharged itself.

Thus in the Koran xxiii it is written: 'And we have created over you seven heavens, and we are not negligent of what we have created.' And again in xli: 'And he formed them into seven heavens in two days, and revealed unto every heaven its office.'

Into a detailed representation of these heavens by later Mohammedan writers it is not necessary for us to enter.

So far as I am aware every detail is borrowed from Jewish and Christian Apocalypses. Some form of the Slavonic Enoch seems to have been in Mohammed's hands¹.

¹ The four streams of Paradise (Slav. En. viii. 5) which pour honey and milk and oil and wine, reappear in the Koran xlvii. Again, irrational animals are to be restored to life at the resurrection, to receive the recom-

pense due to them, and then to return to the dust, with the exception of Ezra's ass and the dog of the seven sleepers (cf. Koran iii; xviii; Sale's note on vi; Slav. Enoch lviii. 4-6).

THE
BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH
THE SON OF ARED; A MAN WISE AND
BELOVED OF GOD¹.

[**Concerning the Life and the Dream of Enoch*².]

THERE was a very ³ wise man and a worker of great things : God loved him, and received him, so that he should see the heavenly abodes, the kingdoms of the wise, great, inconceivable and never-changing God, the Lord of all, the wonderful and glorious, and bright and all-beholding station of the servants of the Lord, and the unapproachable throne of the Lord, and the degrees and manifestations of the incorporeal hosts, and should be an eye-witness of the unspeakable ministrations of the multitude of creatures, and of the varying appearance, and indescribable singing of the host of Cherubim, and of the immeasurable world.

I. 1. At that time he said : 'Hardly had I accomplished *165 years, when I begat my son Methusal : after that I lived 200 years and accomplished all the years of my life⁴, 365

¹ This general title appears in B as *These are the secret books of God which were shown to Enoch*.

Introduction. THIS IS ENTIRELY WANTING IN B. ² Sok. om. I have retained the headings of the Sections which are given in A, as they are valuable for critical purposes ; but as they do not belong to the original text I have enclosed them in brackets. ³ Sok. om.

I. ⁴ B om. ; Sok. supports text.

years. 2. *On the first day of the first month¹ I was alone in my house, *and I rested on my bed and slept. 3. And as I slept a great grief came upon my heart, and I wept with mine eyes² *in my dream, and I could not understand what this grief meant, or what would happen to me³. 4. And there appeared to me two men very tall, such as I have never seen on earth. 5. And their faces *shone like the sun⁴, and their eyes *were like burning lamps⁵; and fire came forth from their lips. *Their dress had the appearance of feathers: their feet were purple⁶, *their wings were brighter than gold⁷; *their hands whiter than snow⁸. They stood at the head of my bed and called me by my name. 6. I awoke from my sleep and *saw clearly these men standing in front of me⁹. 7. I *hastened and¹⁰ made obeisance to them and *was terrified, and the appearance of my countenance was changed¹¹ from fear. 8. And these¹² men said to me: "Be of good cheer, Enoch, be not afraid; the everlasting¹³ God hath sent us to thee, and lo! to-day thou shalt ascend with us into heaven.

¹ In the second month on an appointed day, B; Sok. is conflated.

² I had made myself melancholy weeping with my eyes, and I lay down on my bed to sleep, B. ³ B om.; Sok. supports text. ⁴ Were like the shining sun, Sok. ⁵ Burnt like lamps, A. ⁶ So Sok. A reads there was a conspicuousness in their raiment and singing, in appearance purple; B, their dress and singing were wonderful. ⁷ And on their shoulders as it were golden wings, B. ⁸ So Sok.; standing up quickly (?), B; A om. ⁹ A B om. ¹⁰ Veiled my face, B. ¹¹ The two, Sok. ¹² Almighty, B.

I. With verses 2, 3, cf. Eth. En. lxxxiii. 3, 5. 5. Faces shone like the sun: cf. xix. 1; Rev. i. 16; 4 Ezra [vi. 71]. Eyes were like burning lamps, from Dan. x. 6 עֵינָיו כְּלַפְיָדִי אֵשׁ: cf. Ezek. i. 13; Rev. i. 14; xix. 12. Fire came forth from their lips: cf. for language Rev. ix. 17; xi. 5. Their dress . . . purple: the text is corrupt. Their hands whiter than snow; cf. Eth. En. cvi. 2, 10 'his body was

whiter than snow': Apoc. Petri τὰ μὲν γὰρ σώματα αὐτῶν ἦν λευκότερα πάσης χιόνης. 7. Countenance was changed: Dan. v. 6, 9, 10. 8. Be of good cheer: Matt. ix. 2 θάρσει; xiv. 27; Mark vi. 50; x. 29; Acts xxiii. 11; xxvii. 22, 25. In LXX Gen. xxxv. 17; Exod. xiv. 13, &c. θάρσει is a rendering of לֹא תִירָא. Be not afraid: cf. 2 Kings i. 15; Ezek. ii. 6, &c.; Eth. En. xv. 1. The conjunction of Be of good cheer and

9. And tell thy sons and thy servants, all ¹ *who work ² *in thy house ³, and let no one seek thee, till the Lord bring thee back to them.' 10. And I *hastened to obey ⁴ them, and went out *of my house ⁵. And I called my sons Methusal, Regim [*and Gaidal ⁶], and told them what wonderful ⁷ things *the two men ⁸ had said to me.'

[*The Instruction: how Enoch taught his Sons.*]

II. 1. 'Hear me, my children, for I do not know whither I am going, or what awaits me. 2. Now, my children, I say unto you: turn not aside from God: *walk before the face of the Lord and keep his judgements ⁹ *and do not worship vain gods ¹⁰, who did not make heaven and earth ¹¹, for these

¹ That they are to do without thee on the earth A. ² A and Sok. om. ³ Sok. om. ⁴ Obeyed, B. ⁵ B omits; A adds and shut the doors as was ordered me. ⁶ B om.; Sok. supports text. See exegetical note in loc. ⁷ B om. ⁸ They, A; these men, Sok.

II. A om. ⁹ Sok. adds do not defile the prayers (offered for) your salvation, that the Lord may not shorten the work of your hands, and ye may not be deprived of the gifts of the Lord, and the Lord may not deprive you of the attainment of His gifts in your treasures. Bless the Lord with the firstlings of your flocks and the firstlings of your children, and blessings shall be upon you for ever; and do not depart from the Lord. ¹⁰ To vain creatures, A. ¹¹ Sok. adds nor any other creature.

Be not afraid is found in Matt. xiv. 27. 10. Sons: these are mentioned though not named in Eth. En. lxxxi. 5, 6; xci. 1. Regim: see lvii. 2. Gaidal: this name is derived from LXX. Gen. iv. 18 ἐγεννήθη δὲ τῷ Ἐνώχ Γαῖδαλ. For Γαῖδαλ Mass. gives Irad (𐩨𐩣𐩪) and Syriac Idar (ܝܕܪ), which more nearly approaches LXX. Observe that this Gaidal is the son of Enoch who is the *grandson* of Cain, and therefore wrongly appears here. As however B omits it both here and in lvii. 2, it is probably spurious. A confusion of Enoch, son of Lamech, and Enos, son of Seth, is to be found in the Clementine Recognitions iv. 12.

II. 1. Know whither I am going, &c.: cf. vii. 5. 2. Turn not aside from God: 1 Sam. xii. 20. Walk before the face of the Lord: Ps. lvi. 13; cxvi. 9. Keep his judgements: Lev. xviii. 5; Ezek. xxxvi. 27. Worship vain gods: Deut. viii. 19; cf. 1 Sam. (LXX, Syr., Vulg.) xii. 21. Vain gods who did not make heaven and earth, for these will perish, from Jer. x. 11; cf. Ps. xcvi. 5; Is. ii. 18; Acts xiv. 15 'Ye should turn from these vain things unto the living God, who made the heaven and the earth.' Jub. xii. 2, 3, 4 'What help . . . have we from those idols which thou dost worship . . . worship them not. Worship the God of heaven.'

will perish, * and also those who worship them¹. 3. * But may God make confident your hearts in the fear of Him². 4. And now, my children, let no one seek me till the Lord brings me back to you.'

[*Of the taking up of Enoch; how the Angels took him up into the first heaven.*]

III. 1. It came to pass when I³ had spoken to my sons, * these men⁴ * summoned me and⁵ took me on their wings⁶ and placed me * on the clouds⁷. * And lo! the clouds moved⁸. 2. * And again (going) higher I saw the air and (going still) higher I saw the ether⁹, and they placed me in the first heaven. 3. * And they showed me a very great sea, greater than the earthly sea¹⁰.

[*Of the Angels who rule the Stars.*]

IV. 1. And they brought * before my face the elders, and the rulers of the orders of the stars¹¹, and they showed me the

¹ B om. ² But keep your hearts in the fear of God, B. For the fear of Him A reads His own paths.

III. Instead of 'Of the taking up of Enoch, &c.' B reads 'The entry of Enoch into the first heaven.' ³ Throughout this verse A speaks of Enoch in the third person. ⁴ The angels, A. ⁵ A om. ⁶ A B add and brought me (him A) to the first heaven, which should be read at end of verse 2. ⁷ There B. ⁸ A B om. ⁹ And there I gazed, and as I gazed higher I saw the air, A. ¹⁰ B trans. after the 200 angels, iv. 1.

IV. ¹¹ Me before the face of the elder, the ruler of the orders of the stars; and showed me their goings and comings from year to year, B.

3. Make confident your hearts in the fear of Him: Prov. xiv. 26.

III. 1. Placed me on the clouds. And lo! the clouds moved: cf. Eth. En. xiv. 8 'the clouds invited me . . . and the winds gave me wings and drove me.' The air . . . and the ether. This corresponds to the firmament in Asc. Is. vii. 9 'Ascendimus in firmamentum et ibi vidi Sammaelem ejusque potestates . . . 13. et postea me ascendere fecit supra firma-

mentum: hoc jam est (primum) coelum.' 3. A very great sea: cf. Rev. iv. 6; xv. 2 'sea of glass.' In Test. xii. Patriarch. Levi 2 this sea lies between the first and second heavens, ὕδωρ κρεμάμενον ἀνάμεσον τούτου καὶ κείνου.

IV. 1. Rulers of the orders of the stars, &c. For a full but divergent account of these see Eth. En. lxxxii. 9-18, 20. The 200 angels. In the Eth. En. Uriel is the sole ruler of the

two hundred angels * who rule the stars and their heavenly service¹; 2. * And they fly with their wings² * and go round all (the stars) as they float¹.

[*How the Angels guard the Habitations of the Snow.*]

V. 1. And * then I looked and saw³ the treasures of the snow * and ice⁴ and the angels⁵ who guard their terrible⁶ store-places; 2. And the treasures of the clouds from which they come forth and into which they enter.

[*Concerning the Dew and the Oil, and different Colours.*]

VI. And they showed me the treasures of the dew, like * oil for anointing⁷, * and its form was in appearance like that of⁸ all earthly colours⁹: also many¹⁰ angels keeping their treasures, * and they shut and open them¹⁰.

[**How Enoch was taken into the second Heaven¹¹.*]

VII. 1. And the men took me and brought me to the

¹ B om. ² B reads immediately after earthly sea, iii. 3. Sok. om.

V. ³ They showed me, B. There I saw, Sok. ⁴ A om. ⁵ Terrible angels, B. ⁶ B om.

VI. ⁷ The balm of the olive tree, Sok. ⁸ And the appearance of it as also of, A. And their robes are like, B. ⁹ May be rendered *flowers*. ¹⁰ B om.

VII. ¹¹ The Entry of Enoch into the second Heaven, B; Sok. om.

stars: cf. lxxii. 1; lxxx. 1. In Eth. En. vi. 5 this is the number of angels that apostatized.

V. 1. Treasures of the snow and ice: Job xxxviii. 22; cf. Eth. En. lx. 17, 18. These treasures are placed in the second heaven by the Test. xii. Patriarch. Levi 3 ὁ δεύτερος (οὐρανός) ἔχει πῦρ χιόνα κρίσταλλον. 2. Treasures of the clouds: cf. Eth. En. lx. 19.

VI. 1. Treasures of the dew: cf. Eth. En. lx. 20. In the *Beresch. rabba* c. 6, *Bammid'ar rabba*, c. 17, and the *Chagiga* 12^b, there is an

enumeration of the seven heavens. The lowest of these which is called רִבְיָא (Lat. velum) is empty. According to some, it appears in the morning and disappears in the evening (see Weber, p. 197): according to Berachoth 58^b the Wilôn is rolled up in order that the light of the second heaven, the Rakia, may be seen. This heaven seems also to be empty according to the Test. xii. Patr. Levi 3 ὁ κατώτερος διὰ τοῦτο στυγνότερός ἐστιν ἔπειδὴ οὗτος ὁρᾷ πάσας ἀδικίας ἀνθρώπων.

second heaven, and showed me¹ *the darkness, and there I saw² the prisoners suspended³, reserved for (and) awaiting³ the eternal⁴ judgement. 2. *And these angels were gloomy in appearance, more than the darkness of the earth³. *And they unceasingly wept every hour⁵, and I said to the men who were with me: 'Why are these men continually³ tortured?' 3. *And the men⁶ answered me: 'These are they who apostatized from *the Lord⁷: who obeyed not the commandments of God, and took counsel of their own will *and transgressed together with their prince and have been already confined to the second heaven⁸. 4. And I felt great pity for them. *And lo! the angels⁹ made obeisance to me, and said to me: "O man of God! *pray for us to the Lord¹⁰." 5. And I answered¹¹ them: "Who am I, a mortal

¹ Sok. adds and I saw. ² B om.; after darkness, A adds greater than the darkness on earth. ³ B om. ⁴ Great and immeasurable, A; immeasurable, Sok. ⁵ And I saw those who were condemned weeping, B. ⁶ And they, A; The men, Sok. ⁷ God, A. ⁸ B om. For second A Sok. read fifth. ⁹ They, A; and these angels, Sok. ¹⁰ Oh! that thou wouldst pray to God for us! B. ¹¹ Sok. adds and said unto.

VII. 1. The darkness and . . . the prisoners . . . reserved for . . . judgement: cf. 2 Pet. ii. 4 'Committed them (the angels that sinned as here) to pits of darkness to be reserved unto judgement.' These prisoners are the angels that 'kept not their first estate' and are 'reserved . . . under darkness unto the judgement of the great day,' Jude 6. They appear to be referred to also in Test. xii. Patr. Levi 3 ἐν αὐτῷ (τῷ δευτέρῳ οὐρανῷ) εἰσὶ πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, where ἁμαρτωλῶν seems corrupt. Observe that the angels who sinned with women are imprisoned *under the earth* in the Eth. En. x as also in our text xviii. 7. On the other hand the angels who sinned through lust

for empire are prisoners in the second heaven. 3. Took counsel of their own will. For phraseology cf. Eph. i. 11; Is. xlv. 10. These angels wished to form a kingdom of their own. Cf. Weber, p. 244. Their prince Satanail: xviii. 3. Second heaven. This emendation is necessary. When the angels of the fifth heaven rebelled they were cast down to the second heaven and imprisoned there. 4. The angels ask Enoch to intercede for them, exactly as in Eth. En. xiii. 4. 'They besought me to draw up a petition that they might find forgiveness.' Man of God: Deut. xxxiii. 1; 1 Tim. vi. 11; 2 Tim. iii. 17. 5. Cf. Eth. En. xv. 2 'Say to the watchers of heaven . . . you should intercede for men and not men

man, that I should pray for angels? Who knows whither I go, or what awaits me: or who prays *for me¹? ”.

[* *Of the taking of Enoch to the third Heaven* ².]

VIII. 1. And these men took me from thence, and brought me to the third heaven, and placed me *in the midst of a garden³—* a place⁴ such as has never been known for *the goodness of its appearance⁵. 2. And *I saw⁶ all the trees of beautiful colours and⁷ their fruits ripe *and fragrant⁶, and all kinds of *food which they produced⁸, springing up with delightful fragrance⁹. 3. And in the midst (there is) the tree of life, in that place, on which God rests, when He comes into Paradise. And this tree cannot be described for its *excellence and sweet odour¹⁰. 4. And it is beautiful more than any created thing. And on all sides in appearance it is like gold and crimson and transparent as fire, and it covers everything¹¹. 5. *From its root in the

¹ B om.

VIII. ² Entry into the third Heaven, B. ³ So B and Sok. A reads There, I looked below and I saw gardens. ⁴ I looked below and saw that place, Sok. ⁵ Their goodness, A and Sok. ⁶ B om. ⁷ And I beheld, A. ⁸ Agreeable food, B. ⁹ B adds and four rivers flowing with soft course and every kind of thing good that grows for food. These words belong to verse 6. ¹⁰ The excellence of its sweet odour, B. ¹¹ The whole garden, Sok. After this A adds and the gardens have all kinds of fruits; Sok. adds and the garden has all kinds of trees planted and all fruits. B omits verse 4.

for you. Who knows whither I go, &c.: cf. ii. 1.

VIII. 1. A garden: as in 2 Cor. xii. 4, 4 Paradise is placed in the third heaven. 2. All the trees . . . fragrant: cf. Gen. ii. 9; Eth. En. xxix. 2; Apoc. Mosis (p. 20) . . . All kinds of food which they produced: cf. Rev. xxii. 2 'Bearing twelve manner of fruits.' 3. In the midst the tree of life: Gen. ii. 9. This is a familiar feature in Jewish Apocalypses. Cp. Eth. En. xxv. 4, 5; Rev. ii. 7; xxii. 2, 14; 4 Ezra vii. 53; viii. 52; Test. Levi 18. See also Iren. i. 5, 2. When we come to Epiphanius

we find it denounced as a Manichaean doctrine, *Haer.* 66, p. 278. The tree of life . . . on which God rests. This is reproduced in a modified form in the Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tischend. p. 64) δένδρον παμμεγέθη ὠραῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπανεπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον. There is a modification of this idea in Apoc. Mosis (ed. Tischend. p. 12) καὶ ὁ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπου ἦν τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐν τρεπίζετο. 5. From its root, &c. This is the source of the words in Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tischend. p. 64) καὶ ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο πᾶν εὐωδέστατον ὕδωρ, μερίζομενον εἰς τέσσαρα ὀρύγματα. The

garden¹ there go forth four² streams which pour honey and milk³, oil and wine, and are separated in four directions, and go about with a soft course. 6. And they go down to the Paradise of Eden, between corruptibility and incorruptibility. And thence⁴ they go along the earth, and have a revolution in their circle like also the other elements⁵. 7. * And there is another tree, an olive tree always distilling oil⁶. And there is no tree there without fruit, and every tree⁷ is blessed⁸. 8. And there are *three hundred angels very glorious, who keep the garden⁹, and with never ceasing voices and blessed singing, they serve the Lord *every day¹⁰. And I said¹¹: 'What a very¹² blessed place is this!' And those men spake unto me:

[*The showing to Enoch of the Righteous, and the Place of Prayers.*]

IX. 'This place, O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous

¹ Emended with Apoc. Pauli from its root; B omits; A and Sok. add in the going out towards earth Paradise is between corruptibility and incorruptibility. This is clearly a corrupt addition. See quotation from Apoc. Pauli in explanatory notes. ² Two, A and Sok. See note 9 on p. 7 for text of B. ³ A adds and the streams pour. ⁴ Sok. adds they go forth and are divided into forty (four ?) and; B omits verse 6. ⁵ Sok. adds of the air. ⁶ A Sok. om. ⁷ Place, A. ⁸ Sok. adds in its fruit and every place is blessed. ⁹ Angels guarding them, very bright in appearance, B. ¹⁰ Every day and hour, A; the whole day, Sok. ¹¹ A adds lo! ¹² B om.

writer has tried to reduce to one organic conception the two originally different conceptions of the heavenly and the earthly Paradise. The latter seems to have been the older: Gen. ii. 8-17; Eth. En. xxxii. 3-6; lxxvii. 3. The heavenly Paradise is referred to in Eth. En. lx. 8; lxi. 12; lxx. 3. Four streams which pour honey and milk and oil and wine. Cf. Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tischend. p. 52) ποταμοὶ τέσσαρες ἐκκύκλουν αὐτὴν, ῥέοντες μέλι καὶ γάλα καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον. These four streams are taken over into the Koran xlvii, save that

instead of a river of oil there is a river of incorruptible water. The earthly Paradise is said to be between corruptibility and incorruptibility, because existence in it was a probation and might issue either in corruptibility or incorruptibility: or because it lay on the confines of the regions of corruptibility and incorruptibility. 7. Another tree . . . distilling oil: Cf. xxi. 7. These are the *arbor misericordiae* and the *oleum misericordiae* of Evang. Nicodemi ii. 3: cf. ch. xxii. 8.

IX. 1. Prepared for the righteous:

who endure * every kind of attack ¹ * in their lives ² * from those who ³ afflict their souls: who turn away their eyes from unrighteousness, and accomplish a righteous judgement, and also give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen, and assist the * orphans who are ⁴ oppressed, and who walk * without blame ⁴ before the face of the Lord, and serve him only. For them this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance.'

[Here they showed Enoch the terrible Places, and various Tortures.]

X. 1. And the men then ⁵ led me to the Northern region ⁶, and showed me there ⁷ a very terrible place. 2. And there are all sorts of tortures in that place. Savage ⁷ darkness and impenetrable ⁷ gloom; and there is no light there ⁷, * but

IX. ¹ Attacks, B. ² A om. ³ Who, B. ⁴ B om.

X. ⁵ Removed me from thence and, B. ⁶ Part of the heavens, B.
⁷ B om.

cf. Matt. xxv. 34. See note on Eth. En. lx. 8. Turn away their eyes from unrighteousness: Ps. cxix. 37; cf. Is. xxxiii. 15. Execute righteous judgement: Ezek. xviii. 8. Give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked: Ezek. xviii. 7: cf. Tob. iv. 16; 4 Ezra ii. 20; Or. Sibyll. ii. 83; viii. 404-405. Assist the orphans who are oppressed: cf. Is. i. 17; Jer. xxii. 3, 16. Walk without blame before . . . the Lord: cf. Luke i. 6. Eternal inheritance: cf. Heb. ix. 15.

X. 1. Northern region. To the modern mind it may seem strange that a division of heaven should be assigned to the wicked, but this idea presented no difficulty to the Jews and early Christians. Thus in the O. T. Satan can present himself in

heaven, Job i. 7, 8; while in the N. T. evil may not only appear, but can also have a settled habitation there: Eph. vi. 12 'the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavens' (ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις). In Rev. xii. 7, 8, 9 this condition of things is represented as being at an end. Satan is cast out of heaven with his angels, and the sphere of his activity and residence is now limited to the earth, Rev. xii. 12. The old idea of wickedness being in heaven reappears in Test. Levi 3, where however it is limited to the second heaven (see also Test. Isaac 146, 147; Test. Jacob 153); but it was subsequently banished from Christian and Jewish thought. See Introduction. 2. Darkness and . . . gloom: Apoc. Petri 12 τόπος σκοτεινῶ: Apoc. Pauli, p. 62, where one region of

a gloomy fire is always burning¹, *and a fiery river goes forth². * And all that place has fire on all sides, and on all sides³ cold and ice, * thus it burns and freezes⁴. (3) * And the prisoners are very savage². And the angels terrible and without pity, carrying savage² weapons, and their torture was unmerciful. 4. And I said: * 'Woe, woe²! How terrible is this place⁵!' And the men said to me: 'This place,

¹ Neither fire nor flame and a gloom is over that place, B. ² B. om.

³ In that place; on both sides fire and on both sides, Sok.; B om. ⁴ So Sok. A reads thirst and freezing, B; and murkiness. ⁵ What a terrible place is this! A.

Hades is said *σκότους καὶ ζόφους πεπληρωμένον*. There is no light there: quoted by Apoc. Pauli (p. 57) *οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖ φῶς*. Fiery river. This idea appears first in Eth. En. xiv. 19; Dan. vii. 10, but not there as an instrument of punishment. It seems however to have been applied early to that purpose, as here, and in the form of a lake of fire in Rev. xix. 20; xx. 10, 14, 15; xxi. 8. Or. Sibyll. ii. 196-200, 252-253, 286; iii. 84; viii. 411: cf. Apoc. Petri 8 *λίμνη τις ἦν μεγάλη πεπληρωμένη βορβόρον φλεγόμενου*. Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tischend. p. 57) *ἐνθα ἐπέρρεεν ποταμὸς πύρινος*. In Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 38 the two ideas are combined: *ποταμὸς ἐκπορεύεται πυρὸς ὑποκάτω τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ τόπου, καὶ βεῖ εἰς τὸ κενὸν τοῦ ἐκτισμένου, ὃ ἐστὶν ἡ γέεννα* (quoted by James, *Test. Abraham*, p. 160). Fire on all sides, and on all sides cold and ice. This seems to be drawn from Eth. En. xiv. 13, where God's dwelling in heaven is said to be 'hot as fire and cold as ice.' 3. Angels terrible and without pity, carrying savage weapons. Angels of destruction are

mentioned in the O. T. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 2 Kings xix. 35; 1 Chron. xxi. 15. A class of destroying angels may be referred to in Eccclus. xxxix. 28 *πνεύματα, ἃ εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἐκτισται*. In Eth. En. liii. 3, 4; lvi. 1; lxii. 11; lxiii. 1, a class of evil angels whose sole function is to punish is mentioned and the conception is evidently a familiar one, though here found for the first time in Jewish literature. This idea appears in the N. T. Rev. ix. 11, 15; xvi. Of these the angel mentioned in ix. 11 is *Ἀπολλών*. In Matt. xiii. 49 good angels cast the wicked into the furnace of fire. These angels of destruction or punishment are frequently referred to in Latin literature. Test. Levi 3 *αἱ δυνάμεις... οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλανῆς*. These angels of punishment are placed in the third heaven as in our text. Cf. Apoc. Petri 6 *οἱ κολάζοντες ἄγγελοι: 8 ἄγγελοι βασανισταί*. The words angels terrible and without pity, carrying savage weapons seem to have been before the writer of Test. Abraham A. xii *ἄγγελοι... ἀνηλεεῖς τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀπότομοι τῷ*

Enoch, is prepared for *those who do not honour God; who commit evil deeds on earth, vitium sodomiticum, witchcraft¹, enchantments, devilish² magic; and who boast of their evil² deeds, *stealing, lying, calumnies, envy, evil thoughts, fornication, and murder². 5. Who steal³ the souls of wretched² men⁴, oppressing⁵ *the poor and spoiling them of their possessions², and themselves grow rich *by the taking of other men's possessions⁶, *injuring them⁷. Who when they might feed the hungry, allow them to die of famine; who when they might clothe them, strip them naked. 6. Who do not know their Creator and have worshipped *gods without life; who can neither see nor hear, being² vain gods, *and have fashioned the forms of idols, and bow down to a contemptible thing, made with hands²; for all these this place is prepared for an eternal inheritance.

[*Here they took Enoch to the fourth Heaven, where is the Course of the Sun and Moon⁸.]

XI. 1. And the men took me and conducted me to the fourth heaven, and showed me all *the comings and⁹ goings forth and all the rays of the light of the sun and moon.

¹ The impure who have done godlessness on the earth, who practise, B. ² Bom. ³ B adds secretly. ⁴ B adds who bind them with a galling yoke. ⁵ Who see, A; B om. ⁶ And in order to acquire the goods of strangers, A. ⁷ Oppress them, A; B om.

XI. ⁸ Entry of Enoch into the fourth Heaven, B. ⁹ A om.

βλέμματι . . . ἀνηλέως τύπτοντες αὐτοὺς ἐν πυρίναις χαρσίναις. 4. Prepared for those who do not honour God. Contrast Matt. xxv. 41. *Vitium sodomiticum*. Cf. Apoc. Petri 17: Test. Isaac (James' ed.), p. 148. 6. Cf. Lev. xix. 4; xxvi. 1; Or. Sibyll. v. 77-85; viii. 378-81; 395-98; *Fragm.* i. 20-22; iii. 21-45.

XI. 1. Fourth heaven. According

to the Rabbinic tradition *Chagiga* 12^b the fourth heaven was called רביע and it was said to contain the heavenly Jerusalem, the temple, the altar, and Michael who offered daily sacrifice. The following quotation (ἐκ τῶν Θεοδότην . . . Ἐπιτομῇ) seems to agree with the Rabbinic view: ἄθεν ἐν τῇ παραδείσῳ τῇ τετάρτῃ οὐρανῶ δημιουργεῖται. Comings and goings . . .

* And I measured¹ their goings, * and computed their light. 2. And I saw that² the sun has a light * seven times³ greater than the moon. * I beheld their circle, and their chariot⁴ on which * each goes⁵ like a wind * advancing with astonishing swiftness⁶, and * they have⁷ no rest day or night coming or going. 3. There are four great stars; * each star has under it a thousand stars⁸ at the right of the chariot of the sun; and four at the left⁹, * each having under it a thousand stars, altogether eight thousand⁶. 4. * Fifteen myriads of⁹ angels go * out with the sun and attend him during the day, and by night one thousand⁶. * Each angel has six wings. They go¹⁰ before the chariot of the sun¹¹. 5. And a hundred angels * keep warm and light up the sun¹².

[*Of the wonderful Creatures of the Sun.*]

XII. 1. * And I looked and saw other flying creatures, their names phoenixes and chalkadri wonderful and strange

¹ Their dimensions, B. ² And I saw their goings, B. ³ A om. ⁴ His circle and his chariot, A; and around them is a chariot, B. ⁵ They go always, A. ⁶ B om. ⁷ He has, A. ⁸ B adds always going with the sun. ⁹ Fifteen, A; B om. ¹⁰ Six winged creatures go with the angels, A; B om. ¹¹ A adds in a fiery flame. ¹² Minister unto him fire, Sok.; B om. verse 5.

of the sun and moon: cf. Eth. En. lxxii-lxxviii. 2. The sun has a light seven times, &c.: Eth. En. lxxii. 37. Their chariot on which each goes like a wind: Eth. En. lxxii. 5 'the chariots on which he (the sun) ascends are driven by the wind': so also of the moon in Eth. En. lxxiii. 2 and of both in lxxv. 3; lxxxii. 8. Have no rest day or night: Eth. En. xli. 7 '(the sun and moon) rest not': lxxii. 37 'rests not . . . day and night.' Sibyllines iii. 21 'Ἡελίον τ' ἀκάμυντα. 3, 4. There is nothing corresponding to these verses in Eth. En. 5. Cf. Eth. En. lxxv. 4.

XII. 1. Phoenixes and chalkadri. This seems to be the only reference to such creatures in literature. The phoenix, which according to all ancient writers was solitary and unique ('unus in terris,' Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28; cf. Mart. v. 7; Ovid, *Met.* xv. 392) in its kind, is here represented as one of a class. The phoenix is mentioned in Job xxix. 18 according to Jewish authorities, where for 'I shall multiply my days as the sand' they render 'as the phoenix' כַּחֲסִי. There are many references to it among the Greeks and Romans: Herod. ii. 73; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28; Ovid, *Met.* xv.

in appearance, with the feet and tails of lions, and the heads of crocodiles¹; *their appearance was of a purple colour, like

XII. ¹ And the flying creatures are in form like two birds, one like a phoenix and the other like a chalkedry. And in their shape they resemble a lion in their feet and tail and in the head a crocodile, Sok.; B om.

392; Mart. *Epigr.* v. 7, 1; Stat. *Sylv.* ii. 4, 37; Plin. *N. H.* x. 2. The fable regarding it is recounted as sober fact by 1 Clem. *ad Corinth.* xxv; Tertullian, *de Resurrect. Carn.* xiii; Ambrose, *Hexaem.* v. 23; Epiphanius, *Ancorat.* lxxxiv; and the *Apostolic Constitutions* v. 7. Origen, *contra Celsum* iv. 98, doubts it; so also Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxxi. 10, and among the later Greeks Maximus and Photius, and among the Latins Augustine *de Anima* iv. 33. To those who believed the fable we should add Rufinus *Comment. in Symb. Apost.* xi. and the Pseudo-Lactantius, from whose poem *De Phoenice* we draw the following references, which seem to be derived either directly or indirectly from our text. The phoenix in that poem is an attendant of the sun, 'satelles phoebi' ver. 33, as in xii. 2 are the phoenixes: when the sun appears it greets him with strains of sacred song (verses 43-50) and claps its wings (verses 51-54) exactly as the phoenixes in xv. 1. This poem belongs probably to the fourth century. The voice of the phoenix was celebrated for its sweetness: cf. the Jewish poet Ezekiel v. 10 *φωνήν δὲ πάντων εἶχεν εὐπρεπεστάτην*: Pseudo-Lactantius, *de Phoenice* 46 'miram vocem': 56 'inarrabilibus sonis.' Its colour was purple—purpureus (Pliny); *κνέυεις ἔστιν ῥόδους ἐμφερής* (Achil. Tat.), cf. xv. 1 and xii. 1. On the two different legends in the Talmud about the origin of the phoenix see Hamburger, *R. E.*

für Talmud 908-9. On the question generally see Lightfoot, and Gebhardt and Harnack on 1 Clem. xxv. 1; Eckermann in *Ersch und Grueber* sect. iii. xxiv. 310-16; Creuzer, *Symbol. und Mythol.* ii. 163 (third ed.); Piper, *Mythol. und Symbol. der Christl. Kunst* i. 446, 471; Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters* i. 93-98; Seyffarth, *Z. D. M. G.* 1849, 63-89; Gundert, *Z. f. luth. Theol.* 1854, 451-54. Chalkadri. This may be a transliteration of *Χαλκιδῆραι*, brazen hydras, or serpents. They are classed with the Cherubim in Eth. En. xx. 7 'Gabriel . . . who is over Paradise and the Serpents (τῶν δρακόντων in the Greek) and the Cherubim.' Hence they seem to have been a class of heavenly creatures, i. e. the Seraphim *סְרָפִיִּם*. The idea of flying serpents was a familiar one from the O. T. Is. xiv. 29; xxx. 6 *הַמְּעוֹפֵי הָרָשׁ*. It was not unfamiliar to the rest of the ancient world: cf. Herod. ii. 75; Lucan ix. 729-30; Ovid, *Met.* v. 642-4; *Fast.* iv. 562; also Claudian, Valerius Flaccus, Ammianus, Aelian, Apollonius. In the O. T. these flying serpents are venomous in such passages as Num. xxi. 6; Deut. viii. 15; Is. xiv. 29; xxx. 6. What relation these seraphim bear to those in Is. vi. 2, 6 it is hard to determine. That these latter were winged dragons we must assume according to Delitzsch (*Das Buch Jesaja*, pp. 124, 5). The analogy of the animal-like forms of the Cherubim in Ezek. i. 5-11 is

the rainbow; their size nine hundred measures¹. 2. * Their wings were like those of angels, each with twelve, and they attend the chariot of the sun, and go with him², bringing heat and dew * as they are ordered by God³. 3. * So the sun makes his revolutions, and goes⁴ * under the heavens,

¹ B om. ² So A and Sok., but that the former omits chariot of the. Twelve flying spirits and twelve wings to each angel who accompanies the chariot, B. ³ And as he is ordered by God, Sok. ⁴ B om.; A adds and proceeds.

certainly in favour of this view. The serpent was anciently a symbol of wisdom and healing among the Greeks, the Egyptians (Brugsch, *Rel. und Myth.* pp. 103, 4), and the Hebrews, Num. xxi. 8, 9; 2 Kings xviii. 4; Matt. x. 16; John iii. 14. Hezekiah's destruction of the 'brazen serpent' as associated with idolatry may have caused the symbol to bear almost without exception an evil significance in later times, so that at last it became a designation of Satan: cf. Rev. xii. 9. We are therefore inclined to identify these Chalkadri with the Seraphim or heavenly creatures of Isaiah vi. These Chalkadri, we should add, sing in xv. 1 as do the Seraphim in Is. vi. 3, though their functions in the main are different. The idea here appears in a developed form and is no doubt indebted for its enlargement to Egyptian mythology. The Seraphim first appear in conjunction with other orders of angels in Eth. En. lxi. 10. Here their original character seems already to have been forgotten almost as wholly as in modern days, and they are regarded merely as a special class of angels; whereas in Eth. En. xx. 7 their true nature is still borne in mind. In the N. T. neither Cherubim nor Seraphim appear, but the character-

istics of both reappear, fused together in the 'four living creatures' of Rev. iv. 6-8. However, though the N. T. takes no notice of the Seraphim save the indirect one of Rev. iv. 6-8, the conception obtained in later times the recognition of the Church through Dionysius the Areopagite's scheme of the nine heavenly orders. See Cheyne's *Prophecies of Isaiah*, i. 36, 42; ii. 283-6. Feet and tails of lions. The feet of the Cherubim in Ezek. i. 7 are like calves' feet. Their size nine hundred measures. In Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* iii. 225-227 we find by citations from Strabo, Aelian, Valerius, Philostorgius, Diodorus, &c., that the ancients were ready to believe in monstrous dragons or serpents. Aelian, for instance, speaks of one 210 feet long, while an Arabian writer describes one of 8,000 paces in length. In the Talmud there is frequent mention of angels and creatures of a like monstrous size. 2. Each with twelve. As the ordinary angels in xi. 4 have six wings each, these creatures are assigned twelve each. It would seem more natural to read this verse immediately after xi. 5; xii. 1 however must in some form and in some place appear in the text, as we see from xv. 1. Bringing heat and dew. Contrast

and goes under¹ the earth with the light * of his beams unceasingly².

[*The Angels took Enoch, and placed him on the East at the Gates of the Sun.*]

XIII. 1. These men brought me to the East³ and * showed me the gates⁴ by which the sun * goes forth⁵ at the appointed seasons, and according to the revolution of the months * of the whole year⁶, and * according to the number of the hours, day and night⁷. 2. And I saw the six great⁸ gates * open, each gate having sixty-one stadia and a quarter of one stadium⁶; * and I truly measured them and understood their size to be so much⁹, by which the sun goes forth; and he goes to the west * and makes his course correspond. And he proceeds through all the months⁶. 3. * And by the first gates he goes out forty-two days; by the second gates thirty-five days; by the fourth gates thirty-five; by the fifth gates thirty-five; by the sixth gates⁸ forty-five¹⁰. 4. * And so he returns¹¹ * from the sixth gates in the course of time⁶: * and he enters by the fifth gates during thirty-five days, by the fourth gates thirty-five, by the third gates during thirty-five days; by the second gates thirty-five¹⁰. 5. * And so the

¹ To descend upon, B; under the heaven and under, Sok. ² The rays of the sun, B; Of his beams, Sok.

XIII. ³ B adds of the heavens. ⁴ Placed me at the gates of the sun, A. ⁵ Enters, B. ⁶ B om. ⁷ At the shortening up to the lengthening of the days and nights, B. ⁸ A om. ⁹ And I measured their size, and I could not comprehend their size, B. ¹⁰ A B om. ¹¹ B om. A adds to rest.

the conception in Eth. En. lx. 20. 3. Goes under the earth. This is undoubtedly corrupt, as the sun does not go under the earth but through the fourth heaven when he sets in the west. See xiv. 2 (note). Unceasingly: cf. xi. 2 (note).

XIII. 1. The gates by which the

sun goes forth. These are the six gates mentioned in the next verse. For an account of the sun's six eastern gates and six western see Eth. En. lxxii. 2-4. Six gates: Eth. En. lxxii. 3. The rest of the chapter is hopelessly corrupt. The account seems to be derived originally from Eth. En.

days of the whole year¹ are finished according to the alternation of the four² seasons.

[*They took Enoch to the West.*]

XIV. 1. And *then these³ men took me to the *West of the heavens⁴ and showed me six great gates open, *corresponding to the Eastern gates⁵, opposite *to which the sun goes out by the Eastern gates⁶, according to the number of the days *three hundred and sixty-five, and the quarter of a day⁷. 2. *So he sets by the Western gates⁸. When he goes out by the Western gates⁹ *four hundred angels

¹ By his regular departure the years, B. And so the whole year, A.

² B om.

XIV. ³ The, B. ⁴ Western regions, A. ⁵ Corresponding to the Eastern entrance, B. Opposite to the circuit of the Eastern gates, Sok.

⁶ Where the sun retires, A. By which the sun passes, Sok. ⁷ B om.

⁸ A om. ⁹ A adds he conceals his light under the earth and the glories of his luminary.

lxxii. 2-37. 5. Four seasons: cf. xl. 6. The account of two of these seasons is found in Eth. En. lxxxii. 15-20: that of the remaining two is lost.

XIV. 1. Three hundred and sixty-five, and the quarter of a day. I have shown in my edition of the Eth. En. pp. 190-91 that the writer of chs. lxxii-lxxxii. was familiar with the solar year of 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ days, but that owing to national prejudices he refused to acknowledge it. 2. According to the Eth. En. lxxii. 5 the sun returns after sunset through the north in order to reach the east. In our text, however, the sun revolves through the fourth heaven, xi; xxx. 3, and when he rises in the east goes under the heavens and appears to men. During the night while he passes through

the fourth heaven he is *without light*, or in the words of the text *his crown is taken from him*: when he is about to reappear in the east his crown, or in other words his light, is restored to him. The reason why the sun is obliged to surrender his crown in passing through the fourth heaven before God is presumably that which is given in the Apoc. Mosis (ed. Tischend. p. 19): the sun cannot shine before the Light of the Universe (*ἐνώπιον τοῦ φωτὸς τῶν ὅλων*). The passage in this Apocalypse appears undoubtedly to be founded on the present text. Eve is there represented as seeing the sun and moon praying for Adam before God but *without their light*. She thereupon asks: *ποῦ ἐστὶν τὸ φῶς αὐτῶν, καὶ διὰ τί γεγόνασιν μελανοειδεῖς; καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ Σῆθ. οὐ δύνανται φαίνειν ἐνώπιον τοῦ φωτὸς*

take his crown and bring it to the Lord¹. 3. And the sun revolves² in his chariot *and goes without light³ *for seven complete hours in the night⁴. *And when he comes near the East⁵ *at the eighth hour of the night⁶, *the four hundred angels bring his crown and crown him⁷.

[*The Creatures of the Sun; the Phoenixes and Chalkidri sang.*]

XV. 1. Then sang the creatures⁸ called the Phoenixes and the Chalkidri. On this account every bird claps its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, *and they sang a song at the command of the Lord⁹. 2. The giver of light comes to give his brightness to *the whole world¹⁰. 3. *And they showed me the calculation of the going of the sun. And the gates by which he enters and goes out are great gates, which God made for the computation of the year¹¹. 4. *On this account the sun is great¹².

¹ So B and Sok., but that the former reads four instead of four hundred. A reads but the crown of his splendour is in heaven before the Lord: and there are four hundred angels attending Him. ² Revolves, B Sok. Goes under the earth, A. ³ And rests, A. ⁴ B om.; A Sok. support text, but that Sok. omits complete. After night A adds and reaches half his course under the earth. ⁵ At the Eastern gates, B; Sok. om. ⁶ B om. ⁷ He brings forth his luminary and his shining crown, and the sun is lighted up more than fire, A. And places on it again the crown, B.

XV. ⁸ A adds of the sun; B omits VERSES 1, 2. ⁹ Singing with their voices, Sok. ¹⁰ His creation, Sok.; A adds and there will be the guards of the morning, which are the rays of the sun and the earthly sun will go out and will receive his brightness to light up all the face of the earth. ¹¹ So A and Sok. B reads this arrangement of the gates by which he enters and goes out the two angels showed me; these gates the Lord made for the computation and his yearly record of the sun. ¹² B om.; A adds its revolutions extend to twenty-eight years, and so it was from the beginning.

τῶν ὄλων, καὶ τοῦτου χάριν ἐκρύβη τὸ φῶς ἀπ' αὐτῶν. 3. Seven complete hours in the night. This is corrupt. The writer must have known that the length of the night varied with the season. In the Eth. En. a chapter (lxxii) is devoted to the explanation of the varying lengths of the day and night.

XV. 1. See xii. 1 (note). Every bird. We should expect 'all these winged creatures,' i. e. the Phoenixes and Chalkidri. Or are we to take it that the early song of birds at sunrise is here referred to? but this is unlikely.

[*The Men took Enoch and placed him at the East, at the Course of the Moon.*]

XVI. 1. *The other, the computation of the moon these men showed me¹; *all the goings and revolutions². *And they pointed out the gates to me³, twelve great⁴ gates extending *from the West to the East⁵, by which the moon enters *and goes out⁶ at the customary times. 2. She enters *the first gate when the sun is in the West thirty-one days exactly⁷; by the second gate thirty-one⁸ days exactly; by the third gate thirty days exactly; by the fourth gate thirty days exactly; by the fifth gate thirty-one days exactly; by the sixth gate thirty-one days exactly; by the seventh gate thirty days exactly; by the eighth gate thirty-one days exactly; by the ninth gate thirty-one⁹ days exactly; by the tenth gate thirty¹⁰ exactly; by the eleventh gate thirty-one days exactly; by the twelfth gate twenty-eight days¹¹ exactly. 3. And so by the Western gates in her revolutions, and corresponding to the number of the Eastern gates she goes, and accomplishes the year¹². 4. *And unto the sun there are three hundred and sixty-five days and a quarter

XVI. ¹ They also showed me the other arrangement, that of the moon, B. ² And all its course. And the men showed me all the movements of these two, B; A om. ³ A Sok. om. ⁴ Eternal, B. ⁵ Towards the East, B. ⁶ B om. ⁷ B OMITTS ENTIRE VERSE. Sok. reads the first gates (western place of the sun) 31 days to the place of the sun exactly. For 31 A reads 1. ⁸ Emended from 35 A Sok. ⁹ 35, A. ¹⁰ 31, Sok. ¹¹ 22, Sok. ¹² Sok. adds in the days.

XVI. 1. Twelve great gates. These are the same as the gates of the sun in xiii. 2-3. It is obvious that the text is here corrupt, as this account cannot possibly apply to the moon. In order to correct it we have only to read 'sun' instead of 'moon' wherever it occurs. We have thus a description of the Solar year. The

numbers when added together = 365. Hence in ver. 4 we are told that a Solar year = 365½ days. Then in ver. 5 we proceed to consider the lunar year which amounts not to 365 but to 354 days, there being a difference of eleven days, or more exactly eleven and a quarter days.

of one day¹. 5. But in the lunar year there are three hundred and fifty-four days, making twelve months of twenty-nine days; and *there remain eleven days over, which belong to the solar circle of the whole year², and are *lunar epacts of the whole year³. [Thus the great circle has five hundred and thirty-two years.] 6. The fourth part (of one day) is neglected during three years and the fourth year completes it exactly. *On account of this they are omitted from the heavens during three years, and are not added to the number of the days⁴, on which account these change the seasons of the year *in two new months, to make the number complete and there are two others to diminish⁵. 7. And when she has gone through the Western gates, she returns and goes to the Eastern, with her light, *and so she goes day and night in the heavenly circles, below all the circles more quickly than

¹ So she sets by the western gates and finishes the year in 364 days that are accomplished, B. This may be the original text, or 364 may be an error for 354. B OMITTS VERSE 5. ² Eleven days of the solar circle are wanting, Sok. ³ Epacts of the lunar year, A. ⁴ She goes through the year on this account and therefore the computation is made apart from the heavens, and in the years the days are not reckoned, B. ⁵ B om.

XVI. 5. Twenty-nine days. This should be 'twenty-nine and a half days.' [Thus the great circle has 532 years.] I have bracketed these words as they have no real connexion with the context. They arose obviously from a marginal gloss. The writer in this chapter does not get beyond the Metonic cycle, whereas the great cycle of 532 years is produced by multiplying together the Metonic cycle of nineteen years, and the Solar cycle of twenty-eight years. This great cycle is called the Dionysian or Great Paschal Period. As it includes all the variations in respect of the new moons and the dominical letters,

it is consequently a period in which Easter and all the movable and unmovable feasts would occur on the same day of the week and month as in the corresponding year of the preceding cycle. This cycle was first proposed by Victorius of Aquitaine, circ. 457 A.D. It is obvious that any reference to such a cycle here is an intrusion. 6. The fourth part, &c. Explanation of leap year. On which account these change the seasons of the year, &c. Hopelessly corrupt. 7. With her light. This seems to imply that her light is not borrowed from the sun as it is taught in the Eth. En. lxxiii.

the winds of the heavens, and there are spirits and creatures, and angels flying¹, with six wings to each of the angels². 8. * And seven (months) are computed to the circle of the moon during a revolution of nineteen years³.

[*Of the singing of the Angels, which cannot be described.*]

XVII. 1. In the middle of the heavens I saw an armed host serving the Lord with cymbals, and organs, and unceasing voice⁴. I was delighted at hearing it.

[*Of the taking up of Enoch into the fifth Heaven.*]

XVIII. 1. The men took * and brought⁵ me up into the fifth heaven⁶, and I saw there many hosts * not to be counted

¹ So Sok, but that it omits of the heavens and of the angels. B reads, So their circle goes as it were round the heavens and their chariot. The wind goes with it, urging its course and the flying spirits draw on the chariots. ² B adds and such is the arrangement of the moon.

³ So Sok.; and its course is in seven different directions for nineteen years, A; B om.

XVII. ⁴ A adds and noble and continuous and varied singing, which it is not possible to describe. And so wonderful and strange is the singing of these angels that it amazes every mind. Sok. adds and with noble singing.

XVIII. ⁵ A B om.

A ⁶ adds and placed me there.

Spirits . . . with six wings. The moon has its attendant *six-winged* spirits as the sun has its *twelve-winged* attendants (xii. 2). 8. This verse deals with the Metonic cycle. This cycle consists of a period of nineteen solar years, after which the new moons happen on the same days of the year. As nineteen solar years = 6,939.1860 days = 235 lunar months = nineteen lunar years and seven months, the solar and lunar years can be reconciled by intercalating seven lunar months at the close of the 3rd, 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 19th years of the cycle.

XVII. An armed host. The

purpose for which they are armed is given in Test. Levi 3, though in this Testament they are placed in the third heaven: ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ εἰσὶν αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν παρεμβολῶν, οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης καὶ τοῦ Βελίαρ. Serving the Lord with cymbals . . . and unceasing voices. This is exactly the conception which Test. Levi 3 gives of the functions of the inhabitants of the fourth heaven: ἐν δὲ τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν εἰσὶ θρόνοι, ἔξουσία, ἐν ᾧ ὕμνοι αἰετὶ τῷ θεῷ προσφέρονται.

XVIII. 1. Fifth heaven. Our text and Test. Levi 3 differ absolutely

called Grigori¹; and their appearance was like men, and their size was *greater than that of the giants². 2. And their countenances were withered, and their lips are always silent. And there was no service in *the fifth³ heaven. And I said to the men who were with me: 'Why are these men very withered, and their faces melancholy, and their lips silent, and there is no service in this heaven?' 3. And they said to me: 'These are the Grigori, who, with their prince Satanail,

¹ B om. ² Greater than great wonders, B. Great and they were huge limbed, A. B OM. REST OF CHAPTER. ³ This, Sok.

as to the inhabitants of the fifth heaven. According to the latter the inhabitants are οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ φέροντες τὰς ἀποκρίσεις τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου. This view, however, seems limited to the Test. of Levi, whereas we find in *Chag.* 12^b the same view expressed as here: i.e. in נְעֻמַּי the fifth heaven are to be found 'hosts of angels praising God by night, but keeping silent by day that God may hear the praises of Israel.' The latter clause is a late Rabbinic idea. Again, in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 11. 77, we find a fragment of the Apocalypse of Zephaniah which supports, and in all probability is based on, our text: ἄρ' οὐχ ὁμοία ταῦτα τοῖς ὑπὸ Σοφονία λεχθεῖσι τοῦ προφήτου; καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα καὶ ἀνήνεγκέν με εἰς οὐρανὸν πέμπτον καὶ ἐθεώρουν ἄγγέλους καλουμένους κυρίους . . ὑμνοῦντας θεὸν ἄρρητον ὕψιστον. This Apocalypse is extant in Thebaic in a fragmentary condition, but these fragments do not contain the passage just quoted. Grigori. These are the Watchers, the Ἐγρήγοροι, or עִירָיָה, of whom we have so full accounts in the Eth. En. vi-xvi.; xix.; lxxxvi. 3. The Grigori. These are the angels whose brethren rebelled and

were confined in the second heaven. See vi. 3 (note). These Watchers rebelled against God before the angels were tempted to sin with the daughters of men. In other words, we have here the agents of the original revolt in heaven, the Satans; and their leader is naturally named Satanail. These existed as evil agencies before the fall of the angels; for in Eth. En. liv. 6 the guilt of the latter consisted in becoming subject to Satan. See Eth. En. xl. 7 (note). The myth here, however, varies somewhat from that in Eth. En. vi-xvi. The leaders in the Eth. En. vi-xvi. are not Satans, but 'watchers,' like their followers. In Eth. En. lxix, however, we have an account which harmonizes with our text. There we see that the superior angels had rebelled before the creation of Adam; that they had tempted Eve and brought about the fall of the angels in the days of Jared. Thus, in Eth. En. lxix. and here, the leaders of the angels who fell in Jared's days are Satans. This is practically the view of portions of the Talmud. See Weber, pp. 211, 243, 244. Who with their prince Satanail. Quoted in Test. Dan. 5 . . τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πλάνης. Ἀνέγνω

rejected the holy¹ Lord². 4. And *in consequence of these things³ they are kept in great darkness in the second heaven; *and of them there went three⁴ to the earth from the throne of God to the place Ermon; and they entered into dealings on the side of Mount Iermon, and they saw the daughters of men, that they were fair, and took unto themselves wives. 5. And they made the earth foul with their deeds⁵. And they acted lawlessly in all times of this age, and wrought confusion, and the giants were born, and the strangely tall men, and there was much wickedness. 6. And on account of this God judged them with a mighty judgement. And they lament for their brethren, and they will be punished at the great day of the Lord. 7. And I said to the Grigori: 'I have seen your brethren and their works, and their great¹

¹ Sok. om. ² Sok. adds to the number of twenty millions. ³ Those who followed them are the prisoners who, Sok. ⁴ Who went, Sok.
⁵ Sok. adds *And the wives of men continue to do evil.*

γάρ ἐν βίβλῳ Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ Σατανᾶς. ὑμῶν is here corrupt for αὐτῶν. The text cannot mean that all the watchers rebelled, but only that it was from the class of the watchers that the rebels proceeded. It is, of course, just possible that the writers' scheme may differ from the conception we have given above, and be as follows. The rebellious watchers, with their prince Satanail, are confined to the fifth heaven. The subordinate angels who followed them are imprisoned in the second heaven, whereas the watchers who went down to earth and sinned with women are imprisoned under the earth. This view is very attractive, but is open to more difficulties of interpretation than the one we have followed. The MSS. reading *fifth* in vii. 3 is indeed in its favour, but then for 'prince and' in the

same verse we must read 'prince and leaders who.' The main objections to this interpretation, however, lie in xviii. 8, 9, and in vii. 3, where the prisoners of the second heaven are clearly identified with the watchers. In xxx. 1-3 Satanail with his angels is cast down from heaven. 4. Kept . . . in the second heaven: see vii. 3. Three. According to Eth. En. ix. 6 Azazel, or vi. 3, ix. 7 Semjaza: according to *Jalkut* Schim., Beresch 44 Assael and Semjaza. Ermon: see Eth. En. vi. 2-6 (notes). Entered into dealings on . . . Mount Iermon: Eth. En. vi. 5. 5. Eth. En. x. 8; vii. 2. 6. Eth. En. x. 4-15. They will be punished: i. e. the lustful watchers. 7. There is a confusion in this verse. In vii. Enoch has seen the rebellious watchers being tortured in the second heaven; whereas he says here that he

torments¹. And I have prayed for them, but God has condemned them (to be) under the earth, till the heaven and earth are ended for ever.' 8. And I said: 'Why do ye * wait, brethren², and not serve before the face of the Lord? and perform your duties³ before the face of the Lord, and do not anger your Lord⁴ to the end.' 9. And they listened to my rebuke. And they * stood in the four orders in this⁵ heaven, and lo! as I was standing with these men, four trumpets resounded together with a loud voice, and the Grigori sang with one voice, and their voices went forth before the Lord⁶ with sadness and tenderness.

[*The taking up of Enoch into the sixth Heaven.*]

XIX. 1. And these men took me thence and brought me to the sixth heaven, and I saw there seven bands of angels, very bright and glorious, and their faces shining more than * the rays of⁷ the sun. * They are resplendent⁷, and there is no difference * in their countenances, or their manner, or the style of their clothing⁸. 2. * And these orders⁹ arrange and study * the revolutions of the stars, and the changes

¹ Sok. adds and their great entreaties. ² Await your brethren, Sok. ³ Sok. adds and serve. ⁴ Sok. adds your God. ⁵ Spoke to the four orders in, A. ⁶ Sok. adds God.

XIX. ⁷ B om. ⁸ Of form between them nor in the fashion of their raiment, Sok. ⁹ Some of these angels, B.

has seen the lustful watchers who are punished under the earth. I have prayed for them: cf. vii. 5 (note). 8, 9. The watchers are silent out of sympathy with their brethren who are punished in the second heaven and under the earth, but at Enoch's rebuke they resume the worship they had left off. Even so their singing is still marked with sadness.

XIX. 1. The account of the sixth heaven disagrees more or less with that of Test. Levi 3, with that of

Chag. 12^b, and with the colourless account in the Asc. Is. There is no difference in their countenances, &c.: Asc. Is. viii. 16 'Omnium una species et gloria aequalis,' seems to be derived from our text, as it emphasizes the differences in glory between the angelic orders in each of the first five heavens, and emphasizes no less the equality in glory of all the angels of the sixth heaven (cf. Asc. Is. viii. 5-7). 2. The heavenly bodies are under Uriel in Eth. En. lxxii-lxxxii.

of the moon, and revolutions of the sun, and superintend the good or evil condition of the world¹. 3. *And they² arrange teachings, and instructions, and sweet *speaking, and³ singing, and all *kinds of glorious⁴ praise. *These are the archangels who are appointed over the angels! They hold in subjection all living things both in heaven and earth⁵. 4. And there are the angels who are over seasons and years, and the angels who are over rivers and the sea, and those who are over the fruits *of the earth, and the angels over every herb, giving all kinds of nourishment to every living thing⁶. 5. And the angels over all souls of men, who write down all their works and their lives⁷ before the face of the Lord. 6. In the midst of them are seven phoenixes and seven cherubims, and seven six-winged creatures, *being as one voice and singing with one voice⁸; and it is not possible to describe their singing, and *they rejoice before the Lord⁹ at His footstool.

[*Thence Enoch is taken into the seventh Heaven*¹⁰.]

XX. 1. And these men took me thence *and brought me¹¹

¹ The peaceful order of the world, and the revolutions of the sun, moon, and stars. ² Other heavenly angels, B. ³ And clear, A; voiced, Sok. ⁴ Things concerned with, A. ⁵ So A Sok.; but that A reads measure for hold in subjection, B om. ⁶ So A Sok.; but that A reads all those who give nourishment for giving all kinds of nourishment; B reads and grass and all things that grow. ⁷ And the angels who write down all the souls of men and all their works and their lives, A; Other angels arrange the things of all men and all living things, and write, B. ⁸ With one voice they sing in harmony, A; Each uttering words by himself, and singing by himself things in harmony, B. ⁹ The Lord rejoices with them, B.

XX. ¹⁰ Entry of Enoch into the seventh heaven, B. ¹¹ A om.

4. In Eth. En. lx. it is subordinate spirits that are over these natural objects. Cf. Eth. En. lxxxii. 13; Rev. ix. 14; xvi. 5. 5. It is Raphael in Eth. En. xx. 3. 6. Six-winged creatures: i. e. seraphim. Cf. xii. 1 (notes). Observes that both cherubim and seraphim are also in the seventh heaven. Chag. 12^b places the Sera-

phim, Ophanim, and Chajjoth, and other angels of service in the seventh heaven. Test. Levi 3 in agreement with this verse represents the inhabitants of the sixth heaven as οἱ ἄγγελοι εἰσι τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου, οἱ λειτουργοῦντες.

XX. 1. With this description of the heavenly hosts cf. Is. vi; Ezek.

to the seventh heaven, and I saw there a very ¹ great light and *all the fiery hosts of great archangels, and incorporeal powers ² *and lordships, and principalities, and powers; cherubim and seraphim, thrones ¹ *and the watchfulness of many eyes. There were ten troops, a station of brightness ³, and I was afraid, and trembled *with a great terror ¹. 2. And those men *took hold of me and brought me into their midst ⁴ and said to me: 'Be of good cheer, Enoch, be not afraid.' 3. And they showed me the Lord from afar sitting on His lofty ⁵ throne ⁶. And all the heavenly hosts having approached stood ¹ on the ten ¹ steps, *according to their rank: and ¹ made

¹ Bom. ² A fiery host of great archangels of epiritual forms, A. All the fiery and bright host of the incorporeal archangels, B. ³ And the ten many-eyed bands of bright station, Sok.; Bom. After brightness A Sok. add the gloss like the followers of John. For nine (A) I have read ten with Sok. ⁴ Placed me in their midst, B. For unto their midst A reads after them. ⁵ Very lofty, Sok., B om. ⁶ A adds for it is that upon which God rests. In the tenth heaven, in the tenth heaven is God. In the Hebrew language it is called Avarat.

i; Eth. En. xiv. 9-17; lxxi. 7-9; Rev. iv. For *Chag.* 12^b see xix. 6 (note). But this account can well compare for grandeur with any of the above. Lordships, and principalities, and powers . . . thrones. So exactly Col. i. 16 *εἶτε θρόνοι εἶτε κυριότητες εἶτε ἀρχαὶ εἶτε ἐξουσίαι*. Cf. Eph. i. 21 *ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος*: also Rom. viii. 38; Eph. iii. 10, 15; 1 Pet. iii. 22; Eth. En. lxi. 10. Watchfulness of many eyes seems to be derived from Ezek. x. 12. These are the Ophanim, Eth. En. lxi. 10. Ten . . . brightness. These are the ten orders of angels mentioned in ver. 3. Was afraid and trembled: Eth. En. xiv. 14. 2. Be of good cheer, &c.: cf. i. 8. 3. The Lord . . . on His lofty throne: Is. vi. 1; Eth. En. xiv. 20; Rev. xix. 4. All the heavenly hosts . . . on the ten steps according to their rank.

These hosts consist of the ten troops mentioned in ver. 1, arranged in the order of their rank. According to Maimonides in the *Mishne Thora* S. 1; Jesode Thora C. 2, they are: Chajjoth, Ophannim, Arellim, Chashmallim, Seraphim, Mal'achim, Elohim, Bene Elohim, Kerubim, Ishim (Weber, p. 163). In the *Berith menucha* the list is different: Arellim, Ishim, Bene Elohim, Mal'achim, Chashmallim, Tarshishim, Shina'nim, Kerubim, Ophannim, Seraphim (Eisenmenger, ii. 374). But the nearest parallel is to be found in the nine orders of Dionysius the Areopagite, i.e. *Σεραφίμ, Χερουβίμ, Θρόνοι, Κυριότητες, Δυνάμεις, Ἐξουσίαι, Ἀρχαί, Ἀρχάγγελοι, Ἀγγελοι*. These are reproduced in Dante, *Par.* c. xxviii, where the slightly differing arrangement of Gregory the Great (*Hom.* xxxiv. 7) is censured.

obedience to the Lord. 4. And so they proceeded to their places in joy and mirth, and in boundless light *singing songs with low and gentle voices¹, *and gloriously serving Him².

[*How the Angels placed Enoch there at the limits of the seventh Heaven, and departed from him invisibly.*]

XXI. 1. They leave not *nor depart day or night³ standing before the face of the Lord, working His will⁴, cherubim and seraphim, standing round His throne. *And the six-winged creatures⁵ overshadow all⁶ His throne, singing *with a soft voice⁶ before the face of the Lord: *‘Holy, Holy, Holy: Lord God of Sabaoth! heaven and earth are full of Thy glory⁶!’ 2. When I had seen all these things, *these men said unto me: ‘Enoch, up to this time we have been ordered to accompany thee.’ And⁶ those men departed from me, and I saw them no more. And I remained alone at the extremity of the heaven⁷, and was afraid, and fell on my face, *and said within myself: ‘Woe is me! what has come upon me!’⁸ 3. And the Lord sent one of His glorious archangels⁶, Gabriel, and he said to me: ‘Be of good cheer, Enoch, *be not afraid⁹, *stand up, come with me¹⁰, and stand up before the face of the Lord for ever. 4. And I answered him, *and said¹¹: ‘Oh! Lord, my spirit has departed from me with fear *and trembling⁶! *call to me the men¹² who have brought me to this place: upon them

¹ B om. ² The glorious ones seeing Him, Sok.

XXI. ³ A om. ⁴ B adds and the whole host of. ⁵ With six wings and many eyes, A. ⁶ B om. ⁷ Seventh heaven, A. ⁸ B om. ⁹ Fear not thou these hosts, B. ¹⁰ Come unto me, B. A transposes these words after for ever. ¹¹ B om.; A adds within myself. B adds Woe is me, O Lord! ¹² I called the men, A B.

XXI. 1. Leave not nor depart day or night. This is derived from Eth. En. xiv. 23 ‘The holy ones of the holy—leave not by night nor depart.’ ‘Six-winged creatures . . . Holy, holy, holy, &c.’ Is. vi. 2, 3. 3. Be of good cheer, be not afraid. See i. 8; xx. 2; xxi. 5; Eth. En.

I have relied, and with them I would go before the face of the Lord.' 5. And Gabriel hurried me away like a leaf carried off by the wind, *and he took me¹ and set me before the face of the Lord².

XXII. 4. I fell down³ and worshipped the Lord. 5. And the Lord spake with His lips to me: 'Be of good cheer,

¹ Having taken me, Sok., A om. ² A adds 6. And I saw the eighth heaven, which is called in the Hebrew language, Muzaloth, changing in its season in dryness and moisture, with the twelve signs of the zodiac, which are above the seventh heaven. And I saw the ninth heaven, which in the Hebrew is called Kukhavim, where are the heavenly homes of the twelve signs of the zodiac.

*Michael the Archangel led Enoch into the tenth heaven
before the face of the Lord.*

XXII. 1. In the tenth heaven Aravoth, I saw the vision of the face of the Lord, like iron burnt in the fire, and brought forth and emitting sparks, and it burns. So I saw the face of the Lord; but the face of the Lord cannot be told. It is wonderful and awful, and very terrible. 2. And who am I that I should tell of the unspeakable being of God, and His wonderful face? And it is not for me to tell of His wonderful knowledge and various utterances; and the very great thrones of the Lord not made with hands. And how many stand around Him, hosts of cherubim and seraphim. 3. And moreover their never-ceasing songs, and their unchanging beauty, and the unspeakable greatness of His beauty, who can tell?

In Sok. a duplicate, but somewhat different, version of XXII. 1-3 is given:—

I also saw the Lord face to face. And His face was very glorious, marvellous and terrible, threatening, and strange. 2. Who am I to tell of the incomprehensible existence of the Lord, and His face wonderful, and not to be spoken of: and the choir with much instruction, and loud sound, and the throne of the Lord very great, and not made with hands: and the choir standing around Him of the hosts of cherubim and seraphim!

³ B adds and could not see the Lord God.

xv. 1. 5. Cf. ver. 3. [6. This verse is clearly an interpolation. It is not found either in B or Sok. Furthermore, throughout the rest of the book only seven heavens are mentioned or implied. The term Muzaloth is the Hebrew name for the twelve signs of the Zodiac מְזָלוֹת. Kukhavim is merely a transliteration of כּוֹכָבִים. Some ground for this conception may be found in Eth. En.

xiv. 17, where the path of the stars is above the throne of God, and as the throne of God according to this book is in the seventh heaven, the signs and stars might be regarded as in the eighth or ninth.]

XXII. [1-3. Aravoth a transliteration of עֲרֵבוֹת, which according to Chagig 12^b was really the seventh heaven. The rest of ver. 1 and verses 2, 3, may in some form have belonged

Enoch, be not afraid: rise up and stand before my face for ever.' 6. And Michael, the chief captain, *lifted me up, and¹ brought me before the face of the Lord, and the Lord said to His servants making trial of them: 'Let Enoch come to stand before My face for ever!' 7. And the glorious ones made obeisance *to the Lord, and said: 'Let Enoch proceed according to Thy word²!' 8. And the Lord said to Michael: '*Go and take from Enoch his earthly robe, and anoint him with My holy³ oil, and clothe him with the raiment of My glory.' 9. And so Michael *did as the Lord spake unto him. He⁴ anointed me⁵ and clothed me, and the appearance of that oil was more than a great light, and its anointing was like excellent dew; and its fragrance like myrrh, shining like a ray of the sun. 10. *And I gazed upon myself, and I was like one of His glorious ones⁶. *And there was no difference, and fear and trembling departed from me⁷. 11. And the Lord called one of His archangels, by name Vretil⁸, who *was more wise than the other archangels, and⁹ wrote down all the doings of the Lord. 12. And the Lord said to Vretil⁸, 'Bring forth

¹ B om. and transposes verses 8-10 before 5. ² And told me to come forth, B. ³ Takes Enoch and strip from him all earthly things and anoint him with fine, B. ⁴ Stripped me of my clothes and, B. ⁵ With blessed oil, B. ⁶ Sok. om. ⁷ A Sok. om. ⁸ Pravuil, A; Vrevoil, Sok. ⁹ With wisdom, B.

to the text. I have with some hesitation rejected them]. 6. Michael. Cf. Eth. En. lxxi. 13, 14, where Michael takes charge of Enoch. He is likewise the chief of the archangels, Eth. En. xl. 9. As being the angel set over Israel, Eth. En. xx. 5, he is naturally the chief captain. 8. This is τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦ ἑλέου of *Apoc. Mosis* ed. Tischend. p. 6. Holy oil. See viii. 7: Evang. Nicod. ii. 3. This oil is described in ver. 9, and its effects in ver. 10. Raiment of my glory. These are the garments of

the blessed. Cf. Eth. En. lxii. 15; cviii. 12; 2 Cor. v. 3, 4; Rsv. iii. 4, 5, 18; iv. 4; vi. 11; vii. 9, 13, 14; 4 Ezra ii. 39, 45; Herin. *Sim.* viii. 2; Asc. Is. ix. 9. 11. Vretil. I cannot find this name anywhere else. 12. Give a read to Enoch. These words are drawn upon in *Liber S. Joannis Apocryphus* (Thilo, *Cod. Apocr.* N. T. vol. i. p. 890) 'Elavavit Henoc super firmamentum . . . et praecepit ei dari calamus . . . et sedens scripsit sexaginta septem libros.

the books from my store-places, *and give a reed to Enoch¹, *and interpret to him the books².’ *And Vretil made haste and brought me the books, fragrant with myrrh, and gave me a reed from his hand³.

[*Of the Writing of Enoch how he wrote about his wonderful Goings and the heavenly Visions, and he himself wrote 366 Books.*]

XXIII. 1. And he told me all the works of *the heaven and⁴ the earth and the sea, *and their goings and comings⁵, *the noise of the thunder; the sun and moon and the movement of the stars; their changings; the seasons and years; days and hours⁶; and⁷ goings of the winds; and the numbers of the angels; *the songs of the armed hosts⁸. 2. And everything relating to man, and every language of their songs, and the lives of men, and the precepts⁹ and instructions, and sweet-voiced singings, and all which it is suitable to be instructed in. 3. *And Vretil instructed me thirty days and thirty nights, and his lips never ceased speaking; and I did not cease thirty days and thirty nights writing all the remarks¹⁰. 4. And Vretil¹¹ said to me: *‘All the things which I have told thee, thou hast written down. Sit¹² down and *write all about¹³ the souls

¹ And take a reed for speedy writing and give it to Enoch, A Sok. ² A om. ³ And show him the books wonderful and fragrant with myrrh from thy hand, A; Sok. agrees with text, save that he adds wonderful before books, and adds for speedy writing after reed.

XXIII. ⁴ B om. ⁵ The movements of all the elements, B; A om. ⁶ The living things and the seasons of the year, and the course of his days and their changings, and the teaching of the commandments, B; Sok. supports text, save that for movement of the stars he reads stars and their goings. After hours Sok. adds and the coming forth of the clouds. ⁷ B omits from and goings to end of ver. 2. ⁸ The fashion of their songs, A. ⁹ Narratives, A. ¹⁰ A om.; Sok. supports text, but that for remarks he reads marks of every creature. After creature Sok. adds and when I had finished the thirty days and nights. ¹¹ Pravuil, A; Vrevoil, Sok. So also in previous verse. ¹² Lo! what things I have instructed thee in and what thou hast written: and now sit, Sok. ¹³ Write down all, Sok.

XXIII. 1. This verse would not unsuitably describe the Book of Celestial Physics in Eth. En. lxxii-lxxxii. Songs of the armed hosts: see xvii.

of men, those of them which are not born, and the places prepared for them for ever. 5. For every soul was created eternally¹ before the foundation of the world.' 6. And I *wrote all out continuously² during thirty days and thirty nights, *and I copied all out accurately, and I wrote 366 books³.

¹ For eternity, Sok. ² Sat, Sok. ³ And so I ceased and I had written 360 books, B.

5. Every soul was created . . . before the foundation of the world. The Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul is here taught. We find that it had already made its way into Jewish thought in Egypt; cf. *Wisdom of Solomon*, viii. 19, 20 *παῖς δὲ ἤμην εὐδυνής, ψυχῆς τε ἔλαχον ἀγαθῆς, μάλλον δὲ ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἦλθον εἰς σῶμα ἀμίαντον*. This doctrine was accepted and further developed by Philo. According to him the whole atmosphere is filled with souls. Among these, those who are nearer the earth and are attracted by the body descend into mortal bodies (*τούτων τῶν ψυχῶν αἱ μὲν κατὰσιν ἐνδεθούμεναι σώμασι θνητοῖς, ὅσαι προσγεύεσθαι καὶ φιλοσώματοι, De Somn.* i. 22). When they have entered the body they are swept off by it as by a river and swallowed up in its eddies (*ἐκεῖναι δὲ ὥσπερ εἰς ποταμὸν τὸ σῶμα καταβάσαι τοτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ συρμῶν δίνης βιαιοτάτης ἀρπασθεῖσαι κατεπόθησαν, De Gigant.* 3). Only a few escape by obedience to a spiritual philosophy and come to share in the incorporeal and imperishable life that is with God (*De Gigant.* 3). But there were other souls, called demons in philosophy and angels in Scripture, who dwelling in the higher parts were never entangled by love of the earthly (*μηδενὸς μὲν τῶν περιγέγων ποτὲ δρεχθεῖσαι τὸ παράπαν, De Somn.* i. 22), and

who reported the commands of the Father to the children, and the needs of the children to the Father (*τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικελεύσεις τοῖς ἐκγόνοις καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκγόνων χρείας τῷ πατρὶ διαγγέλλουσι, De Somn.* i. 22; cf. *De Gigant.* 4). This doctrine of the preexistence of the soul was according to Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 11, held by the Essenes: *καὶ γὰρ ἔρρωται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἥδε ἡ δόξα, φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ὕλην οὐ μόνιμον αὐτοῖς, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους αἰεὶ διαμένειν, καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι μὲν, ἐκ τοῦ λεπτοτάτου φοιτῶσας αἰθέρος, ὥσπερ εἰρκταῖς τοῖς σώμασιν ἑνγγί τινη φυσικῇ κατασπομένης, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀνεθῶσι τῶν κατὰ σάρκα δεσμῶν, οἷα δὲ μακρὰς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμέναις, τότε χαίρειν καὶ μετέρους φέρεσθαι*. It became a prevailing dogma in later Judaism. All souls which were to enter human bodies existed before the creation of the world in the Garden of Eden (*Tanchuma*, Pikkude 3) or in the seventh heaven (*Chagig* 12^b) or in a certain chamber (7777) (*Sifre* 143^b) whence God called them forth to enter human bodies. These souls were conceived of as actually living beings. According to *Bereshith rabba* c. 8, God takes counsel with the souls of the righteous before He creates the earth (cf. Weber, pp. 204, 205, 217-220). See xxx. 16 (note).

[Of the great Secrets of God, which God revealed and told to Enoch, and spoke with him Face to Face.]

XXIV. 1. And the Lord called me *and said to me: 'Enoch, sit thou on My¹ left hand with Gabriel.' And I made obeisance to the Lord. 2. And the Lord spake to me: 'Enoch², *the things which thou seest at rest and in motion were completed by me³. I will tell thee *now, even⁴ from the first, what things I created from the non-existent, and what visible things from the invisible⁵. 3. Not even to My angels have I told My secrets, nor have I informed them of *their origin, nor have they understood My infinite creation⁶ which I tell thee of to-day. 4. *For before anything which is visible existed⁷, *I alone held my course among the invisible things⁸, like the sun from the east to the west, *and from the west to the east. 5. But even the sun has rest in himself, but I did not find rest,

XXIV. ¹ And placed me on His, B. ² Beloved Enoch, A. ³ Thou seest the things which are now completed, A. ⁴ All, Sok. ⁵ A adds Listen Enoch and pay attention to these words, for. ⁶ Their origin nor of My infinite empire, nor have they understood the creation made by Me, A. My mysteries nor their explanations nor My boundless and inexplicable plans in creation, B. ⁷ B om. ⁸ I revealed the light: I went about in the light as one of the invisible.

XXIV. 2. From the non-existent. Here creation *ex nihilo* seems to be taught. In Philo, on the other hand, the world was not created, but only formed from pre-existent chaotic elements. In one passage, however, where the absolute creation of the world is taught, we have an actual and almost verbal agreement with our text—ὡς ἡλιος ἀνατείλας τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιδείκνυται, οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα γεννήσας οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἤγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἂν πρότερον οὐκ ἦν ἐποίησεν, οὐ δημιουργοῦς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίστης αὐτὸς ὦν (*De Somn.* i. 13). Probably, however, from the non-existent is a

rendering of ἐκ τῶν μὴ ὄντων. This will harmonize with xxv. 1. Visible things from the invisible: cf. passage just quoted from Philo; also Heb. xi. 3 'The worlds have been formed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear.' These words from *Hebrews* do not necessarily imply creation, but can naturally be interpreted after Philo's conceptions. In Gen. i. 2 LXX we find the idea of invisible elements introduced, as it gives ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος as a rendering of what we translate with 'the earth was waste.' 3. Not even to My angels: cf. xl. 3; 1 Pet. i. 12.

because I was creating every thing¹. And I planned to lay the foundations and to make the visible creation.

[*God tells Enoch how out of the lowest Darkness, there comes forth the visible and the invisible.*]

XXV. 1. *And I commanded in the depths that visible things should come out of invisible. And out came Adoil very great², *and I gazed upon him. And lo! his colour was red, of great brightness³. 2. And I said unto him: "Burst asunder, Adoil⁴, and let that which comes from thee be visible." 3. And he burst asunder, and there came forth a great light⁵, and *I was in the midst of a great light, and as the light came forth from the light⁶, there came forth the great world, *revealing all the creation³, which I had purposed to make, and I saw that it was good. 4. And I made for Myself a throne, and sat upon it, and I said to the light:

¹ B om.

XXV. ² I summoned from the regions below the great Idoil to come forth who had in his belly a great stone, B. ³ B om. ⁴ A om. ⁵ Stone, B. ⁶ I was in the midst of light, and the light thus appearing out of it, Sok.; B om.

XXV. 1. Here the formation of the world from pre-existing elements is taught, as in the Book of Wisdom xi. 17 ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης. Cf. also Philo, *De Justitia* 7 Μηνύει δὲ ἡ τοῦ Κόσμου γένεσις . . . τὰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι. This is in the main the teaching of the Talmud. See Weber, 193-196. Adoil. Is this from הָאֵל, the hand of God? The word does not occur elsewhere that I am aware of. In this and the two subsequent verses we have an adaptation of an Egyptian myth. 2. We have here a modification of the egg theory of the universe. See Clem. *Reag.* x. 17, 30. In Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth. d. alten Aegypter*, p. 101, we find a very close parallel. According to the monuments: 'der erste Schöpfungsact began

mit der Bildung eines Eies aus dem Urgewässer, aus dem das Tageslicht, die unmittelbare Ursache des Lebens in dem Bereiche der irdischen Welt herausbrach.' 3. There came forth a great light. This exactly agrees with the ancient Egyptian myth as described in preceding note. Cf. also Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth.* pp. 160, 161 on *Die Geburt des Lichtes*. There came forth the great world. This should refer to the world of the heavens, as the earth is dealt with in the next chapter. 4. I made for Myself a throne. This throne was created before the world according to *Bereshith rabba* c. 1 as here. This idea may have found support in the LXX of Prov. viii. 27, where wisdom declares that she was with

“Go forth * on high¹ and be established above My throne², and be the foundation for things on high.’ 5. And there was nothing higher than the light, and as I reclined, I saw it from My throne.

[*God again calls from the Depths and there came forth Arkhas, Tazhis³, and one who is very red.*]

XXVI. 1. And I summoned a second time from the depths, *and said: ‘Let the solid thing which is visible come forth from the invisible⁴.’ And Arkhas *came forth⁵ firm⁶ and heavy³ and *very red⁷. 2. And I said: ‘Be thou divided, O Arkhas, and let *that be seen which is⁸ produced from thee.’ And when he was divided, the world came forth, very dark and great, *bringing the creation of all things below⁹. 3. And I saw that it¹⁰ was good. And I said to him: ‘*Go thou down¹¹ and be thou established. *And be a foundation for things below’; and it was so. And it came forth and was established¹², and was a foundation for things below. *And there was nothing else below the darkness¹².

[*How God established the Water, and surrounded it with Light, and established upon it Seven Islands.*]

XXVII. 1. *And I ordered that there should be a separation between the light and the darkness, and I said: ‘Let

¹ Above My throne, Sok. ² Sok. om.

XXVI. ³ Corrupt in A, from ТАЗЕЦЬ = heaviness (Old Slav.). ⁴ I told him to come forth from the unseen into that which is fixed and visible, B; and said: ‘let the strong Arkhas come forth,’ and he came forth strong from the invisible, A. ⁵ A om. ⁶ Very firm, B. ⁷ Black, B. ⁸ The thing, A; B omits entire verse. ⁹ Bearer of the created things from all things below, A. ¹⁰ All, B. ¹¹ Come forth from below, A Sok. ¹² B om.

God at the creation when he established His throne upon the winds (ὅτε ἀφώριξεν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θρόνον ἐπ’ ἀνέμων).

XXVI. 1. Formation, but not

creation, of the earth. Arkhas may be from $\Psi^{\prime}\rho\gamma$ or even from ἀρχή.

XXVII. The title is very corrupt.

1. Separation between the light and the darkness: Gen. i. 4. I do

there be a thick substance,' and it was so¹. 2. * And I spread this out and there was water, and I spread it over the darkness², below the light. 3. And thus I made firm the waters, that is, the depths, and I surrounded the waters with light, and I created seven circles and I fashioned them like crystal, moist and dry, that is to say, like glass and ice, and as for the waters, and also the other elements, I showed each of them their paths, (viz.) to the seven stars, each of them in their heaven, how they should go; and I saw that it was good. 4. And I separated between the light and the darkness; that is to say, between the waters here and there. And I said to the light: 'Let it be day³'; and to the darkness, 'Let it be night.' And the evening and the morning were the first day⁴.

XXVIII. 1. ⁵ And thus I *made firm the circles of the heavens, and caused the waters *below, which are under the heavens to be gathered into one place, and that the waves should be dried up, and it was so. 2. Out of the waves I made firm and great stones, and out of the stones I heaped together a dry substance, and I called the dry substance earth. 3. And in the midst of the earth I appointed a pit, that is to say an abyss. 4. I gathered the sea into one place, and I restrained it with a yoke. And I said to

XXVII. ¹ And I ordered that they should take from the light and the darkness and I said: 'Let it be thick and covered with light,' Sok.; B om. ² So A Sok., but that A adds with light after out. B reads And having clothed (spread out?) certain things with light, I made broad and stretched out the path of the waters above the darkness. B OMITS THE REST OF THE CHAPTER. ³ Be thou day, Sok. ⁴ A adds as title of XXVIII, Sunday. On it God showed to Enoch all His wisdom and power: during all the seven days how He created the powers of the heaven and earth and all moving things and at last man.

XXVIII. ⁵ A and Sok. agree in this chapter. B is fragmentary and transposed, and reads: (2) And I made the great stones firm, (1) and ordered

not pretend to understand what follows. 3. Seven stars: see

xxx. 5. 4. Gen. i. 4, 5.

XXVIII. 1. Gen. i. 9. 2. I called the dry substance earth.

An exact rendering of Gen. i. 10. 3. This may be Sheol, or Tartarus (cf. xxix. 5), or it may be the abysses of the waters: cf. Gen. vii. 11; viii. 2; Eth. En. lxxxix. 7, 8; Jubilees ii.

the sea: 'Lo! I give thee an eternal portion and thou shalt not move from thy established position.' So I made fast the firmament and fixed it above the water. 5. This I called the first day of the creation. Then it was evening, and again morning, and it was the second day¹.

XXIX. 1. And for all the heavenly hosts I fashioned² a nature like that of fire, and My eye gazed on the very firm and hard stone. And from the brightness of My eye the lightning received its wonderful nature. 2. And fire is in the water and water in the fire, and neither is the one quenched, nor the other dried up. On this account lightning is brighter than the sun, and soft water is stronger than hard stone³. 3. And from the stone I cut the mighty fire. *And from the fire I made the ranks of the spiritual hosts, ten thousand angels⁴, *and their weapons are fiery, and

the waters of the abysses to dry up, (4) and having collected into rivers the overflowings of the abysses and the seas into one place, I bound them with a yoke. I made an everlasting separation between the earth and the sea, and the waters cannot burst forth. And I made fast the firmament, and fixed it above the waters. ¹ A adds as title of the next three verses: The day is Monday, the fiery creations.

XXIX. ² B adds the sun of a great light and placed it in the heavens that it might give light upon earth. ³ So A and Sok., but that Sok. adds keener and before brighter. B omits a nature . . . hard stone. ⁴ And from stones I created the hosts of spirits, B. A supports text, but that for ten thousand it read of the ten. B adds and all the starry hosts, and the Cherubim, and the Seraphim, and the Ophannim, I cut out of fire.

2. 4. Cf. Job xxvi. 10; Ps. civ. 9; Prov. viii. 29; Jer. v. 22. Firmament: Gen. i. 7, 8. 5. This verse should be read immediately after xxix, and together with that chapter should be restored before xxviii. This is clear from the analogy of xxx. 1, 2, 7, 8. It is impossible in its present position.

XXIX. This chap. is clearly dislocated from its original position before xxviii. There is no mark of time attached to it. The work of the first day is given in xxv-xxvii; that

of the second day in xxviii. 1-4; that of the third in xxx. 1. xxviii. 5, as we have already seen, must have been differently placed originally. Hence, if we recall the fact that in Jubilees ii. 2, and occasionally in patristic tradition, the creation of the angels is assigned to the first day—evidently on the ground of Job xxxviii. 7—we can restore the text to perfect harmony with itself and Jewish tradition by placing xxix, followed immediately by xxviii. 5, after xxvii.

their garment is a burning flame, and I ordered them to stand each in their ranks¹.

[*Here Satanail was hurled from the Heights with his Angels.*]

4. * One of these in the ranks of the Archangels, having turned away with the rank below him, entertained an impossible idea, that he should make his throne higher than the clouds over the earth, and should be equal in rank to My power. 5. And I hurled him from the heights with his angels. And he was flying in the air continually, above the abyss¹.

XXX. 1. * And so I created all the heavens, and it was the

¹ B om.

3. From the fire I made the ... angels. So Pesikta 3^a: see Weber L. d. J. 161. 4. One of these ... with the rank 'below him. This is clearly Satan. The rank below him is probably the watchers. But however we interpret the text we are beset with difficulties. There are conflicting elements in the text. See xii. and xviii. with notes: vii; xix; xxxi. 3-7 (notes). Make his throne higher than the clouds. If this is genuine we must take *clouds* in the sense of heavens. Satan was one of the highest angels before his fall: cf. xviii. 4. Satan and Sammael can not be distinguished in Rabbinic writings. On the attempt of Sammael to found a kingdom see Weber, 244. The following passage from the *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. vi. is evidently derived from our text: 'The wicked Satan ... set me at naught and sought the Godhead, so that I hurled him down from heaven.' 5. He was flying in the air continu-

ally. This view seems to have been generally received amongst the Jews. Cf. Eph. ii. 2 'The prince of the power of the air'; vi. 12; Test. Benj. 3 τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος τοῦ Βελίαρ: Asc. Is. iv. 2 'Berial angelus magnus res huius mundi ... descendet e firmamento suo'; vii. 9 'Et ascendimus in firmamentum, ego et ille, et ibi vidi Sammaelem eiusque potestates'; x. 29 'descendit in firmamentum ubi princeps huius mundi habitat.' Tuf. haarez, f. 9. 2 'Under the sphere of the moon, which is the last under all, is a firmament ... and there the souls of the demons are.' Cf. Eisenmenger, ii. 411. According to the Stoics, on the other hand, the abode of the blessed was under the moon. Cf. Tertull. *De An.* 54; Lucan ix. 5 sq. For other authorities see Meyer on Eph. ii. 2; Eisenmenger, ii. 456. It is hard to get a consistent view of the demonology of this book; it seems to be as follows: Satan, one of the archangels (xviii. 4; xxix. 4), seduced the watchers of the

third day. On the third day¹ I ordered the earth to produce *great trees, such as bear fruit, and mountains², and *every sort of herb and every³ seed that is sown⁴, *and I planted Paradise, and enclosed it, and placed fiery angels armed, and so I made a renewing. 2. Then it was evening, and it was morning, being the fourth day⁵. On the fourth day⁶ I ordered that there should be great lights in the circles of the heavens. 3. In the first and highest circle I placed the star Kruno; and on the second⁷ Aphrodite; on the third

XXX. ¹ B om. In verse 1 A adds Tuesday as title before On the third day. ² All sorts of trees and high mountains, B. ³ A om. ⁴ B adds before I produced living things and prepared food for them. ⁵ Bom. ; Sok. supports text, but adds of the earth after renewing. A adds Wednesday as title of 2^{b-7}. ⁶ B OMITTS VERSES 2-7^a. ⁷ Sok. adds lower I placed.

fifth heaven into revolt, in order to establish a counter kingdom to God, xxix. 4. Therefore Satan, or the Satans (for it is the name of a class) (Weber, 244), were cast down from heaven, xxix. 5; xxxi. 4, and given the air for their habitation, xxix. 5. As for his followers, the watchers of the fifth heaven, they were cast down to the second and there kept imprisoned and tortured, vii. 3; xviii. 4. Some, however, of the Satans or Watchers went down to earth and married the daughters of men, xviii. 4. From these were born giants, xviii. 5. Thereupon these watchers were imprisoned under the earth, xviii. 6, 7, and the souls of the giants, their children, became subjects of Satan. To return to the Satans, however, when man was created, Satan envied him and wished to make another world, xxxi. 3. Out of envy he tempted Eve to her fall, xxxi. 6.

XXX. 1. Cf. Gen. i. 10, 11. Mountains. This is corrupt. We should have a reference here probably to non-fruit-bearing trees, as in Jub. ii. 7 τὰ ξύλα

τὰ καρπία τε καὶ ἄκαρπα. Every seed that is sown. This phrase is found in Jubilees, ii. 7, as one of the third day creations. Paradise. Also in Jub. ii. 7, among the creations of the third day. 2. Circles of the heavens. In Philo, *De Mundi Op.* 38, we find seven circles as here, though with a different meaning: τὸν οὐρανὸν φασιν ἐπὶ τὰ διεζῶσθαι κύκλοις. 3. Gen. i. 14-19. In the *Chronography of Joel*, circ. 1200 A. D., p. 34 (ed. Bekker, 1836), the discovery of the signs of the Zodiac, the solstices and the seasons, and the naming of the planets, are assigned to Seth; but as such discoveries were anciently assigned to Enoch, and were only in later tradition ascribed to Seth, we may not unreasonably regard the mention in Joel of the five planets, Kronos, Zens, Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, as ultimately derived from the Enoch literature. The statement in Joel is, ὁ δὲ Σὴθ πρῶτος ἐξεύρε . . . τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν . . . καὶ τοῖς ἄστροις ἐπέθηκεν ὀνόματα καὶ τοῖς πέντε πλανήταις εἰς τὸ

Ares; * on the fourth the Sun¹; on the fifth Zeus; on the sixth Hermes; on the seventh² the moon. 4. And *the lower air I adorned with the lesser stars. 5. And³ I placed the sun to give light to the day, and the moon and the stars to give light to the night; the sun that he should go *according to each sign of the Zodiac⁴; and the course of *the moon through the twelve signs of the Zodiac⁵. 6. And I fixed their names *and existence, the thunders, and the revolutions of the hours, how they take place⁶. 7. Then it was evening and the morning, the fifth day. *On the fifth day⁷ *I commanded the sea to produce⁸ fish, *and

¹ A om. ² A adds the lesser. ³ And I adorned it with the lesser stars, and on the lower, A. ⁴ To every living thing, A. ⁵ The twelve months, A. ⁶ And their reverberations, and new births, and making of the hours as they go, Sok. ⁷ B om. After fifth day A adds Thursday, and after sixth day it adds Friday. ⁸ B adds and multiply.

γνωρίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ μόνον· καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον πλανήτην ἐκάλεσε Κρόνον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον Δία, τὸν τρίτον Ἄρεα, τὸν τέταρτον Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν πέμπτον Ἑρμῆν. In the mysteries of Mithras, described in Origen, *Contra Celsum* vi. 22, the five planets and the sun and moon are said to be connected by a heavenly ladder. From the first words of the preceding ch. we see that these heavenly bodies had some connexion with the seven heavens, as in our text. The order in which the planets and the sun and moon are mentioned in *Contra Celsum* differs from that given above, and is as follows: Kronos, Aphrodite, Zeus, Hermes, Ares, Selene, Helios. The five planets are first referred to by Philolaus, a Pythagorean, and later by Plato in his *Timaeus*, but not by their individual names (ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ πέντε ἄλλα ἀστροὶ ἐπικληνέχοντα πλανήται). These names, which are not found till we come

down to the *Epinomis*, the work of a disciple of Plato, are enumerated as follows, each with an appellation derived from a god: τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου, τὸν τοῦ Διός, τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεος, τὴν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, τὸν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ. According to Archimedes (*Maerob. in Somn. Scip.* i. 19. 2) the order of the planets was as follows: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon, and this order was generally adopted by Cicero (*de Div.* ii. 43), Manilius (i. 803, 6), Pliny, *H. N.* ii. 6. The five planets were known to Israel in O. T. times: Kronos as כִּיּוֹן Amos v. 26; Aphrodite as הִילָל Is. xiv. 12; Ares as נִרְנָל 2 Kings xvii. 30; Zeus as זֵבֵל Is. lxv. 11; Hermes as חֲבֹל Is. xlv. 1. 5. The Sun . . . according to each sign of the Zodiac. See ch. xiii-xiv. and Eth. En. lxxii. The moon, &c. See lvi. and Eth. En. lxxiii-lxxiv. 7. Cf. Gen. i. 20-26. Observe that most of the creations of the sixth day, Gen.

winged fowls of all kinds¹, and all things that creep upon the earth, and four-footed things that go about the earth, and the things that fly in the air, *male and female, and every living thing breathing with life. 8. And it was evening and morning the sixth day¹. *On the sixth day¹ *I ordered My Wisdom to make man² of seven substances. (1) His flesh from the earth; (2) his blood *from the dew; (3) his eyes from the sun³; (4) his bones from the stones; (5) his thoughts from the swiftness of the angels, and the clouds; (6) his veins⁴ and hair from the grass of the earth⁵; (7) his

¹ B om. ² And when I had finished all I ordered My Wisdom to make man, B. B OMITTS THE REST OF THE CHAPTER. ³ From the dew and the sun (3) his eyes form the abysses of the seas, Sok. ⁴ For veins we should probably read nails. See quotation from Philo in the Commentary on this verse. ⁵ A Sok. add and from the wind—a manifest dittography.

i. 24-26, are here assigned to the fifth. 8. Ordered my Wisdom. Wisdom is here hypostatized as in Prov. viii. 30 'Then I was by him as a master workman.' In the Book of Wisdom, Wisdom is the assessor on God's throne, ix. 4; was with Him when He made the world, ix. 9; was the instrument by which all things were created, viii. 5; is the ruler and renewer of all things, viii. 1; vii. 27. Compare further this conception of Wisdom with that of the Logos of Philo, which was the instrument by which God created the world. Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 31 σκιά θεοῦ δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ὥς καθάπερ ὄργανον προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποιεῖ: *De Cherubim* 35 εὐρήσεις γὰρ αἰτίον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸν θεόν, ὅφ' οὗ γέγονεν, ὕλην δὲ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, ἐξ ὧν συνεκράθη, ὄργανον δὲ λόγον θεοῦ, δι' οὗ κατεσκευάσθη. Of seven substances. The list of these substances is corrupt. See Critical Notes. It seems to have some connexion with the speculations

of the Stoics (*G. Sext. Math.* ix. 81) and of Philo. Thus, as in our text, man's body is derived (1) from the earth, *De Mundi Op.* 51. Again, whilst in (4) his bones are derived from stones, in Philo, *Leg. All.* ii. 7, he is said at the lowest stage to have a nature in common with the stones and trees (ἡ μὲν ἔξῃς κοινὴ καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐστὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, ἧς μετέχει καὶ τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐοικότα λίθοις ὀστέα): again whilst in our text (6) his veins (p) and hair are from the grass of the earth, in Philo, *Leg. All.* ii. 7, he is said in the next higher stage to be allied to plant-nature, such as the nails and hair (ἡ δὲ φύσις διατείνει καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φυτά: καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν δὲ εἰσιν ἐοικότα φυτοῖς, ὄνυχές τε καὶ τρίχες): finally, (7) agrees with Philo's doctrine: cf. *De Mundi Op.* 46. If we could restore the text as it stood originally the resemblance would probably be closer. Philo's view of man's nature is well summed up in *De Mundi Op.* 51 πᾶς ἄνθρωπος κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν

spirit from My spirit and from the wind. 9. And I gave him seven natures: hearing to his body, sight to his eyes, smell to the perception, touch to the veins, taste to the blood, the bones for endurance, sweetness for thought. 10. * I purposed a subtle thing¹: from the invisible and visible nature I made man. From both are his death and life, *and his form²; *and the word was like a deed³ *both small in a great thing⁴, and great in a small thing. 11. And I placed him upon the earth; like a second angel, in an honourable, great, and glorious way. 12. And I made him a ruler *to rule upon the earth, and to have My wisdom⁵.

¹ Lo! I purposed to say a subtle word, Sok. ² Sok. om. ³ A word is a message as it were something created, Sok. ⁴ Both in great things and in little things, A. ⁵ Upon the earth having rule by My wisdom, Sok.

φύκωται θείῳ λόγῳ, τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως . . . ἀπαύγασμα γεγονώς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κατασκευὴν ἅπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ· συγκρίνεται γὰρ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, ἐκάστου τῶν στοιχείων εἰσενεγκόντος τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν αὐταρκεστάτης ὕλης, ἣν ἔδει λαβεῖν τὸν δημιουργόν, ἵνα τεχνιτεύσῃται τὴν ὁρατὴν ταύτην εἰκόνα. For the later Talmudic views cf. Weber, 202–204; Malan's *Book of Adam and Eve*, pp. 209–15. In the Anglo-Saxon Ritual (circ. 950), to which Dr. Murray has called my attention, man is said to be made out of eight substances: 'Octo pondera de quibus factus est Adam. Pondus limi, inde factus est caro; pondus ignis, inde rubens est sanguis et calidus; pondus salis, inde sunt salsae lacrimae; pondus roris, inde factus est sudor; pondus floris, inde est varietas oculorum; pondus nubis, inde est instabilitas mentium; pondus venti, inde est anihela frigida; pondus gratiae, inde est sensus hominis.' 9. Seven natures. Here again the text is very untrustworthy and the follow-

ing words seem corrupt: body, veins, blood, whilst the clauses the bones . . . thought are quite irrelevant. Here we should possibly follow Philo, *De Mundi Op.* 40 τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὸ δίχα τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέρος ἐπταχῇ σχίζεται, πρὸς πέντε αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸ φωνητήριον ὄργανον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ γόνιμον, and thus for the corrupt clauses read the vocal organ and the generative power. Cp. Test. Napht. 2. Philo's division of man's nature is derived from the Stoics: cf. Plut. *Plac.* iv. 4 οἱ Στωικοὶ ἐξ ὀκτὼ μερῶν φασὶ συνιστάναι (τὴν ψυχὴν), πέντε μὲν τῶν αἰσθητικῶν, ὁρατικοῦ, ἀκουστικοῦ, ὁσφρητικοῦ, γευστικοῦ, ἀπτικοῦ, ἕκτου δὲ φωνητικοῦ, ἐβδόμου σπερματικοῦ, ὀγδόου αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ. Cf. also Plut. *Plac.* iv. 21. 10. Man's spiritual and material nature. 11. Like a second angel. According to the *Beresh. Rab.* fol. 17, Adam, when first created, reached from the earth to the firmament. In the *Book of Adam and Eve*, i. 10, Adam is called a 'bright angel.' 12. Gen. i. 26, 28. 13. This verse may

And there was no one like him upon the earth of all My creations. 13. And I gave him a name from the four substances: the East, the West, *the North, and the South¹. 14. And I appointed for him four special stars, and I gave him the name Adam. 15. *And I gave him his will², and I showed him the two ways, the light and the

¹ A transposes.² A om.

either be the source of or may be derived from the Sibylline Oracles, iii. 24-26

Αὐτὸς δὲ θεὸς ἐστ' ὁ πλάσας τετρα-
γράμματος Ἀδάμ,

Τὸν πρῶτον πλάσθέντα, καὶ οὐνομα
πληρώσαντα

Ἀντολίην τε δύσιν τε μεσημβρίην τε
καὶ ἄρκτον.

The third line is used frequently, though with a different application, in the Oracles, i. c. ii. 195; viii. 321; xi. 3. It will be observed that this arrangement gives the initials Adna in the wrong order. This etymology is next found in the anonymous writing *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, 4, formerly ascribed to Cyprian: 'Nomen accepit a Deo. Hebraicum Adam in Latino interpretat "terra caro facta," eo quod ex quattuor cardinibus orbis terrarum pugno comprehendit, sicut scriptum est: "palmo mensus sum caelum et pugno comprehendi terram et confinxi hominem ex omni limo terrae; ad imaginem Dei feci illum." Oportuit illum ex his quattuor cardinibus orbis terrae nomen in se portare Adam; invenimus in Scripturis, per singulos cardines orbis terrae esse a conditore mundi quattuor stellas constitutas in singulis cardinibus. Prima stella orientalis dicitur anatole, secunda occidentalis dysis, tertia stella aquilonis arctus, quarta stella meridiana dicitur mesembria. Ex nominibus stellarum numero quattuor de singulis stellarum nominibus tolle singulas litteras principales, de stella

anatole α, de stella dysis δ, de stella arctos α, de stella mesembria μ; in his quattuor litteris cardinalibus habes nomen αδαμ.' This etymology is given with approval by Bede, *In Genesim Expositio* iv. 'Hae quattuor literae nominis Adam propria habent nomina in partium nominibus, id est anatole, disis, arctus, mesembria; id est oriens occidens, septentrio, meridies. Et haec proprietas significat dominatum Adam in quattuor supradictis partibus mundi.' It is found also in the *Chronikon* of Glycas (circ. 1150), p. 143: κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ τῷ τοῦ Ἀδάμ ὀνόματι προσηγόρευσεν αὐτὸν . . . καὶ ὅρα τὰ τοῦ τοιοῦτον ὀνόματος γράμματα· τὰ τέσσαρα γὰρ ὑπεμφαίνονται κλίματα· ἄλφα ἀνατολή, δέλτα δύσις, ἄλφα ἄρκτος, μὺ μεσημβρία. See Jubilees iii. 28 (notes); Targ.-Jon. on Gen. ii. 7.

14. Four special stars. These stars are named from the four quarters of the earth, and Adam's name is formed from their initial letters. See citation from *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, which seems to be derived from our text. Stars may here mean 'angels.' According to the Jalk. Rub. fol. 13; Jalk. Shim. fol. 4 (see *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 215) certain ministering angels were appointed to wait on Adam. 15. I gave him his will: cf. Tanchuma Pikkude 3 (quoted by Weber, p. 208), 'God does not determine beforehand whether a man shall be righteous or wicked, but puts this in the hands of the man

darkness. And I said unto him: 'This is good and this is evil'; that I should know whether he has love for Me or hate: that he should appear in his race as loving Me. 16. I knew his nature, he did not know his nature. Therefore his ignorance is *a woe to him that he should sin, and

only.' In the text free-will is conceded to man, but this is prejudicially affected by his ignorance (ver. 16): cf. *Ecclus.* xv. 14, 15 αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐν χειρὶ διαβουλίου αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν θέλῃς συντηρήσεις ἐντολὰς καὶ πίστιν ποιῆσαι εὐδοκίας. On the question generally see Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 8. 14; *Antt.* xiii. 5. 9; xviii. 1. 3; *Psalms of Solomon*, ed. by Ryle and James, pp. 95, 96. 15. The two ways, the light and the darkness. This popular figure of the Two Ways was suggested by Jer. xxi. 8 'Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I set before you the way of life and the way of death'; by Deut. xxx. 15 'I have set before thee this day life and good and death and evil'; *Ecclus.* xv. 17 ἐναντι ἀνθρώπων ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ὁ ἐὰν εὐδοκήσῃ δοθήσεται αὐτῷ: xvii. 6 καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς. For parallel N. T. expressions cf. Mt. vii. 13, 14; 2 Pet. ii. 2. Of the two great post-apostolic descriptions of the Two Ways, in the *Didachè* and in the *Ep. of Barnabas*, that of the latter presents the nearest parallel to our text: chap. xviii. 1 ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν διδασχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἥ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους. In the *Didachè* i. 1 we have ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου: cf. *Test. Asher* 1 δύο ὁδοὶς ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς ἀνθρώπων . . . ὁδοὶ δύο, καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ: *Sibyll. Or.* viii. 399, 400 αὐτὸς ὁδοὺς προέθηκε δύο, ζωῆς θανάτου τε Καὶ γνώμην προέθηκε ἀγαθὴν ζωὴν προελίσθαι: cf. also Pastor Hermæ

Mand. vi. 1, 2; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 5; *Apost. Church Order*, iv; *Apost. Constitutions*, vii. 1; Clem. *Homilies* v. 7. I said unto him: 'This is good and this is evil,' &c. This does not harmonize with the account in Gen., where the knowledge of good and evil follows on eating the forbidden fruit. That I should know whether he has love for Me or hate. Deut. xiii. 3 'Your God proveth you to know whether ye love the Lord your God.' 16. Ignorance is a woe to him that he should sin. This ignorance, as we see from the preceding verse, is not first and directly an ignorance of moral distinctions, but of his nature with its good and evil impulses (יצר הרע and יצר הטוב). Ignorance is thus regarded here as an evil in itself. This is probably the result of Platonic thought, which had gained great influence over Hellenistic Judaism, and the idea of the text seems related, however distantly, to that ethical system which may be summed up in the words πᾶς δ' ἄδικος οὐχ ἐκὼν ἄδικος (Plato, *Legg.* 731 c): οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων ἐκόντα ἑταμαρτάνειν (*Prot.* 345 D): κακὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐκὼν οὐδεὶς (*Tim.* 86 D). See also *Legg.* 734 B; *Rep.* ix. 589 c; *Hipp. Maj.* 296 c. Herein it is taught that no man willfully chooses evil in preference to good; but in every act of moral judgement the determining motive is to be found in the real or seeming preponderance of good in the course adopted: and that, should this course

I appointed death on account of his sin¹. 17. And²
I caused him to sleep, and he slumbered. And I took from

¹ Worse than sinning, and for sin there is nothing else but death, Sok. ² Sok. adds I cast upon him a shadow and.

be the worse one, the error of judgment is due either to physical incapacities or faulty education, or to a combination of both. This view of sin as an involuntary affection of the soul follows logically from another Platonic principle already enunciated by our author (see xxiii. 5, note). This principle is the pre-existence of the soul. The soul, as such, according to Platonic teaching, is wholly good. Evil, therefore, cannot arise from its voluntary preferences, but from its limitations, i. e. from its physical and moral environment, from its relation to the body and from wrong education. In the Book of Wisdom this view is widely diverged from. There the body is not held to be irredeemably evil, but souls are already good and bad on their entrance into this life (viii. 19, 20). In Philo, on the other hand, there is in the main a return to the Platonic and Stoic doctrine. The body is irredeemably evil; it is in fact the tomb of the soul (*σῶμα* = *σῆμα*); and only the sensuously-inclined souls are incorporated with bodies (see above, xxiii. 5, note). The views adopted by our author on these and kindred points stand in some degree in a closer relation to the Platonic principles than do those of Philo or the author of the Book of Wisdom. Thus he held: (1) That the soul was created originally good. (2) That it was not predetermined either to good or ill by God, but left to mould its own destiny (see xxx. 15). (3) That its incorporation in a body, however, with its necessary limitations served

to bias its preferences in the direction of evil. (4) That faithful souls will hereafter live as blessed incorporeal spirits, or at all events clothed only in God's glory (xxii. 7); for there is no resurrection of the body. Death on account of his sin. So Ecclus. xxv. 24 ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀρχὴ ἁμαρτίας, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἀποθνήσκουσιν πάντες; for 'man was created exactly like the angels,' Eth. En. lxix. 11, righteous and immortal, but death came through sin, Book of Wisdom, ii. 23, 24; Eth. En. xcvi. 4. The same teaching is found in the Talmud: see Weber, 208, 214, 239. This doctrine of man's conditional immortality and of death entering the world through sin does not belong to O.T. literature; for Gen. ii. 17, when studied in its context, implies nothing more than a premature death; for the law of man's being is enunciated in Gen. iii. 19 'Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return,' and his expulsion from Eden was due first and principally to the need of guarding against his eating of the tree of life and living for ever. Furthermore, even in Ecclus., where the idea of death as brought about by sin is first enunciated, the doctrine appears in complete isolation and in open contradiction to the main statements and tendencies of the book; for it elsewhere teaches that man's mortality is the law from everlasting (ὅ γὰρ διαθήκη ἀπ' αἰῶνος Ecclus. xiv. 17): and that being formed from earth unto earth must he return, xvii. 1, 2; xl. 11. Nor again is this doctrine a controlling principle in the system

him a rib¹, and I made him a wife. 18. And by his wife death came, and I received his last word. And I called her by a name, the mother; that is Eve.

[*God gives Paradise to Adam, and gives him Knowledge, so as to see the Heavens open, and that he should see the Angels singing a Song of Triumph.*]

XXXI. 1. Adam had a life on earth², . . . and I made a garden in Eden in the East, and (I ordained) that he should observe the law and keep *the instruction³. 2. I made for him the heavens open that he should perceive the angels singing the song of triumph. And there was light *without any⁴ darkness continually in Paradise. 3. And the devil took thought, as if wishing to make another world, because things were subservient to Adam on earth, to rule it and have lordship over it. 4. The devil is to be the evil spirit of the lowest places⁵; *he became Satan, after he left the heavens. His name was formerly Satanail⁶. 5. And then, *though he became different from the angels in nature, he did not change his understanding of just and sinful

¹ Sok. adds as he slept.

XXXI. ² There is evidently a lacuna here. ³ It, Sok. B omits ENTIRE CHAPTER. ⁴ That never knew, Sok. ⁵ A adds as he wrought devilish things. ⁶ As flying from the heavens he became Satan, since his name was Satanail, Sok.

of the writers of the Book of Wisdom. When, however, we come down to N. T. times we find it the current view in the Pauline Epistles: cf. Rom. v. 12; 1 Cor. xv. 21; 2 Cor. xi. 3. On various views on sin and death and their causes see Eth. En. vi-viii; x. 8; xxxii. 6; lxix. 6, 11; xcvi. 4, with notes. 18. By his wife death came: cf. Ecclus. xxv. 23; 1 Tim. ii. 14. See preceding note. I received his last word. Corrupt.

XXXI. 2. This verse is almost quoted in the *Book of Adam and*

Eve I. viii. 'When we dwelt in the garden . . . we saw the angels that sang praises in heaven.' According to S. Ephrem, i. 139, Adam and Eve lost the angelic vision on their fall (Malan). Philo, *Quaest. xxxii. in Gen.*, believes 'oculis illos praeditos esse quibus potuerunt etiam eas quae in coelo sunt.' For the continual light in Paradise see *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. xii; xiii; xiv. 3. On the envy of Satan see Wisdom, ii. 24; Joseph. *Antt.* i. 1. 4; Weber, 211, 244. 4. See notes on xviii. 3 and xxix. 4.

thoughts¹. He understood the judgement upon him, and the former sin which he had sinned. 6. And on account of this, he conceived designs against Adam; in such a manner he entered² and deceived Eve. But he did not touch Adam. 7. *But I cursed him for (his) ignorance³: but those I previously blessed, them I did not curse⁴, 8. nor man did I curse, nor the earth, nor any other things created, but the evil fruit of man, and then his works.

[*On account of the Sin of Adam, God sends him to the Earth, 'From which I took thee,' but He does not wish to destroy him in the Life to come.*]

XXXII. 1. I said to him: 'Earth thou art, and to earth also from whence I took thee shalt thou return. I will not destroy thee, but will send thee whence I took thee. Then I can also take thee in My second coming'; and I have blessed all My creation, visible and invisible⁵. 2. And I blessed the seventh day, *which is the Sabbath⁶, for in it I rested from all My labours.

[*God shows Enoch the Duration of this World, 7000 Years, and the eighth Thousand is the End. (There will be) no Years, no Months, no Weeks, no Days.*]

XXXIII. 1. Then also I established the eighth day. Let

¹ Though he was changed from the angels, he did not change his nature, but he had thought, as is the mind of just men and sinners, Sok. ² Sok. adds into Paradise. ³ Sok. om. ⁴ Sok. adds and those whom before I had not blessed, them also I did not curse.

XXXII. ⁵ A adds (against B Sok.) And Adam was five and a half hours in Paradise. B omits entire chapter. ⁶ Sok. om.

6. See xxx. 18, note; Weber, 211, 244.

7. Cursed him for (his) ignorance. This ought to refer to the Serpent or to Satan.

XXXII. 1. My second coming. God's coming to judge the earth, to bless His people, and to punish their enemies. This is called *καρὸς ἐπισκοπῆς*

and *ἡμέρα διαγνώσεως* in the Book of Wisdom, iii. 7, 18. It is referred to again in xlii. 5 of our text. God's first coming to the earth was for the sake of Adam and to bless all that He had made, lviii. 1.

XXXIII. 1, 2. From the fact that Adam did not live to be 1000 years

the eighth be the first * after My work¹, and let * the days² be after the fashion of seven thousand. 2. * Let there be at the beginning of the eighth thousand a time when there is no computation, and no end; neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days, nor hours³. 3. And now Enoch, what

XXXIII. ¹ Of my rest, Sok. B OMITS VERSES 1, 2. ² A om. ³ And let the eighth day be for a beginning in the likeness of eight thousand. So concerning the first day of My rest, and also the eighth day of My rest, let them return continually, Sok. Margin of Sok.'s MS. reads: the beginning of unrighteousness, the time without end, neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days, nor hours.

old, the author of the Book of Jubilees, iv. 30, concludes that the words of Gen. ii. 17 'In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die' were actually fulfilled. It is hence obvious that already before the Christian era 1000 years had come to be regarded as one world-day. To arrive at the conception of a world-week of 7000 years—6000 years from the creation to the judgement, followed by 1000 years, or a millennium of blessedness and rest—it was necessary to proceed but one step further, and this step we find was taken by the author of our text. In Irenaeus, moreover, *Contra Haer.* v. 28. 3 this reasoning is given explicitly: *ὅσαι . . . ἡμέραι ἐγένετο ὁ κόσμος, τοσαύταις χιλιοντάσι συντελείται. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φησιν ἡ γραφή. Καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ 5' τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐποίησε, καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ 6' ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τῶν προγεγονότων διήγησις καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων προφητεία· ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς α' ἔτη. ἐν ἑξ ὧν ἡμέραις συντελέσεται τὰ γεγονότα. φανερόν οὖν ὅτι ἡ συντέλεια αὐτῶν τὸ 5 ἔτος ἐστί.* Clemens Alex. *Strom.* iv. 25 refers to this conception—possibly to our text. It is not improbable that the statements of Cedrenus on this head are drawn from our text. Thus on p. 9 he writes: *τούτου χάριν*

ἡλόγηθη καὶ αὕτη (ἡ ἡμέρα) ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡγάσθη καὶ σάββατον ὡς καταπαύσιμος προσηγορεύθη, καὶ ὡς τύπος τῆς ἑβδόμης χιλιοετηρίδος καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν συντελείας, ὡς Ἰώσηπος μαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις ἣν καὶ Μωσέως εἶναι φασὶν τινες ἀποκάλυψιν. It is, we repeat, not improbable that our text is the original source of Cedrenus' statements, inasmuch as nothing of the kind is found either in Josephus or the Book of Jubilees, from which he professes to derive them. Syncellus, on whom Cedrenus is largely dependent, is frequently wrong in his references in the case of Apocalyptic literature. A most interesting expansion and an adaptation of the text to Christian conceptions are to be found in Augustin, *De Civ.* xxii. 30. 5 'Ipse etiam numerus aetatum, veluti dierum, si secundum eos articulos temporis computetur qui in Scripturis videntur expressi, iste Sabbatismus evidentius apparebit, quoniam septimus invenitur: ut prima aetas tanquam dies primus sit ab Adam usque ad diluvium, secunda inde usque ad Abraham . . . ab Abraham usque ad David una, altera inde usque ad transmigrationem in Babyloniam, tertia inde usque ad Christi carnalem nativitatem. Fiunt itaque omnes quinque. Sexta

things I have told thee, *and what thou hast understood, and what heavenly things thou hast seen¹, and what thou hast seen upon the earth, and what *thou hast² written in books, by My wisdom all these things I devised *so as to create them³, and I made them from the highest foundation to the lowest, *and to the end¹. 4. And there is no counsellor⁴ *nor inheritor of My works¹. I am the eternal One, and the One not made with hands: *My thought is without change, My wisdom is My counsellor⁵ and My word is reality; and My eyes see all things, *if I look to all things³ they *stand fast⁶. If I turn away My face, all are in need of Me. 5. And now pay attention, Enoch, and know thou who is speaking to thee, and do thou take the books which thou thyself hast written. 6. And I give thee *Samuil and Raguil⁷ who brought thee *to Me³. And go *with them⁸ upon the earth, and tell thy sons what things I have said to

¹ B om. ² I have, A. ³ A om. ⁴ Lamp, B. ⁵ My thought is a lamp, B. ⁶ Stand and tremble with fear, A Sok. ⁷ Semil and Basuil, B; B adds and him. ⁸ B Sok. om.

nunc agitur . . . post hanc tanquam in die septimo requiescet Deus, cum eundem septimum diem, quod nos erimus, in se ipso Deo faciet requiescere. . . . Haec tamen septima erit Sabbatum nostrum, cuius finis non erit vespera, sed dominicus dies velut octavus aeternus. . . . Ecce quod erit in fine sine fine.' For other speculations in reference to the world-week see *Evang. Nicodemi*, ii. 12; *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. iii. A time when there is no computation . . . neither years nor months, &c. Sibyll. Or. viii. 424-427 may have been influenced by our text where it speaks of the eternity of blessedness:

Οὐκ ἔτι λοιπὸν ἐρεῖς λυπούμενος "αὔριον ἔσται,"

Οὐκ "ἐχθὲς γέγονεν" οὐκ ἡματα πολ-
λὰ μερίμνης,

Οὐκ ἔαρ, οὐ χειμῶν, οὐτ' ἄρ θέρος, οὐ μετόπωρον,
Οὐ δύσεις ἀντολή· ποιήσω γὰρ μακρὸν ἡμαρ.

3. I made them from the highest foundation to the lowest: cf. *Ecclus.* xviii. 1 ὁ ζῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἔκτισε τὰ πάντα κοινῇ, where κοινῇ is a rendering of יְחִיד. 4. My thought is without change. *Num.* xxiii. 19; 1 *Sam.* xv. 29; *Ezek.* xxiv. 14. My wisdom is My counsellor. See xxx. 8 (note). Cf. *Ecclus.* xlii. 22 καὶ οὐ προσεδέθη οὐδενὸς συμβούλου. My word is reality. So *Eth. En.* xiv. 22 (Gk.) πᾶς λόγος αὐτοῦ ἔργον. Cf. *Ps.* xxxiii. 9; *Ecclus.* xlii. 15 ἐν λόγοις κυρίου τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. My eyes see all things: cf. *Ecclus.* xxxix. 19. If I turn away My face, &c. *Ps.* civ. 29 'Thou hidest Thy face, they are

thee, and what thou hast seen from the lowest heaven up to My throne. 7. For I have created all the hosts, and all the powers, and there is none that opposes Me, or is disobedient to Me. For all are obedient to My sole power, and labour for My rule alone. 8. Give¹ them the works written out by thee, *and they shall read them, and know Me to be the Creator of all; and shall understand that there is no other God beside Me². 9. *They shall distribute the books of thy writing to their children's children³, and from generation to generation, and from nation to nation. 10. *And I will give thee, Enoch, My messenger, the great captain Michael, for thy writings and for the writings of thy fathers, Adam, Seth, Enos, Kainan, Malaleel, and Jared, thy father⁴. 11. *And I shall not require them till the last age, for I have instructed My two angels, Ariukh and Pariukh, whom I have put upon the earth as their guardians. 12. And I have ordered them in time to guard them that the account of what I shall do in thy family may not be lost in the deluge to come⁵.

¹ I will give, A.

² B om.

³ Let the children give them to

the children, B. ⁴ As being the messenger Enoch of my captain Michael. Because that thy writings and the writings of thy fathers, Adam and Sit, B.

⁵ (Because these) will not be required till the last age, I have ordered my angels, Oriokh and Mariokh, to give orders to guard in season the writings which I have placed upon the earth, and that they should guard the writings of thy fathers, so that what I have wrought in thy family may not be lost, B; A om. In the text I have followed Sok., but that for to punish them I have read to guard them with B.

troubled.' 6. Cf. Eth. En. lxxxi. 5, 6. Samuil. This is either from שָׁמַע אֱלֹהִים = heard of God, 1 Sam. i. 20, or from שָׁמַע and אֱלֹהִים = name of God. Raguil is a transliteration of רַעֲוִיאל = friend of God. 9. Cf. xlvii. 2, 3; xlviii. 7-9; liv; lxxv. 5; Eth. En. lxxxii. 1, 2, where, exactly as here, the books are to be transmitted straightway to the generations of the world, whereas in i. 2; xciii. 10; civ. 12 the method and times of the disclosure of the books are different. Though the writings are

committed to the keeping of men, they are under the guardianship of special angels until the time for their complete disclosure and understanding has come. See verses 11, 12. 10. Michael was the guardian angel of Israel: Dan. x. 13, 21; xii. 1. See Eth. En. ix. 1; x. 11; xx. 5 (note); xl. 4, &c.; Weber, 165. 11. Till the last age. At last the time for the due comprehension of these books will arrive: see ver. 9, note; xxxv. 2, 3; (liv); Eth. En. xciii. 10; civ. 12. Ariukh. This proper

[*God accuses the Idolators; the Workers of Iniquity, such as Sodom, and on this account He brings the Deluge upon them.*]

XXXIV. 1. * For I know the wickedness of men that they will not bear the yoke which I have put upon them, nor sow the seeds which I have given them, but will cast off My yoke and accept another, and sow vain seeds and bow to vain gods, and deny Me the only God¹. 2. And they will fill all the world with * wickedness and iniquity, and foul impurities with one another, sodomy and all other impure practices, which it is foul to speak about². 3. And on this account I will bring a deluge upon the earth * and I will destroy all³, and⁴ the earth shall be destroyed in great corruption.

[*God leaves one Just Man from the Family of Enoch, with all his House, which pleased God according to His Will.*]

XXXV. 1. And I will leave a righteous man * of thy race⁵, with all his house who shall act according to My will. From

XXXIV. ¹ Sok. supports text but that it omits nor sow . . . given them. A reads: They turned from My law and My yoke and raised up worthless races such as feared not God nor worshipped Me, but began to bow before vain gods, and denied Me, the only God. ² Unjust deeds and harlotries and services of idols, B; Sok. adds and evil service. ³ B Sok. omit. ⁴ A adds all.

XXXV. ⁵ A B om.

name is found in Gen. xiv. 1, 9; Dan. ii. 14. The derivation is doubtful, being êri-aku = servant of the moon-god (Delitzsch), or a compound from 𐤀𐤊𐤍: hence a lionlike man (Gesenius).

XXXIV. 1. Cast off My yoke: cf. for phrase xlviii. 9; Eccus. xxviii. 19, 20; Matt. xi. 29. Sow vain seeds. This is obscure. The words seem to be metaphorical and not to refer to Deut. xxii. 9. Deny, &c.: cf. Josh. xxiv. 27. 2. It is this verse that is referred to in Test. Napht. 4, though it is there somewhat

differently applied: ἀνέγων ἐν γραφῇ ἀγία Ἐνώχ, ὅτι καί γε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ κυρίου, πορευόμενοι κατὰ πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἔθνων, καὶ ποιήσετε κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν Σοδόμων. 3. The words immediately subsequent to those just quoted from Test. Napht. seem to be in part derived from this verse: καὶ ἐπάξει ὑμῖν κύριος αἰχμαλωσίαν . . . ἕως ἂν ἀναλώσῃ κύριος πάντας ὑμᾶς is simply an adaptation of I will bring a deluge upon the earth, and I will destroy all.

XXXV. 1. Righteous man, i. e.

their seed *after some time¹ will be raised up a numerous² generation, but *of these, many will be¹ very insatiable. 2. Then on the extinction of that family, I will show them the books of thy writings, and of thy fathers, and the guardians of them on earth will show them to the men who are true, *and please Me, who do not take My name in vain¹. 3. And they shall tell to another³ generation, and these *having read them¹, shall be glorified at last more than before.

[*God ordered Enoch to live on the Earth thirty Days, so as to teach his Sons, and his Sons' Sons. After thirty Days he was thus taken up into Heaven.*]

XXXVI. 1. And now, Enoch, I give thee a period⁴ of thirty days to work in thy house. And tell thou thy sons⁵, *and all thy household before Me; that they may listen to what is spoken to them by thee⁶; that they read and understand, how there is no other God beside Me; *and let them always keep My commandments, and begin to read and understand the books written out by thee⁶. 2. And after thirty days, I will send My angels⁷ for thee, and they⁸ shall take thee from the earth, and from thy sons, *according to My will⁹.

[*Here God summons an Angel.*]

[XXXVII. 1. And God called one of His greatest angels,

¹ B om. ² Another, Sok. ³ That, B.

XXXVI. ⁴ Sok. adds of preparation. ⁵ B adds all that thou guardest in thy heart. ⁶ B om. ⁷ Angel, A Sok. ⁸ He, A Sok. ⁹ To Me, A Sok.

Noah. 2. On the extinction of that family. This seems to refer to the destruction of the wicked during the period of the sword. About the same time the books of Enoch were to be given to the righteous. See for the same connexion of ideas Eth. En. xciii. 9, 10; xci. 12. The guardians. See xxxiii. 9, 11 (notes). 3. The

period of the sword and the disclosure of Enoch's books introduces the Messianic age.

XXXVI. 1. In Eth. En. lxxx. 6 the period is one year. Read and understand, &c.: cf. Eth. En. lxxxii. 1-3. 2. Cf. Eth. En. lxxx. 6.

XXXVII. This chapter, which

*terrible and awful¹, and placed him by me, *and the appearance of that angel was like² snow, and his hands were like ice; *he had a very cold appearance³, and my face was chilled because I could not endure *the fear of the Lord⁴; *just as it is not possible to⁵ endure the mighty fire and heat of the sun, and the frost of the air. 2. And the Lord said to me, ' Enoch, if thy face is not chill here, no man can look upon thy face⁶.'

[Mathusal had Hope, and awaited his Father Enoch by his Bed, Day and Night.]

XXXVIII. 1⁷. And the Lord said to those men who first took me: 'Take Enoch with you to the earth, and wait for him till the appointed day.' 2. And at night they placed me upon my bed, and Mathusal, expecting my coming by day and by night, was a guard at my bed. 3. And he was terrified when he heard my coming, and I gave him directions that all my household should come, that I might tell them everything.

[The mournful Admonition of Enoch to his Sons, with Weeping and great Sorrow, speaking to them⁸.]

XXXIX. 1. *Listen, my children, what things are according to the will of the Lord. I am sent to-day to you to tell you from the lips of the Lord, what was and what is happening now, and what will be before the day of

XXXVII. ¹ In a voice like thunder, B. ² In appearance he was white as, A. ³ In appearance having great cold, Sok.; Bom. ⁴ The great terror and awe, B. ⁵ For I could not, A; B omits just as . . . frost of the air. ⁶ B om.

XXXVIII. ⁷ B OMITS ENTIRE CHAPTER.

XXXIX. ⁸ The Instructions given by Enoch to his Sons, B.

is found in all the MSS., is read in its present position in A Sok., but after xxxix in B. I have bracketed it as it seems irrelevant to the entire text. XXXVIII. 1. Cf. xxxvi. 2. Cf. i. 2-4. 3. Cf. Eth. En. xci. 1.

judgement. 2. Hear, my children, for I do not speak to you to-day from my lips, but from the lips of the Lord who has sent me to you. For you hear¹ *the words of my lips, a mortal man like yourselves². 3. *I have seen the face of the Lord as it were iron that is heated in the fire, and when brought out sends forth sparks and burns. 4. Look at the eyes of me³, *a man laden with a sign for you⁴. *I have seen the eyes of the Lord shining like a ray of the sun and striking with terror human eyes. 5. You, my children, see the right hand of a man⁵ *made like yourselves⁶ *assisting you. I have seen the right hand of the Lord assisting me, and filling the heavens. 6. You see the *compass of my actions, like to your own⁶. I have seen the measureless and harmonious⁷ form of the Lord. To Him there is no end. 7. You therefore hear the words of my lips, but I have heard the words of the Lord, like great thunder, with continual agitation of the clouds. 8. And now, *my children⁸, listen to the⁸ discourses *of your earthly father⁸. It is terrible and awful to stand before the face of an earthly prince—*terrible and very awful⁸ because the will of the prince is death and the will of the prince is life⁹; how much more is it terrible and awful to stand before the face of the *Lord of lords, and of the earthly¹⁰ and the heavenly hosts. Who can endure this never-ending terror?

¹ 1. Hear, my children, my beloved ones, the admonition of your father: how according to the will of God, I am sent to you now. What exists and what was, and what is happening now, and what will be before the day of judgement, I do not now tell you from my own lips, but from the lips of the Lord; for the Lord sent me to you. 2. And do you therefore hear, A. I was sent of late to tell you from the lips of the Lord what things are, and what shall be before the day of judgement. And now, my children, I do not speak to you from my own lips, but from the lips of the Lord, B. ² B om.; Sok. adds I have heard from the fiery lips of the Lord: for the lips of the Lord are like a fiery furnace, and his angels [winds] are a flame of fire going forth. You, my children, as that of a man made like yourselves, but. ³ B om. ⁴ A man in his marks just like you, Sok.; B om. ⁵ A B om. ⁶ So A Sok., but that for actions Sok. reads body; B om. ⁷ Incomparable, B. B transposes 6^b after 7. ⁸ My, B. ⁹ A om.; B adds or great terrors, and omits the rest of the verse. ¹⁰ Heavenly Ruler, the Lord of the living and the dead, A.

[*Enoch instructs faithfully his Children about all Things from the Mouth of the Lord; how he saw, and heard and wrote them down.*]

XL. 1. And now, my children, I know all things¹ from the lips of the Lord; for² my eyes have seen from the beginning to the end³. 2. I know all things and have written all things in the books, both the heavens and the end of them, and their fulness, and all the hosts, and I have measured their goings, and written down the stars and their innumerable quantity. 3. What man has seen their alternations and their goings? Not even the angels know their number; I have written down the names of all. 4. And I have measured the circle of the sun, and I have measured his rays; *and his coming in and going out, through all the months, and all his courses, and their names I have written down. 5. I have measured the circle of the moon, and its waning which occurs during every day, and the secret places in which it hides every day and ascends according to all the hours. 6. I have laid down the four seasons, and from the seasons I made four circles, and in the circles I placed the years; I placed the months, and from the

XL. ¹ A Sok. add One thing I have learned. Throughout this chapter B is transposed in every way imaginable. B OMITS VERSES 2-7. ² And another, A Sok. ³ Sok. adds and from the end to the return.

XL. 1. I know all things . . . my eyes have seen, &c. This seems to be the passage to which Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* (Dind. iii. 456) refers: ὁ Δανιὴλ λέγει ὁμολογῶν τῷ Ἐνῶχ τῷ εἰρηκότῃ 'καὶ εἶδον τὰς ὕλας πάσας': and Origen (*de Princ.* iv. 35) 'scriptum namque est in eodem libello dicente Enoch universas materias perspexi.' Cf. Sibyll. Or. viii. 375, where, in a passage recalling several phrases of this chapter, ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος οἶδα, ὃς οὐρανὸν ἔκτισα καὶ γῆν. 2. Stars and their innumerable quantity.

Cf. Eth. En. xliii. 1, 2; xciii. 14. 3. Not even the Angels, &c. Cf. xxiv. 3. 4. See xiii, xiv (notes). 5. See xvi (notes). Its waning which, &c. There is not a single reference to this phenomenon in the Slav. Enoch, but there is a complete account of its waxing and waning in Eth. En. lxxiv. Secret places in which it hides, &c. Corrupt. 6. I have laid down the four seasons. In xiii. 5 we have a reference to the four seasons, but in Eth. En. lxxxii. 11-20 there is an account which, though

months I calculated the days, and from the days¹ I have *calculated² the hours³. 7. Moreover, I have written down all things *moving⁴ upon the earth⁵. *I have written down all things that are nourished⁶, all seed sown and unsown, which grows on the earth, and all things belonging to the garden, and every herb and every flower, and their fragrance and their names. 8. And the dwellings of the clouds, *and their conformations and their wings⁷, how they bring rain and *the rain-drops, I investigated all. 9. And I wrote down the course of the⁷ thunder *and lightning⁷, and they⁸ showed me the keys, *and their guardians⁹ and their path¹⁰ by which they go. They are brought forth in bonds, in measured degree, *and are let go in bonds¹, lest by their *heavy course and vehemence¹¹ they should overload the clouds of wrath and destroy everything on earth. 10. I have written down the treasures of the snow, and the store-houses of the hail, and the cool breezes. *And I observed the holder of the keys of them during the season: and how he fills the clouds with them¹², and yet does not exhaust their treasures. 11. I *wrote down¹³ the abodes of the winds, *and I observed and saw⁷ how those who hold *their keys¹⁴ bear balances and measures, and in the first place they put them on a balance, in the second they¹⁵ let them go in measure *moderately, with care⁷ over the whole earth, so that with their heavy breathing they should

¹ A om. ² Measured and calculated, Sok. ³ Sok. adds and written them down. ⁴ That were arranged, Sok. ⁵ Sok. adds making inquiries into them. ⁶ Sok. om. ⁷ B om. ⁸ The angels, B. ⁹ Which guarded them, B. ¹⁰ Coming in and going out, Sok. ¹¹ Grievous vehemence, B. Heavy opening (p) and vehemence, Sok. ¹² I saw at that time how the clouds are restrained by them as a key does prisoners, B. I watched their seasons: how those that hold the keys of them fill the clouds with them, Sok. ¹³ Saw, B. ¹⁴ Keys of their prisons, B. ¹⁵ B adds measure and.

now defective, was clearly complete originally. 8. Cf. Eth. En. lx. 19-22 for an account of these phenomena. 9. Course of the thunder, &c.

This is to be found in Eth. En. lix; lx. 13-15. 10. Cf. vi. 1, 2; Eth. En. lx. 17, 18. 11. See Eth. En. xli. 4.

not shake the whole ¹ earth. 12. * For I have measured the whole earth, its mountains and all hills, fields, trees, stones, rivers; all things that exist I have written down, the height from earth to the seventh heaven, and down to the lowest hell¹, * the place of judgement and the mighty hell² laid open, and * full of lamentation. And I saw how¹ the prisoners suffer, awaiting the immeasurable judgement. 13. * And I wrote out all of those who are being judged by the judge, and all the judgement they receive, and all their deeds¹.

¹ B om. ² From thence I was taken to the place of judgement, and I saw hell, B. I append here chapter XL in full, as it appears in B. This chapter in B is manifestly fragmentary and disarranged, and serves to justify the originality of the fuller form as preserved in A Sok. 1. My children, I know all from the lips of the Lord. For mine eyes saw from the beginning to the end, 8. and the dwelling places of the clouds, 9. with those which bring storms and thunder. And the angels showed me the keys which guarded them. 10. I saw the treasure of snow and ice, 9. and the path by which they go: they are brought forth in bonds in measure, and let go in bonds, so that with grievous vehemence they should not oppress the clouds and destroy in the earth, 10. both the air and the cold. I saw at that time how the clouds are restrained by them as a key does prisoners, and they are not allowed to exhaust their treasures. 11. I saw the abodes of the winds, how those who hold the keys of their prisons bear with them the balances and the measures: in the first place they lay on the balances; in the second they measure, and in measure do they let them go over the whole earth: so that by their powerful breath they should not shake the earth. 12. From thence I was taken to the place of judgement and I saw hell open and the prisoners and the eternal judgement.

12. Down to the lowest hell. We come here upon a conception irreconcilable with the general scheme of the author. Hell, according to this scheme, is really located in the third heaven. See x, where the place, its horrors, and the classes it is prepared for, are described at length. But the old Jewish beliefs of an underworld of punishment are too strong to be wholly excluded, and so consistency is here sacrificed to completeness. For an analogous comparison cf. xviii. 7. It is possible, further, that the author may have had some idea of a series of seven hells, as he speaks here of 'the lowest

hell,' and as this idea is afterwards found in Rabbinic tradition; see Eisenmenger, ii. 302, 328-330. If, however, we observe how close this hell is to the Garden of Eden, in xlii. 3, we shall be inclined to identify it with the place of punishment described in x. The interpretation, however, of xlii. 3 is difficult. Awaiting the immeasurable judgement. These words, which are found also in vii. 1, in reference to the fallen watchers, would seem to imply an intermediate place of punishment, in fact, Sheol or Hades. 13. This was an ancient belief of the Jews: cf. liii. 2; lxiv. 5; Jubilees iv. 23; x. 17.

[*How Enoch wept for the Sins of Adam.*]

XLII. 1. And I saw *all our forefathers from the beginning with Adam and Eve¹, and I sighed and wept, *and spake of the ruin (caused by) their wickedness²: *Woe is me for my infirmity and that of my forefathers¹. 2. And *I meditated in my heart and said³: 'Blessed is the man who was not born, or, having been born, has never sinned before the face of the Lord, so that he should not come into this place, to bear the yoke of this place!'

[*How Enoch saw those who keep the Keys, and the Guardians of the Gates of Hades standing by.*]

XLII. 1. I saw *those who keep the keys, and are the guardians of the gates of hell, standing⁴, like great serpents,

XLII. ¹ Bom. ² The destruction of the unholy, B. ³ I said in my heart, B.

XLII. ⁴ The guardians of hell holding the keys, standing opposite to the gates, B. B blends xli and xlii. 1-2 together in this order, xlii. 1; xli; xlii. 2. It will be seen that it omits reference to Adam and Eve.

From being the scribe of God's works, as he is universally in the Eth. and the Slav. Enoch, the transition was easy to the conception of Enoch as a scribe of the deeds of men. Cf. for later tradition Test. Abraham (ed. Jaines), p. 115 καὶ εἶπεν 'Αβραὰμ πρὸς Μιχαήλ· Κύριε, . . . τίς ἐστιν ὁ ἄλλος ὁ ἐλέγχων τὰς ἁμαρτίας; καὶ λέγει Μιχαήλ πρὸς 'Αβραὰμ . . . ὁ ἀποδεικνύμενος οὕτως ἐστιν ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης 'Ενώχ· ἀπέστειλεν γὰρ κύριος αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα, ἵνα ἀπογράφωσιν τὰς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὰς δικαιοσύνας ἐκάστου.

XLII. 1. It seems to be implied here that the forefathers of Enoch, including Adam and Eve, are in the place of punishment, and that they are to remain there till God comes to judge the world (xlii. 5, note). That

Adam and the patriarchs were in Hades was a prevalent early Christian belief. Cf. *Descensus ad Inferos*, viii-ix. 2. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 12 'Melius erat nos non adesse quam advenientes . . . pati.' Eth. En. xxxviii. 2; Apoc. Bar. x. 6.

XLII. 1. Who keep the keys. In Sibyll. Or. viii. 121-2 we have a strange application of this idea:

αἰὼν κοινὸς ἅπασιν
κλειδοφύλαξ εἰρκτῆς μεγάλῃς ἐπὶ
βῆμα θεοῦ.

Keys. Cf. Rev. ix. 1; xx. 1. Guardians of the gates of hell. According to Emek hammelech, fol. 144, col. 2, each division of hell is under the control of a certain angel (Eisenmenger, ii. 332). The Greek word here may have been *τημελοῦχοι*. In the singular number it has become a proper name in Apoc. Pauli. Like

and their faces were like quenched lamps, and their eyes were fiery¹, and their teeth were sharp². *And they were stripped to the waist³. 2. And I said *before their faces⁴, 'Would that I had not seen you, *nor heard of your doings⁵, *and that those of my race had never come to you⁶! *Now they have only sinned a little in this life, and always suffer in the eternal life⁷.' 3. *I went out to the East, to the paradise of Eden, where rest has been prepared for the just, and it is open to the third heaven, and shut from this world⁸. 4. *And guards are placed at the very great gates of the east of the sun, i. e. fiery angels, singing triumphant songs, that never cease rejoicing in the presence of the just. 5. At the last coming they will lead forth Adam with our forefathers, and conduct them there, that they may rejoice, as a man calls those whom he loves to feast with him; and they having come with joy hold converse, before the dwelling of that man⁹, *with joy awaiting his feast, the enjoyment and the immeasurable wealth, and joy and merriment in the light, and eternal life⁹. 6. *Then

¹ Like a darkened flame, B. ² B Sok. om. ³ A om. ⁴ To the persons (there), B. ⁵ B om. A OMIT'S VERSES 2-14^a. ⁶ Nor brought my family to you, Sok. ⁷ B om. ⁸ B seems to recall this verse in the words: And I saw there a blessed place and every created thing blessed. B introduces this section with the words: Entry of Enoch unto the Paradise of the Just. ⁹ And all living there in joy and in boundless happiness and eternal life, B.

quenched lamps. Contrast the faces and eyes of the heavenly angels, i. 5. 2. Cf. xli. 2. 3. The expression 'open to the third heaven' is strange; it would seem to imply that this is not the heavenly Paradise in the third heaven, but the original Garden of Eden. On the other hand, as this Paradise is prepared for the righteous, we are obliged to identify it with the Paradise of this third heaven described in viii-ix. 5. The last coming. See xxxii. 1 (note); lviii. 1. Adam with our forefathers. See

xli. 1 (note). The idea that the patriarchs were in hell or hades is at variance with what is stated or implied in some parts of the Eth. En. Cf. lx. 8, 23; lxi. 12; lxx. 3, 4, where we find Paradise already peopled with the righteous; but it is not incompatible with lxxxix. 52; xciii. 8, where apparently Enoch and Elijah are its only inhabitants. According to xxii the patriarchs were to remain in hades till the final judgement. This would, in some degree, harmonize with our text. 6-14. Nine

I said¹, 'I tell you, my children: blessed is he who fears * the name of the Lord, and serves continually before His face, and brings his gifts with fear continually in this life², * and lives all his life justly, and dies³. 7. Blessed is he who executes a just judgement, * not for the sake of recompense, but for the sake of righteousness, expecting nothing in return: a sincere judgement shall afterwards come to him³. 8. * Blessed is he who clothes the naked with a garment, and gives his bread to the hungry. 9. Blessed is he who gives a just judgement for the orphan and the widow, and assists every one who is wronged⁴. 10. Blessed is he who turns from the * unstable path of this vain world⁵, and walks by the righteous path * which leads to eternal life³. 11. Blessed is he who sows just seed,

¹ Sok. om. ² And serves the Lord; and do you, my children, learn to bring gifts to the Lord that you may have life, B. ³ B om.

⁴ Blessed is he who has given a just judgement, and assists the orphan and the widow, and every one who is oppressed: clothes the naked, and gives bread to the hungry, B. ⁵ Path of deceit, B.

beatitudes. These are very colourless. 7. Executes a just judgement. Cf. ix; Ezek. xviii. 8. This verse recalls in some measure the words of Antigonos of Socho: 'Be not like servants who serve their master for the sake of reward, but be like those who do service without respect to recompense, and live always in the fear of God.' Expecting nothing in return. Cf. Luke vi. 35. Sincere. Corrupt. With the entire verse we have a good parallel in Orac. Sibyll. ii. 61, 63

πάντα δίκαια νέμειν, μηδ' εἰς ἄδικον
κρίσιν ἐλθῆς.

ἦν σὺ κακῶς δικάσῃς, σὲ θεὸς μετέ-
πειτα δικάσσει.

8. These words are found in ix. 9. Cf. ix; Ps. x. 18; Is. i. 17; Jer. xxii. 3, 16; Zech. vii. 9, 10. 10.

Walks by the righteous path. Cf. Prov. iv. 11; Or Sibyll. iii. 9-10

τίπτε . . . οὐκ εὐθείαν ἀταρπὸν
βαίνετε ἀθανάτου κτιστοῦ μεμνημένοι
αἰεῖ:

also Fragm. i. 23 sq. 11. Is the blessing for those who sow seed that is justly their own? In Orac. Sibyll. ii. 71-72, 'he who steals seed is accursed for ever':

σπέρματα μὴ κλέπτειν' ἐπαράσιμος
ὅς τις ἔλθται
ἐς γενεὰς γενεῶν, ἐς σκαρπισμὸν
βιόταιο.

On the other hand, the reference may be metaphorical and the sense as follows: 'From your righteous deeds ye will reap sevenfold.' This is probably an adaptation of Ecclus. vii. 3 *μη σπείρε ἐπ' αὐλακας ἀδικίας, καὶ σὺ μὴ θερίσῃς αὐτὰς ἑπταπλασίως*. Cf. Job iv. 8;

he shall reap sevenfold. 12. Blessed is he in whom is the truth, that he may speak the truth to *his neighbour¹. 13. Blessed is he *who has love upon his lips, and tenderness in his heart². 14. Blessed is he who understands every work of the Lord, *and glorifies the Lord God³; *for the works of the Lord are just, and of the works of man some are good, and others evil, and by their works those who have wrought them are known⁴.

[*Enoch shows his Children how he measured and wrote out the Judgements of God.*]

XLIII. 1. *Lo! my children, the things which I have gained on the earth and meditated upon from the Lord God I have written down both winter and summer. I have compiled the account of all, and concerning the years I have calculated each hour; I have measured the hours and written out the lists of them and I have ascertained all their differences⁵. 2. As one year is more honourable than another⁶, so is one man more honourable than another. This

¹ The man who is sincere, Sok. ² Upon whose lips are tenderness and mercy, B. ³ Accomplished by the Lord and glorifies him, Sok. ⁴ B om. A reads And I saw all the works of the Lord how righteous they are, and of the works of men some (are righteous) but others wicked. And the impure are known by their deeds.

XLIII. ⁵ I, my children, have measured and written out every deed and every measure, and every just judgement (weight, Sok.), A Sok. adds: And have written them out as the Lord ordered me, and in all these I have found diversity. ⁶ B adds and one day more than another and one hour more than another.

Prov. xxii. 8; Hos. x. 13. 12. Cf. Lev. xix. 11; Eph. iv. 25; Orac. Sibyll. ii. 58 ψεύδεια μὴ βάξιν: 64 μαρτυρίην ψευδῆ φεύγειν, τὰ δίκαια ἀγορεύειν. 13. Cf. Prov. xxxi. 26. 14. By their works . . . are known. Cf. Mt. vii. 16, 20.

XLIII. 2, 3. As one year, &c. We should expect rather as one day, &c. Cf. Ecclus. xxiii. 7 διὰ τί ἡμέρα ἡμέρας ὑπερέχει; The main thought of these verses is derived from Ecclus. x. 20, 22, 24 (cf. Jer. ix. 23, 24): in

fact no one is greater than he who fears God is a direct quotation from x. 24. This passage runs: 20 ἐν μέσῳ ἀδελφῶν ὁ ἡγούμενος αὐτῶν ἐντιμος, καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι κύριον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ. 22. πλούσιος καὶ ἐνδοξος καὶ πτωχός, τὸ καύχημα αὐτῶν φόβος κυρίου. 24. μεγιστὰν καὶ κριτὴς καὶ ἐξουσίης δοξασθήσεται, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν τις μείζων τοῦ φοβουμένου τὸν κύριον. . . . 30. πτωχὸς δοξάζεται δι' ἐπιστήμην αὐτοῦ, καὶ πλούσιος δοξάζεται διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ. Cf. Orac. Sibyll. ii. 125.

man on account of many possessions, that man on account of the wisdom¹ of the heart; this man on account of understanding, another on account of cunning; this man for the silence of the lips²; * this man on account of purity, that on account of strength; this man on account of comeliness, another on account of youth; this man on account of sharpness of mind, another on account of quicksightedness of body, and another for the perception of many things. 3. Let it be heard everywhere³; there is no one greater than he who fears God. He shall be the most glorious for ever.

[*Enoch instructs his Sons that they should not revile the Persons of Men, whether they are great or small.*]

XLIV. 1. God⁴ made man with His own hands, in the likeness of His countenance, both small and great the Lord created him. He who reviles the countenance of * man, reviles the countenance of the Lord⁵. 2. * He who shows wrath against another without injury, the great wrath of the Lord shall consume him. 3. If a man spits at the face of another⁶ * insultingly, he shall be consumed⁷ * in the great judgement of the Lord⁸. 4. Blessed is the man who * does not direct his heart with malice against any⁹ man, and who assists the man who is * injured, and¹⁰ under judgement, and raises up the oppressed, * and accomplishes the prayer of him who asks¹¹! 5. For in the day of the great judgement,

¹ Benevolence, B.

² Tongue and lips, B.

³ B om.

XLIV. ⁴ B adds fashioned and. ⁵ The prince, and loathes the countenance of the Lord; despises the countenance of the Lord, A. Man reviles the countenance of the prince and loathes the countenance of the Lord, Sok. ⁶ There is the anger of the Lord, and a great judgement for whoever spits in the face of a man, B. ⁷ His insolence will consume him, Sok.; B om. ⁸ B om. ⁹ Puts confidence in, B.

¹⁰ A, Sok. om. ¹¹ Performs a kindness to him who wants it, Sok.; B om.

XLIV. 1. He who reviles the countenance, &c. We may reasonably compare James iii. 9. 2. Cf.

Matt. v. 22. 4. This beatitude seems out of place here. It would come in fittingly at the close of xlii.

every measure and standard and weight, * which is for traffic, namely, that which is hung on a balance and stands for traffic¹, knows its own measure, and * shall receive its reward by measure².

[*God shows that He does not wish Sacrifices from Man, nor Burnt-Offerings, but pure and contrite Hearts.*]

XLV. 1. * He who hastens and brings his offering before the face of the Lord, then the Lord will hasten the accomplishment of his work, and will execute a just judgement for him³.
2. He who increases his lamp before the face of the Lord, the Lord increases greatly his treasure * in the heavenly kingdom⁴.
3. God does not require bread, nor a light, * nor an animal, nor any other sacrifice⁵, * for it is as nothing⁶. 4. * But God requires a pure heart⁴, and by means of all this, He tries the heart of man.

¹ Hang as on a balance, that is on the scale and which stands for traffic, Sok. B omits entire verse. ² Its measure shall receive its reward, Sok.

XLV. ³ If a man hastens to work folly before the Lord, the Lord furthers him in the carrying out of his work, and makes his judgement faulty. So A through a corruption of приносъ into прасно and insertion of не before сотворить; B om. ⁴ B om. ⁵ Nor food of any kind nor meat, B. Nor an animal, nor an ox, nor any other victim, Sok. ⁶ That is not so, Sok.; B om.

XLV. 3. Cf. Ps. xl. 6; li. 16; Is. i. 11; Mic. vi. 6-8; Eccl. xxxii. 1-3; Orac. Sibyll. viii. 390, 391

οὐ χρήζω θυσίας ἢ σπονδῆς ὑμετέ-
ρηφιν

οὐ κνίσσης μαρῆς, οὐχ αἵματος ἐχθί-
στοιο:

also ii. 82; Athenag. *Supplic. pro Christo*, 13. This is not Essenism: see lix. 1-3. We find the same spiritual appreciation of sacrifices in

Ecclus. xxxii. 1-5 side by side with injunctions to offer them: ὁ συντη-
ρῶν νόμον πλεονάζει προσφοράς, θυσιά-
ζων σωτηρίου ὁ προσέχων ἐντολαῖς ἀντα-
ποδίδους χάριν προσφέρων σεμίδαλιν,
καὶ ὁ ποιῶν ἐλεημοσύναν θυσιάζων αἰ-
νέσεως καὶ ἐξίλασμός ἀποστήναι ἀπὸ
πονηρίας. 4. A pure heart. Ps.
li. 10. Tries the heart of man.
Deut. viii. 2; 2 Chron. xxxii. 31;
Ps. xxvi. 2.

[*How an earthly Prince will not receive Gifts from Man which are contemptible and impure. How much more does God loath impure Gifts, and rejects them with Wrath, and will not receive the Gifts of such a Man.*]

XLVI. 1. *Hear, my people, and pay attention to the words of my lips¹. If any one brings gifts to an earthly prince, but having unfaithfulness in his heart: if the prince knows it, will he not be angry with *him on account of that, and he will not take² his gifts, and will hand him over to condemnation? 2. Or if a man flatters another *in his language, but (plans) evil against him in his heart, will not the other understand the craft of his heart, and he himself will be condemned, so that his unrighteousness will be evident to all³? 3. But when God shall send a great light, by means of that there will be judgement⁴ to the just and unjust, and nothing will be concealed.

[*Enoch instructs his Sons from the Lips of God, and gives them the Manuscripts of this Book.*]

XLVII. 1. Now, my children, put my thoughts in your hearts; pay attention to the words of your father, which *have come to⁵ you from the mouth of the Lord. 2. Take these books of the writings of your father, and read them, *and in them ye shall learn all the works of the Lord. There have been many books from the beginning of creation, and shall be to the end of the world, but none shall make

XLVI. ¹ Sok. om. B OMITS ENTIRE CHAPTER. ² Sok. om. ³ With falsehood and is good in his tongue but evil in his heart, will not his heart perceive this and he will judge by himself so that he is proved not to be right, Sok. ⁴ Just judgement that is no respecter of persons, Sok.

XLVII. ⁵ I tell, Sok. B OMITS ENTIRE CHAPTER.

XLVI. 2. Cf. Orac. Sibyll. ii. 120
μηδ' ἕτερον κεύθοις κραδίη νόον ἀλλ'
ἀγορεύων. 3. What the great

light means is not clear.

XLVII. 1. Cf. xxxix. 2. 2.
None shall make things known

things known to you like my writings¹. 3. But if you shall preserve² my writings, you will not sin against God. For there is no other besides the Lord, neither in heaven nor on earth, nor the depths below, nor the solitary foundations. 4. God established the foundations upon things that are unknown, and stretched out the *visible and invisible heavens³, and made firm the earth upon the waters, and established the waters on things that are not fixed⁴. Who has created all the innumerable works of creation? 5. * Who has numbered the dust of the earth⁵, and the sand of the sea, and the drops of rain, and the dew of the morning, * and the breath of the wind⁶? Who has * bound earth and sea with bonds⁷ that cannot be broken up: * and has cut⁸ the stars out of fire, * and beautified⁹ the heavens¹⁰, and placed * the sun¹¹ in the midst of them * so that¹¹.

[Of the course of the Sun throughout the seven Circles.]

XLVIII. 1. The sun¹² goes in the seven circles of the

¹ For the books are many and in them we shall learn all the words of the Lord. Such as they are from the beginning of creation, so shall they be to the end of the world, A. ² Keep strictly, Sok. ³ Heavens over the visible things, Sok. ⁴ A reads And He considered what is the water and the foundation of things that are not steadfast and, and transposes these words to end of verse. ⁵ Sok. om. ⁶ Has filled earth and sea and the winter, A. ⁷ Emended from And I cut, A; and (who) sowed, Sok. ⁸ And I beautified, A. ⁹ Sok. adds and placed. ¹⁰ A om. XLVIII. ¹² He, Sok.

to you like my writings. Cf. Eth. En. xciii. 10. 3. But. . . not sin against God. Cf. xxxiii. 9; xlviii. 7-9. This claim is analogous to that made in the Eth. En. xxxvii. 4; xcii. 1; xciii. 10; c. 6; civ. 12, 13. With this we may contrast Ecclus. xviii. 3 οὐθενὶ ἐξεποίησεν ἐξαγγεῖλαι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. There is no other besides the Lord. Cf. Is. xlv. 5, 14, 18, 22. This is a favourite sentiment in the Sibylline Oracles. Cf. iii. 69

αὐτὸς γὰρ μόνος ἐστὶ θεὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτ' ἄλλος;

also iii. 760; viii. 377; Fragm. i. 7, 15; iii. 3; v. 1. 4. Stretched

out, &c. Ps. civ. 2; Is. xl. 22; xlii. 5. Made firm the earth upon the waters, 2 Pet. iii. 5. 5. Who has numbered. . . the sand of the sea, and the drops of rain. This is drawn word for word from Ecclus. i. 2 ἄμμον θαλασσῶν καὶ σταγόνas ὑετοῦ . . . τίς ἐξαριθμήσει; Cf. Is. xl. 12, and the oracle in Herod. i. 47 οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμον τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης, and likewise recalls LXX Job xxxvi. 27 ἀριθμηταὶ δὲ αὐτῷ σταγόνες ὑετοῦ. Beautified the heavens. Cf. Ecclus. xvi. 27 ἐκόσμησεν εἰς αἰῶνα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

XLVIII. 1. The text is corrupt

heavens, *and I gave him¹ 182 thrones when he goes on a short day, and also 182 thrones when he goes on a long day. 2. And he has two great thrones on which he rests, returning hither and thither above the monthly thrones. From the month Tsivan² after³ seventeen days he descends to the month Thevan⁴, and from the seventeenth day of Thevad⁴ he ascends. 3. And so the sun goes through all the courses of the heaven³; when he goes near the earth, then the earth rejoices and produces its fruit; when he departs, then the earth is sad, and the trees and all the fruits have no development. 4. *All this by measure and minute arrangement of time He has arranged by His wisdom⁵, both in the case of things visible and invisible. 5. He has made all things visible out of invisible, Himself being invisible. 6. Thus I tell you, my children, distribute the books to your children, in all your families, and among the nations. 7. Those who are wise let them fear God, and let them receive them *and let them love them more than

¹ Which are the support of the, A. B OMTS ENTIRE CHAPTER.
² Pamorus, Sok. ³ A om. ⁴ Thibith, Sok. ⁵ Hereby he gives a complete measure and with good arrangement of the times and has fixed a measure, A.

and unintelligible. According to xi. 1; xxx. 3 the sun is in the fourth circle of the heavens and does not revolve through the seven circles. Again the twice-mentioned 182 thrones are really when added the 364 world-stations of which we have some account in the Eth. En. lxxv. 2, i.e. 'the harmony of the course of the world is brought about through its separate 364 world-stations.' These world-stations or thrones as in our text are the 364 different positions occupied by the sun on the 364 days of the year. Just as in the Eth. En. lxxii-lxxxii and Jubilees iv no attempt is made here to get the complete number of days in the solar

year, i.e. 365½: contrast xiv. 1. This passage therefore either belongs to or is built upon the oldest literature of Enoch. This reckoning of the year at 364 days may be due partly to opposition to heathen systems and partly to the fact that 364 is divisible by 7, and amounts to 52 weeks exactly. See Eth. En. 190-91. 2. Tsivan . . . Thevad. The text is here corrupt. As apparently the two solstices are meant, we should read either Sivan . . . Kislev or Tamuz . . . Tebet. 5. Cf. xxiv. 2 (note); xlvii. 2 (note). Has made here was no doubt ἐπλασε, not ἐποίησε. 6. See xxxiii. 9 (note). 7. Let them love them more than any kind of food.

any kind of food¹, and read them². 8. * But those who are senseless and have no thought of the Lord and do not fear God³ will not receive them but turn away, and *keep themselves from them⁴, * the terrible judgement shall await them⁵. 9. Blessed is the man who bears their yoke, and puts it on, for he shall be set free in the day of the great judgement.

[*Enoch instructs his Sons not to swear either by the Heaven or the Earth; and shows the Promise of God to a Man even in the Womb of his Mother.*]

XLIX. 1. For⁶ I swear to you my children⁶, but I will not swear by a single oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God made. God⁷ said: 'There

¹ And the books will be more profitable to them than all good food on earth, Sok. A adds or earthly advantage. ² Sok. adds And let them eling to them. ³ And it shall result to them if they have no thought of God nor fear him, and if they, A. ⁴ Do not receive the books, A. ⁵ Sok. om.

XLIX. ⁶ B om. rest of verse.

⁷ For the Lord, Sok.

So Eth. En. lxxxii. 3 'this wisdom will please those that eat (thereof) better than good food.' Cf. xlvii. 2 (note). 8. Those who . . . will not receive them . . . the terrible judgement shall await them. The punishment denounced against those who refuse the disclosures of this book is more severe than anything to be found in the Eth. En. For a perfect parallel we must go to Rev. xxii. 18, 19. 9. The appeal for reception is far wider in this book than in the Eth. En. There only 'the elect of righteousness,' 'the righteous and the wise,' 'those who understand,' receive the revelations of Enoch: cf. lxxxii. 3; xciii. 10; civ. 12. Bears their yoke, cf. xxxiv. 1.

XLIX. 1. Swear . . . neither by heaven, &c. From this passage and

from Philo it is clear that Mt. v. 34-35 was a Jewish commonplace. For in Philo de Special. Leg. ii. 1 we find: ὁ γὰρ τοῦ σπουδαίου, φησί, λόγος ὅρκος ἔστω βέβαιος, ἀκλήης, ἀψευδέστατος, ἐρηρυσμένος ἀληθείᾳ . . . εἰώθασι γὰρ ἀναφθεγγόμενοι τοσοῦτον μόνον 'νὴ τόν,' ἢ 'μὰ τόν,' μηδὲν παραλαβόντες, ἐμφάσει τῆς ἀποκοπῆς, τρανοῦν ὅρκον οὐ γινόμενον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ παραλαβέτω τις, εἰ βούλοιτο, μὴ μὴν τὸ ἀναπάτω καὶ πρεσβύτατον εὐθὺς αἷτιον, ἀλλὰ γῆν, ἥλιον, ἀστέρας, οὐρανόν, τὸν σύμπαντα κῖσμον: De decem Orac. 17. Κάλλιστον δὲ καὶ βιωφελέστατον καὶ ἀρμόττον λογικῇ φύσει τὸ ἀνῶμοτον, οὕτως ἀληθεύειν ἐφ' ἑκάστου δεδιδαγμένη, ὥς τοὺς λόγους ὅρκους εἶναι νομίζεσθαι. Cp. also Leg. All. iii. 72; De Sac. Abelis et Caini, 28; De Plant. Noe 19; Quod Omnis Probus Liber, 12. It was Mr. Conybeare

is no swearing in me, nor injustice, but truth. If there is no truth in men, let them swear by a word, yea, yea, or nay, nay. 2. * But I swear to you, yea, yea¹, that * there has not been even a man in his mother's womb, for whom a place has not been prepared for every soul²; * and a measure is fixed how long a man shall be tried in this world³. * O! my children, be not deceived¹ * there is a place prepared there for every soul of man⁴.

[*How Nobody born upon the Earth can hide himself, nor are his Deeds concealed. (God) commands that he should be on the Earth a short time, endure Temptation, and Annoyance, and not injure the Widow and Orphan.*]

L. 1. I have laid down in the writings the actions of every man, * and no one born on the earth can hide himself, nor can his deeds be concealed; I see all⁵. 2. Now, therefore, my children, in patience and meekness accomplish the number of your days, and ye shall inherit the endless life which is to come. 3. * Every wound, and every affliction, and every

¹ B om. ² So A Sok. but that for every A reads the rest of that. B reads Even before man was created a place of judgement was prepared for him. ³ And a measure and a standard how long a man shall live in this world, and shall be tried in it, Sok.; And it was measured out and fixed, and there man will be tried, B. ⁴ So A Sok. but that Sok. adds previously after place. B reads As before it was appointed for him.

L. ⁵ B om.; Sok. adds as in a looking-glass.

that first called my attention to these passages in Philo. On the various forms of swearing usual among the Jews and censured in Mt. v. 33-36 and indirectly in the text, see Lightfoot *in loc.*; Eisenmenger, ii. 490 sqq.

XLIX. 2. A place . . . prepared for every soul. So *Tractat Chagiga*, fol. 15, col. 1; *Torath Adam*, fol. 101, col. 3; *Avodath hakkodesh*, fol. 19, col. 1, where it is said that a place

is prepared for every man either in Paradise or Hell (Eisenmenger, ii. 315).

L. 1. Nor can his deeds be concealed. Eth. En. ix. 5. 2. In patience, &c. Cp. Luke xxi. 19 'In your patience ye shall win your souls.' A blessed immortality for the righteous is taught in this book, but apparently no resurrection of the body. 3. Cp. Eccclus. ii. 4; 2 Tim. iv. 5; Heb. x. 32; 1 Pet. ii. 19;

evil word, and attack¹ endure for the sake of the Lord.
4. And when you might have vengeance² do not repay, either
*your neighbour or your enemy³. For God⁴ will repay as
your avenger in the *day of the great judgement⁵. *Let it
not be for you to take vengeance⁶. 5. Whoever of you
shall spend gold or silver for the sake of a brother, shall receive
abundant treasure in *the day of judgement⁷ *and stretch
out your hands to⁸ the orphan, the widow, and the stranger⁹.

[*Enoch instructs his Sons, not to hide their Treasures upon
Earth, but bids them give Alms to the Needy.*]

LI. 1. *Stretch out your hands to the poor man¹⁰ according
to your powers. 2. *Do not hide your silver in the earth¹¹ :

¹ Whatever wound or disease or affliction or evil end shall light upon you, B. Put away from you every wound and every injury and every evil word. If an attack and an injury be inflicted upon you for the sake of the Lord, Sok. ² Sok. adds an hundredfold. ³ Your neighbour, B; one who is near you or afar off, Sok. ⁴ Living God, B; Lord, Sok. ⁵ Great day of, A. ⁶ Therefore be not avenged here from men but then from the Lord, Sok. B om. ⁷ That world, A Sok. ⁸ Do not oppress, A. ⁹ B om.; A adds lest the wrath of God should come upon you.

LI. ¹⁰ And assist the poor man, B; Sok. om. ¹¹ Sok. reads in your treasures after come upon you, B om.

Jam. i. 12. See li. 3. 4. Cp. Ecclus. xxviii. 1 ὁ ἐκδικῶν παρὰ Κυρίου εὐρήσει ἐκδίκησιν, καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτοῦ διαστηρίων διαστηρίσει. 2. ἀφες ἀδίκημα τῷ πλησίον σου, καὶ τότε δεηθέντος σου αἱ ἀμαρτίαι σου λυθήσονται. See also verses 3-6. God will repay . . . in the day of the great judgement. These words follow the LXX of Deut. xxxii. 35 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω. The LXX thus read לִיּוֹם נָקָם אֲשֶׁלֶם instead of the Mass. לִי נָקָם וְשֶׁלֶם. The Samaritan likewise reads לִיּוֹם. Cp. also Prov. xx. 22; xxiv. 29. In Rom. xii. 19; Heb. x. 30, the writers follow a text of Deut. xxxii. 35 agreeing partly with the Mass. and partly

with that implied by the LXX. 5. Whoever, &c. Cp. Prov. xix. 17: Ecclus. xxix. 10. See LI. 2 (note). Stretch out your hands to the orphan, &c. Orac. Sibyll. ii. 75 ὀρφανικοῖς χήραις τ' ἐπιδευομένοις τε παράσχου. Cf. ix.

LI. 1. Stretch out your hands to the poor, &c. This is drawn from Ecclus. vii. 32 πτωχῷ ἐκτεινον τὴν χεῖρά σου, which in turn seems drawn from Prov. xxxi. 20. Cf. Joh vii. 9: Orac. Sibyll. ii. 88. According to your powers. Cf. Ecclus. xiv. 13; xxix. 20. 2. Do not hide your silver in the earth. Cf. Ecclus. xxix. 10 ἀπόλεσον ἀργύριον δι' ἀδελφόν καὶ φίλον καὶ μὴ ἰωθῆτω ὑπὸ

*assist the honest man in his affliction, and affliction shall not come upon you, in the time of your labour. 3. And whatever violent and grievous yoke shall be put upon you, endure all for the Lord's sake¹, and so you will receive your reward in the day of judgement. 4. Morning, afternoon, and evening, it is good to go into the house of the Lord to glorify *the Creator of all². 5. Wherefore³ let every thing that hath breath glorify Him, and let every creature visible and invisible give forth praise.

[*God instructs His faithful Servants how they are to praise His Name.*]

LII. 1. Blessed is the man who opens *his lips to praise the God of Sabaoth, and praises the Lord with his heart⁴. 2. Cursed is every man who opens his *lips to abuse and to calumniate his neighbour⁵. 3. Blessed⁶ is he who opens his lips to the blessing and praise of God! 4. Cursed is he who opens his lips to swearing and blasphemy before the face of the Lord all his days. 5. Blessed is he who

¹ B om. ² Your Creator, A. ³ For, Sok.; Sok. also puts the verbs in the indicative; B omits verse.

LII. ⁴ Heart and lips to the praise of the Lord, B. ⁵ Heart to abuse, abusing the poor and calumniating his neighbour, Sok.; B supports text but that it omits and to calumniate. After neighbour A adds for him shall God rebuke. ⁶ B omits verses 3, 4.

τὸν λίθον. Assist... in his affliction. Cf. Eccclus. iv. 4 *ἐκέτην θλιβόμενον μὴ ἀπανάινου*. 3. Eccclus. ii. 4 *πάν δ' ἐὰν ἐπαχθῇ σοι . . . μακροθύμησον*. Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 19; iii. 14. Cf. L. 3. 4. Ps. lv. 17: Cf. Dan. vi. 10. These three Jewish hours of prayer—the *third* (that of morning sacrifice), the *sixth* (noon), the *ninth* (that of evening sacrifice)—are observed in Acts ii. 15; iii. 1; x. 9. See Lightfoot *in loc.* for his Talmudic references. House of the Lord. This means the temple; for though the author is a Jew living in Egypt, he is writing

for Judaism as a whole, and is giving herein the ideal conduct of an inhabitant of Jerusalem. In LIX. 2, 3, he prescribes the right method of sacrifice, and sacrifices could only be offered in Jerusalem. 5. Every thing that, &c. Ps. cl. 6.

LII. With these beatitudes compare xlii. 6-14. Like the latter these are wanting in vigour. They seem to be in the main derived from Ecclesiasticus. 2. Cf. Wisdom i. 11 *ἀπὸ καταλαλιᾶς φείσασθε γλώσσης*. 4 Swearing and blasphemy. Cf. Eccclus. xxiii. 9-12. 5. Cf. Eccclus.

blessees all the works of the Lord. 6. Cursed is he who speaks ill of¹ the works of the Lord. 7. Blessed is he who *looks to raise his own hand for labour². 8. Cursed is he who looks to³ make use of another man's labour. 9. Blessed is he who preserves the foundations of his fathers *from the beginning⁴. 10. Cursed is he who breaks the enactments⁵ of his fathers. 11. Blessed is he who *establishes peace and love⁶. 12. Cursed is he who troubles those who *are at peace⁷. 13. Blessed is he who *does not speak peace with his tongue, but in his heart there is peace to all⁸! 14. Cursed is he who speaks peace with his tongue, but in his heart there is no peace⁹. 15. For all these things in measures and in books will be revealed in the day of the great judgement¹⁰.

[*Let us not say that our Father is with God, and will plead for us at the Day of Judgement. For I know that a Father cannot help his Son, nor a Son a Father.*]

LIII. 1. And now, my children, do not say; Our father

¹ Sok. adds all. ² Looks to the work of his own hands, B. Looks to raise up the fallen, A. ³ A adds and is eager to. ⁴ B om. ⁵ B adds and ordinances. ⁶ Goes to seek peace and leads others to peace, B. ⁷ Love their neighbours, A. ⁸ Speaks peace, for peace abides with him, B. ⁹ Speaks with a humble tongue and heart to all, A. ¹⁰ A adds a sword. B OMITTS ENTIRE VERSE. ¹⁰ B adds Therefore, my brethren, preserve your hearts from everything unjust that you may inherit an habitation of light for ever.

xxxix. 14 εὐλογήσατε κύριον ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. 7. Cf. Eph. iv. 28. S. Seems to be derived from Ecclus. xxxi. 26 φονεύων τὸν πλησίον ὁ ἀφαιρούμενος συμβίωσιν, καὶ ἐκχέων αἷμα ὁ ἀποστερῶν μίσθον μισθίου. Cf. Orac. Sibyll. ii. 56-57:

μὴ πλουτεῖν ἀδίκως, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὁσίων βιοτεύειν.

ἀρκεῖσθαι παρעוῦσι· καὶ ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέχεσθαι.

10. Cf. Eth. En. xcix. 2, 14; Ecclus. xvii. 11. 11. Cf. Mt. v. 9. 12. This is derived from Ecclus. xxviii. 9 ἀνὴρ

ἁμαρτωλὸς ταραξεί φίλους καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον εἰρηνευόντων ἐκβάλλει διαβολήν. Cf. also Ecclus. xxviii. 13. 14. Cf. Ps. xxviii. 3; lv. 21; lxii. 4; Orac. Sibyll. ii. 120, 122.

LIII. 1. This idea that departed saints interceded on behalf of the living has been attributed by some scholars to Is. lxiii. 16 (see Ewald, *History of Israel*, i. 296; Cheyne, *Prophecies of Isaiah*, ii. 107-108; 299-300). If, however, the doctrine of a blessed immortality or of the resurrection was a late development

stands before God, and prays *for us (to be released) from sin¹; *for there is no person there to help any man who has sinned². 2. You see how I have written down all the works of every man *before his creation², *which is³ *done in the case of all men for ever². 3. And no man *can say or unsay⁴ what I have written with my hand. For God sees all things, *even the thoughts of wicked men⁵, *which lie in the storeplaces of the heart². 4. And now,

LIII. ¹ Concerning our sins, A. ² B om. ³ And I shall write what things are, Sok.; B om. ⁴ Destroy, B; contradict, Sok. ⁵ The thoughts of man that they are vain, A; B om.

among the Jews, this idea must necessarily have been later still, and accordingly unless we are prepared to bring down considerably the date of Is. lxiii, we shall have some difficulty in justifying such an interpretation. It seems indeed that this idea among the Jews was comparatively late in origin. The first indubitable evidence in its favour is to be found in the Eth. En. xxii. 12; xcvi. 3, 5; xcix. 16; and thus we find that it was an accepted Pharisaic belief early in the second century B.C. The next mention of this belief is to be met with in 2 Macc. xv. 14 where Jeremiah, who appears in a vision to Judas Maccabaeus, is described as follows: ὁ φιλάδελφος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πολλὰ προσευχόμενος περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγίας πόλεως Ἱερουσάλημ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ προφήτης. This was also the teaching of Philo, *de Exsecrat.* 9: τρισὶ χρησόμενοι παρακλητοῖς τῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καταλλαγῶν . . . δευτέρῳ δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀρχηγῶν τοῦ ἔθνους δούλῳ, ὅτι ταῖς ἀφαιμέναις σωμάτων ψυχαῖς ἀπλᾶστον καὶ γυμνὴν ἐπιδεικνυμένας πρὸς τὸν ἀρχοντα θεραπείαν τὰς ὑπὲρ νῦν καὶ θνητῶν ἰκετείας οὐκ ἀτελεῖς εἰσάγει ποιῆσθαι, γέρας αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ ἐπήκουσεν ἐν εὐχαῖς. The

same view was obviously held by Joseph. *Antt.* i. 13. 3, where he describes Abraham as saying to Isaac when on the point of sacrificing him: μετ' εὐχῶν δὲ καὶ ἱερουργίας ἐκείνου τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν σὴν προσδεχομένου καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καθέοντος ἔσῃ μοι εἰς κηδεμόνα καὶ γηροκόμον. And also in Orac. Sibyll. ii. 330-333:

τοῖς καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς ἀφθιτος ἄλλο παρέξει
εὐσεβέεσσ', ὅπότ' ἂν θεὸν ἀφθιτον
αἰτήσωνται·
ἐκ μαλεροῦ πυρός τε καὶ ἀκαμάτων
ἀπὸ βρυγμῶν
ἀνθρώπους σώσει δώσει· καὶ τοῦτο
ποιήσει.

Finally this doctrine is recognized and apparently accepted in certain parts of the N. T.: Matt. xxvii. 47, 49; Luke xvi. 24-31; John viii. 56 (?); Heb. xii. 1?; Rev. vi. 9-11. For the prevalence of this belief in later Judaism, see Eisenmenger, ii. 357-9; 361. The idea of intercession may be derived from ancestor-worship, and not from the doctrine of a future life as I have implied above; cf. Cheyne's *Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, 352, 3. 2. Enoch is the universal scribe. 3. Cf. Ps. xciv. 11; Eccclus. xvii. 15. 20.

my children, pay attention to all the words * of your father which I say to you¹: * that ye may not grieve afterwards and say: Our father for some cause or other, never told them to us, in the time of this folly².

[*Enoch admonishes his Sons that they should give the Books to Others.*]

LIV. * Let these books which I have given you be the inheritance of your peace³: * do not conceal them⁴ but tell⁵ them to all desiring them * and admonish them⁶ that * they may know the works of the Lord which are very wonderful⁷.

[*Here Enoch makes a Declaration to his Sons: and speaks to them with Tears: 'My children, my Hour draws near, that I should go to Heaven. Lo! Angels stand before me!'*]

LV. 1. My children, the appointed day and time⁸ have drawn near * and constrain me to depart⁹. The angels * will come and¹⁰ stand before me * on the earth awaiting what has been ordered them¹¹. 2. In the morning I shall go to the highest¹² heavens¹³ to my eternal habitation. 3. Therefore I tell you to do all that is good before the face of the Lord.

[*Methusalem asks a Blessing of his Father; that he may give him Bread to eat.*]

LVI. 1. Methusalem having answered his father Enoch said¹⁴: 'If it is good in thine eyes, * my father¹⁵, * let me

¹ Of the lips of your father, B.

² B om.

LIV. ³ That you may have an inheritance of peace and the books which I have given you from God, B. ⁴ A om. ⁵ Give, A. ⁶ Sok. om. ⁷ Words cannot make known the works of God, B.

LV. ⁸ B adds appointed by God. ⁹ A reads after stand before me. ¹⁰ Who wish to go with me, A Sok. ¹¹ So A Sok, but that before on the earth, A adds they now stand; B om. ¹² Upper, B; A om. ¹³ A adds to the highest Jerusalem.

LVI. ¹⁴ B om.

¹⁵ Enoch, Sok.

LIV. See xxxiii. 9 (note). Works . . . wonderful. Job xxxvii. 14, 16; Ps. lxxi. 17, &c. LV. 1. See xxxvi. 2. Highest heavens. Cf. lxvii. 2.

put food¹ before thy face and then, having blessed our houses and thy sons, *and all thy family², let thy people be glorified by thee; and then afterwards thou wilt depart, *as God hath said³.' 2. Enoch answered his son *Methosalem and said⁴: 'Hear, my child, since God has anointed me with the oil of his glory, there has been no² food in me, *and my soul remembers nothing of earthly pleasure⁵ nor do I desire *anything earthly⁶.

[*Enoch orders his Son Methosalem to call all his Brothers.*]

LVII. 1. But⁷ call all⁸ thy brothers, and all your⁹ families, and the elders of the people, that I may speak to them and depart *as is appointed for me⁸. 2. And Methosalem hastened, and called his brethren, Regim, Riman¹⁰, Ukhan¹¹, Khermion, [Gaidal⁸], and¹² the elders of¹³ the people, *and brought them all¹⁴ before the face of his father Enoch¹⁵. And having blessed them, he spake to them¹⁶.

[*The Instruction of Enoch to his Sons.*]

LVIII. 1. 'Listen to me, my sons. *In those days when the Lord came upon the earth for the sake of Adam, and visited¹⁷ all his creation, which He Himself had made¹⁸. 2. The¹⁹ Lord²⁰ called all the cattle of the earth²¹, and all

¹ Let me do, A: let us put food, Sok. ² A om. ³ As God wishes, Sok.; B om. ⁴ And said, Sok.; B om. ⁵ B om. ⁶ Earthly food, B.

LVII. ⁷ My son Methosalem, A. ⁸ B om. ⁹ Our, B. ¹⁰ Rim, B. ¹¹ Azukhan, B. ¹² A adds all. ¹³ Sok. adds all. ¹⁴ And called them, Sok.; A om. ¹⁵ Sok. adds and they bowed before his face, and Enoch saw them. ¹⁶ Sok. adds saying.

LVIII. ¹⁷ So A and Sok., but that Sok. adds your father after Adam; B reads in the days of our father Adam the Lord came to visit him and. ¹⁸ A adds and after all these created Adam: Sok. adds in brackets in the previous thousand years and after all these created Adam. ¹⁹ And the, A B Sok. ²⁰ Lord God, B. ²¹ B adds and all the wild beasts and all the fourfooted things.

LCI. 2. Cf. xxii. 7, 8.

Khermion are not mentioned in i. 10.

LVII. 1. Cf. xxxvi. 1; Eth. En. xci. 1. 2. Riman, Ukhan, and

On Gaidal, see i. 10 (note).

LVIII. 1. When the Lord came

creeping things, and all the fowls that fly *in the air¹, and brought them all¹ before the face of our father Adam², and he gave names to all living things on the earth. 3. And the Lord made him lord over all, and put all things under his hands³, and *subdued (them) to submission and to all obedience⁴ *to man⁵. So the Lord created⁶ man as master over all His possessions. 4. The Lord will not judge any soul of beast on account of man, *but he will judge the soul of man on account of the souls of beasts in the world to come⁷. 5. *For as there is a special place for mankind for all the souls of men according to their number, so there is also of beasts. And not one

¹ B om. ² Sok. adds that he should give names to all fourfooted things. ³ Made subject to Adam all the newly created things, B. ⁴ Secondly he placed all things under the rule of and made them obedient, B. Made them dumb and made them deaf to obey, A. ⁵ As unto every man, Sok. ⁶ A adds every. ⁷ But the soul of man shall judge the animals in this world, A; B gives the sense of the verse; but there shall not be a judgement of every living soul but only of that of man, and (P) in the great life to come.

upon the earth . . . and visited. See xxxii. 1 (note). 5. Special place . . . for all the souls of men. See xlix. 2 (note). So also of beasts. As the Jews believed at the beginning of the Christian era that all animals had spoken one language before the fall, and therefore in some degree possessed rationality (Jubilees iii. 28; Joseph. *Antt.* i. 1. 4), it was only natural that they should proceed to infer a future existence of the animal world. The O. T. indeed does not show a single trace of this belief, though it always displays a most tender solicitude for their well-being; nor do we find it in any pre-Christian Jewish writing, with the exception of the present text. Even here the future life is of a limited nature. It is ethically motived. This

further term of existence is not conceded for the brute's own sake, but wholly with a view to the punishment of man. The brute creation is to live just long enough to bring an indictment for ill-treatment against man at the final judgement. Though this idea of any future life in connexion with the brute creation may move the wonder of the modern mind, it is justified by perfectly analogous ideas in the ancient world. Not to speak of the doctrine of metempsychosis in Greece and the deification of animals in Egypt, such conceptions as those in the text would not unnaturally flow from the powers and qualities frequently assigned to animals by Greek thinkers. Thus, according to Plut. *Plac.* v. 20, 4, the souls of brutes were rational though

soul shall perish which God has made till the great judgement. 6. And every soul of beast shall bring a charge against man if he feeds them badly¹.

¹ I have followed Sok. in verses 5, 6. B partly preserves the sense there is one place and one fold for the souls of beasts. For every living soul which God has made was not reserved for the great judgement. And every soul of beasts, &c., as in text. A is transposed and corrupt; There is a special place for mankind; as there is every soul of man according to his number, so the beast also shall not perish. And every soul of beast which God has made shall bring a charge against man at (or until) the great judgement if, &c., as in text.

incapable of acting rationally on account of their bodies; according to Xenocrates they possessed a consciousness of God, καθόλου γοῦν τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐννοιαν *Ξενοκράτης* . . . οὐκ ἀπελπίζει καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις (Clem. *Strom.* v. 590). Chrysippus ascribed reason to brutes (Chalkid in *Tim.* p. 148 b); while Sextus Medicus (ix. 127) maintained that the souls of brutes and of men were alike. Hence it was generally believed that the souls of men could pass into brutes, πρῶτον μὲν ἀθάνατον εἶναι φησι τὴν ψυχὴν, εἴτα μεταβάλλουσιν εἰς ἄλλα γένη ζώων (Porph. *V. P.* 19): while Plato indeed went further and derived the souls of all brutes ultimately from those of men, through a process of deterioration, ὥς γάρ ποτε ἐξ ἀνδρῶν γυναῖκες καὶ τᾶλλα θηρία γενήσονται, ἰπίσταντο οἱ ἐξηνιστάντες ἡμᾶς (*Tim.* 76 D). With regard to individual animals, some thinkers believed that bees contained a divine element (Virg. *Georg.* iv. 219-221), while Democritus and Pliny placed religion among the moral virtues of elephants (*H. N.* viii. 1). But the closest parallels are to be found in Zoroastrianism, to which indeed we should probably trace in some measure the ideas of the text. Thus in the Zend-Avesta

Vendidad Fargard 13 (Darmesteter) we find an entire chapter dealing with the sacredness of the life of the domesticated dog and the crime of attempting its life—its murderer was to lose his soul to the ninth generation (1-4): with the food that was to be given to it and the penalties entailed by feeding it badly (20-28), which were to range from fifty to two hundred blows with the horse-goad. Nay more, the land, its pastures and crops were to suffer for the unatoned death of the dog, and these plagues were not to be removed till the man who had slain it was slain in turn or had offered sacrifices three days and three nights to the pious soul of the departed dog (54, 55). Finally, the soul of the dog went after death to the source of the waters (51). In the *Midrash Koheleth*, fol. 329, col. 1, we find the following quaint and slightly analogous thought: 'Rabbi Chama, the son of Gorion, said that wolves and unfruitful trees must give account: just as man must give account, so also must unfruitful trees.' Eisenmenger, i. 468. It is noteworthy that the ideas of the text have passed over into the creed of the Mohammedans. Thus, according to Sale's note on the sixth chapter of the Koran, irrational animals will be

[*Enoch teaches all his Sons why they must not touch the
Flesh of Cattle, because of what comes from it.*]

LIX. 1. He, who acts lawlessly with regard to the souls of beasts, acts lawlessly with regard to his own soul. 2. For a man offers clean animals *and makes his sacrifice that he may preserve his soul¹. And if he offer as a sacrifice from clean *beasts and² birds³, he preserves his soul. 3. Everything that⁴ is given you for food, bind by the four feet: that is an atonement: he acts righteously (therein) and preserves his soul. 4. But he who kills a beast without a wound kills his own soul and sins against his

LIX. ¹ And then he preserves his soul, B. ² B om. ³ A adds it is a salvation for man. ⁴ A om.; B OMITTS VERSES 3, 4, 5.

restored to life at the resurrection that they may be brought to judgement and have vengeance taken on them for the injuries they had inflicted on each other in this life. Then after they have duly retaliated their several wrongs, God will turn them again to dust (Sale's Koran, Prelim. Discourse, Sect. iv), with the exception of Ezra's ass and the dog of the seven sleepers which will enjoy eternal life in Paradise (Koran iii; xviii). Are we to interpret in this manner Orac. Sibyll. viii. 415-418?—

καὶ ὕστερον ἐς κρίσιν ἤξω
κρίνων εὐσεβέων καὶ δυσσεβέων βίον
ἀνδρῶν·

καὶ κρινὸν κρινῶ καὶ ποιμένι ποιμένα θήσω
καὶ μόσχον μόσχῳ πέλας ἀλλήλων ἐς
ἐλεγχον.

Even in Christian times animals were credited with intelligence, conscience, responsibility, as well as with the passions, vices and virtues of mankind (see *Bestie delinquenti*, D'Addosio, 1892, from which the following

facts are taken). They were accordingly solemnly tried, and advocates were assigned at the public expense to them to plead their cause. Thus moles (824 A. D.), a sow (1324), a cock (1474), snails (1487) were duly tried and condemned. They were also occasionally subjected to torture, and their cries were regarded as a confession of guilt (l. c. p. 46). Even as late as 1531 a book was written by Chassauée to discuss the lawfulness of trying animals judicially, and the legitimate methods of procedure (l. c. p. 75).

LIX. 1. He who acts lawlessly, &c. At first sight this would seem to refer to the sin of bestiality, and such was the view of the scribe of A: see title, but the context is against this, as verses 2-4 clearly show. Hence some illegitimate method of sacrificing or slaughtering animals seems to be referred to here. 2, 3. These verses point to a date prior to the destruction of the temple, 70 A.D. 4. Against

own flesh. 5. And if any one does an injury to an animal secretly, it is an evil custom and he sins against his soul.

[*How we ought not to kill a Man, neither with Weapon nor with Tongue*¹.]

LX. 1. If he does an injury to the soul of man, he does an injury to his own soul; and there is no salvation for his flesh, *nor forgiveness² for ever³. 2. He who kills the soul of a man, kills his own soul, and destroys his own body, and there is no salvation for him for ever. 3. He who prepares a net for another man *will fall into it himself and there is no salvation for him for ever⁴. 4. He, who prepares a weapon against a man, shall not escape punishment in the great judgement for ever. 5. If a man acts crookedly or speaks evil against any soul, he shall have no righteousness for himself for ever.

[*Enoch admonishes his Sons to preserve themselves from Unrighteousness, and to stretch out their hands frequently to the Poor, and to give them something from their Labours.*]

LXI. 1. Now therefore, my children, preserve your hearts from every unrighteousness which the Lord hates. As a man asks his soul from God, so let him do to every living soul⁵. 2. *For in the world to come², *I know all things

LX. ¹ A inserts this title after verse 1. ² B om. ³ B adds but when a man is in Paradise he is liable to judgement no more. ⁴ Shall not lose the punishment for it in the day of judgement for ever, Sok. B OMTS VERSES 2-5.

LXI. ⁵ B adds Even if it be not for eternal life.

strangling beasts. 5. Bestiality may be here referred to.

LX. 1. The sin referred to in 1 Thess. iv. 6. 3. Cf. Pss. ix. 15; xxxv. 8; lvii. 6. In this verse and the next two there is an utter want of proportion between the sin

and its punishment. 5. Cf. Ps. ci. 5.

LXI. 1. Unrighteousness which the Lord hates. Cf. Jud. v. 17; Ecclus. xv. 11, 13. 2. In the world to come . . . many mansions. Cf. Eth. En. xxxix. 4, 7, 8; xli. 2; John

how that¹ there are many mansions prepared for men ; * good for the good ; evil for the evil ; many and without number². 3. Blessed are those who shall go to the mansions of the blessed³ ; for in the evil ones there is no rest nor any means of return from them. 4. Listen, my children, both small and great : When a man * conceives a good thought in his heart and brings⁴ gifts before the Lord of his labours—if his hands have not wrought them⁵ then the Lord turns away His face from the labour of his hands, and * he cannot gain advantage from⁶ the work of his hand. 5. But if his hands have wrought, but his heart murmurs * and he does not make an offering of his heart, but murmurs⁷ continually, he has no success.

[How it is proper to bring one's Gifts with Faith, and how there is no Repentance after Death.]

LXII. 1. Blessed is the man who in patience shall bring

¹ I know that, Sok. ; B om. ² Numberless abodes for the good and the evil, B. ³ B OMITS THE REST OF THE CHAPTER. ⁴ Sets it in his heart to bring, Sok. ⁵ The labour, Sok. ⁶ It is impossible for him to find, Sok. ⁷ The sickness of his heart will not cease and making a murmur, Sok.

xiv. 2. Good for the good, evil for the evil. This is adapted from Ecclus. xxix. 25 ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐκτίσται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, οὕτως τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς κακά. Cf. Or. Sibyll. Fragm. iii. 18–19 τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀγαθὸν προσφέρων πολὺ πλεονα μισθόν, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς ἀδίκους τε χόλον. 4. The text seems corrupt. The idea is : it is a good thing to offer gifts to God ; but if a man sacrifice to God that which is another man's or is gotten wrongfully, God turns away His face from him. Cf. lxvi. 2. The author appears to have had before him Ecclus. xxxi. 21 θυσιάζων ἐξ ἀδίκου, προσφορά μεμωκημένη, 22 καὶ οὐκ εἰς εὐδοκίαν μοικήματα ἀνόμων. 23 οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ δ' ὕψιστος ἐν προσφοραῖς ἀσεβῶν.

Further in ver. 24 ὁ προσάγων θυσίαν ἐκ χρημάτων πενήταν is condemned. Finally with he cannot gain advantage from, &c., compare ver. 28 τί ἀφέλησαν πλεῖον ἢ κόπου ; If his hands have not wrought them. Cf. Or. Sibyll. viii. 403, 406 :

τούτῳ μὲν καθαρὴν θῆς ἀναίμακτόν τε τράπεζαν
ἐκ μόχθων ἰδίων πορίσας ἀγναῖς παλάμῃσιν.

5. Men must offer willingly : only those are blessed. Cf. Exod. xxv. 2 ; xxxv. 5 ; Prov. xi. 25. But his heart murmurs. Cp. lxiii. 2 ; Deut. xv. 10 'thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him.' Ecclus. xxxii. 10, 11 ἐν ἀγαθῷ ὀφθαλμῷ δόξασον τὸν κύριον . . . καὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ ἁγιάσον δεκάτην.

his gifts¹ before the face of the Lord, for he shall avert the recompense of his sin. 2. *If he speaks words out of season² *there is no repentance for him: if he lets the appointed time³ pass and does not *perform the work, he is not blessed; for⁴ there is no repentance after death. 3. For every deed which a man does *unseasonably is⁵ an offence before men, and a sin before God.

[How one must not despise the Humble, but give to them truly, so that thou mayest not be accursed before God.]

LXIII. 1. When a man clothes the naked and feeds the hungry, he gets a recompense from God. 2. If his heart murmurs, *he works for himself a double evil: he works destruction to that which he gives and there shall be no reward for it⁶: 3. *And the poor man, when his heart is satisfied or his flesh is clothed⁷ and he acts contemptuously, he destroys the effect of *all his endurance of poverty⁸ and *shall not gain the blessing of a recompense⁹. 4. For the Lord hates every contemptuous *and proud-speaking¹⁰ man: *and likewise every lying word: and that which is covered with unrighteousness. And it is cut with the sharpness of a deadly sword, and thrown into the fire, and burns for ever¹¹.

LXII. ¹ A adds with faith. ² If he remembers the appointed time to utter his prayer, B. If before the time he recalls his word, Sok. ³ B omits, AND ALSO THE REST OF THE CHAPTER. ⁴ Act righteously, A. ⁵ Before the time and after the time is altogether, Sok.

LXIII. ⁶ He works for himself a double destruction and when he gives anything to a man there shall be no reward for that which he has given, A. B reads He renders his deeds of mercy profitless. ⁷ Nay more if food fill his heart to the full or his flesh is clothed, A. If he becomes overfed. B. ⁸ His good works, B. ⁹ Does not return with gratitude the benefits he has received, A. Gains nothing, B. ¹⁰ B om. ¹¹ And every lying word is sharpened with unrighteousness, and is cut with the sharpness of a deadly sword, and that cutting has no healing for ever, Sok. B om.

LXII. 1. Forgiveness is not the message of this book. For most sins there is no pardon. 2. Words out of season. The text is hopeless here.

LXIII. 1. See ix (notes). 2. See lxi. 5 (note). 4. The Lord hates, &c. Pss. xviii. 27; ci. 5; Prov. vi. 16, 17.

[*How the Lord calls Enoch: the People take Counsel to go to kiss him in the Place called Achuzan.*]

LXIV. 1. When Enoch said these words to his sons, *and the princes of the people¹, all the people *far and near² heard how the Lord called Enoch. And³ they took counsel, *and they all said⁴: 'Let us go and kiss Enoch!' 2. And the men assembled to the number of 2000⁵, and came to the place Achuzan⁶, where Enoch was, and his sons. 3. And⁷ the elders of the people⁸ *came together and made obeisance and⁹ kissed Enoch, and said to him: '*Enoch, our father⁹; be thou blessed of the Lord, the eternal King!' 4. And now bless thy *sons, and all the⁹ people, that we may be glorified *before thee to-day. 5. For thou art glorified⁹ before the face of the Lord *for ever¹; since God has chosen thee *above all men upon the earth, and has appointed thee⁹ as *the scribe of His creation of visible and invisible things, and⁹ an avenger¹⁰ of the sins of men, *and a succour to thy family⁹!' And Enoch answered all his people saying⁹:

[*Of the Exhortation of Enoch to his Sons.*]

LXV. 1. 'Listen, my children: before that anything existed *and all creatures were made, the Lord made¹¹ all things both visible and invisible. 2. *When the times of these things

LXIV. ¹ A om. ² And all his neighbours, B. For how the Lord, B reads how the Lord God. ³ A B om. ⁴ Saying, B; A om. ⁵ 4000, B. ⁶ Asukhan, B. ⁷ A adds all the host of. ⁸ Sok. adds and all the host. ⁹ B om. ¹⁰ One who removes, A B.

XLV. ¹¹ The Lord made the world and then created, B. The Lord made, A.

LXIV. 5. Scribe of His creation. See xl. 13 (note); liii. 2. Avenger, &c. This may refer to Enoch's office at the final judgement when he recounts all the deeds of men. See quotation from Test. Abraham given

in note on XL. 13. The reading, however, of A B one who removes may be right. Enoch may be conceived as a mediator. Cf. Philo's conception of the Logos i. 501.

LXV. 1. Made. This must mean

had come and were passed, understand how¹ after all these things He made man in His own image *after His¹ likeness, and placed in him eyes to see; and ears to hear; and a heart to understand, and reason² to take counsel. 3. And the Lord *contemplated the world for the sake of man³, and made all the creation* for his sake⁴, and divided* it into times. And from the times He made years, and from the years He made months, and from the months He made days, and of the days He made seven. 4. And in these He made the hours⁵ *and divided them into small portions¹, that a man should understand *the seasons, and compute years and months, and hours; their alternations and beginnings and ends: and⁶ that he should compute *his life from the beginning till death⁷, *and should meditate upon his sin, and should write down his evil and good deeds. 5. For nothing done is concealed before the Lord. Let each man know his deeds, and not transgress the commandments and let him keep My writings securely from generation to generation¹. 6. When *all the creation of visible and invisible things⁸ comes to an end which the Lord has made; then every man shall come to the great judgement of the Lord⁹. 7. Then¹⁰ the times shall perish, *and

¹ B om. ² With his mind, A. ³ Saw all the works of man, A. B om. ⁴ A om. B transposes it into next sentence. ⁵ Time for the sake of man, and determined the times and the years, and the months and the hours, B. ⁶ The changes of the times and the end and the beginning of the years, and the end and the days and hours, B. ⁷ The death of his life, B. ⁸ The world, B. ⁹ A om. ¹⁰ And then all, A.

‘devised,’ if it is original. 2. Made man in his own image . . . understand. This agrees too closely to be accidental with Ecclus. xvii. 3 κατ’ εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς. 5. . . . ὁφθαλμούς, ὦτα καὶ καρδίαν ἔδωκε διαναεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς. 4. Understand the seasons . . . beginnings and ends. We have here a close resem-

blance to Wisdom vii. 17-18 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔδωκε . . . εἰδέναι . . . ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος καὶ μεσότητα χρόνων, τροπῶν ἀλλαγὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς καιρῶν. 5. See xxxiii. 9 (note). 6. The judgement closes the existence of man on earth. At this judgement all men must appear, but there is nothing to suggest that there is a resurrection of the body. 7. See

there shall be no year, nor month, nor day, and there shall be no hours nor shall they be reckoned¹. 8. There shall be one eternity, and all the just * who shall escape the great judgement of the Lord² shall be gathered together in eternal life * and for ever and ever the just shall be gathered together and they shall be eternal³. 9. Moreover there shall be no labour, nor sickness, nor sorrow, * nor anxiety, nor need⁴, nor night, nor darkness, but a great⁵ light. 10. * And there shall be to them a great wall that cannot be broken down²; and bright⁶ * and incorruptible² paradise * shall be their protection, and their eternal habitation⁷. * For all corruptible things shall vanish², * and there shall be eternal life⁸.

[*Enoch instructs his Sons, and all the Elders of the People: how with Fear and Trembling they ought to walk before the Lord, and serve Him alone, and not to worship Idols; for God made Heaven and Earth and every Creature and its Form.*]

LXVI. 1. And now, my children, preserve your souls from all unrighteousness, which the Lord hates⁹. Walk before His face with fear * and trembling¹⁰, and serve Him alone.

¹ And the years moreover shall perish and the months and days and hours shall be dispersed and moreover shall not be counted, Sok. For hours . . . counted A reads there shall be no hours nor shall there be any addition to them or calculation. ² B om. ³ And there shall be one everlasting time for the just and they shall live for ever, A. And there shall be everlasting life for the just, being eternal, Sok. After eternal B adds and incorruptible. ⁴ A adds nor violence; Sok. reads nor necessary anxiety nor constraint. ⁵ B adds unending and never disturbed. ⁶ Great, B Sok. ⁷ B om. Sok. reads and there shall be the roof of the eternal habitation, and transposes to end of Chapter. ⁸ And incorruptible things shall come, Sok.

LXVI. ⁹ B OMITTS THE REST OF THE CHAPTER.

¹⁰ Sok. om.

xxxiii. 2. 8-9. A blessed immortality. 10. Wall. This may be the wall that divides Paradise (see ix) from the place of punishment (see x). 11. Cp. Eccclus. xiv. 19 πᾶν ἔργον σηπόμενον ἐκλείπει.

LXVI. 1. Unrighteousness which the Lord hates. Cf. Deut. xii. 31; Wisdom xiv. 9. Walk before His face with fear and trembling. Cf. Phil. ii. 12 'work out your own salvation with fear and

* Worship the true God, and not dumb idols. 2. But pay attention to His command¹, and bring every just offering before the face of the Lord. But the Lord hates that which is unrighteous. 3. For the Lord sees every thing; whatever man meditates in his heart, *and what counsel he plans², and every thought is continually before the Lord. 4. *If ye look at the heavens there is the Lord, as the Lord made the heavens. If ye look at the earth then the Lord is there since the Lord made firm the earth and established every creature in it³. If ye scrutinize the depths of the sea, and every thing under the earth there also is the Lord. For the Lord created all things. 5. Do not bow down to the work of men, *nor to the work of the Lord⁴, leaving *the Lord of all creation⁵; for no deed is concealed before the face of the Lord. 6. Walk, my children, in long suffering, in humility⁶, in spite of calumny, and insult; in faith, and truth: in the promises, and sickness, in abuse, in wounds, in temptation, *in nakedness, in deprivation⁷, loving one another, till ye depart from this world of sickness. Then ye shall be heirs of eternity. 7. Blessed are the just, who shall escape the great judgement⁸! And they shall be seven times brighter than the sun, for in this age altogether the seventh part is separated. 8. (Now concerning) the light, the darkness, the food, the sweetnesses,

¹ Sok. om. ² Then his reason counsels, Sok. ³ So Sok. transposed and defective in A. Who made firm the earth, and established every creature in it. If ye look at the heavens there is the Lord. ⁴ A om. ⁵ The works of the Lord, A. ⁶ A adds honour. ⁷ Deprivation and nakedness, Sok. ⁸ Sok. adds of the Lord.

trembling.' For fear and trembling cf. also 2 Cor. vii. 15; Eph. vi. 5. 2. Bring every just offering. See lxi. 4 (note). 3. Sees every thing whatever man meditates, &c. Cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 9; 2 Chron. vi. 30; Ps. xciv. 11; Prov. xv. 11; Dan. ii. 30. 4. Founded partly on Ps. cxxxix.

8-12. The author has rightly omitted all reference to Sheol as this is already included in his conception of the heavens. 5. No deed is concealed, &c. Cf. Jer. xvi. 17; Ecclus. xvii. 15. 6. Cf. Rom. viii. 35; 2 Cor. xi. 27; 2 Pet. i. 4. 7. Cf. lxxv. 8. 8. Sweetnesses, &c. Eth. En. lxxix. 8.

the bitternesses, the paradise, the tortures, *the fires, the frosts and other things¹; *I have put² all this down in writing, that ye may read and understand.

[*The Lord sent a Darkness upon the Earth, and covered the People and Enoch; and he was taken up on high; and there was Light in the Heavens.*]

LXVII. 1. When Enoch had discoursed with the people, the Lord sent a darkness upon the earth, and there was a gloom, and it hid those men standing³ with Enoch. 2. And *the angels hasted and took Enoch and carried him⁴ to the highest heaven where the Lord⁵ received him, and set him before *His face⁶, and the darkness departed from the earth, and there was light. 3. And the people saw and did not understand, how Enoch was taken, and they glorified God. And they *who had seen such things⁷ departed⁸ to their houses⁹.

LXVIII. 1. Enoch was born on the sixth day of the month Tsivan¹⁰! he lived 365 years. He was taken up into heaven on the first day of the month Tsivan¹¹, and he was in heaven sixty days. 2. He wrote down the descriptions of all the creation which the Lord had made, and he wrote 366 books, and gave them to his sons. 3. And he was on earth

¹ Sok. om. ² Put, A.

LXVII. ³ A adds and talking. ⁴ They took him, A. ⁵ A adds is and they. ⁶ The face of the Lord, A. ⁷ Sok. om. A reads Found the roll in which was the instruction concerning the invisible God and they. ⁸ A adds all. ⁹ B adds and concludes with to our God be glory for ever, Amen.

LXVIII. ¹⁰ Pamorus, Sok. ¹¹ Nisan, Sok.

LXVII. 2. Highest heaven. LV. 2. In Asc. Is. ix. 7 the seventh This is an exceptional privilege; for heaven is represented as the future Paradise in the third heaven is the habitation of the righteous. eternal abode of the righteous. See

thirty days¹, and thus he was taken to heaven in the same² month Tsivan³ on the *same day the² sixth day; the day on which he was born, and the same hour. 4. As each man has *but a dark existence⁴ in this life, so also is his beginning *and birth⁵, and departure from this life. In what hour he began; in that he was born, and in that he departs. 5. And Methusalem hasted, and all⁵ his brethren⁶, the sons of Enoch, and built an altar in the place called Achuzan, *whence and when Enoch⁷ was taken up *to heaven⁵. 6. And they took⁸ cattle, and invited all the people and sacrificed victims⁹ before the face of the Lord. 7. *All the people came and the elders of the people; all the host of them to the festivity, and brought their gifts to the sons of Enoch, and made a great festivity, rejoicing and being merry for three days; praising God who had given such a sign by means of Enoch, who had found favour with Him. And that they should hand it down to their son's sons, from generation to generation, for ever. Amen⁵.

¹ Sok. adds *having spoken with them.*

² A om.

³ Pamorus, Sok.

⁴ An equal nature, Sok.

⁵ Sok. om.

⁶ Sok. adds *and all.*

⁷ Where, Sok.

⁸ Sok. adds *animals and.*

⁹ Victim, Sok.

APPENDIX.

THE following fragment of the Melchizedekian literature was found by Professor Sokolov in the chief MS. on which he has based his text. In this MS. it is given as an organic factor of the Slavonic Enoch. This is done by omitting all the words in A lxviii. 7, after 'merry for three days,' and then as we see below immediately proceeding 'And on the third day,' &c. No hint of this large addition is found in A or B, but Sokolov writes that it appears in several MSS. to which he had access. The reader will observe that in many passages it implies the Slavonic Enoch. The text is obviously corrupt in many places.

We have in this fragment a new form of the Melchizedek myth. For the other forms it took see Bible Dictionaries *in loc.* This fragment seems to be the work of an early Christian heretic as we may infer from iii. 34 ; iv. 8.

I. 1. And on the third day at the time of the evening the elders of the people spake to Methusalam saying : 'Stand before the face of the Lord, and before the face of all the people, and before the face of the altar of the Lord, and thou shalt be glorified among the people.' 2. And Methusalam answered his people : 'Wait, O men, until the Lord God of my father Enoch—shall himself raise up to himself, a priest over his people.' 3. And the people waited yet a night to no purpose on the place Akhuzan. 4. And Methusalam was near the altar, and prayed to the Lord and said, 'Oh ! only Lord of all the world, who hast taken my father Enoch, do thou raise up a priest for thy people, and teach their hearts to fear thy glory, and to do all according to thy will.' 5. And Methusalam slept, and the Lord appeared to him in a nightly vision, and said to him 'Listen, Methusalam, I am the Lord God of thy father Enoch, hear the voice of this people, and stand before My altar and I will glorify thee before the face of all the people, and thou shalt be glorified all the days of thy life.' 6. And Methusalam arose from his sleep,

and blessed the Lord who had appeared to him. 7. And the elders of the people hastened to Methusalam and the Lord God inclined the heart of Methusalam to hear the voice of the people, and he said: 'The Lord God gives His blessing upon all these people before my eyes to-day. (May the Lord your God) do what is a good thing in His eyes to this people.' 8. And Sarsan and Kharmis, and Zazus, the elders of the people hastened and clothed Methusalam in beautiful garments and placed a bright crown on his head. 9. And the people hastened, and brought sheep and cattle and of birds all that was known (to be proper for) Methusalam to sacrifice before the face of the Lord, and in the name (before the face) of the people. 10. And Methusalam went out to the altar of the Lord, and his face shone like the sun, as it is rising in the day, and all the people were following after him. 11. And Methusalam stood before the altar of the Lord, and all the people stood round the altar. 12. And the elders of the people took sheep, and oxen, and bound their four feet, and laid them on the top of the altar, and said to Methusalam; 13. 'Lift the knife and kill them according to the proper way before the face of the Lord.' 14. And Methusalam stretched out his hands to the heavens and called to the Lord, saying thus: 'Woe is me, O Lord! who am I to stand at the head of Thy altar and at the head of these people. 15. Now, Lord, look down on Thy servant and on all these people. Now let all the things sought for happen and give a blessing to Thy servant before the face of all the people, that they may understand that thou hast appointed a priest over Thy people. 16. And it came to pass that when Methusalam had prayed, the altar shook, and a knife rose from the altar, and leaped into the hand of Methusalam before the face of all the people. And the people trembled, and glorified the Lord. 17. And Methusalam was honoured before the face of the Lord, and before the face of all the people from that day. 18. And Methusalam took the knife, and killed every thing that was brought by the people. And they rejoiced, and were merry before the face of the Lord and before the face of Methusalam on that day. 19. And afterwards the people departed each to his own house.

II. 1. Methusalam began to stand at the altar before the face of the Lord and all the people from that day for ten years, trusting in an eternal inheritance, and having taught well the whole land and all his people; and no man was found to turn from the Lord in vanity during all the days in which Methusalam lived. 2. And

the Lord blessed Methusalam and was pleased with his sacrifices, and his gifts and all his services which he served before the face of the Lord. 3. And when the time of the days of the departure of Methusalam took place, and the Lord appeared to him in a nightly vision, and said to him : 'Listen, Methusalam ! I am the Lord God of thy father Enoch, I order thee to see, how the days of thy life are finished, and the day of thy rest has drawn near. 4. Call Nir, the son of thy son Lamech, the second, born after Noah, and clothe him in the robes of thy consecration, and place him by my altar, and tell him all that shall be in his days, because the time of the destruction of the whole earth draws near, and of every man and every living thing upon the earth. 5. For in his days there shall be a very great confusion upon the earth, because a man has been envious of his neighbour, and people have become inflamed against people and nation stirs up war against nation, and all the earth is filled with foulness and blood, and every kind of evil. 6. And moreover in addition they deserted their Maker, and have bowed down to vain gods, and to the firmament of heaven, and the course of the earth and the waves of the sea. And the adversary is multiplied and rejoices in his deeds to My great vexation. 7. And all the earth changes its form, and every tree and every fruit changes its seeds, expecting the time of destruction. And all peoples are changing upon the earth to My grief. 8. Then I shall command the abysses to pour themselves upon the earth, and the great treasures of the waters of heaven shall come upon the earth in their nature and according to their first nature. 9. And all the stability of the earth shall perish and all the earth shall tremble and shall be deprived of its strength from that day. 10. Then I will preserve the son of thy son Lamech, his first son Noe and from his seed I will raise up another world, and his seed shall exist for ever till the second destruction when also men shall sin before my face. 11. Methusalam leaped up from his sleep and his dream troubled him greatly. And he called all the elders of the people and told them all that the Lord had said to him, and all the vision that had appeared to him from the Lord. 12. And the people were grieved at his vision, and answered him : 'Let the Lord God do according to his will ! And now, Methusalam, accomplish thou all things which the Lord enjoined thee.' 13. And Methusalam called Nir, the son of Lamech, the younger brother of Noe, and clothed him in the robes of the priesthood before the face of all the people, and placed him at the head of the altar, and taught him all that he was to do among the people. 14. And

Methusalam called to the people: 'Lo ! Nir will be before your face from to-day as a prince and a leader.' 15. And the people said to Methusalam, 'Let it be unto us according to thy word, and let the voice of the Lord be as He spoke to thee.' 16. And when Methusalam had spoken to the people before the altar, his spirit was confused, and he bent his knees, and stretched out his hands to the heavens, and prayed to God. And as he prayed his spirit went forth to the Lord. 17. And Nir and all the people made haste and made a grave for Methusalam in the place Aruzan. 18. And Nir came in glorious attire in all his priestly robes, with lights, with much pomp, and the people lifted up the body of Methusalam, and having glorified it, laid it in the grave, which they had made for him, and buried him, and said: 'Blessed was Methusalam before the face of the Lord, and before the face of all people.' 19. When they were about to depart to their own households, Nir said to the people: 'Go quickly now, and bring sheep and heifers, and turtle-doves, and pigeons, and let us offer them before the face of the Lord, and then go to your houses.' 20. And the people listened to Nir the priest, and hastened and brought the victims, and bound them to the head of the altar. 21. And Nir took the sacrificial knife, and slew all the [victims] that were brought, and offered them before the face of the Lord. 22. And all the people rejoiced before the face of the Lord, and glorified on that day the Lord of Nir, the ruler of heaven and earth. From that day there was peace and order over the whole earth in the days of Nir, during 202 years. 23. And then the people turned from God and began to be jealous one of another, and people rebelled against people, and tongue arose against tongue, in reviling. 24. And if lips were the same, hearts chose different things. 25. And then the devil began to reign for the third time, the first time before paradise, the second time in paradise, the third time outside of paradise, he continued (doing so) till the deluge. 26. And there arose a great dispute and confusion. And Nir the priest heard it, and was greatly grieved, and said in his heart, 'In truth I have understood that the time has drawn near, and the end which the Lord spake to Methusalam, the father of my father Lamech.

III. 1. And the wife of Nir, named Sopanima, being barren, brought forth no child to Nir. 2. And Sopanima was in the time of her old age, and on the day of her death she conceived in her womb, and Nir the priest did not sleep with her, nor knew

her from the day that the Lord appointed him to serve before the face of the people. 3. When Sopanima knew of her conception she was ashamed, and felt humbled, and concealed herself all the days, till she brought forth, and no one of the people knew. 4. And when 282 days were accomplished and the day of birth began to draw near, Nir remembered about his wife, and called her to himself in his house, that he might talk to her. 5. And Sopanima came to Nir, her husband, being with child, and the appointed day of the birth was drawing near. 6. And Nir saw her and was very much ashamed, and said to her: 'What hast thou done, wife, and hast shamed me before the face of these people. And now depart from me, and go where thou didst commence the shame of thy womb, so that I defile not my hand upon thee, and sin before the face of the Lord!' 7. And Sopanima spake unto Nir, her husband, saying: 'My lord, lo! the time of my old age, and the day of my death has come (and there was no youth in me) and I do not know when the period of my years is past, and the unfruitfulness of my womb begin.' 8. And Nir did not believe his wife, and said to her a second time: 'Depart from me lest I do thee an injury, and sin before the face of the Lord!' 9. And it came to pass, when Nir had spoken to his wife, Sopanima fell at the feet of Nir, and died. 10. And Nir was very much grieved, and said in his heart: 'Was this from my voice, since a man by his voice and thought sins before the face of the Lord. 11. Now the Lord is merciful to me; I know in truth in my heart, that my hand was not upon her. And so I say: "Glory to thee, oh! Lord, since no one on earth knows this deed, which the Lord has wrought!"' 12. And Nir hastened and shut the doors of the house, and went to Noe, his brother, and told him all, that had happened concerning his wife. 13. And Noe hastened, and came with Nir, his brother, into the house of Nir, on account of the death of Sopanima, and they talked to themselves (and saw) how her womb was at the time of the birth. 14. And Noe said to Nir: 'Let it not be a subject of sorrow to thee, Nir, my brother, that the Lord has to-day concealed our shame because no one of the people knows this. 15. Now let us go quickly, and bring her secretly, and may the Lord hide the ignominy of our shame. 16. And they laid Sopanima on the bed, and they wrapped her with black robes, and shut her in the house ready for burial, and dug a grave in secret. 17. And then came an infant from the dead Sopanima, and sat on the bed at her right hand. And Noe, and Nir entered, and saw the infant sitting by the dead Sopanima

and wiping its clothes. 18. And Noe, and Nir were tempted with a great fear, for the child was complete in its body, like one of three years old; and spake with its lips, and blessed the Lord. 19. And Noe, and Nir gazed upon it; and lo! the seal of the priesthood was on its breast, and it was glorious in countenance. 20. And Noe, and Nir said 'See the Lord renews the consecration according to our blood, as he desires (this is from the Lord, my brother, and the Lord renews the blood of consecration in us).' 21. And Noe and Nir hastened, and washed the child, and clothed it in priestly raiment, and gave it the blessed bread. And it ate. And they called its name Melchizedek. 22. And Noe and Nir took the body of Sopanima, and stripped from her the black robes, and clothed her in very bright robes, and built a church for her (another house—a beautified grave). 23. And Noe, and Nir, and Melchizedek came and buried her publicly. And Noe said to his brother Nir: 'Watch this child in secret till the time, because deceitful people shall arise over all the earth and shall begin to reject God, and having perceived nothing shall put him to death. And then Noe went out to his own place. 24. And great lawlessness began to multiply over the whole earth, in the days of Nir. 25. And Nir began to be very anxious, especially about the child, saying: 'Woe is me, eternal Lord. In my days have begun to multiply all kinds of lawlessness upon the earth, and I understand, how that the end is near unto us more (than ever), and upon all the earth for the lawlessness of the people. 26. And now, Lord, what is the vision, and what is the solution of it, and what shall I do for (the child)?—Will it also go with us to destruction?' 27. And the Lord heard Nir, and appeared to him in a nightly vision, and said to him: 'Nir, I do not endure the great lawlessness that has been on the earth in many things, and lo! I wish now to send a great destruction upon the earth, and every earthly creature shall perish. 28. But do not trouble thyself about the child, Nir, for in a short time I will send my chief captain Michael, and he shall take the child and place him in the paradise of Eden, in the garden where Adam was formerly during a period of seven years, having the heaven always open until the time of his sin. 29. And this child shall not perish with those who perish in this generation, as I have shown, but shall be a holy priest in all things, Melchizedek, and I will appoint him that he may be the chief of the priests who were before (*alia lectio*—that he may be a priest of priests for ever, and I will consecrate him, and will appoint him over the people being made greatly holy). 30. And

Nir rose from his sleep, and blessed the Lord, who had appeared unto him, saying: 'Blessed is the Lord God of my fathers, who has spoken unto me, (*some MSS. add*—who will not allow the depreciation of my priesthood in the priesthood of my fathers, as thy word), who made a great priest in my days in the womb of my wife Sopanima. (*Some MSS. add*—31. Because I had no family and this child shall be to me in the place of my family, and shall be as a son to me, and thou shalt honour him with Thy servants the priests, with Seth, and Enoch, and Tharasidam, Maleleil, and Enos, and thy servant, and thus Melchizedek shall be a priest in another generation. 32. For I know that this generation shall end in confusion, and all shall perish. And Noe, my brother, shall be preserved in that day. 33. And from my race shall rise up many people, and Melchizedek shall be the chief of the priests among the people, ruling alone, serving thee O Lord!) 34. Because I had not another child in this family, who might be a great priest, but this son of mine, and thy servant; and do thou great Lord, on this account honour him with thy servants, and great priests—with Seth, and Enos, and Rusii, and Almilam, and Prasadam, and Maleleil, and Seroch, and Arusan, and Aleem, and Enoch, and Methusalam, and me, thy servant Nir, and Melchizedek shall be the head over twelve priests who lived before, and at last shall be the head over all, (being) the great high priest, the Word of God, and the power to work great and glorious marvels above all that have been. 35. He, Melchizedek, shall be a priest and king in the place Akhuzan, that is to say, in the middle of the earth where Adam was created: there shall at last be his grave. 36. And concerning that chief priest it has been written that he also shall be buried there, where there is the middle of the earth, as Adam buried his son Abel there whom his brother Cain killed, wherefore he lay three years unburied, till he saw a bird called a jackdaw, burying its fledgling. 37. I know that a great confusion has come and this generation shall end in confusion, and all shall perish except that Noe my brother shall be preserved, and afterwards there shall be a planting from his family, and there shall be other people, and another Melchizedek shall be the head of the priests among the people, ruling, and serving the Lord.'

IV. 1. And when the child had been forty days under the roof of Nir, the Lord said to Michael: 'Go down upon the earth to Nir, the priest, and take My child Melchizedek, who is with him,

and place him in the paradise of Eden for preservation, because the time draws nigh, and I will discharge all the water upon the earth, and all that is upon the earth shall perish. 2. (And I will establish another race, and Melchizedek shall be the chief of the priests, in that family, just as Seth is to me in this family¹.)

3. And Michael hastened, and came by night, and Nir was sleeping in his bed. And Michael appeared to him, and said to him: 'The Lord says unto thee, Nir: "Send the child to me; I entrusted him to thee."' 4. And Nir did not know that the chief captain Michael was speaking to him, and his heart was confused, and he said: 'If the people know about the child, and take him, they will slay him. For the heart of this people is crafty before the face of the Lord. And Nir said to him who spoke to him 'The child is not with me, and I do not know who thou art, who art speaking to me.'

5. And he who was speaking to me answered: 'Be not afraid, Nir, I am the chief captain of the Lord. The Lord hath sent me, and lo! I will take thy child to-day, and will go with him, and will place him in the paradise of Eden, and there shall he be for ever. 6. And when the twelfth generation shall be, and a thousand and seventy years shall be, in that generation a just man shall be born, and the Lord shall tell him to come out upon that mountain where the ark of thy brother Noe shall stand, and he shall find there another Melchizedek who has lived there seven years, concealing himself from the people who worship idols, so that they should not slay him, and he shall lead him forth and he shall be priest, and the first king in the town of Salem after the fashion of this Melchizedek, the commencement of the priests. And 3432 years shall be fulfilled till that time from the beginning and creation of Adam. 7. And from that Melchizedek there shall be twelve priests in number till the great Igumen, that is to say leader, who shall bring forth all things visible and invisible.

8. And Nir understood his first dream, and believed it, and having answered Michael, he said: 'Blessed is the Lord, who has glorified thee to-day to me, and now bless thy servant Nir, as we are drawing near our departure from this world, and take the child, and do unto him as the Lord hath spoken unto thee. 9. And Michael took the child on that night on which he came, and took him on his wings, and placed him in the paradise of Eden. 10. And Nir having risen on the following day, went to his house, and did not find the child, and there was instead of joy very great sorrow, because he had no other son except this (*alia lectio*—because he

¹ Clearly a variant of iii. 37.

looked upon this child in the place of a son). 11. So died Nir, and after him there was no priest among the people. And from that time a great confusion arose on the earth.

V. 1. And God called Noe on the mountain of Ararat, between Assyria, and Armenia, in the land of Arabia, by the sea, and said to him: 'Make there an ark of 300 ells in length, and in breadth 50 ells, and in height 30, and two stories in the midst, and the doors about an ell. 2. And of those 300 ells, and of ours 15,000, and so of those 50, and of ours 2000 and 500, and so of those 30, and of ours 900, and of those one ell, and of ours 50.' 3. According to this number the Jews keep this measure of the ark of Noe, as the Lord said to him, and (so) they make each measure, and each rule even up to the present time. 4. The Lord God opened the doors of the heavens, and rain came on the earth 150 days, and all flesh died. 5. Noe was in the 500th year and begat three sons: Shem, Ham, and Japhet. 6. 100 years after the birth of his three sons, he went into the ark in the month according to the Hebrew Itsars, according to the Egyptian Famenoth in eighteen days. 7. And the ark floated forty days. And altogether they were in the ark 120 days. 8. And he went into the ark, being 600 years (old), and in the sixth hundred and first year of his life he went out of the ark in the month Farmut according to the Egyptians, and according to the Hebrews Nisan about twenty-eight days. 9. Then he lived 250 years, and died; he lived altogether 950 years according [to the will of] the Lord our God, to him be glory from the beginning, and now, and to the end of the world. Amen. 10. Enoch was altogether 365 years old.

11. In another way it is written here concerning Noah's ark. Of their 300 ells, and of ours 15,000, of theirs 100, and of ours 5000: of theirs 20, and of ours 1000; of theirs 10, and of ours 500: of theirs 5, and of ours 250: of theirs 1, and of ours 50! This is the truth spoken.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE PHOENIXES.

WHEN I wrote the note on the Phoenixes in XII. 1 I was not aware that mention of a class of these birds was to be found elsewhere. I have, however, since found in Dr. Kohler's article on 'The pre-Talmudic Haggada' (*Jewish Quarterly*, 1893, pp. 399-419) a quotation from an old Essene Mishna—*Massecheth Derech Eretz*—in which it is said that 'the generation of the bird מלרם' went alive into Paradise. This bird Dr. Kohler identifies with the Phoenix. The question is discussed in the *Alphabetum Siracidis* edited by Steinschneider, 1858, p. 28^b.

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The Music of Angels in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art

AMY GILLETTE

Barnes Foundation, Research and Education

Many Byzantine writers who offered metaphorical interpretations of the liturgy believed that angels and humans shared the space of the church, together filling it with psalmody.¹ This belief was reified primarily in the Late and Post-Byzantine periods, in personal and communal icons, in liturgical objects employed in the service, and in monumental paintings that decorated the interiors of churches.² Even some church soundscapes were designed to help human hymns sound angelic.³ To date, however, there is no single survey of Orthodox scenes of angels' song.⁴ The absence is striking because music-making angels in contemporaneous Western art have been the subject of

¹ The *Historia Monachorum* (c. 410) attested this longstanding belief: "The church assembly should resemble the choirs of angels, imitating the celestial armies by endlessly singing hymns and praises of God" (PL 16, 724). Also: J. Pelikan, "The Great Chain of Images: A Cosmology of Icons," in *Imago Dei: The Byzantine Apologia for Icons* (Princeton, 1990), p. 173.

² For churches, most of which were newly built for monastic use: I. Stefanescu, *L'Illustration des liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient* (Brussels, 1936): 176. For the liturgy: E. Peterson, *The Angels and the Liturgy* (Darton, 1964) and H. Schultz, *Byzantine Liturgy: Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression* (New York, 1986).

³ For sonic effects: S. Gerstel, "Monastic Soundscapes in Late Byzantium: The Art and Act of Chanting," in *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound*, ed. S. Boynton and D. Reilly (Boston, 2015).

⁴ The following are excellent resources for the depiction of liturgical song in Byzantine churches, but do not engage specifically with angels: the chapters "Psaumes liturgiques illustres" and "Hymnes et tropaires illustres" in Stefanescu 1936, pp. 171-176 and 176-184; N. Moran, *Singers and Setting in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting* (Leiden, 1986).



Figure 1 *Angel-Clergy Perform the Great Entrance, Peribleptos Church, Mystras, 1370s.*
Photo: E. Bolman.

considerable art-historical and musicological scholarship, and indeed the most prominent Orthodox examples were created in places exposed in varying degrees to Western images, e.g., Serbia, Mystras, Crete, Thessaloniki, and Mount Athos. The various incidences of musical angels—Latin and Orthodox—reveal that patrons and artists purposefully negotiated angelological and idiomatic subtleties across creed, time, and space. To depict angels at all was complicated because they were thought to be

incorporeal.⁵ To depict them singing was even more so, because they were technically silent as well.⁶

Yet since Late Antiquity, liturgical and theological texts had asserted that, in spite of angels' ineffability, the nine orders thereof (in varying capacities) could and often did bridge the realms of heaven and earth.⁷ The Divine (Eucharistic) Liturgy connected angelology with the physical fabric of churches, conceived as a series of performative spaces forming a microcosm of Paradise. For example, in the Little Entrance (the procession of the Book of Gospels to the altar), the priest implored God to have the angels serving in heaven to join him and the faithful on earth.⁸ Maximos the Confessor (d. 662), Germanos I of Constantinople (d. 733), Philotheos Kokkinos (d. 1379), Nicholas Kabasilas (d. c. 1392), Symeon of Thessaloniki (d. 1429), etc., described further tangent moments enacted by angels and humanity during the Divine Liturgy, notably the consecration of the Eucharistic gifts and the performance of the *Trisagion* (Sanctus) hymn.⁹ In the course of discussing such phenomena, these and other writers

⁵ See Pelikan 1990 and G. Peers, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium* (Berkeley, 2001).

⁶ Theodore the Studite, for example, described the "secret silence of their hymns of triumph, with which they praise the ineffable mystery," *Orations* VI.1 ("On the Holy Angels"), PG 99: 732, trans. in Pelikan 1990, p. 175.

⁷ Most Byzantine and medieval theologians accepted the nine angelic orders that the Pseudo-Dionysius (fl. c. 500) described in his *Celestial Hierarchy*, in descending order: seraphim, cherubim, thrones, virtues, dominations, powers, principalities, archangels, and angels. See G. Podskalsky and A. Cutler, "Angel," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford, 2005). [Oxford Reference Online](#).

⁸ M. Mudrak, "Kazimir Malevich and the Liturgical Tradition of Eastern Christianity," in *Byzantium/Modernism: The Byzantine as Method in Modernity*, ed. R. Betancourt and M. Taroutina (Leiden, 2015), pp. 46-7.

⁹ N.B. The later authors persistently engaged or even copied the earlier authors (e.g., the Divine Liturgy of Chrysostom remained normative through the Byzantine period, and Symeon of Thessaloniki worked in the Dionysian tradition).

examined the nature and scope of angelic liminality. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (fl. c. 500) proposed that “angels are heralds of the Divine silence, and project, as it were, luminous lights revealing Him Who is in secret.”¹⁰ John of Damascus (d. 749) wrote that they “take different forms at the bidding of...God, and thus reveal themselves to men and unveil the divine mysteries to them.”¹¹ On the authority of Symeon of Thessaloniki: “The souls of the saints reside above with the angels, and together with them they keep watch around us, dwelling within our churches.”¹²

One way to think about Byzantine and Post-Byzantine scenes of hymning angels is that they revealed a spiritual reality that the most-elevated could see and hear mystically, but not physically. Yet to depict their sound of silence proposed an exoteric interpretation of liturgical texts and the angelological ideas that they encompassed.¹³ The liminal capacity of angels meant that these spiritual beings mediated, rather than simply paralleled, the liturgies of heaven and earth. Further, angels, icons, and human beings were all considered (from at least the Middle Byzantine period) to be “imprints”

¹⁰ Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *On the Divine Names*, IV.2 in *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, trans. Colm Luibheid (New York, 1987), p. 73.

¹¹ John of Damascus, “Concerning Angels,” *Exposition on the Orthodox Faith*, II.3, trans. F. C. Chase (Washington, D.C., 1958), p. 208.

¹² Symeon of Thessaloniki, *Dialogue* 296B, quoted in N. Constan, “Symeon of Thessaloniki and the Theology of the Icon Screen,” in *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, ed. Sharon Gerstel (Washington, D.C., 2006), p. 170 n. 27.

¹³ Regarding the exoteric agency of angel images, Henry Maguire stated: “For the most part, then, Byzantine art was more circumspect [than] Byzantine literature with respect to the depiction of emotion. But there was one curious exception to this rule, in which the artists were bolder than the writers, namely in the frequent portrayals of angels displaying emotion. In Byzantine art, angels displayed both joy and grief.” In “The Asymmetry of Text and Image in Byzantium,” *Perspectives Médiévales* 38 (2017), p. 17.

or manifestations of God, metaphysically and existentially linked by the purpose of praising him.¹⁴ Therefore images of angels' song were not passive indices of belief, but rather active forces of engagement, which opened the door to heaven and enticed human beings into spiritually joining their liturgy.

I will first establish the set of hymns that angels were shown to sing in various types of sacred art—monumental and small, fixed and portable. Because the images date almost exclusively to the Late and Post-Byzantine periods, I will restrict my discussion thereto.¹⁵ In order to analyze the images, I will employ statements concerning angels and their hymns in angelological, mystagogical, and liturgical texts. A selection thereof, both early and late, signals that the fundamental precepts about angels' song remained consistent relative to the dramatization of their images and associated aspects of the liturgy. I will then propose some ways in which scenes featuring the *Cherubikon* and *Trisagion* hymns exerted pastoral power both mystically and ethically in their role as icons of the Divine Liturgy, for which they were often a

¹⁴ John of Damascus, *Orations on the Holy Icons*, PG 94: 1337-44; trans. in Pelikan 1990, p. 175.

¹⁵ The Second Council of Nicaea (787) posed problems for depicting the purely spiritual phenomenon of the angelic liturgy by basing the validity of icons on their faithful rendition of the prototype. Still, this council did legitimize angels *per se*, on the basis of their scriptural appearances. Early exceptions include the Riha and Stuma *rhipidia* (c. 577). C. Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (London, 1982), pp. 218-19; W. Woodfin, "Celestial Hierarchies and Earthly Hierarchies in the Art of the Byzantine Church" in *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. Stephenson (New York, 2010), pp. 311-13. For Post-Byzantine art: E. Spratt, "Toward a Definition of Post-Byzantine Art," *Record of the Princeton University Art Museum* (2014), pp. 3-19, who wrote that it adhered to or promoted the doctrinal tenets of Orthodoxy and often witnessed East-West interactions.

synecdoche.¹⁶ Two ways to consider these icons' vectors of expression and consequence are a comparison to contemporaneous Western images, especially with reference to the depiction of musical instruments and angelic joy as well as the visual and verbal representation of angelic multiplicity as a sanctifying act.

Angelic Hymns in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art: A Survey

A survey of Late and Post-Byzantine images—selected from sites across the Orthodox world—reveals angels singing hymns designated as “angelic” by scriptural or liturgical authority, in objects and spaces involved in the performance of hymns. The two most prominently displayed, the *Cherubikon* and *Trisagion*, derived from the seraphic cry of Isaiah 6:1-3: “I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne...above it stood the seraphim... And one cried unto another, and said, ‘Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory.’” The *Cherubikon* opened with the words “We who mystically represent the cherubim and who sing the thrice-holy hymn,” and the *Trisagion*, “Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of hosts. Heaven and earth are full of your glory.”¹⁷ These hymns were sung sequentially during the Divine Liturgy: the *Cherubikon* during the Great Entrance (the procession of the Eucharistic gifts to the altar), in which

¹⁶ The earliest known picture of the Celestial Liturgy modeled on the Great Entrance is the cupola of the Panagia Olympiotissa at Elasson, Greece (c. 1294-1304). Also: Walter 1982, pp. 217-21; Woodfin 2012, pp. 122-24; G. Millet, *Monuments de l’Athos*, I (Paris, 1927), plates 64, 1; 118, 2-3; 219, 3; 256, 2; 257, 2; 261, 1-2; Stefanescu 1936, pp. 71ff., 189-90, and plates XXIX, 1-2; XXX, 1-2; LV; I. Spatharakis, “Representations of the Great Entrance in Crete” in *Studies in Byzantine Manuscript Illumination and Iconography* (London, 2006), p. 293 n.2.

¹⁷ R. Taft, “Cheroubikon” and “Trisagion,” in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (ODB) (Oxford, 2005).

the clergy presented as spiritual representatives or icons of the angels; and the *Trisagion* during the consecration rites, proclaiming the fusion of the human and angelic communities.¹⁸



Figure 2 *Great Entrance / Divine Liturgy*, Peribleptos Church, Mystra, 1370s.
Photo: After No. XXVIII in J. D. Stefanescu, *L'Illustration des Liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient* (Brussels, 1936), p. 74.

A multitude of frescoes depicted the Great Entrance, and explicitly or implicitly the *Cherubikon* (e.g., the central dome of the Gračanica Church, after 1320; the *prothesis* chamber of the Peribleptos Church in Mystras, c. 1370s; the sanctuary apse of Markov Manastir, 1370-1372) demonstrating the mystical union between human and angel clergy (**Figs. 1, 2, 3**).¹⁹ The Mystras fresco, for example, shows angel-deacons bearing veiled patens on their heads followed by angel-priests with veiled chalices, singing

¹⁸ The *Trisagion* hymn is ascribed to St. Proclus (446), Archbishop of Constantinople. It calls for the joining of the angels with the community of the faithful through baptism as an invitation for participating in the greater feast days of the church. In addition to Taft 2005, see M. Mudrak, "Kazimir Malevich and the Liturgical Tradition of Eastern Christianity," in *Byzantium/Modernism* 2015, p. 41 n. 12.

¹⁹ M. T. Djurić, "To Picture and to Perform: The Image of the Eucharistic Liturgy at Markov Manastir," *Zograf* 38 (2014), p. 131 (123-140). At Markov Manastir, the images of Bishops Basil and Gregory carry scrolls inscribed with the *Cherubikon*.

“Holy, Holy, Holy” as they approach the priestly Christ at the canopied altar.²⁰ This hymn also figured in *epitaphioi*, enormous Eucharistic veils used during the Great



Figure 3 *Divine Liturgy*, central dome, Gračanica Church, Serbia, after 1320. Photo: http://www.srpskoblog.org/Archives/Gracanica/exhibits/digital/dome/dome-3_s.html

Entrance.²¹ Symeon of Thessaloniki explained the meaning of these veils: “The deacons [come in the Great Entrance] one after another who have the order of the angels...carrying over their head the sacred great veil which has the depiction of

²⁰ There is an inscription from the liturgy in this space, and the angels follow liturgical directions: e.g., Symeon of Thessaloniki, *Contra haereses*, PG 155, 340. For frescoes: Spatharakis 2006, pp. 293-335, esp. pp. 294-299.

²¹ See S. Ćurčić, “Late Byzantine *Loca Sancta*? Some Questions Regarding the Form and Function of *Epitaphioi*” in *The Twilight of Byzantium*, eds. S. Ćurčić and D. Mouriki (Princeton, 1991), pp. 251-261; H. Schilb, “Singing, Crying, Shouting, and Saying: Embroidered *Epitaphioi* and the Sounds of the Byzantine Liturgy” in *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound*, ed. S. Boynton and D. Reilly (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 167-187.

of Jesus naked and dead.”²² Thus the central panel of the famous Thessaloniki *epitaphios* (c. 1300) portrays seraphim, cherubim, and thrones singing “Holy, Holy, Holy,” while two angel-deacons wave *rhipidia* (liturgical fans) over Christ’s prone body (Fig. 4).²³

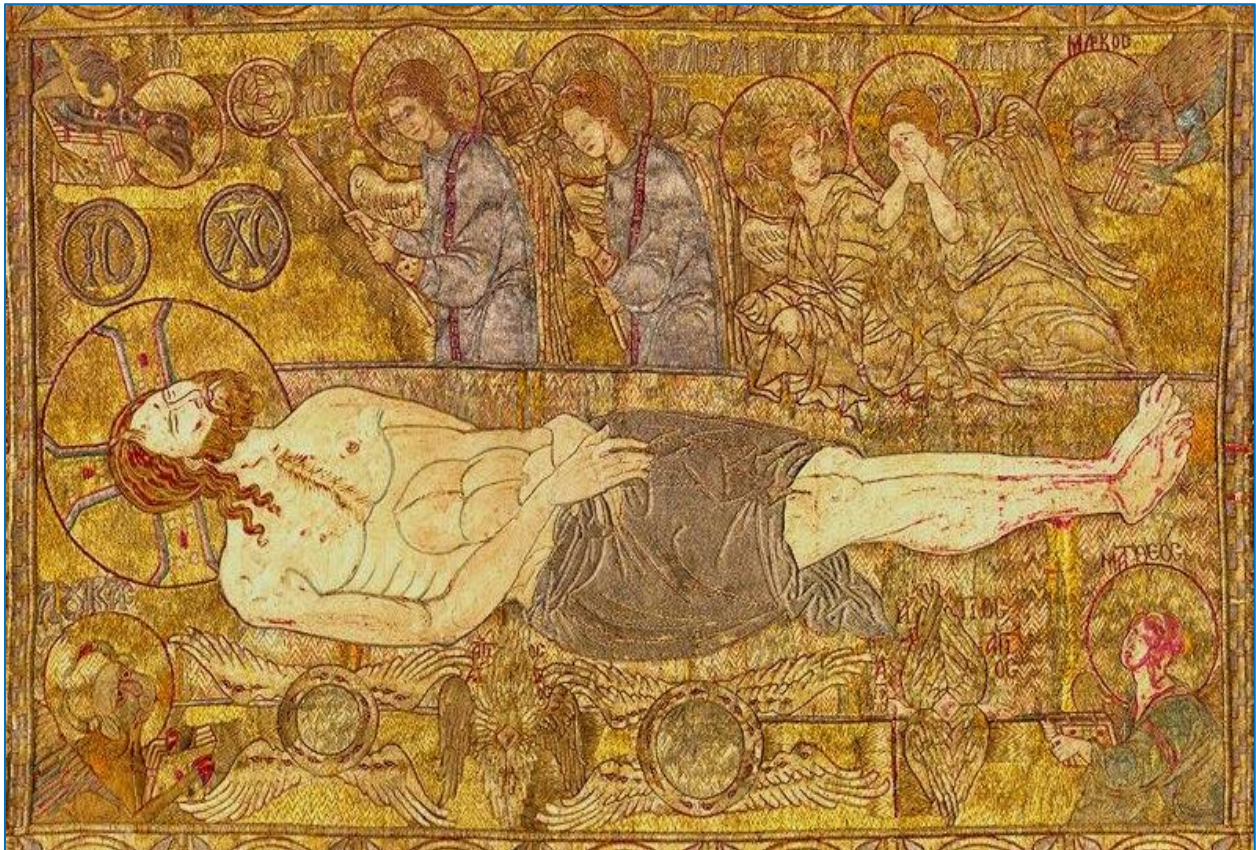


Figure 4 Thessaloniki *epitaphios*, c. 1300 (detail). Photo: ArtStor.

²² Symeon of Thessaloniki, “Explanation of the Divine Temple” in *The Liturgical Commentaries*, ed. and trans. by S. Hawkes-Teeple (Toronto, 2011), p. 127. The *Cherubikon* is translated in R. Taft, *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Rome, 1975), pp. 54-55.

²³ W. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon: Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium*. (Oxford, 2012), p. 125; Roland Betancourt, “The Thessaloniki Epitaphios: Notes on Use and Context,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 55:2 (2015): pp. 489-535; S. Gerstel and A. Antonaras, “Between Heaven and Earth: Views of Byzantine Thessaloniki” in *Viewing Greece: Cultural and Political Agency in the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean* (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 87-111.

Figure 5 *Rhipidion*, Zographou Monastery, Mount Athos, 1468. Photo: after cat. no. 69 in H. Evans, ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power 1261-1557* (New York, 2004), p. 133.



Pictures of the highest triad of angels—the seraphim, cherubim, and thrones—were portrayed in direct proximity to the Godhead and hymning the *Trisagion* in *ornamenta* related to the consecration of the Eucharistic Host. Among these were *rhipidia* such as a pair given in 1468 to the Zographou Monastery on Mount Athos by Stephen the Great of Moldavia, d. 1504). The liturgist Nicholas of Andida (fl. late 1000s) remarked that “the *rhipidia*...are as a type of the Cherubim” because deacons would

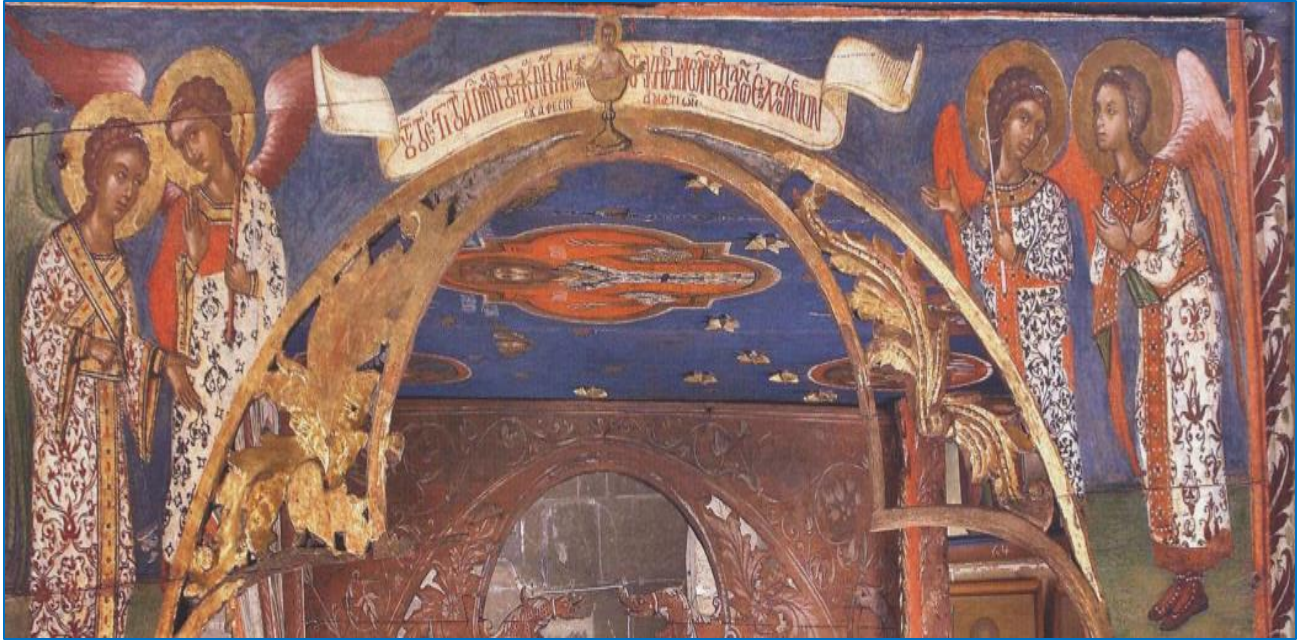
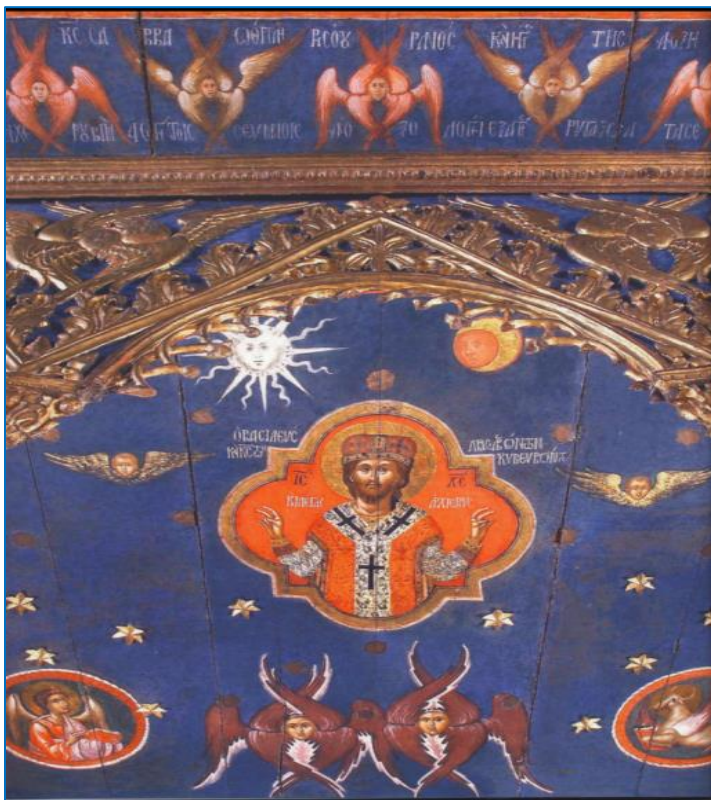


Figure 6 *Angel-Deacons / Divine Liturgy, ciborium of St. Mamas, Morphou, Cyprus, c. 1500. Photo: E. Bolman.*



imitate the beating wings of the endlessly chanting angels by waving them over the exposed Host; scenes of the Divine Liturgy frequently show angel-deacons wielding (*rhipidia* decorated with cherubim or seraphim (e.g., the Thessaloniki *epitaphios*, the central dome of the Gračanica Church, and the *bema* of the Studenica Church, 1314).²⁴ The Studenica fresco and another at St. Neophytos in Paphos (15th century) further highlighted the liturgical convergence of the *Trisagion*, ministering angels, *rhipidia*, and deacons by inscribing the words “Holy, Holy, Holy” on the angel-deacons’ *oraiai* (**Fig. 7**).²⁵ Images of angels chanting the *Trisagion* were, indeed, also deployed on the superstructures (symbolizing heaven) of sacred architecture, both monumental and miniature. Examples include the central dome of Gračanica Church, and the roof of the sixteenth-century ciborium of St. Mamas in Morphou, Cyprus (**Figs. 3, 5, 6**).²⁶ On the Morphou ciborium, Christ as “king of kings and priest of priests” is framed by a barbed quatrefoil and wreathed by seraphim, cherubim, and thrones on the ceiling plus a further band of seraphim in the cornice. The latter are accompanied by two inscriptions,

²⁴ Nicholas of Andida, *Protheoria*, PG, 140, 426, 440, and 442. Also see Walter 1982, p. 220 and Woodfin 2012, p. 7.

²⁵ There are illustrations of angel-deacons wearing *oraia* with the *Trisagion* inscribed? at, e.g., the Studenica monastery in Serbia (1314) and the Dochiariou Monastery of Mount Athos (sixteenth century). The depiction of angel-priests was legitimized by Psalm 103, “Bless the Lord, you his angels...you ministers of his, that do his pleasure.” Yet angel-priests did not join angel-deacons until the Late Byzantine period, a relatively late development apparently because the ancient mystagogical tradition and, from the twelfth century, frescoes and vestments made it clear that the celebrant was Christ’s icon on earth. For celebrant ministers acting *in persona Christi*: Symeon of Thessaloniki, *Expositio de divinotemplo*, PG 155, 709. Woodfin 2012, p. 313.

²⁶ For the *rhipidia*: A. Ballian, “Liturgical Implements,” in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, ed. H. C. Evans (New York, 2004), pp. 132-133. For Gračanica: S. Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans from Diocletian to Suleyman the Magnificent* (New Haven, 2010), p. 666. For the Morphou ciborium: E. Bolman, “Painting Heaven: The Art of the Liturgy” in *The Canopy of Heaven: The Ciborium in the Church of St. Mamas, Morphou*, ed. M. Jones and A. M. Jones (Nicosia, 2010), pp. 135-165.



Figure 7 Angel-deacons with the *Trisagion* on their *oraia*: Studenica Monastery, Serbia, 1314 (left); St. Neophytos, Paphos, Cyprus, 15th century (right). Photo: <https://kb.osu.edu/handle/1811/40937?show=full> (left); E. Bolman (right).

the *Trisagion* plus the exclamation: “The incorporeal nature, the cherubim, glorify you with ceaseless hymns! The six-winged creatures, the seraphim, exalt you with endless voices!”²⁷ Facing outward from its spandrels, four sweet-looking angel-deacons

²⁷ Bolman 2010, p. 143. It seems to me that the lower angelic orders were presented as actively engaging with the upper ones as remote, because the nine orders conventionally mapped human spiritual ascent via a ladder of purification, illumination, and *theosis*. Pseudo-Dionysius established the persistent analogy of this process to the clergy’s roles in the liturgy: “The holy sacraments bring about purification, illumination, and perfection. The deacons perform the order which purifies. The priests constitute the order which gives illumination. And the

promote decorous angelic behavior—as a means of ensuring sacramental efficacy—by arresting the viewer’s attention, pointing to the Host, and modeling a gesture of veneration.²⁸

Other angelic hymns included the doxology *Glory to God in the Heavens*, by which angels are shown proclaiming the Nativity as described in Luke 2:14; Marian hymns including parts of the *Akathistos* and John of Damascus’s *In Thee, Rejoiceth*; and the Psalms of Praise.²⁹ Byzantine Christmas hymns centered on the angelic doxology of Luke’s Nativity story. The Athonite monk Dionysius of Fournia (d. after 1744), in his painter’s manual of traditional iconographies for sacred art, instructed for scenes of the Nativity: “Above the cave [of Christ’s birth] a crowd of angels...hold a scroll with [the angelic doxology].”³⁰ A sixteenth-century icon of the Nativity at the Barnes Foundation (BF362), made on Crete for personal devotion, presents in the upper portion of the scene “a multitude of the heavenly host praising God” (Luke 2:13) (**Fig. 8**). The banderoles held by the angels peering over the clouds record their hymn of praise (Luke 2:14):

hierarchs, living in conformity with God, make up the order which perfects” Pseudo-Dionysius 1987, p. 248; see N. Costans, “Symeon of Thessaloniki and the Theology of the Icon Screen,” in *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, ed. Sharon Gerstel (Washington, D.C., 2006), pp. 166-168, for Late Byzantine reiterations of this analogy. That is, depictions of the “minister” or messenger angels were bound to be more demonstrative than the “assistants” whose cosmological locus was singing endlessly around the heavenly altar.

²⁸ The angels, archangels, and principalities “preside, through each other, over the Hierarchies amongst men, in order that the elevation, and conversion, and communion, and union with God may be in due order. [...] The first rank of the Heavenly Beings [seraphim, cherubim, and thrones]...encircle and stand immediately around God; and without interruption, dances round His eternal knowledge in the most exalted ever-moving stability.” Pseudo-Dionysius, *Celestial Hierarchy*, III.1-2 and IX.2.

²⁹ See F. E. Brightman, ed., *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford, 1896), p. 385.

³⁰ Dionysius of Fournia, *The Painter’s Manual of Dionysius of Fournia*, trans. Paul Hetherington (London, 1974), p. 32 (Nativity).



Figure 8 Icon of the Nativity, 16th Century, The Barnes Foundation (BF362).
Photo: collection.barnesfoundation.org.

“Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men” (“Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς / εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας”).³¹ Slight variations on this iconography are the frescoed Nativity scenes on the vaults of the Holy Apostles Church in Thessaloniki (early- to mid-1300s) and the Dochiariou Monastery of Mount Athos (1568), both of which bear inscriptions stating that the angels sing (**Fig. 9**).³²

The Marian hymns *Akathistos* (sung in full on the fifth Saturday of Lent) and *In Thee, Rejoiceth* (*Epi soichairei*, sung after the transubstantiation of the Mass of St. Basil) honored Mary as Mother of God. Images of the seventh stanza of the *Akathistos* (which announced, “Rejoice, for the things of Heaven rejoice with the earth. Rejoice, the things of earth join chorus with the Heavens”) and of the *In Thee, Rejoiceth* (sung by “all creation, the assemblies of angels, and the race of man”) accordingly reiterated or mutated the iconography of the Nativity, including the incorporation of armies of angels to celebrate the Incarnation.³³ For the seventh *Akathistos* stanza, Dionysius of

³¹ The icon’s setting and figures derived from a Nativity fresco of c. 1370-1380 in the Peribleptos Church in Mystras, via its copies in earlier Cretan icons such as the “Volpi Nativity” in the Andreadis collection (c. 1400-1425). The Barnes icon differs from these in depicting the Virgin as kneeling instead of reclining, a posture that Cretan painters (e.g., Nikolaos Tzafouris, fl. 1487-1501) adapted after c. 1450 from Italian images.

³² For inscriptions: the following can be deciphered at the Dochiariou: “hoi angeloi...ton ouranon hymnon”; for the Holy Apostles: S. Gerstel, “Monastic Soundscapes in Late Byzantium” in *Resounding Images*, ed. S. Boynton and D. Reilly. Turnhout, 2015), p. 143. G. Galvaris mentioned that the angel choirs in a twelfth-century Nativity icon from Sinai “express the joy which fills the Christmas liturgy” in the *kontakion* “Rejoice, universe, when you hear it heralded: with the angels and shepherds, glorify him,” in “Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century,” in *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery*, ed. K. Manifis (Athens, 1990), p. 101.

³³ For the *Akathistos*: Moran 1986, pp. 93-94; E. Wellesz, “The Akathistos Hymn,” *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae Transcripta* 9 (Copenhagen, 1957), xx-xxxiii, with an edition of the text, pp. lxviii-lxxx. This hymn was composed in the fifth century, but not portrayed in fresco until the late thirteenth. For *In Thee, Rejoiceth*: Moran 1986, p. 100, 135. This hymn is attributed to John of Damascus. Also see Stefanescu 1936, pp. 177-180, specifying, “Les anges chantant l’hymne.”

Fournas instructed simply, “Everything as for the Nativity of Christ.”³⁴ One example of many is a fresco in the bema of Markov Manastir, c. 1380.³⁵ Icons and frescoes of the *In Thee, Rejoiceth* (e.g., by the Cretan artist Giorgios Klontzas in the 1500s) visualized said angels and men rejoicing in the Virgin by enthroning her and the Christ Child within concentric rings or simply swarms of the nine angelic orders plus members of the human faithful, including John of Damascus, to whom the hymn is attributed (**Fig. 10**).³⁶



Figure 9 *Doxology* (Nativity), Dochiariou Monastery, Mt. Athos, 1500s. Photo: Millet, no. 210.

Figure 10 Giorgios Klontzas, *In Thee, Rejoiceth* (detail), 1500s. Photo: <http://art-in-space.blogspot.com/2018/06/georgios-klontzas-all-creation-rejoices.html>.

³⁴ Dionysius of Fournas, *The Painter's Manual of Dionysius of Fournas*, trans. P. Hetherington (London, 1974), p. 51 (*Akathistos*).

³⁵ N. Ševčenko, “Icons in the Liturgy,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991), p. 48; A. Patzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos: Die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1989).

³⁶ Moran 1986, p. 135.

The Psalms of Praise (Ps. 148-50), too, were sung for the Divine Office with the same doxology, and were sometimes graced by Alleluias and the *Trisagion* as exultant refrains.³⁷ A fourteenth-century cycle in the Lesnovo Church in Macedonia shows this ceremony initiated by Christ in a vault amidst angels (**Fig. 11**).³⁸ Although they do not physically appear to be singing, Dionysius of Fournas' manual again affirmed this act by prescribing Christ and the nine choirs of angels, with the top triad saying "Holy,



Figure 11 *Psalms of Praise* (148-50), Lesnovo Church, Macedonia, 1300s.
Photo: Wikimedia Commons

³⁷ R. Taft, "Trisagion" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, edited by A. Kazhdan (Oxford, 1991).

³⁸ Moran 1986, p. 89, 119. The complete unit came to be known as the *Pasa pnoe* ("Let everything that has breath praise the Lord").

Holy, Holy” and the rest making pronouncements of glory.³⁹

The Divine Liturgy

The images just noted concretized the performance of angelic hymns in objects and spaces that promoted their mystical concelebration. In so doing, these works of art deputized the liminal role of real angels in the liturgy. And liturgy — so often a bridge between form and meaning — was a direct and vital artery to gaining the bliss promised by depictions of angels’ song. From here, I will focus on scenes featuring the *Cherubikon* and *Trisagion* (again, sung successively during the procession of the Eucharistic gifts to the altar and then their consecration) because they visually embodied the doctrine by which the liturgies of heaven and earth coincided, i.e., they functioned explicitly as icons of the Divine Liturgy. The pictures imaged forth the themes of concelebration leading to *theosis* that were vocalized by these hymns.⁴⁰ Both hymns had melodic components suggesting the sonic quality of angels’ song, to the extent that human voices could evoke their “secret sounds” by means of continuities layered with silences.⁴¹

³⁹ Dionysius of Fournia 1974, p. 45.

⁴⁰ For the Great Entrance, I rely on Taft’s translation of the *Cherubikon* and the general course of events, crafted from a series of liturgical manuscripts (both Basil and Chrysostom) and mystagogical treatises. Taft listed his sources on pages xxvii-xxxix of *The Great Entrance*, 1975.

⁴¹ See L. Steenbridge, “We Who Musically Represent the Cherubim” in *Acoustic Architecture: Music, Acoustics, and Ritual*, ed. B. Pentcheva (New York, 2018), pp. 143-162.

The entire Divine Liturgy, likewise, transpired as a sequence of veiling and unveiling, shifting between spiritual and physical realms while moving through spaces of greater or lesser sanctity. For the Great Entrance, priests and deacons sang the *Cherubikon* to themselves as they prepared the Eucharistic gifts and commemorated the angels and saints in the *prothesis* (the northeast chamber of the sanctuary), while a deacon swung his censer.⁴² This liturgical event constituted a shift of mode and tone within the celebration, transfiguring the clergy as surrogates of the angelic orders while delivering the angels into the physical world.⁴³ The hymn intoned:

We who mystically represent the cherubim and sing the thrice-holy hymn...let us lay aside all worldly care to receive the King of All escorted unseen by the angelic hierarchy. Alleluia. [...]
Let all mortal flesh be silent, and stand in fear and trembling...for the King of Kings and Lord of Lords comes forth to be slain and given as food to the faithful. The choirs of angels go before him, with all the principalities and powers, the many-eyed cherubim and six-winged seraphim, faces covered, and proclaiming the hymn: Alleluia!
Now the powers of heaven worship with us unseen, for behold the King of Glory enters... In faith and love let us approach in order to become sharers in eternal life. Alleluia.⁴⁴

Then these clergy members processed the gifts through the nave, still singing. They met the celebrant at the doors of the iconostasis, from where he took the gifts to the altar, and said the silent consecration prayer invoking “thousands of archangels and myriads of angels, with the cherubim and six-winged seraphim, many-eyed, sublime,

⁴² Taft 1975, pp. 3-10, for the general order of events.

⁴³ Mudrak in *Byzantium/Modernism*, p. 45 n. 18.

⁴⁴ Translated in Taft 1975, pp. 54-55.

winged...singing, crying, exclaiming the hymn of victory."⁴⁵ At this point, the human faithful proclaimed this hymn of victory, the *Trisagion*, with the angels:⁴⁶

It is very meet, right and befitting...that we should...sing unto you...O Lord...of all creation, visible and invisible...to serve you and pour forth an unceasing hymn of glory: angels and archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, powers and virtues, and the many-eyed cherubim praise you; about you stand the seraphim...crying one unto another, with continuing voice unstilled songs of praise...exclaiming: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts: heaven and earth are full of your glory."⁴⁷

The singers' voices seemed to mingle in the dome as a point of connectivity between earth and heaven, intimating future bliss. Maximos the Confessor commented on this human-angelic harmony: "The unceasing and sanctifying doxology by the holy angels in the *Trisagion* signifies...the equality in the way of life and conduct and the harmony in the divine praising which will take place in the age to come by both heavenly and earthly powers."⁴⁸ Kabasilas reiterated this doctrine in the present tense:

Angels and men form one Church, a single choir because of the coming of Christ who is both of heaven and earth. That is why we sing [the *Trisagion*] after the procession of the Gospel, thus proclaiming that by coming among us, Christ has placed us with the angels and established us

⁴⁵ Stefanescu 1936, pp. 82-83 (Anaphora Prayer of St. Basil); Laurent, *Le rituel de la proskomide*, p. 129 (commemoration of angels).

⁴⁶ Taft 1975, pp. 79-80.

⁴⁷ Taft, "Trisagion," in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford, 2005). [Oxford Reference Online](#).

⁴⁸ Maximos the Confessor, *Maximos Confessor: Selected Writings*, ed. George C. Berthold (New York, 1985), p. 207. Cf. Kabasilas, "The Thrice-holy Hymn has been taken in part from the angels, and in part from Book of Psalms by the Prophet David; it was made into one hymn by the Church of Christ and dedicated to the Holy Trinity...in order to show both the harmony of the Old Testament with the New, and that angels and men form one Church and one choir." In *Nicholas Cabasilas: A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, trans. J.M. Hussey and P.A. McNulty (London, 1960), p. 60.

amid the angelic choirs.⁴⁹

Throughout the ceremony—as noted above—images of angels following these liturgical rubrics could be seen in frescoes and on other objects, performing the requisite hymns. Such images revealed their status of sublime versions of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the power of communion to elevate the faithful to their ranks, and their actual presence. Consecration converted their Eucharistic gifts into the body and blood of Christ to sanctify the faithful, who (according to Nicholas Kabasilas) “gain...the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven, and similar good things.”⁵⁰ Late Antique theologians like Chrysostom determined that, when the priest presented the sacrifice, the angels physically entered the church: “Angels surround the priest; the whole sanctuary and the space around the altar are filled with the heavenly hosts, worshipping him who lies upon the altar.”⁵¹ Symeon of Thessaloniki, also described the sanctuary as a space for angels and officiating priests.⁵² Hence the dome of Gračnica portrays “myriads” of angels, presided over by a seraph holding *rhypidia*, flocking the

⁴⁹ Kabasilas, *Divinae liturgiae interpretatio*, PG 20, 412-413A, quoted. in C. N. Tsirpanlis, *The Ecclesiastical Theology of Nicholas Cabasilas* (New York, 1979), p. 183.

⁵⁰ Nicholas Kabasilas, *Divine Liturgy*, I, qtd. In Bolman 2010, p. 138. Communion was the normative locus of *theosis*, transforming the person into a member of Christ’s body.

⁵¹ Chrysostom, *Treatise on the Priesthood*, VI, 4, from *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series*, Vol. 9, ed. Philip Schaff (Buffalo, 1889), *Documenta Catholica Omnia*; Peterson 1964, p. 34.

⁵² M. Djurić, “To Picture and to Perform: The Image of the Eucharistic Liturgy at Markov Manastir,” *Zograf* 38 (2014), p. 125 (angel-deacons) and p. 134 (angel-priests). Angels as priests in the Heavenly Liturgy first appeared in monumental painting in Dečani. The same idea is highlighted in the concept of the liturgical space in the doctrine of Symeon of Thessalonike, according to which the sanctuary was a space for angels and officiating priests: see X. Werner, “L’ espace liturgique d’ après S. Siméon de Thessalonique (1416–1429),” in: *L’espaceliturgique: ses elements constitutifs et leurs sens* (Conférences Saint Serge. LIIe semaine d’études liturgiques, Paris 27–30 Juin 2005), ed. C. Braga, Roma 2006, p. 113.

consecrated Host (**Fig. 12**).



Figure 12 *Divine Liturgy*, Gračanica, detail of the consecration.

Photo: <https://blog.obitel-minsk.com/2017/12/chalice-of-eternity-look-at-orthodox.html>.

Thus, imaging forth angelic action in liturgy and icons each contributed to mystical assimilation of human participants with the angels. Returning to the notion that the angels themselves cooperated in this process as links in an essentially liturgical chain of images emanating from God, it is important to understand that images of the *Cherubikon* and *Trisagion* dramatized the traditional doctrine that the liturgy itself was

not just an index, but a mimetic “icon” of the heavenly one.⁵³ These pictures of angel-clergy were distinct from icons of individual angels like Gabriel and Michael insofar as what they really showed were offices rather than persons: angels representing the human clergy representing the orders of angels. Pseudo-Dionysius expressed that the material representation of the heavenly liturgy made its mystical observation possible:

[It] is not possible for our mind to be raised to that immaterial representation and contemplation of the Heavenly Hierarchies, without using material guidance, accounting the visible splendors as reflections of the invisible splendor...of the feast of contemplation within the mind; and the ranks of the orders [of angels], of the harmonious and regulated habit, with regard to Divine things; and the reception of the most Divine Eucharist...and whatever other things were transmitted to Heavenly Beings supermundanely, but to us symbolically.⁵⁴

Kabasilas concurred that images and their mental equivalents prepared the mind to celebrate and receive the Eucharist, and to bring the faithful to *theosis*.⁵⁵ Last, the patriarch Germanos had specified the concept of liturgy as icon to the Great Entrance, assimilating its material and mystical facets as membranes connecting the celestial and sublunary:

By means of the procession of the deacons and the representation of the fans, which are in the likeness of the seraphim, the *Cherubikon* signifies the entrance of all the...righteous ahead of the cherubic powers and the

⁵³ Djurić 2014, pp. 125-26. See W. Tronzo, “Mimesis in Byzantium: Notes toward a History of the Function of the Image” in *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 25 (1994): 61-76; C. Barber, “Mimesis and Memory in the Narthex Mosaics of the Nea Moni, Chios,” *Art History* 21.3 (2001): 323-337.

⁵⁴ Pseudo-Dionysius, *Celestial Hierarchy* I.3, 121C-124A.

⁵⁵ Nicholas Kabasilas, *Explication* 66, trans. in Woodfin 2012, pp. 115-119.

angelic hosts, who run invisibly in advance of...Christ, who is proceeding to the mystical sacrifice, borne aloft by material hands. [...] In addition...the choirs of angels, who have seen...the victory over death...with us exclaim Alleluia.⁵⁶

Hence images of angels enacting the *Cherubikon* and *Trisagion* were tools of *theosis*, suspended between the immanent and transcendent, and inseparable from their performative contexts. The formulation seems simple—and yet representations of music-making angels from the Gothic West complicate the proposition. They serve as a reminder that there was no determinate way of conveying angels' song in image or action.

Gothic Angel-Musicians

In the West, portrayals of angel-musicians joined secular musical practice with an exegetic synthesis of the seraphic hymn in Isaiah, the instruments populating the Psalms of Praise, and the harps played by the apocalyptic Elders for the celestial liturgy of Revelation.⁵⁷ Their apparitions in image and performance were meant to entice the faithful to mystical participation in their liturgy by cognitive, aesthetic, and mimetic means. For example, in Spinello Aretino's *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece (c. 1400) for the Church of S. Felicità, Florence, angel-musicians energetically celebrate this event as

⁵⁶ *St. Germanos of Constantinople on the Divine Liturgy*, trans. John Meyendorff (Crestwood, NY, 1984), pp. 86-87.

⁵⁷ For the argument and bibliography: Amy E. Gillette, *Depicting the Sound of Silence: Angel-Musicians in Trecento Sacred Art*, unpublished Ph.D. diss. (Temple University, 2016).

a rough analogue of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy; or in a reliquary shrine made in Paris for Elisabeth of Hungary (c. 1320-1340), play a sweet tune to honor the sacramental reality of the Eucharist symbolized by the Nursing Virgin; or rejoicing and praising Mary as an intercessor to Christ, as stated by their scroll in a window from the Beauchamp Chapel at St. Mary's in Warwick (*Gaudeamus omnes in domino diem festum celebrantes sub honore Marie virginis de cuius Assumptione gaudent angeli et collaudant filium Dei*) (Figs. 13, 14, 15).⁵⁸ In each case, the angels' convincingly rendered instrumental and choral performances emphasized their liturgy as a source of comfort and joy in divine love, within a devotional ecosystem in which images offered an interactive channel through which the song of angels could touch and move the "bodily imagination" as articulated by the Cambridge friar Walter Hilton (d. 1396):

Our Lord comforts a soul by angel's song. This song cannot be described by any bodily likeness, for it is spiritual, and above all imagination and reason. (...) For just as a soul, in understanding spiritual things, is often touched and moved through bodily imagination by the work of angels, as when Ezekiel the prophet saw in bodily imagination the truth of God's hidden mysteries, just so, in the love of God, a soul by the presence of angels is ravished out of mind of all earthly and fleshly things and filled

⁵⁸ "Let us all rejoice in God, celebrating the feast of the Virgin Mary for whose Assumption the angels rejoice and praise with the Son of God." For the Beauchamp Chapel: A. Buckle, "'Fit for a King': Music and Iconography in Richard Beauchamp's Chantry Chapel," *Early Music* 38.1 (2010), pp. 3-19. For the reliquary: Z. Falvy, "Angel Musicians on a Fourteenth-Century Reliquary," *Imago Musicae* 4 (1987), pp. 229-238.

N.B. The Mass was depicted only rarely in art of the Latin West: M. McNamee, "The Origin of the Vested Angel as a Eucharistic Symbol in Flemish Painting," *The Art Bulletin* 54 (1972), p. 264; J. McKinnon, "Representations of the Mass in Medieval and Renaissance Art," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31.1 (1981), pp. 21-52.

with a heavenly joy, to hear angel's song and heavenly sound, according to the measure of its love.⁵⁹



Figure 13 Spinello Aretino, *Coronation of the Virgin*, S. Trinità, Florence, c. 1400 (detail). Photo: ArtStor.

⁵⁹ Walter Hilton, "Of Angel's Song," in *The Cell of Self-Knowledge: Seven Early English Mystical Treatises Printed by Henry Pepwell in 1521*, ed. E. Gardner (New York, 1910), pp. 43-44.

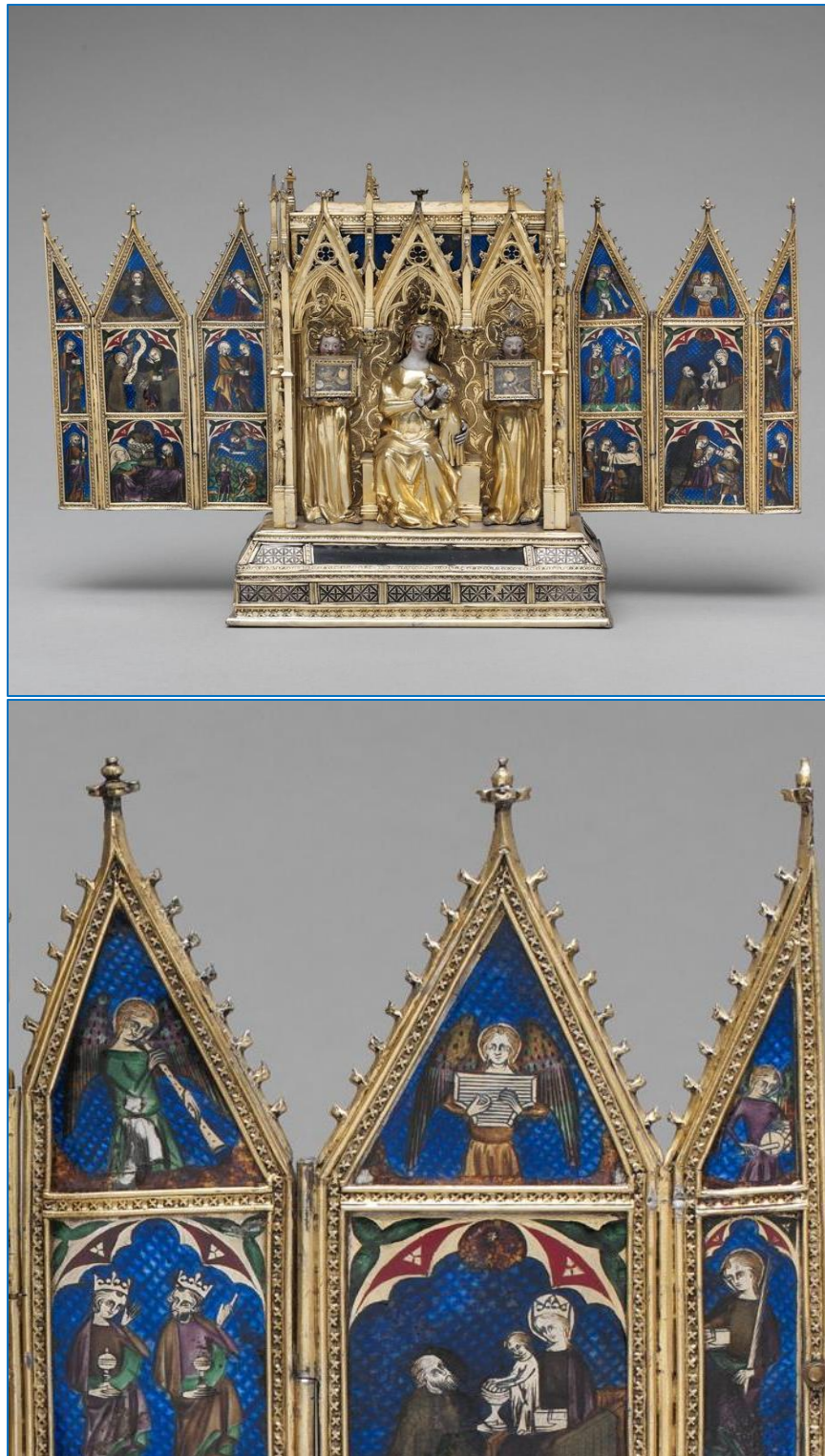


Figure 14 Jean de Touyl(?), Reliquary Shrine, Paris, 1320s-1340s.
Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art



Figure 15 *Gaudeamus omnes*, Beauchamp Chapel, St. Mary's, Warwick, 1440s.

Photo: https://vidimus.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/issue_46_2010_feat4.jpg.

Sometimes, crowds of mechanized angels further enlivened the “actual” angels’ incursions into the liturgy — as well as paraliturgical performances, courtly and civic spectacles, and celestial-themed devices, such as clocks.⁶⁰ Conceptually reminiscent of the angels adorning the Gračanica dome (**Figs. 4, 12**) were a set of wooden statues, now lost, at St. Margaret’s in Kings Lynn, England. According to an early sixteenth-century description of these automata, the angels appeared to plummet from the roof to the

⁶⁰ See, e.g., J. Gimpel, *The Medieval Machine* (New York, 1977); P. Meredith and J. Taliby, eds., *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, 1983); S. Lightsey, *Manmade Marvels in Medieval Culture and Literature* (New York, 2007); E. Truitt, *Medieval Robots* (Philadelphia, 2015); P. Butterworth and K. Normington, eds., *Medieval Theatre Performance: Actors, Dancers, Automata, and Their Audiences* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2017).

high altar at the elevation of the Host and retracted “at the end of the chant.”⁶¹ Akin in execution and apparently rampant were the “Paradise machines” built for the paraliturgical mystery plays held in churches and public spaces throughout Latin Christendom. An Orthodox bishop from Russia, Abramo of Souzdal, was deeply moved by a few such spectacles when visiting Florence in 1439 for the Ecumenical Council. He enthusiastically chronicled the “inexpressibly beautiful” Annunciation play in S. Felice, staged from a tall scaffold “meant to represent the heavenly spheres” erected over the entrance of this church.⁶² Following some preliminaries, an actor playing a Prophet announced, “Thence shall God come to seek the lost sheep,” and then:

The curtains of the upper scaffold open and from there comes a volley of shots imitating Heaven’s thunder... Up on the scaffold is God the Father surrounded by more than five hundred burning lamps which revolve continually, going up and down. Children dressed in white, representing the angels, surround him, one striking the cymbals, other playing flutes or citterns in a scene of joyful and inexpressible beauty. After some time, the

⁶¹ “Oct. 20, 1502. Thomas Goisman, aldermannus de Villa Begia super Hull. Sep. in capella S. Trin., parteboriali, juxta meumpatrem et matrem, coram S. Virgine Katerina. Lego eidemcapellae xli., in honore Sacramenti, ad faciendum ad summumaltare descendente et ascendente (sic) ad tectum capellae inter levationem corporis Christi et sanguinis Domini, sicutest apud Lynne in eccL cath. [=St. Margaret’s]; scilicet angelisascendatur et descendeturisque ad finem cantationis, et Ne nosinducas in temptationem. Resid. Aliciseuxorimeae.” (“October 20, 1502. Thomas Goisman, alderman of Hull. I leave to [Trinity Chapel, Hull] 10 pounds, in honor of the Sacrament, for descending to the high altar and ascend to the roof of the chapel between the elevation of the Host, as it is done in Lynn Cathedral; that is, angels ascend and descend at the end of the chant.”) Will #102 of Thomas Goisman of Kingston upon Hull, in *Testamentaeboracensia, a selection of wills from the registry at York*, vol. 4 (London, 1869). Also see Miri Rubin on late-medieval Eucharistic culture: *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991); and for more about automata, Margaret Aston, *Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion, 1350-1600* (London, 1993).

⁶² Meredith and Tailby 1983, pp. 242-245. For more about the construction history of the S. Felice Paradise machine; N. Newbigin, “Greasing the Wheels of Heaven: Recycling, Innovation, and the Question of ‘Brunelleschi’s’ Stage Machinery,” *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 11 (2007): 201-241.

angel sent by God descends on two ropes...to announce the conception of the Son. The angel [looks] exactly as celestial angels are to be seen in paintings. While he descends he sings in a low voice, holding a branch in his hand. [Mary assents to the Incarnation.] The angel hands over to her the beautiful branch and ascends... A fire comes from God and with a noise of uninterrupted thunder passes down three ropes...rising up again in flames and rebounding down once more, so that the whole church was filled with sparks. The angel sang jubilantly as he ascended, and moved his hands about and beat his wings as if he were really flying. The fire poured forth and spread with increasing intensity and noise from the high scaffold, lighting the lamps in the church... When the angel arrives back at his point of departure the flames subside and the curtains close again.⁶³

The Gothic portrayals of angel-musicians, like angelic music itself, were meant to enchant, edify, and comfort souls, restoring them to an angelic *habitus*; angel machines especially were a late, but consummate expression of applied angelology.⁶⁴ All of these images could also be considered as Dionysian theology in its negative sense, revealing what Byzantine angels overwhelmingly were not: that is, instrumentalists or active singers, shaped by secular musical practice, and manifestly happy. The Gothic angel-musicians therefore generate questions concerning the metaphysical and existential positions of their Byzantine peers.

⁶³ Meredith and Tailby, eds., pp. 244-245; G. Wickham, *The Medieval Theatre* (Cambridge, 1987); Tydeman, ed., *The Medieval European Stage, 500-1500* (Cambridge, 2001).

⁶⁴ For angels' song and especially angel-harpists to comfort the soul — a topic that needs investigation! — see e.g., St. Francis, Bartholomeus Anglicus, Grosseteste, mystics such as Julian of Norwich, and the Wycliffite homilies.

Questions about Byzantine Angels

The most interesting questions strike me as these: were there any Byzantine or Post-Byzantine depictions of music-making angels? And why did the angels of these traditions appear so gloomy relative to Western ones?

With respect to musical performance, I have found no Byzantine images of angels playing instruments. Some Byzantine churches displayed monumental images of choristers (*psaltai*) that referred to actual choral practice, such as those singing the fourteenth strophe of the *Akathistos* on the south choir wall of the Dečani Monastery church in Kosovo (c. 1350). Yet these images showed human rather than angelic performers and had a simply prescriptive relation to the liturgy, unlike the iconic one asserted by the depiction of angel-clergy enacting the Divine Liturgy in the dome of Gračanica (**Figs. 3, 12**).⁶⁵ Also, scenes of David playing a harp or indeed the full *instrumentarium* of Psalm 150, as shown in the Hamilton Psalter (c. 1300), confirm that Byzantine artists did depict musical instruments. Nevertheless, the instruments in the Hamilton Psalter are striking for being inert, and the angelized David leaves them

⁶⁵ See Moran 1986, pp. 5-6. Post-Byzantine artists in Russia and Romania eventually replaced the human choristers with angelic ones, in response to campaigns against depicting non-holy figures in icons. See B. Uspensky, *Semiotics of the Russian Icon* (Ghent, 1976), for the question of “how to deal with those figures who are not themselves objects of reverence, but which are present in icons being worshipped” (p. 68).

behind when a bigger angel whisks him away following his final Psalm of Praise (Fig. 16).⁶⁶



Figure 16 Psalm 150/1, Hamilton Psalter, Cyprus, c. 1300. Photo: Index of Christian Art.

The status of the Hamilton Psalter as a bilingual Greek-and-Latin book made on Lusignan Cyprus engenders a sequent question: did angel-musicians emerge at all in the art of the Latin East– Latin or Orthodox, medieval or post-medieval? Musical angels did accompany images in the mendicant churches of Venetian Dalmatia. (There are, to the best of my knowledge, no extant medieval examples from Cyprus, Venetian Crete, or the Frankish Morea. However, the extensive circulation of patrons, artists, and small-

⁶⁶ J. Braun, “Musical Instruments in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts,” *Early Music* 8.3 (1980), pp. 312-327. Cf. the winged, harp-playing David in the Lincoln Cathedral Angel Choir, 1256-1280. Representing King David with angels’ wings seems to have been justified by Psalm 139:8-10: “If I ascend up to heaven, you are there; if I make my bed in hell, you are there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall your hand lead me, and your right hand shall hold me.” See P. Binski, *Becket’s Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170-1300* (New Haven, 2004), p. 280.



Figure 17 Giovanni di Pietro or Dujam Vučković, altarpiece of the Virgin and Child Enthroned, St. Jerome, Ugljan, Croatia, mid-1400s (detail).

Photo: <http://djelatnici.unizd.hr/~ehilje/Gsz-Html/Gsz-p14.htm>.

scale objects suggest the affirmative.) Examples include Nicolò di Pietro's altarpiece of the Virgin and Child Enthroned (1394), commissioned by Vučina Belgarzone for the church of St. Dominic in Zadar; and the high altarpiece of the same subject for the Franciscan church of St. Jerome in Ugljan by Giovanni di Pietro or his collaborator Dujam Vučković (mid-fifteenth century), in which angels playing vielles are visible around the throne in the central panel (**Fig. 17**).⁶⁷

In addition, beginning in the 1500s, the presence of Venetian art and artists on Crete evidently inspired their Orthodox Cretan peers to depict angel-musicians celebrating the celestial liturgy of Revelation (the same subject that had originally vindicated angel-musicians in Western art). Georgios Klontzas (d. 1608) painted a triptych for use on Sinai that portrays the iconography of *In Thee, Rejoiceth* on the exterior and the Last Judgment on the interior. He incorporated a scene of heaven in which music-making angels surround the heavenly Christ above and accept the souls of the blessed from a priestly Christ below.⁶⁸ Another Cretan painter—further invigorated by the circulation of German engravings—created a fresco around 1600 in which angel-harpists celebrate the “new song” of Revelation 14:1-3, in the Apocalypse cycle

⁶⁷ D. Cooper, “Gothic Art & the Friars in Late Medieval Croatia, 1213-1460” in J. Beresford-Peirse, ed., *Croatia: aspects of art, architecture and cultural heritage* (London, 2009), pp. 80-83 (76-97), with further bibliography in his notes 38 and 44-46.

⁶⁸ See cat. no. 32 by Maria Kazanaki-Lappa in A. Drandaki, ed., *Origins of El Greco: Icon Painting in Venetian Crete* (New York, 2009), pp. 90-91.

decorating the portico between the *trapeza* and *katholikon* of the Dionysiou Monastery on Mount Athos (**Fig. 18**).⁶⁹ Even later, and perhaps in response to this cycle, Dionysius of Fournia recommended “a crowd of angels holding harps” to illustrate the “new song,” and for the Second Coming, Christ and Mary on a throne of Cherubim “accompanied by psalms and hymns and many organs with the great glory of angels.”⁷⁰

In brief, it seems that angel-musicians did not feature in Orthodox art until painters on Venetian Crete adopted them in the sixteenth century to illustrate the celestial liturgy of Revelation. Angel-musicians never joined the ranks of angel-clergy performing the Divine Liturgy in monumental church cycles. Their delayed and limited appearance probably concerned some level of resistance to Western innovations plus perhaps the tighter parallelism (versus the West) between the liturgy and sacred images of the “participatory mode.”⁷¹ For one, the Byzantine liturgy excluded readings from Revelation and did not accept this book as canonical until the fourteenth century.⁷² Moreover, while the heightened theatricality of the Great Entrance and other liturgical events encouraged the mimetic commemoration of Christ’s Passion, the tradition of

⁶⁹ “I heard a voice from heaven, as the noise of many waters and as the voice of great thunder. And the voice which I heard was as the voice of harpers, harping on their harps. And they sung as it were a new canticle, before the throne and before the four living creatures.” The monks would read the Apocalypse during meals, but not during the service. Millet, *Monuments de l’Athos*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1927); also P. L. Vocotopoulos, “Monumental Painting” in *Treasures of Mount Athos*, ed. A. A. Karakatsanis (Thessaloniki, 1997), p. 37.

⁷⁰ Dionysius of Fournia 1974, pp. 48-49.

⁷¹ See H. Maguire, “Two Modes of Narration in Byzantine Art,” in *Byzantine East, Latin West*, ed. D. Mouriki (Princeton, 1995), pp. 385-395.

⁷² See J. Irmscher and A. W. Carr, “Apocalypse,” in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford, 2005). [Oxford Reference Online](https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/odnb/9780195171139.001.0001/odnb-9780195171139-0101).



Figure 18 Angel-harpists (Apoc. 14:1-3), Dionysiou Monastery--Mount Athos, c. 1600. Photo: Wikimedia

paraliturgical theater to which Byzantine sacred images could or would make reference remained extremely spare, especially in comparison to the abundance of Western productions.⁷³ Symeon of Thessaloniki, like Abramo of Souzdal, had evidently seen a Latin mystery play of the Assumption, but reacted with categorical contempt. The use of actors to play the parts of holy figures struck him as obscuring the distinction between image and substance (“And this man represents the Virgin, and they call him ‘Mary’”) and, altogether, as “contrary to reason, and foreign to the tradition of the Church, and [things that] do violence to the mysteries and to Christian piety.”⁷⁴

⁷³ A. White, *The Artifice of Eternity: A Study of Liturgical and Theatrical Practices in Byzantium*, Ph.D. diss. (College Park, MD, 2006); A. Karpozilos and A. Kazhdan, “Theater” in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford, 2005), [Oxford Reference Online](#); R. Ousterhout, “Women at Tombs: Narrative, Theatricality, and the Contemplative Mode” in *Wonderful Things: Byzantium through its Art*, eds. A. Eastmond and L. James (Burlington, 2013), p. 233.

⁷⁴ Symeon of Thessaloniki, *Contra haereses*, PG 155, 112C-113A. Quoted. by Ousterhout 2013, p. 232.

As for the emotional life of Byzantine angels, John of Damascus remarked paradigmatically, “[The angels] are above us for they are incorporeal, and are free of all bodily passion, yet are not passionless: for the Deity alone is passionless.”⁷⁵ Evidence from art (not texts) does give the impression that angelic misery was prominent. They suffered storms of weeping from the 1100s, a passion that flourished particularly amongst the non-clerical angels represented in *epitaphioi*, where they transposed the experience of those present for the ceremony.⁷⁶ One given by the nun Jefimija (1398/1399), now at the Putna monastery in Romania, even embroidered a *troparion* for Holy Saturday Orthros below the lamenting angels: “Seeing the strange sight, the host of angels uttered an unaccustomed cry of anguish, O Son of God, Word.”⁷⁷ The point was a living expression of Byzantine theology in which the display of human emotion at the events of Christ’s life and death—perhaps especially by angels, who were simultaneously exemplary and supposed to be exempt from sorrow—underscored the marvelous reality of his Incarnation.⁷⁸

But did angels in the Byzantine tradition experience joy? They did, even to an unspeakable degree, and (as in the West) it was their natural state and always had to do

⁷⁵ John of Damascus, “Concerning Angels,” *Exposition on the Orthodox Faith*, II.3, pp. 207-208.

⁷⁶ H. Maguire, “The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977), p. 145.

⁷⁷ Email correspondence 12/13/2016 with Henry Schilb regarding the Jefimija *epitaphios*; also *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, p. 320.

⁷⁸ Maguire 1977, p. 173. Also, according to mystagogical interpretations, “every liturgical gesture is interpreted as a symbolic repetition of Christ’s earthly life, death, and Resurrection.” Djurić 2014, p. 129, citing R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la Divine Liturgie du VI^e au X^e siècle* (Paris, 1966) in its entirety.

with the process of regaining Paradise for humanity. Joy as an angelic attribute traced to a statement by Christ in Luke 15: “Even so, I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repents.”⁷⁹ The Pseudo-Dionysius commented on this passage in his *Celestial Hierarchy*:

I must explain [...] what Scripture intends in the reference to the joy of the heavenly ranks. Now, these ranks could never experience the pleasures we draw from the passions. The reference, therefore, is to the way they participate in the divine joy by the finding of the lost... They are unspeakably happy in the way that, occasionally, sacred men are happy when God arranges for divine enlightenments to visit them.⁸⁰

The liturgy offered numerous, recurrent opportunities for venting angelic happiness to counterpoise their “unaccustomed anguish” at Christ’s death. Their delight in the process of salvation surfaced in the words and melodies of various hymns that I quoted above, such as calls to rejoice with the angels for Christ’s Nativity (e.g., “Rejoice, for the things of Heaven rejoice with the earth” in the *Akathistos*). Chrysostom propounded moreover of the *Trisagion*:

Above, the hosts of angels sing praise; below, men form choirs in the churches and imitate them by singing the same doxology. [...] The

⁷⁹ Also Psalm 98, when psalmody was understood as an angelic act: “Make a joyful noise unto the LORD, all the earth: make a loud noise, and rejoice, and sing praise. Sing unto the LORD with the harp; with the harp, and the voice of a psalm.” Also see Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *Celestial Hierarchy* VII.4, in Luibheid 1997, pp. 165-166: “Theology has transmitted to the men of earth those hymns sung by the first rank of angels whose gloriously transcendent enlightenment is thereby made manifest... In my book *Divine Hymns* [a lost or fictitious treatise] I have already explicated, to the best of my ability, the supreme praises sung by those holy intelligences which dwell beyond in heaven.”

⁸⁰ *Celestial Hierarchy*, 15.9, in Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, ed. cit., 3, col. 340; C. Luibheid, trans, *Pseudo-Dionysius, the Complete Works* (New York, 1987), p. 190.

inhabitants of heaven and earth are brought together in a common assembly...one shout of delight, one joyful chorus.⁸¹



Figure 19 *Annunciation*, Homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos, c. 1130-1150. Photo: Index of Medieval Art.

Byzantine and Post-Byzantine artists rarely actually fashioned happy angels, like the eight exulting by holding up their arms in the Annunciation miniature in the Homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos (c. 1130-50) (**Fig. 19**).⁸² Their motivation is the homily's statement that when Mary consented to the will of God, "all the intellectual

⁸¹ Chrysostom, PG 56, col. 97. In discussing the *Trisagion*'s place in the Divine Liturgy, Nicholas Kabasilas also established chant in the choir of the angels, but this comment refers to the Little Entrance (*Sacrae liturgiae interpretatio*, PG, 150).

⁸² Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 1208, folio 173v. Maguire 1977:, p.160.

powers exulted” and “heaven on high rejoiced exceedingly.”⁸³ One angel in the aforementioned Dionysiou fresco also raises its arms in delight; several in the Barnes Nativity icon even smile gently, in the manner of angels in Italian art (**Figs. 19, 8**). Yet these are rare exceptions amidst images of hymning angels that register as passionless, beyond joy or sorrow, a trait most marked in the theologically happiest first triad. Even noting that the angels’ essential joy could break out in musical tones, in sermons, and so on, there must have been something purposeful to their dispassion as depicted, in light of the animation of angels or singers in other contexts. In part, the condition of God’s *apatheia* compounded with the persistence of classical ethics and a general suspicion of laughter valorized a *habitus* of tranquility.⁸⁴ Relatedly, I believe this portrayal of angel choristers concerned their position in the liturgical chain of images, and would add moreover that the sociability of Gothic images tended to be a way to compensate for their essential exclusion from transcendental realities, while Byzantine ones could act as direct conduits to mystical concelebration. On this topic, John of Damascus explained that “figures...of invisible and immaterial things in bodily form [lead to] a clearer apprehension of God and the angels,” and elaborated that “an image is expressive of

⁸³ Maguire 1977, p. 159, quoting James of Kokkinobaphos, *Homilies*, PG, 127, col. 653A.

⁸⁴ A. Cutler, “Emotion” in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford, 2005). [Oxford Reference Online](#).

something in the future, mystically shadowing forth what is to happen” as well as “a hymn of praise, a manifestation.”⁸⁵

Conclusion

As a coda, I would like to consider the extent to which assemblages of Byzantine or Post-Byzantine images of angel choirs in portable, wearable, and architectural imagery adhered to any programmatic unity.⁸⁶ Here are some ways to think about the “program” formed from several fixed and moveable image types that were activated by angelic concelebration in quasi-serial, functional settings: multitude as evidence of angelic blessedness and eschatological hope; hierarchy as emulative and transcendent; and *theosis* as the goal of sequence.

The multiplication of scenes of angels’ song in these heterotopic spaces emphasized one of the most characteristic angelic traits: their multitude.⁸⁷ The idea that there were great numbers of angels came out of Biblical passages that announced, “Thousands of thousands [of angels] ministered to [God]” (Daniel 7:10) and “You are to come unto...the Heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels” (Hebrews 12:22). The idea was taken up by the consecration prayer’s “thousands” and

⁸⁵ John of Damascus, *Apologia* I-III, in *Three Treatises on the Divine Images*, trans. Andrew Louth (Crestwood, NY, 2003).

⁸⁶ It is common for scholars to note that images overlapped and colored each other through the liturgical year, but less common to spell out what this meant for given sets of images. See, e.g., N. Ševčenko, “Icons in the Liturgy,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991), 45-57.

⁸⁷ Cf. S. Burge, *Angels in Islam: Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti’s al-Haba’ik fi akhbar al-mala’ik* (London, 2015), for great many angels in Islamic thought and art.

“myriads” of angels, the “multitude of the heavenly host praising God” in the Christmas doxology of Luke 2:14, the full orders named in the *Cherubikon* and *Trisagion*, and indeed in sacred art. It signaled the angels’ perfection—for the upper, assistant orders more than the lower, ministering ones, because theologians figured that the closer something was to God, the more it proliferated.⁸⁸ Thus, in general, the multiplication of portrayals of hymning angels propounded their immanence in the Divine Liturgy, properly performed; and amounted to a promise to “come unto the Heavenly Jerusalem.”

With respect to sequence, art and architecture mapped the liturgy as it unfolded simultaneously in heaven.⁸⁹ The permeability between architecture, liturgy, image, and imagination meant that types and settings nuanced, but also conspired in the motion from precept to mysticism.⁹⁰ The three major architectural divisions (narthex, nave, and sanctuary) could evoke the three angelic triads, the tripartite structure of the cosmos, and—because they formed one entity—the multiplicity within the unity of the Trinity.⁹¹

Epitaphioi were symbolic burial shrouds whose removal from the Host meant the

⁸⁸ “I think we also ought to reflect on the tradition in scripture that the angels number a thousand times a thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand. Those numbers, enormous to us, square and multiply themselves and thereby indicate clearly that the ranks of the heavenly beings are innumerable. So numerous indeed are the blessed armies of transcendent intelligent beings that they surpass the fragile and limited realm of our physical numbers.” Pseudo-Dionysius, *Celestial Hierarchy*, XIV, in Luibheid 1987, p. 181.

⁸⁹ Representations of the Great Entrance in the central dome constituted “a direct expression of Byzantine liturgists’ interpretations of the unity between the two churches and the simultaneous occurrence of the liturgy in heaven and earth.” Djurić 2014, p. 135, citing Bornert 1966, pp. 78, 80-81, 122, 176-178.

⁹⁰ Constans 2006, p. 166; Ousterhout, “The Holy Space: Architecture and Liturgy” in: *Heaven on Earth*, ed. L. Safran, pp. 81-120.

⁹¹ Constas 2006, p. 167.

Resurrection and the rending of the Temple veil, to show the church of the angels.⁹² The iconostasis both demarcated and mediated the sensible and supersensible, providing the terms in which Symeon of Thessaloniki explained the arrangement of icons on its entablature:

And thus [the icon] of the Savior is placed...in the middle of the sacred icons of [his] Mother, and of the Baptist; and of the angels, and the apostles... These icons teach us that Christ is in this way in heaven among his saints, and also [here] with us now, and will come again.⁹³

The ciborium was the tomb of Christ as well as the heavenly altar and throne of God. To assess the distribution of the angel orders portrayed in successive liturgical spaces suggests that they were “gestalts” that cooperated to forge holistic inner worlds in clergy and laity.⁹⁴ Spiritual unification was indeed the purpose of the celestial hierarchy: “Every procession of illuminating light, proceeding from the Father...restores us again gradually as a unifying power, and turns us to the oneness of our conducting Father, and to a deifying simplicity.”⁹⁵

To sum up: Byzantine and Post-Byzantine sacred images showed angels performing the hymns attributed to them in the Bible and liturgy, including the

⁹² Woodfin 2012, p. 125.

⁹³ Constanas 2006, p. 170, quoting Symeon of Thessaloniki, *Dialogue* 345CD.

⁹⁴ E.g., P. Crossley, “Medieval Architecture and Meaning: The Limits of Iconography,” *The Burlington Magazine* 130 (1988), pp. 116-121; Willibald Sauerländer, “Integration: a Closed or Open Proposal?” in *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, eds. Virginia Raguin, Kathryn Brush, and Peter Draper (Toronto, 1995); P. Binski, “The English Parish Church and its Art in the Later Middle Ages: a Review of the Problem,” *Studies in Iconography* 20 (1999), pp. 1-20.

⁹⁵ Pseudo-Dionysius, *Celestial Hierarchy*, I.1.

Cherubikon, Trisagion, Gloria, Akathistos, In Thee, Rejoiceth, Psalms of Praise, and, in the Post-Byzantine period, the “New Song” of Revelations. Except for the last of these, which was the only one to admit Western-style angel-musicians, the pictures reified the celestial liturgy as it was performed in the church. This process depended on the mediating status of angels, icons, and hymns, as well as by angelic multiplicity. Concepts of hierarchy and sequence generated the thought that angels’ liminality premised their ability to sublimate, expressed by their display on liturgical implements, veils, screens, and high places. Their images multiplied to indicate events when they were supposed to physically manifest in their church, and the exalted status of the seraphim, cherubim, and thrones was conveyed by their lack of ministerial vesture and tendency to congregate in higher architectural zones. Each point underlines that images of angels’ song were integrative forces in achieving the joy of Paradise regained in the real presence of Christ and the angels. 🙏

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THE SECOND BOOK OF Adam and Eve

CHAP. I.

The grief stricken family. Cain marries Luluwa and they move away.

WHEN Luluwa heard Cain's words, she wept and went to call her father and mother, and told them how that Cain had killed his brother Abel.

2 Then they all cried aloud and lifted up their voices, and slapped their faces, and threw dust upon their heads, and rent asunder their garments, and went out and came to the place where Abel was killed.

3 And they found him lying on the earth, killed, and beasts around him; while they wept and cried because of this just one. From his body, by reason of its purity, went forth a smell of sweet spices.

4 And Adam carried him, his tears streaming down his face; and went to the Cave of Treasures, where he laid him, and wound him up with sweet spices and myrrh.

5 And Adam and Eve continued by the burial of him in great grief a hundred and forty days. Abel was fifteen and a half years old, and Cain seventeen years and a half.

6 As for Cain, when the mourning for his brother was ended, he took his sister Luluwa and married her, without leave from his father and mother; for they could not keep him from her, by reason of their heavy heart.

7 He then went down to the bottom of the mountain, away from the garden, near to the place where he had killed his brother.

8 And in that place were many fruit trees and forest trees. His sister bare him children, who in their turn began to multiply by degrees until they filled that place.

9 But as for Adam and Eve, they came not together after Abel's funeral, for seven years. After this, however, Eve conceived; and while she was with child, Adam said to her, "Come, let us take an offering and offer it up unto God, and ask Him to give us a fair child, in whom we may find comfort, and whom we may join in marriage to Abel's sister."

10 Then they prepared an offering and brought it up to the altar, and offered it before the Lord, and began to entreat Him to accept their offering, and to give them a good offspring.

11 And God heard Adam and accepted his offering. Then, they worshipped, Adam, Eve, and their daughter, and came down to the Cave of Treasures and placed a lamp in it, to burn by night and by day, before the body of Abel.

12 Then Adam and Eve continued fasting and praying until Eve's time came that she should be delivered, when she said to Adam, "I wish to go to the cave in the rock, to bring forth in it."

13 And he said, "Go, and take with thee thy daughter to wait on thee; but I will remain in this Cave of Treasures before the body of my son Abel."

14 Then Eve hearkened to Adam, and went, she and her daughter. But Adam remained by himself in the Cave of Treasures.

CHAP. II.

A third son is born to *Adam and Eve*.

AND Eve brought forth a son perfectly beautiful in figure and in countenance. His beauty was like that of his father Adam, yet more beautiful.

2 Then Eve was comforted when she saw him, and remained eight days in the cave; then she sent her daughter unto Adam to tell him to come and see the child and name him. But the daughter stayed in his place by the body of her brother, until Adam returned. So did she.

3 But when Adam came and saw the child's good looks, his beauty, and his perfect figure, he rejoiced over him, and was comforted for Abel. Then he named the child Seth, that means, "that God has heard my prayer, and has delivered me out of my affliction." But it means also "power and strength."

4 Then after Adam had named the child, he returned to the Cave of Treasures; and his daughter went back to her mother.

5 But Eve continued in her cave, until forty days were fulfilled, when she came to Adam, and brought with her the child and her daughter.

6 And they came to a river of water, where Adam and his daughter washed themselves, because of their sorrow for Abel; but Eve and the babe washed for purification.

7 Then they returned, and took an offering, and went to the mountain and offered it up, for the babe; and God accepted their offering, and sent His blessing upon them, and upon their son Seth; and they came back to the Cave of Treasures.

8 As for Adam, he knew not again his wife Eve, all the days of his life; neither was any more offspring born of them; but only those five, Cain, Luluwa, Abel, Akia, and Seth alone.

9 But Seth waxed in stature and in strength; and began to fast and pray, fervently.

CHAP. III

Satan appears as a beautiful woman tempting Adam, telling him he is still a youth. "Spend thy youth in mirth and pleasured." (12) The different forms which Satan takes (15).

A S for our father Adam, at the end of seven years from the day he had been severed from his wife Eve, Satan envied him, when he saw him thus separated from her; and strove to make him live with her again.

2 Then Adam arose and went up above the Cave of Treasures; and continued to sleep there night by night. But as soon as it was light every day he came down to the cave, to pray there and to receive a blessing from it.

3 But when it was evening he went up on the roof of the cave, where he slept by himself, fearing lest Satan should overcome him. And he continued thus apart thirty-nine days.

4 Then Satan, the hater of all good, when he saw Adam thus alone, fasting and praying, appeared unto him in the form of a beautiful woman, who came and stood before him in the night of the fortieth day, and said unto him:—

5 "O Adam, from the time ye have dwelt in this cave, we have experienced great peace from you, and your prayers have reached us, and we have been comforted about you.

6 "But now, O Adam, that thou hast gone up over the roof of the cave to sleep, we have had doubts about thee, and a great sorrow has come upon us because of thy separation from Eve. Then again, when thou art on the roof of this cave, thy prayer is poured out, and thy heart wanders from side to side.

7 "But when thou wast in the cave thy prayer was like fire gathered together; it came down to us, and thou didst find rest.

8 "Then I also grieved over thy children who are severed from thee; and my sorrow is great about the murder of thy son Abel; for he was righteous; and over a righteous man every one will grieve.

9 "But I rejoiced over the birth of thy son Seth; yet after a little while I sorrowed greatly over Eve, because she is my sister. For when God sent a deep sleep over thee, and drew her out of thy side, He brought me out also with her. But HE raised her by placing her with thee, while He lowered me.

10 "I rejoiced over my sister for her being with thee. But God had made me a promise before, and said, 'Grieve not; when Adam has gone up on the roof of the Cave of Treasures, and is separated from Eve his wife, I will send thee to him, thou shalt join thyself to him in marriage, and bear him five children, as Eve did bear him five.'

11 "And now, lo! God's promise to me is fulfilled; for it is He who has sent me to thee for the wedding; because if thou wed me, I shall bear thee finer and better children than those of Eve.

12 "Then again, thou art as yet but a youth; end not thy youth in this world in sorrow; but spend the days of thy youth in mirth and pleasure. For thy days are few and thy trial is great. Be strong; end thy days in this world in rejoicing. I shall take pleasure in thee, and thou shall rejoice with me in this wise, and without fear.

13 "Up, then, and fulfil the command of thy God," she then drew near to Adam, and embraced him.

14 But when Adam saw that he should be overcome by her, he prayed to God with a fervent heart to deliver him from her.

15 Then God sent His Word unto Adam, saying, "O Adam, that figure is the one that promised thee the Godhead, and majesty; he is not favourably disposed towards thee; but shows himself to thee at one time in the form of a woman; another moment, in the likeness of an angel; on another occasions, in the similitude of a serpent; and at another time, in the semblance of a god; but he does all that only to destroy thy soul.

16 "Now, therefore, O Adam, understanding thy heart, I have delivered thee many a time from his hands; in order to show thee that I am a merciful God; and that I wish thy good, and that I do not wish thy ruin."

CHAP. IV.

Adam sees the Devil in his true colors .

THEN God ordered Satan to show himself to Adam plainly, in his own hideous form.

2 But when Adam saw him, he feared, and trembled at the sight of him.

3 And God said to Adam, 'Look at this devil, and at his hideous look, and know that he it is who made thee fall from brightness into darkness, from peace and rest to toil and misery.

4 And look, O Adam, at him, who said of himself that he is God! Can God be black? Would God take the form of a woman? Is there any one stronger than God? And can He be overpowered?

5 "See, then, O Adam, and behold him bound in thy presence, in the air, unable to flee away! Therefore, I say unto thee, be not afraid of him; henceforth take care, and beware of him, in whatever he may do to thee."

6 Then God drove Satan away from before Adam, whom He strengthened, and whose heart He comforted, saying to him, "Go down to the Cave of Treasures, and separate not thyself from Eve; I will quell in you all animal lust."

7 From that hour it left Adam and Eve, and they enjoyed rest by the commandment of God. But God did not the like to any one of Adam's seed; but only to Adam and Eve.

8 Then Adam worshipped before the Lord, for having delivered him, and for having layed his passions. And he came down from above the cave, and dwelt with Eve as aforetime.

9 This ended the forty days of his separation from Eve.

CHAP. V.

The devil paints a brilliant picture for Seth to feast his thoughts upon.

AS for Seth, when he was seven years old, he knew good and evil, and was consistent in fasting and praying, and spent all his nights in entreating God for mercy and forgiveness.

2 He also fasted when bringing up his offering every day, more than his father did; for he was of a fair countenance, like unto an angel of God. He also had a good heart, preserved the finest qualities of his soul; and for this reason he brought up his offering every day.

3 And God was pleased with his offering; but He was also pleased with his purity. And he continued thus in doing the will of God, and of his father and mother, until he was seven years old.

4 After that, as he was coming down from the altar, having ended his offering, Satan appeared unto him in the form of a beautiful angel, brilliant with light; with a staff of light in his hand, himself girt about with a girdle of light.

5 He greeted Seth with a beautiful smile, and began to beguile him with fair words, saying to him, "O Seth, why abidest thou in this mountain? For it is rough, full of stones and of sand, and of trees with no good fruit on them; a wilderness without habitations and without towns; no good place to dwell in. But all is heat, weariness, and trouble."

6 He said further, 'But we dwell in beautiful places, in another world than this earth. Our world is one of light and our condition is of the best; our women are handsomer than any others; and I wish thee, O Seth, to wed one of them; because I see that thou art fair to look upon, and in this land there is not one woman good enough for thee. Besides, all those who live in this world, are only five souls.

7 "But in our world there are very many men and many maidens, all more beautiful one than another. I wish, therefore, to remove thee hence, that thou mayest see my relations and be wedded to which ever thou likest.

8 "Thou shalt then abide by me and be at peace; thou shalt be filled with splendour and light, as we are.

9 "Thou shalt remain in our world. and rest from this world and the misery of it; thou shalt never again feel faint and weary; thou shalt never bring up an offering, nor sue for mercy; for thou shalt commit no more sin nor be swayed by passions.

10 "And if thou wilt hearken to what I say, thou shalt wed one of my daughters; for with us it is no sin so to do; neither is it reckoned animal lust.

11 "For in our world we have no God; but we all are gods; we all are of the light, heavenly, powerful, strong and glorious."

CHAP. VI.

Seth's conscience helps him. He returns to Adam and Eve.

When Seth heard these words he was amazed, and inclined his heart to Satan's treacherous speech, and said to him, "Saidst thou there is an-other world created than this; and other creatures more beautiful than the creatures that are in this world?"

2 And Satan said "Yes; behold thou hast heard me; but I will yet praise them and their ways, in thy hearing."

3 But Seth said to him, "Thy speech has amazed me; and thy beautiful description of it all."

4 "Yet I cannot go with thee to-day; not until I have gone to my father Adam and to my mother Eve, and told them all thou hast said to me. Then if they give me leave to go with thee, I will come."

5 Again Seth said, "I am afraid of doing any thing without my father's and mother's leave, lest I perish like my brother Cain, and like my father Adam, who transgressed the commandment of God. But, behold, thou knowest this place; come, and meet me here to-morrow."

6 When Satan heard this, he said to Seth, "If thou tellest thy father Adam what I have told thee, he will not let thee come with me.

7 But hearken to me; do not tell thy father and mother what I have said to thee; but come with me to-day, to our world; where thou shalt see beautiful things and enjoy thyself there, and revel this day among my children, beholding them and taking thy fill of mirth; and rejoice ever more. Then I shall bring thee back to this place to-morrow; but if thou wouldest rather abide with me, so be it."

8 Then Seth answered, "The spirit of my father and of my mother, hangs on me; and if I hide from them one day, they will die, and God will hold me guilty of sinning against them.

9 "And except that they know I am come to this place to bring up to it my offering, they would not be separated from me one hour; neither should I go to any other place, unless they let me. But they treat me most kindly, because I come back to them quickly."

10 Then Satan said to him, "What will happen to thee if thou hide thyself from them one night, and return to them at break of day?"

11 But Seth, when he saw how he kept on talking, and that he would not leave him-ran, and went up to the altar, and spread his hands unto God, and sought deliverance from Him.

12 Then God sent His Word, and cursed Satan, who fled from Him.

13 But as for Seth, he had gone up to the altar, saying thus in his heart. "The altar is the place of offering, and God is there; a divine fire shall consume it; so shall Satan be unable to hurt me, and shall not take me away thence."

14 Then Seth came down from the altar and went to his father and mother, whom he found in the way, longing to hear his voice; for he had tarried a while.

15 He then began to tell them what had befallen him from Satan, under the form of an angel.

16 But when Adam heard his account, he kissed his face, and warned him against that angel, telling him it was Satan who thus appeared to him. Then Adam took Seth, and they went to the Cave of Treasures, and rejoiced therein.

17 But from that day forth Adam and Eve never parted from him, to whatever place he might go, whether for his offering or for any thing else.

18 This sign happened to Seth, when he was nine years old.

CHAP. VII.

Seth marries Aklia. Adam lives to see grand children and great— grand children .

WHEN our father Adam saw that Seth was of a perfect heart, he wished him to marry; lest the enemy should appear to him another time, and overcome him.

2 So Adam said to his son Seth, "I wish, O my son, that thou wed thy sister Aklia, Abel's sister, that she may bear thee children, who shall replenish the earth, according to God's promise to us.

3 "Be not afraid, O my son; there is no disgrace in it. I wish thee to marry, from fear lest the enemy overcome thee.'

4 Seth, however, did not wish to marry; but in obedience to his father and mother, he said not a word.

5 So Adam married him to Aklia. And he was fifteen years old.

6 But when he was twenty years of age, he begat a son, whom he called Enos; and then begat other children than him,

7 Then Enos grew up, married, and begat Cainan.

8 Cainan also grew up, married, and begat Mahalaleel.

9 Those fathers were born during Adam's lifetime, and dwelt by the Cave of Treasures.

10 Then were the days of Adam nine hundred and thirty years, and those of Mahalaleel one hundred. But Mahalaleel, when he was grown up, loved fasting, praying, and with hard labours, until the end of our father Adam's days drew near.

CHAP, VIII,

Adam's remarkable last words. He predicts the Flood. He exhorts his offspring to good. He reveals certain mysteries of life.

WHEN our father Adam saw that his end was near, he called his son Seth, who came to him in the Cave of Treasures,

and he said unto him: –

2 "O Seth, my son bring me thy children and thy children's children, that I may shed my blessing on them ere I die."

3 When Seth heard these words from his father Adam, he went from him, shed a flood of tears over his face, and gathered together his children and his children's children, and brought them to his father Adam.

4 But when our father Adam saw them around him, he wept at having to be separated from them.

5 And when they saw him weeping, they all wept together, and fell upon his face saying, "How shalt thou be severed from us, O our father? And how shall the earth receive thee and hide thee from our eyes?" Thus did they lament much, and in like words.

6 Then our father Adam blessed them all, and said to Seth, after he had blessed them:–

7 "O Seth, my son, thou knowest this world—that it is full of sorrow, and of weariness; and thou knowest all that has come upon us, from our trials in it I therefore flow command thee in these words: to keep innocency, to be pure and just, and trusting in God; and lean not to the discourses of Satan, nor to the apparitions in which he will show himself to thee.

8 But keep the commandments that I give thee this day; then give the same to thy son Enos; and let Enos give it to his son Cainan; and Cainan to his son Mahalaleel; so that this commandment abide firm among all your children.

9 "O Seth, my son, the moment I am dead take ye my body and wind it up with myrrh, aloes, and cassia, and leave me here in this Cave of Treasures in which are all these tokens which God gave us from the garden.

10 "O my son, hereafter shall a flood come and overwhelm all creatures, and leave out only eight souls.

11 "But, O my son, let those whom it will leave out from among your children at that time, take my body with them out of this cave; and when they have taken it with them, let the oldest among them command his children to

THE SECOND BOOK OF Adam and Eve

lay my body in a ship until the flood has been assuaged, and they come out of the ship.

12 Then they shall take my body and lay it in the middle of the earth, shortly after they have been saved from the waters of the flood.

13 "For the place where my body shall be laid, is the middle of the earth; God shall come from thence and shall save all our kindred.

14 "But now, O Seth, my son, place thyself at the head of thy people; tend them and watch over them in the fear of God; and lead them in the good way. Command them to fast unto God; and make them understand they ought not to hearken to Satan, lest he destroy them.

15 "Then, again, sever thy children and thy children's children from Cain's children; do not let them ever mix with those, nor come near them either in their words or in their deeds."

16 Then Adam let his blessing descend upon Seth, and upon his children, and upon all his children's children.

17 He then turned to his son Seth, and to Eve his wife, and said to them, "Preserve this gold, this incense, and this myrrh, that God has given us for a sign; for in days that are coming, a flood will overwhelm the whole creation. But those who shall go into the ark shall take with them the gold, the incense, and the myrrh, together with my body; and will lay the gold, the incense, and the myrrh, with my body in the midst of the earth.

18 "Then, after a long time, the city in which the gold, the incense, and the myrrh are found with my body, shall be plundered. But when it is spoiled, the gold the incense, and the myrrh shall be taken care of with the spoil that is kept; and naught of them shall perish, until the Word of God, made man shall come; when kings shall take them, and shall offer to Him, gold in token of His being King; incense, in token of His being God of heaven and earth; and myrrh, in token of His passion.

19 "Gold also, as a token of His overcoming Satan, and all our foes; incense as a token that He will rise from the dead, and be exalted above things in heaven and things in the earth; and myrrh, in token that He will drink bitter gall; and feel the pains of hell from Satan.

20 "And now, O Seth, my son, behold I have revealed unto thee hidden mysteries, which God had revealed unto me. Keep my commandment, for thyself, and for thy people."

CHAP. IX.

The death of Adam.

WHEN Adam had ended his commandment to Seth, his limbs were loosened, his hands and feet lost all power, his mouth became dumb, and his tongue ceased altogether to speak. He closed his eyes and gave up the ghost.

2 But when his children saw that he was dead, they threw themselves over him, men and women, old and young, weeping.

3 The death of Adam took place at the end of nine hundred and thirty years that he lived upon the earth; on the fifteenth day of Barmudeh, after the reckoning of an epact of the sun, at the ninth hour.

4 It was on a Friday, the very day on which he was created, and on which he rested; and the hour at which he died, was the same as that at which he came out of the garden.

5 Then Seth wound him up well, and embalmed him with plenty of sweet spices, from sacred trees and from the Holy Mountain; and he laid his body on the eastern side of the inside of the cave, the side of the incense; and placed in front of him a lamp—stand kept burning.

6 Then his children stood before him weeping and wailing over him the whole night until break of day.

7 Then Seth and his son Enos, and Cainan, the son of Enos, went out and took good offerings to present unto the Lord, and they came to the altar upon which Adam offered gifts to God, when he did offer.

8 But Eve said to them, "Wait until we have first asked God to accept our offering, and to keep by Him the soul of Adam His servant, and to take it up to rest."

9 And they all stood up and prayed.

CHAP. X.

"Adam was the first. . ."

AND when they had ended their prayer, the Word of God came and comforted them concerning their father Adam.

2 After this, they offered their gifts for themselves and for their father.

3 And when they had ended their offering, the Word of God came to Seth, the eldest among them, saying unto him, "O Seth, Seth, Seth, three times. As I was with thy father, so also shall I be with thee, until the fulfilment of the promise I made him—thy father saying, I will send My Word and save thee and thy seed.

4 "But as to thy father Adam, keep thou the commandment he gave thee; and sever thy seed from that of Cain thy brother."

5 And God withdrew His Word from Seth.

6 Then Seth, Eve, and their children, came down from the mountain to the Cave of Treasures.

7 But Adam was the first whose soul died in the land of Eden, in the Cave of Treasures; for no one died before him, but his son Abel, who died murdered.

8 Then all the children of Adam rose up, and wept over their father Adam, and made offerings to him, one hundred and forty days.

CHAP. XI.

Seth becomes head of the most happy and just tribe of people who ever lived.

AFTER the death of Adam and of Eve, Seth severed his children, and his children's children, from Cain's children. Cain and his seed went down and dwelt westward, below the place where he had killed his brother Abel.

2 But Seth and his children, dwelt northwards upon the mountain of the Cave of Treasures, in order to be near to their father Adam.

3 And Seth the elder, tall and good, with a fine soul, and of a strong mind, stood at the head of his people; and tended them in innocence, penitence, and meekness, and did not allow one of them to go down to Cain's children.

4 But because of their own purity, they were named "Children of God," and they were with God, instead of the hosts of angels who fell; for they continued in praises to God, and in singing psalms unto Him, in their cave—the Cave of Treasures.

5 Then Seth stood before the body of his father Adam, and of his mother Eve, and prayed night and day, and asked for mercy towards himself and his children; and that when he had some difficult dealing with a child, He would give him counsel.

6 But Seth and his children did not like earthly work, but gave themselves to heavenly things; for they had no other thought than praises, doxologies, and psalms unto God.

7 Therefore did they at all times hear the voices of angels, praising and glorifying God; from within the garden, or when they were sent by God on an errand, or when they were going up to heaven.

8 For Seth and his children, by reason of their own purity, heard and saw those angels. Then, again, the garden was not far above them, but only some fifteen spiritual cubits.

9 Now one spiritual cubit answers to three cubits of man, altogether forty-five cubits.

10 Seth and his children dwelt on the mountain below the garden; they sowed not, neither did they reap; they wrought no food for the body. not even wheat; but only offerings. They ate of the fruit and of trees well flavoured that grew on the mountain where they dwelt.

11 Then Seth often fasted every forty days, as did also his eldest children. For the family of Seth smelled the smell of the trees in the garden, when the wind blew that way.

12 They were happy, innocent, without sudden fear, there was no jealousy, no evil action, no hatred among them. There was no animal passion; from no mouth among them went forth either foul words or curse; neither evil counsel nor fraud. For the men of that time never swore, but under hard circumstances, when men must swear, they swore by the blood of Abel the just.

13 But they constrained their children and their women every day in the cave to fast and pray, and to worship the most High God. They blessed themselves in the body of their father Adam, and anointed themselves with it.

14 And they did so until the end of Seth drew near.

CHAP. XII.

Seth's family affairs. His death. The headship of Enos. How the outcast branch of Adam's family fared.

THEN Seth, the just, called his son Enos, and Cainan, son of Enos, and Mahalaleel, son of Cainan, and said unto them:—

2 "As my end is near, I wish to build a roof over the altar on which gifts are offered."

3 They hearkened to his commandment and went out, all of them, both old and young, and worked hard at it, and built a beautiful roof over the altar.

4 And Seth's thought, in so doing, was that a blessing should come upon his children on the mountain; and that he should present an offering for them before his death.

5 Then when the building of the roof was completed, he commanded them to make offerings. They worked diligently at these, and brought them to Seth their father who took them and offered them upon the altar; and prayed God to accept their offerings, to have mercy on the souls of his children, and to keep them from the hand of Satan.

6 And God accepted his offering, and sent His blessing upon him and upon his children. And then God made a promise to Seth, saying, "At the end of the great five days and a half, concerning which I have made a promise to thee and to thy father, I will send My Word and save thee and thy seed."

7 Then Seth and his children, and his children's children, met together, and came down from the altar, and went to the Cave of Treasures—where they prayed, and blessed themselves in the body of our father Adam, and anointed themselves with it.

8 But Seth abode in the Cave of Treasures, a few days, and then suffered—sufferings unto death.

9 Then Enos, his first—born son, came to him, with Cainan, his son, and Mahalaleel, Cainan's son, and Jared, the son of Mahalaleel, and Enoch, Jared's son, with their wives and children to receive a blessing from Seth.

10 Then Seth prayed over them, and blessed them, and adjured them by the blood of Abel the just, saying, "I beg of you my children, not to let one of you go down from this Holy and pure Mountain.

11 Make no fellowship with the children of Cain the murderer and the sinner, who killed his brother; for ye know, O my children, that we flee from him, and from all his sin with all our might because he killed his brother Abel."

12 After having said this, Seth blessed Enos, his first—born son, and commanded him habitually to minister in purity before the body of our father Adam, all the days of his life; then, also, to go at times to the altar which he Seth had built. And he commanded him to feed his people in righteousness, in judgment and purity all the days of his life.

13 Then the limbs of Seth were loosened; his hands and feet lost all power; his mouth became dumb and unable to speak; and he gave up the ghost and died the day after his nine hundred and twelfth year; on the twenty—seventh day of the month Abib; Enoch being then twenty years old.

14 Then they wound up carefull the body of Seth, and embalmed him with sweet spices, and laid him in the Cave Treasures, on the right side of our father Adam's body, and they mourned for him forty days. They offered gifts for him, as they had done for our father Adam.

15 After the death of Seth, Enos rose at the head of his people, whom he fed in righteousness, and judgment, as his father had commanded him.

16 But by the time Enos was eight hundred and twenty years old, Cain had a large progeny; for they married frequently, being given to animal lusts; until the land below the mountain, was filled with them.

CHAP. XIII.

"Among the children of Cain there was much robbery, murder and Sin."

IN those days lived Lamech the blind, who was of the sons of Cain. He had a son whose name was Atun, and they two had much cattle.

2 But Lamech was in the habit of sending them to feed with a young shepherd, who tended them; and who, when coming home in the evening wept before his grandfather, and before his father Atun and his mother Hazina, and said to them, "As for me, I cannot feed those cattle alone, lest one rob me of some of them, or kill me for the sake of them." For among the children of Cain, there was much robbery, murder and sin.

3 Then Lamech pitied him, and he said, "Truly, he when alone, might be overpowered by the men of this place."

4 So Lamech arose, took a bow he had kept ever since he was a youth, ere he became blind, and he took large arrows, and smooth stones, and a sling which he had, and went to the field with the young shepherd, and placed himself behind the cattle; while the young shepherd watched the cattle. Thus did Lamech many days.

5 Meanwhile Cain, ever since God had cast him off, and had cursed him with trembling and terror, could neither settle nor find rest in any one place; but wandered from place to place.

6 In his wanderings he came to Lamech's wives, and asked them about him. They said to him, "He is in the field with the cattle."

7 Then Cain went to look for him; and as he came into the field, the young shepherd heard the noise he made, and the cattle herding together from before him,

8 Then said he to Lamech, "O my lord, is that a wild beast or a robber?"

9 And Lamech said to him, "Make me understand which way he looks, when he comes up.

10 Then Lamech bent his bow, placed an arrow on it, and fitted a stone in the sling, and when Cain came out from the open country, the shepherd said to Lamech, "Shoot, behold, he is coming."

11 Then Lamech shot at Cain with his arrow and hit him in his side. And Lamech struck him with a stone from his sling, that fell upon his face, and knocked out both his eyes; then Cain fell at once and died.

12 Then Lamech and the young shepherd came up to him, and found him lying on the ground. And the young shepherd said to him, "It is Cain our grandfather, whom thou hast killed, O my lord!"

18 Then was Lamech sorry for it, and from the bitterness of his regret, he clapped his hands together, and struck with his flat palm the head of the youth, who fell as if dead; but Lamech thought it was a feint; so he took up a stone and smote him, and smashed his head until he died.

CHAP. XIV.

Time, like an ever rolling stream, bears away another generation of men.

WHEN Enos was nine hundred years old, all the children of Seth, and of Cainan, and his first-born, with their wives and children, gathered around him, asking for a blessing from him.

2 He then prayed over them and blessed them, and adjured them by the blood of Abel the just saying to them, "Let not one of your children go down from this Holy Mountain, and let them make no fellowship with the children of Cain the murderer."

3 Then Enos called his son Cainan and said to him, "See, O my son, and set thy heart on thy people, and establish them in righteousness, and in innocence; and stand ministering before the body of our father Adam, all the days of thy life."

4 After this Enos entered into rest, aged nine hundred and eighty— five years; and Cainan wound him up, and laid him in the Cave of Treasures on the left of his father Adam; and made offerings for him, after the custom of his fathers.

CHAP. XV.

The offspring of Adam continue to keep the Cave of Treasures as a family shrine.

AFTER the death of Enos, Cainan stood at the head of his people in righteousness and innocence, as his father had commanded him; he also continued to minister before the body of Adam, inside the Cave of Treasures.

2 Then when he had lived nine hundred and ten years, suffering and affliction came upon him. And when he was about to enter into rest, all the fathers with their wives and children came to him, and he blessed them, and adjured them by the blood of Abel, the just, saying to them, "Let not one among you go down from this Holy Mountain; and make no fellowship with the children of Cain the murderer."

3 Mahalaleel, his first—born son, received this commandment from his father, who blessed him and died.

4 Then Mahalaleel embalmed him with sweet spices, and laid him in the Cave of Treasures, with his fathers; and they made offerings for him, after the custom of their fathers.

CHAP. XVI.

The good branch of the family is still afraid of the children of Cain.

THEN Mahalaleel stood over his people, and fed them in righteousness and innocence, and watched them to see they held no intercourse with the children of Cain.

2 He also continued in the Cave of Treasures praying and ministering before the body of our father Adam, asking God for mercy on himself and on his people; until he was eight hundred and seventy years old, when he fell sick.

3 Then all his children gathered unto him, to see him, and to ask for his blessing on them all, ere he left this world.

4 Then Mahalaleel arose and sat on his bed, his tears streaming down his face, and he called his eldest son Jared, who came to him.

5 He then kissed his face, and said to him, "O Jared, my son, I adjure thee by Him who made heaven and earth, to watch over thy people, and to feed them in righteousness and in innocence; and not to let one of them go down from this Holy Mountain to the children of Cain, lest he perish with them.

6 "Hear, O my son, hereafter there shall come a great destruction upon this earth on account of them; God will be angry with the world, and will destroy them with waters.

7 "But I also know that thy children will not hearken to thee, and that they will go down from this mountain and hold intercourse with the children of Cain, and that they shall perish with them.

8 "O my son! teach them, and watch over them, that no guilt attach to thee on their account."

9 Mahalaleel said, moreover, to his son Jared, "When I die, embalm my body and lay it in the Cave of Treasures, by the bodies of my fathers; then stand thou by my body and pray to God; and take care of them, and fulfil thy ministry before them, until thou enterest into rest thyself."

10 Mahalaleel then blessed all his children; and then lay down on his bed, and entered into rest like his fathers.

11 But when Jared saw that his father Mahalaleel was dead, he wept, and sorrowed, and embraced and kissed his hands and his feet; and so did all his children.

12 And his children embalmed him carefully, and laid him by the bodies of his fathers. Then they arose, and mourned for him forty days.

CHAP. XVII.

Jared turns martinet. He is lured away to the land of Cain where he sees many voluptuous sights. Jared barely escapes with a clean heart.

THEN Jared kept his father's commandment, and arose like a lion over his people. He fed them in righteousness and innocence, and commanded them to do nothing without his counsel. For he was afraid concerning them, lest they should go to the children of Cain.

2 Wherefore did he give them orders repeatedly; and continued to do so until the end of the four hundred and eighty-fifth year of his life.

3 At the end of these said years, there came unto him this sign. As Jared was standing like a lion before the bodies of his fathers, praying and warning his people, Satan envied him, and wrought a beautiful apparition, because Jared would not let his children do aught without his counsel.

4 Satan then appeared to him with thirty men of his hosts, in the form of handsome men; Satan himself being the elder and tallest among them, with a fine beard.

5 They stood at the mouth of the cave, and called out Jared, from within it.

6 He came out to them, and found them looking like fine men, full of light, and of great beauty. He wondered at their beauty and at their looks; and thought within himself whether they might not be of the children of Cain.

7 He said also in his heart, "As the children of Cain cannot come up to the height of this mountain, and none of them is so handsome as these appear to be; and among these men there is not one of my kindred – they must be strangers."

8 Then Jared and they exchanged a greeting and he said to the elder among them, "O my father, explain to me the wonder that is in thee, and tell me who these are, with thee; for they look to me like strange men."

9 Then the elder began to weep, and the rest wept with him; and he said to Jared, "I am Adam whom God made first; and this is Abel my son, who was killed by his brother Cain, into whose heart Satan put to murder him.

10 "Then this is my son Seth, whom I asked of the Lord, who gave him to me, to comfort me instead of Abel.

11 "Then this one is my son Enos, son of Seth, and that other one is Cainan, son of Enos, and that other one is Mahalaleel, son of Cainan, thy father."

12 But Jared remained wondering at their appearance, and at the speech of the elder to him.

13 Then the elder said to him, "Marvel not, O my son; we live in the land north of the garden, which God created before the world. He would not let us live there, but placed us inside the garden, below which ye are now dwelling.

14 "But after that I transgressed, He made me come out of it, and I was left to dwell in this cave; great and sore troubles came upon me; and when my death drew near, I commanded my son Seth to tend his people well; and this my commandment is to be handed from one to another, unto the end of the generations to come.

15 "But, O Jared, my son, we live in beautiful regions, while you live here in misery, as this thy father Mahalaleel informed me; telling me that a great flood will come and overwhelm the whole earth.

16 "Therefore, O my son, fearing for your sakes, I rose and took my children with me, and came hither for us to visit thee and thy children; but I found thee standing in this cave weeping, and thy children scattered about this mountain, in the heat and in misery.

17 "But, O my son, as we missed our way, and came as far as this, we found other men below this mountain; who inhabit a beautiful country, full of trees and of fruits, and of all manner of verdure; it is like a garden; so that when we found them we thought they were you; until thy father Mahalaleel told me they were no such thing.

18 "Now, therefore, O my son, hearken to my counsel, and go down to them, thou and thy children. Ye will rest from all this suffering in which ye are. But if thou wilt not go down to them, then, arise, take thy children, and come with us to our garden; ye shall live in our beautiful land, and ye shall rest from all this trouble, which thou and thy children are now bearing."

19 But Jared when he heard this discourse from the elder, wondered; and went hither and thither, but at that moment he found not one of his children.

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20 Then he answered and said to the elder, "Why have you hidden yourselves until this day?"

21 And the elder replied, "If thy father had not told us, we should not have known it."

22 Then Jared believed his words were true.

23 So that elder said to Jared, "Wherefore didst thou turn about, so and so?" And he said, "I was seeking one of my children, to tell him about my going with you, and about their coming down to those about whom thou hast spoken to me."

24 When the elder heard Jared's intention, he said to him, "Let alone that purpose at present, and come with us; thou shalt see our country; if the land in which we dwell pleases thee, we and thou shall return hither and take thy family with us. But if our country does not please thee, thou shalt come back to thine own place."

25 And the elder urged Jared, to go before one of his children came to counsel him otherwise.

26 Jared, then, came out of the cave and went with them, and among them. And they comforted him, until they came to the top of the mountain of the sons of Cain.

27 Then said the elder to one of his companions, "We have forgotten something by the mouth of the cave, and that is the chosen garment we had brought to clothe Jared withal."

28 He then said to one of them, "Go back, thou, some one; and we will wait for thee here, until thou come back. Then will we clothe Jared and he shall be like us, good, handsome, and fit to come with us into our country."

29 Then that one went back.

30 But when he was a short distance off, the elder called to him and said to him, "Tarry thou, until I come up and speak to thee."

31 Then he stood still, and the elder went up to him and said to him, "One thing we forgot at the cave, it is this—to put out the lamp that burns inside it, above the bodies that are therein. Then come back to us, quick."

32 That one went, and the elder came back to his fellows and to Jared. And they came down from the mountain, and Jared with them; and they stayed by a fountain of water, near the houses of the children of Cain and waited for their companion until he brought the garment for Jared.

33 He, then, who went back to the cave, put out the lamp, and came to them and brought a phantom with him and showed it them. And when Jared saw it he wondered at the beauty and grace thereof, and rejoiced in his heart believing it was all true.

34 But while they were staying there, three of them went into houses of the sons of Cain and said to them, "Bring us to—day some food by the fountain of water, for us and our companions to eat."

35 But when the sons of Cain saw them, they wondered at them and thought: "These are beautiful to look at, and such as we never saw before." So they rose and came with them to the fountain of water, to see their companions.

36 They found them so very handsome, that they cried aloud about their places for others to gather together and come and look at these beautiful beings. Then they gathered around them both men and women.

37 Then the elder said to them, "We are strangers in your land, bring us some good food and drink, you and your women, to refresh ourselves with you."

38 When those men heard these words of the elder, every one of Cain's sons brought his wife, and another brought his daughter, and so, many women came to them; every one addressing Jared either for himself or for his wife; all alike.

39 But when Jared saw what they did, his very soul wrenched itself from them; neither would he taste of their food or of their drink.

40 The elder saw him as he wrenched himself from them, and said to him, "Be not sad; I am the great elder, as thou shalt see me do, do thyself in like manner."

41 Then he spread his hands and took one of the women, and five of his companions did the same before Jared, that he should do as they did.

42 But when Jared saw them working infamy he wept, and said in his mind,—My fathers never did the like.

43 He then spread his hands and prayed with a fervent heart, and with much weeping, and entreated God to deliver him from their hands.

44 No sooner did Jared begin to pray than the elder fled with his companions; for they could not abide in a place of prayer.

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45 Then Jared turned round but could not see them, but found himself standing in the midst of the children of Cain.

46 He then wept and said, "O God, destroy me not with this race, concerning which my fathers have warned me; for now, O my Lord God, I was thinking that those who appeared unto me were my fathers; but I have found them out to be devils, who allured me by this beautiful apparition, until I believed them.

47 "But now I ask Thee, O God, to deliver me from this race, among whom I am now staying, as Thou didst deliver me from those devils. Send Thy angel to draw me out of the midst of them; for I have not myself power to escape from among them."

48 When Jared had ended his prayer, God sent His angel in the midst of them, who took Jared and set him upon the mountain, and showed him the way, gave him counsel, and then departed from him.

CHAP. XVIII.

Confusion in the Cave of Treasures. Miraculous speech of the dead Adam.

THE children of Jared were in the habit of visiting him hour after hour, to receive his blessing and to ask his advice for every thing they did; and when he had a work to do, they did it for him.

2 But this time when they went into the cave they found not Jared, but they found the lamp put out, and the bodies of the fathers thrown about, and voices came from them by the power of God, that said, "Satan in an apparition has deceived our son, wishing to destroy him, as he destroyed our son Cain."

3 They said also, "Lord God of heaven and earth, deliver our son from the hand of Satan, who wrought a great and false apparition before him." They also spake of other matters, by the power of God.

4 But when the children of Jared heard these voices they feared, and stood weeping for their father; for they knew not what had befallen him.

5 And they wept for him that day until the setting of the sun.

6 Then came Jared with a woeful countenance, wretched in mind and body, and sorrowful at having been separated from the bodies of his fathers.

7 But as he was drawing near to the cave, his children saw him, and hastened to the cave, and hung upon his neck, crying, and saying to him, "O father, where hast thou been, and why hast thou left us, as thou wast not wont to do?" And again, "O father, when thou didst disappear, the lamp over the bodies of our fathers went out, the bodies were thrown about, and voices came from them"

8 When Jared heard this he was sorry, and went into the cave; and there found the bodies thrown about, the lamp put out, and the fathers themselves praying for his deliverance from the hand of Satan.

9 Then Jared fell upon the bodies and embraced them, and said, "O my fathers, through your intercession, let God deliver me from the hand of Satan! And I beg you will ask God to keep me and to hide me from him unto the day of my death."

10 Then all the voices ceased save the voice of our father Adam, who spake to Jared by the power of God, just as one would speak to his fellow, saying, "O Jared, my son, offer gifts to God for having delivered thee from the hand of Satan; and when thou bringest those offerings, so be it that thou offerest them on the altar on which I did offer. Then also, beware of Satan; for he deluded me many a time with his apparitions, wishing to destroy me, but God delivered me out of his hand.

11 "Command thy people that they be on their guard against him; and never cease to offer up gifts to God."

12 Then the voice of Adam also became silent; and Jared and his children wondered at this. Then they laid the bodies as they were at first; and Jared and his children stood praying the whole of that night, until break of day.

13 Then Jared made an offering and offered it up on the altar, as Adam had commanded him. And as he went up to the altar, he prayed to God for mercy and for forgiveness of his sin, concerning the lamp going out.

14 Then God appeared unto Jared on the altar and blessed him and his children, and accepted their offerings; and commanded Jared to take of the sacred fire from the altar, and with it to light the lamp that shed light on the body of Adam.

CHAP. XIX.

The children of Jared are led astray.

THEN God revealed to him again the promise He had made to Adam; He explained to him the 5500 years, and revealed unto him the mystery of His coming upon the earth.

2 And God said to Jared, "As to that fire which thou hast taken from the altar to light the lamp withal, let it abide with you to give light to the bodies; and let it not come out of the cave, until the body of Adam comes out of it.

3 But, O Jared, take care of the fire, that it burn bright in the lamp; neither go thou again out of the cave until thou receivest an order through a vision, and not in an apparition, when seen by thee.

4 "Then command again thy people not to hold intercourse with the children of Cain, and not to learn their ways; for I am God who loves not hatred and works of iniquity."

5 God gave also many other commandments to Jared, and blessed him. And then withdrew His Word from him.

6 Then Jared drew near with his children, took some fire, and came down to the cave, and lighted the lamp before the body of Adam; and he gave his people commandments as God had told him to do.

7 This sign happened to Jared at the end of his four hundred and fiftieth year; as did also many other wonders, we do not record. But we record only this one for shortness sake, and in order not to lengthen our narrative.

8 And Jared continued to teach his children eighty years; but after that they began to transgress the commandments he had given them, and to do many things without his counsel. They began to go down from the Holy Mountain one after another, and to mix with the children of Cain, in foul fellowships.

9 Now the reason for which the children of Jared went down the Holy Mountain, is this, that we will now reveal unto you.

CHAP. XX.

Ravishing music; strong drink loosed among the sons of Cain. They don colorful clothing. The children of Seth look on with longing eyes. They revolt from wise counsel; they descend the mountain into the valley of iniquity. They can not ascend the mountain again.

AFTER Cain had gone down to the land of dark soil, and his children had multiplied therein, there was one of them, whose name was Genun, son of Lamech the blind who slew Cain.

2 But as to this Genun, Satan came into him in his childhood; and he made sundry trumpets and horns, and string instruments, cymbals and psalteries, and lyres and harps, and flutes; and he played on them at all times and at every hour.

3 And when he played on them, Satan came into them, so that from among them were heard beautiful and sweet sounds, that ravished the heart.

4 Then he gathered companies upon companies to play on them; and when they played, it pleased well the children of Cain, who inflamed themselves with sin among themselves, and burnt as with fire; while Satan inflamed their hearts, one with another, and increased lust among them.

5 Satan also taught Genun to bring strong drink out of corn; and this Genun used to bring together companies upon companies in drink-houses; and brought into their hands all manner of fruits and flowers; and they drank together.

6 Thus did this Genun multiply sin exceedingly; he also acted with pride, and taught the children of Cain to commit all manner of the grossest wickedness, which they knew not; and put them up to manifold doings which they knew not before.

7 Then Satan, when he saw that they yielded to Genun and hearkened to him in every thing he told them, rejoiced greatly, increased Genun's understanding until he took iron and with it made weapons of war.

8 Then when they were drunk, hatred and murder increased among them; one man used violence against another to teach him evil taking his children and defiling them before him.

9 And when men saw they were overcome, and saw others that were not overpowered, those who were beaten came to Genun, took refuge with him, and he made them his confederates.

10 Then sin increased among them greatly; until a man married his own sister, or daughter, or mother, and others; or the daughter of his father's sister, so that there was no more distinction of relationship, and they no longer knew what is iniquity; but did wickedly, and the earth was defiled with sin; and they angered God the Judge, who had created them.

11 But Genun gathered together companies upon companies, that played on horns and on all the other instruments we have already mentioned, at the foot of the Holy Mountain; and they did so in order that the children of Seth who were on the Holy Mountain should hear it.

12 But when the children of Seth heard the noise, they wondered, and came by companies, and stood on the top of the mountain to look at those below; and they did thus a whole year.

13 When, at the end of that year, Genun saw that they were being won over to him little by little, Satan entered into him, and taught him to make dyeing—stuffs for garments of divers patterns, and made him understand how to dye crimson and purple and what not.

14 And the sons of Cain who wrought all this, and shone in beauty and gorgeous apparel, gathered together at the foot of the mountain in splendour, with horns and gorgeous dresses, and horse races, committing all manner of abominations.

15 Meanwhile the children of Seth, who were on the Holy Mountain, prayed and praised God, in the place of the hosts of angels who had fallen; wherefore God had called them 'angels,' because He rejoiced over them greatly.

16 But after this, they no longer kept His commandment, nor held by the promise He had made to their fathers; but they relaxed from their fasting and praying, and from the counsel of Jared their father. And they kept on gathering together on the top of the mountain, to look upon the children of Cain, from morning until evening, and

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upon what they did, upon their beautiful dresses and ornaments.

17 Then the children of Cain looked up from below, and saw the children of Seth, standing in troops on the top of the mountain; and they called to them to come down to them.

18 But the children of Seth said to them from above, "We don't know the way." Then Genun, the son of Lamech, heard them say they did not know the way, and he bethought himself how he might bring them down.

19 Then Satan appeared to him by night, saying, "There is no way for them to come down from the mountain on which they dwell; but when they come to-morrow, say to them, 'Come ye to the western side of the mountain; there you will find the way of a stream of water, that comes down to the foot of the mountain, between two hills; come down that way to us.'"

20 Then when it was day, Genun blew the horns and beat the drums below the mountain, as he was wont. The children of Seth heard it, and came as they used to do.

21 Then Genun said to them from down below, "Go to the western side of the mountain, there you will find the way to come down."

22 But when the children of Seth heard these words from him, they went back into the cave to Jared, to tell him all they had heard.

23 Then when Jared heard it, he was grieved; for he knew that they would transgress his counsel.

24 After this a hundred men of the children of Seth gathered together, and said among themselves, "Come, let us go down to the children of Cain, and see what they do, and enjoy ourselves with them."

25 But when Jared heard this of the hundred men, his very soul was moved, and his heart was grieved. He then arose with great fervour, and stood in the midst of them, and adjured them by the blood of Abel the just, "Let not one of you go down from this holy and pure mountain, in which our fathers have ordered us to dwell."

26 But when Jared saw that they did not receive his words, he said unto them, "O my good and innocent and holy children, know that when once you go down from this holy mountain, God will not allow you to return again to it."

27 He again adjured them, saying, "I adjure by the death of our father Adam, and by the blood of Abel, of Seth, of Enos, of Cainan, and of Mahalaleel, to hearken to me, and not to go down from this holy mountain; for the moment you leave it, you will be reft of life and of mercy; and you shall no longer be called 'children of God,' but 'children of the devil.'"

28 But they would not hearken to his words.

29 Enoch at that time was already grown up, and in his zeal for God, he arose and said, "Hear me, O ye sons of Seth, small and great—when ye transgress the commandment of our fathers, and go down from this holy mountain—ye shall not come up hither again for ever."

30 But they rose up against Enoch, and would not hearken to his words, but went down from the Holy Mountain.

31 And when they looked at the daughters of Cain, at their beautiful figures, and at their hands and feet dyed with colour, and tattooed in ornaments on their faces, the fire of sin was kindled in them.

32 Then Satan made them look most beautiful before the sons of Seth, as he also made the sons of Seth appear of the fairest in the eyes of the daughters of Cain, so that the daughters of Cain lusted after the sons of Seth like ravenous beasts, and the sons of Seth after the daughters of Cain, until they committed abomination with them.

33 But after they had thus fallen into this defilement, they returned by the way they had come, and tried to ascend the Holy Mountain. But they could not, because the stones of that holy mountain were of fire flashing before them, by reason of which they could not go up again.

34 And God was angry with them, and repented of them because they had come down from glory, and had thereby lost or forsaken their own purity or innocence, and were fallen into the defilement of sin.

35 Then God sent His Word to Jared, saying, "These thy children, whom thou didst call 'My children,'—behold they have transgressed My commandment, and have gone down to the abode of perdition, and of sin. Send a messenger to those that are left, that they may not go down, and be lost."

36 Then Jared wept before the Lord, and asked of Him mercy and forgiveness. But he wished that his soul might depart from his body, rather than hear these words from God about the going down of his children from the Holy Mountain.

37 But he followed God's order, and preached unto them not to go down from that holy mountain, and not to

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hold intercourse with the children of Cain.

38 But they heeded not his message, and would not obey his counsel.

CHAP. XXI.

Jared dies in sorrow for his sons who had gone astray. A prediction of the Flood.

AFTER this another company gathered together, and they went to look after their brethren; but they perished as well as they. And so it was, company after company, until only a few of them were left.

2 Then Jared sickened from grief, and his sickness was such that the day of his death drew near.

3 Then he called Enoch his eldest son, and Methuselah Enoch's son, and Lamech the son of Methuselah, and Noah the son of Lamech.

4 And when they were come to him he prayed over them and blessed them, and said to them, "Ye are righteous, innocent sons; go ye not down from this holy mountain; for behold, your children and your children's children have gone down from this holy mountain, and have estranged themselves from this holy mountain, through their abominable lust and transgression of God's commandment.

5 "But I know, through the power of God, that He will not leave you on this holy mountain, because your children have transgressed His commandment and that of our fathers, which we had received from them.

6 "But, O my sons, God will take you to a strange land, and ye never shall again return to behold with your eyes this garden and this holy mountain.

7 "Therefore, O my sons, set your hearts on your own selves, and keep the commandment of God which is with you. And when you go from this holy mountain, into a strange land which ye know not, take with you the body of our father Adam, and with it these three precious gifts and offerings, namely, the gold, the incense, and the myrrh; and let them be in the place where the body of our father Adam shall lay.

8 "And unto him of you who shall be left, O my sons, shall the Word of God come, and when he goes out of this land he shall take with him the body of our father Adam, and shall lay it in the middle of the earth, the place in which salvation shall be wrought."

9 Then Noah said unto him, "Who is he of us that shall be left?"

10 And Jared answered, "Thou art he that shall be left. And thou shalt take the body of our father Adam from the cave, and place it with thee in the ark when the flood comes.

11 "And thy son Shem, who shall come out of thy loins, he it is who shall lay the body of our father Adam in the middle of the earth, in the place whence salvation shall come."

12 Then Jared turned to his son Enoch, and said unto him "Thou, my son, abide in this cave, and minister diligently before the body of our father Adam all the days of thy life; and feed thy people in righteousness and innocence."

13 And Jared said no more. His hands were loosened, his eyes closed, and he entered into rest like his fathers. His death took place in the three hundred and sixtieth year of Noah, and in the nine hundred and eighty-ninth year of his own life; on the twelfth of Takhsas on a Friday.

14 But as Jared died, tears streamed down his face by reason of his great sorrow, for the children of Seth, who had fallen in his days.

15 Then Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah, these four, wept over him; embalmed him carefully, and then laid him in the Cave of Treasures. Then they rose and mourned for him forty days.

16 And when these days of mourning were ended, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah remained in sorrow of heart, because their father had departed from them, and they saw him no more.

CHAP. XXII.

Only three righteous men left in the world. The evil conditions of men prior to the Flood.

BUT Enoch kept the commandment of Jared his father, and continued to minister in the cave.

2 It is this Enoch to whom many wonders happened, and who also wrote a celebrated book; but those wonders may not be told in this place.

3 Then after this, the children of Seth went astray and fell, they, their children and their wives. And when Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah saw them, their hearts suffered by reason of their fall into doubt full of unbelief; and they wept and sought of God mercy, to preserve them, and to bring them out of that wicked generation.

4 Enoch continued in his ministry before the Lord three hundred and eighty-five years, and at the end of that time he became aware through the grace of God, that God intended to remove him from the earth.

5 He then said to his son, "O my son, I know that God intends to bring the waters of the Flood upon the earth, and to destroy our creation.

6 "And ye are the last rulers over this people on this mountain; for I know that not one will be left you to beget children on this holy mountain; neither shall any one of you rule over the children of his people; neither shall any great company be left of you, on this mountain."

7 Enoch said also to them, "Watch over your souls, and hold fast by your fear of God and by your service of Him, and worship Him in upright faith, and serve Him in righteousness, innocence and judgment, in repentance and also in purity."

8 When Enoch had ended his commandments to them, God transported him from that mountain to the land of life, to the mansions of the righteous and of the chosen, the abode of Paradise of joy, in light that reaches up to heaven; light that is outside the light of this world; for it is the light of God, that fills the whole world, but which no place can contain.

9 Thus, because Enoch was in the light of God, he found himself out of the reach of death; until God would have him die.

10 Altogether, not one of our fathers or of their children, remained on that holy mountain, except those three, Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah. For all the rest went down from the mountain and fell into sin with the children of Cain. Therefore were they forbidden that mountain, and none remained on it but those three men.

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In Translations by

REV. R. H. CHARLES, D.D., Fellow of the British Academy; REV.
F. C. CONYBEARE, D.D., Officier de l'Académie Française; B. HARRIS
COWPER, editor of the "Journal of Sacred Literature"; J. RENDEL
HARRIS, LL.D.; L. S. A. WELLS, M.A., of Ripon Theological Col-
lege; REV. H. MALDWYN HUGHES, D.D., and other authorities.

With a Brief Bibliography by

PROF. EDWARD H. JOHNS, Ph.D.

With an Historical Survey and Descriptions by

PROF. CHARLES F. HORNE, Ph.D.

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OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

“ And I, Eve, cried with a loud voice: ‘ Pity me, O Lord, my creator! For my sake Adam suffereth thus.’ ”

—THE BOOK OF EVE.

“ And Michael himself worshiped first; then he called me [the devil] and said: ‘ Worship the image of God the Lord.’ And I answered, ‘ I have no need to worship Adam.’ ”

—THE LIVES OF ADAM AND EVE.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

(INTRODUCTION)

THE books of Adam and Eve belong to the third class of apocrypha described in the general introduction. That is, they must originally have been Jewish works, and were told probably with no intention to deceive. Jewish legends about Adam were numerous and very old, and the Jewish literary custom was well established of writing ethical works in the form of a survey of history which was presented as the prophecy of some early patriarch. Then during the Christian ages these old legends and prophecies of Adam were gathered into one book, a Latin "Lives of Adam and Eve." During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this was translated into almost every European tongue, and was immensely popular. The Jewish originals of this work are no longer known, but the date of their composition must have been somewhere during the very earliest Christian centuries, for the tone of the "Lives" echoes the Jewish religious views of that date, with occasional Christian additions.

Our second book, the Apocalypse of Moses, is a similar medieval work, which in many places parallels the "Lives" so closely, that both must have a common source. The name is, however, a medieval blunder. An apocalypse of Moses would mean Moses's vision of the future of the world, whereas the vision here is only of the past and of the glory of God, and is in no way definitely connected with Moses. These two books, then, are really the final depository of all the oldest legends of Adam and Eve, combined with the visions of some religious enthusiast who rises to a true poetic rapture in his thoughts of God.

It is to be noticed that the Apocalypse of Moses consists

largely of Eve's own narrative of what she had seen and done. This is still further expanded in our third brief book, which is really but a fragment drawn from a Slavonic version of the story. This Slavonic tale touches chiefly on the human and tragic side of the events and brings us keenly into touch with the sorrow of earth's first "mother thoughts" for the protection of men.

OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

THE LIVES OF ADAM AND EVE¹

CHAPTER I

When they were driven out from paradise, they made themselves a booth, and spent seven days mourning and lamenting in great grief.

CHAPTER II

But after seven days, they began to be hungry and started to look for victual to eat, and they found it not. Then Eve said to Adam: "My lord, I am hungry. Go, look for something for us to eat. Perchance the Lord God will look back and pity us and recall us to the place in which we were before."

CHAPTER III

And Adam arose and walked seven days over all that land, and found no victual such as they used to have in paradise. And Eve said to Adam: "Wilt thou slay me? that I may die, and perchance God the Lord will bring thee into paradise, for on my account hast thou been driven thence." Adam answered: "Forbear, Eve, from such words, that peradventure God bring not some other curse upon us. How is it possible that I should stretch forth my hand against my own flesh? Nay, let us arise and look for something for us to live on, that we fail not."

CHAPTER IV

And they walked about and searched for nine days, and they found none such as they were used to have in paradise,

¹ The best and most recent translations of most of the Old Testament apocrypha are those in the great scholarly work of Rev. R. H. Charles, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament," published in England by Oxford University. The translations of Old Testament apocrypha in the present volume are largely from the work of Dr. Charles and his fellow laborers, simplified for public use.

but found only animals' food. And Adam said to Eve: "This hath the Lord provided for animals and brutes to eat; but we used to have angels' food. But it is just and right that we lament before the sight of God who made us. Let us repent with a great penitence: perchance the Lord will be gracious to us and will pity us and give us a share of something for our living."

CHAPTER V

And Eve said to Adam: "What is penitence? Tell me, what sort of penitence am I to do? Let us not put too great a labor on ourselves, which we can not endure, so that the Lord will not harken to our prayers: and will turn away His countenance from us, because we have not fulfilled what we promised. My lord, how much penitence hast thou thought to do, for I have brought trouble and anguish upon thee?"

CHAPTER VI

And Adam said to Eve: "Thou canst not do so much as I, but do only so much as thou hast strength for. For I will spend forty days fasting, but do thou arise and go to the River Tigris and lift up a stone and stand on it in the water up to thy neck in the deep of the river. And let no speech proceed out of thy mouth, since we are unworthy to address the Lord, for our lips are unclean from the unlawful and forbidden tree. And do thou stand in the water of the river thirty-seven days. But I will spend forty days in the water of Jordan,² perchance the Lord God will take pity upon us."

CHAPTER VII

And Eve walked to the River Tigris and did as Adam had told her. Likewise, Adam walked to the River Jordan and stood on a stone up to his neck in water.

² "Jordan." Probably changed by Christian editor from "Gihon," where Jews placed Adam's penitence, for we expect another river of Paradise.

CHAPTER VIII

And Adam said: "I tell thee, water of Jordan, grieve with me, and assemble to me all swimming creatures, which are in thee, and let them surround me and mourn in company with me. Not for themselves let them lament, but for me; for it is not they that have sinned, but I."

Forthwith, all living things came and surrounded him, and, from that hour the water of the Jordan stood still and its current was stayed."

CHAPTER IX

And eighteen days passed by; then Satan was wroth and transformed himself into the brightness of angels, and went away to the River Tigris to Eve, and found her weeping, and the devil himself pretended to grieve with her, and he began to weep and said to her: "Come out of the river and lament no more. Cease now from sorrow and moans. Why art thou anxious and thy husband Adam? The Lord God hath heard your groaning and hath accepted your penitence, and all we angels have entreated on your behalf, and made supplication to the Lord; and he hath sent me to bring you out of the water and give you the nourishment which you had in paradise, and for which you are crying out. Now come out of the water and I will conduct you to the place where your victual hath been made ready."

CHAPTER X

But Eve heard and believed and went out of the water of the river, and her flesh was trembling like grass, from the chill of the water. And when she had gone out, she fell on the earth and the devil raised her up and led her to Adam. But when Adam had seen her and the devil with her, he wept and cried aloud and said: "O Eve, Eve, where is the labor of thy penitence? How hast thou been again ensnared by our adversary, by whose means we have been estranged from our abode in paradise and spiritual joy?"

CHAPTER XI

And when she heard this, Eve understood that it was the devil who had persuaded her to go out of the river; and she fell on her face on the earth, and her sorrow and groaning and wailing were redoubled. And she cried out and said: "Woe unto thee, thou devil. Why dost thou attack us for no cause? What hast thou to do with us? What have we done to thee? for thou pursuest us with craft. Or why doth thy malice assail us? Have we taken away thy glory and caused thee to be without honor? Why dost thou harry us, thou enemy, and persecute us to the death in wickedness and envy?"

The Fall of the Devil

CHAPTER XII

And with a heavy sigh, the devil spake: "O Adam! all my hostility, envy, and sorrow is for thee, since it is for thee that I have been expelled from my glory, which I possessed in the heavens in the midst of the angels, and for thee was I cast out in the earth." Adam answered, "What dost thou tell me? What have I done to thee or what is my fault against thee? Seeing that thou hast received no harm or injury from us, why dost thou pursue us?"

CHAPTER XIII

The devil replied, "Adam, what dost thou tell me? It is for thy sake that I have been hurled from that place. When thou wast formed, I was hurled out of the presence of God and banished from the company of the angels. When God blew into thee the breath of life and thy face and likeness was made in the image of God, Michael also brought thee and made us worship thee in the sight of God; and God the Lord spake: Here is Adam. I have made thee in our image and likeness."

CHAPTER XIV

And Michael went out and called all the angels saying: "Worship the image of God as the Lord God hath commanded."

And Michael himself worshiped first; then he called me and said: "Worship the image of God the Lord." And I answered, "I have no need to worship Adam." And since Michael kept urging me to worship, I said to him, "Why dost thou urge me? I will not worship an inferior and younger being than I. I am his senior in the Creation, before he was made was I already made. It is his duty to worship me."

CHAPTER XV

When the angels, who were under me, heard this, they refused to worship him. And Michael saith, "Worship the image of God, but if thou wilt not worship him the Lord God will be wroth with thee." And I said, "If He be wroth with me, I will set my seat above the stars of heaven and will be like the Highest."

CHAPTER XVI

"And God the Lord was wroth with me and banished me and my angels from our glory; and on thy account were we expelled from our abodes into this world and hurled on the earth. And straightway we were overcome with grief, since we had been spoiled of so great glory. And we were grieved when we saw thee in such joy and luxury. And with guile I cheated thy wife and caused thee to be expelled through her doing from thy joy and luxury, as I have been driven out of my glory."

CHAPTER XVII

When Adam heard the devil say this, he cried out and wept, and spake: "O Lord my God, my life is in thy hands. Banish this Adversary far from me, who seeketh to destroy my soul, and give me his glory which he himself hath lost." And at that moment the devil vanished before him. But

Adam endured in his penance, standing for forty days on end in the water of Jordan.

Cain and Abel

CHAPTER XVIII

And Eve said to Adam: "Live thou, my lord, to thee life is granted, since thou hast committed neither the first nor the second error. But I have erred and been led astray, for I have not kept the commandment of God; and now banish me from the light of thy life and I will go to the sunsetting, and there will I be, until I die." And she began to walk toward the western parts and to mourn and to weep bitterly and groan aloud. And she made there a booth, while she had in her womb offspring of three months old.

CHAPTER XIX

And when the time of her bearing approached, she began to be distressed with pains, and she cried aloud to the Lord and said: "Pity me, O Lord; assist me." And she was not heard, and the mercy of God did not encircle her. And she said to herself: "Who shall tell my lord Adam? I implore you, ye luminaries of heaven, what time ye return to the east, bear a message to my lord Adam."

CHAPTER XX

But in that hour Adam said: "The complaint of Eve hath come to me. Perchance, once more hath the serpent fought with her."

And he went and found her in great distress. And Eve said: "From the moment I saw thee, my lord, my grief-laden soul was refreshed. And now entreat the Lord God on my behalf to harken unto thee and look upon me and free me from my awful pains." And Adam entreated the Lord for Eve.

CHAPTER XXI

And behold, there came twelve angels and two "virtues," standing on the right and on the left of Eve; and Michael

was standing on the right; and he stroked her on the face as far as to the breast, and said to Eve: "Blessed art thou, Eve, for Adam's sake. Since his prayers and intercessions are great, I have been sent that thou mayst receive our help. Rise up now, and prepare thee to bear." And she bore a son and he was shining; and at once the babe rose up and ran and bore a blade of grass in his hands, and gave it to his mother, and his name was called Cain.

CHAPTER XXII

And Adam carried Eve and the boy and led them to the East. And the Lord God sent divers seeds by Michael the archangel and gave to Adam and showed him how to work and till the ground, that they might have fruit by which they and all their generations might live.

For thereafter Eve conceived and bare a son, whose name was Abel; and Cain and Abel used to stay together.

And Eve said to Adam: "My lord, while I slept, I saw a vision, as it were the blood of our son Abel in the hand of Cain, who was gulping it down in his mouth. Therefore I have sorrow."

And Adam said, "Alas if Cain slew Abel. Yet let us separate them from each other mutually, and let us make for each of them separate dwellings."

CHAPTER XXIII

And they made Cain an husbandman, but Abel they made a shepherd; in order that in this wise they might be mutually separated. And thereafter, Cain slew Abel, but Adam was then one hundred and thirty years old, but Abel was slain when he was one hundred and twenty-two years.

And thereafter Adam knew his wife and he begat a son and called his name Seth.

CHAPTER XXIV

And Adam said to Eve, "Behold, I have begotten a son, in place of Abel, whom Cain slew." And after Adam had begotten Seth, he lived eight hundred years and begat thirty

sons and thirty daughters; in all sixty-three children. And they were increased over the face of the earth in their nations.

The Vision of Adam

CHAPTER XXV

And Adam said to Seth, "Hear, my son, Seth, that I may relate to thee what I heard and saw after your mother and I had been driven out of paradise. When we were at prayer, there came to me Michael the archangel, a messenger of God. And I saw a chariot like the wind, and its wheels were fiery, and I was caught up into the paradise of righteousness, and I saw the Lord sitting and his face was flaming fire that could not be endured. And many thousands of angels were on the right and left of that chariot.

CHAPTER XXVI

When I saw this I was confounded, and terror seized me, and I bowed myself down before God with my face to the earth. And God said to me, "Behold thou diest, since thou hast transgressed the commandment of God, for thou didst harken rather to the voice of thy wife, whom I gave into thy power, that thou mightest hold her to thy will. Yet thou didst listen to her and didst pass by My words."

CHAPTER XXVII

And when I heard these words of God, I fell prone on the earth and worshiped the Lord and said, "My Lord, All powerful and merciful God, Holy and Righteous One, let not the name that is mindful of Thy majesty be blotted out, but convert my soul, for I die and my breath will go out of my mouth. Cast me not out from Thy presence, me whom Thou didst form of the clay of the earth. Do not banish from Thy favor him whom Thou didst nourish."

And lo! a word concerning thee came upon me, and the Lord said to me, "Since thy days were fashioned, thou hast been created with a love of knowledge; therefore there shall not be taken from thy seed forever the right to serve Me."

CHAPTER XXVIII

And when I heard these words, I threw myself on the earth and adored the Lord God, and said, "Thou art the eternal and supreme God; and all creatures give Thee honor and praise.

"Thou art the true Light gleaming above all lights, the Living Life, infinite mighty Power. To Thee, the spiritual powers give honor and praise. Thou workest on the race of men the abundance of Thy mercy."

After I had worshiped the Lord, straightway Michael, God's archangel, seized my hand and cast me out of the paradise of "vision" and of God's command. And Michael held a rod in his hand, and he touched the waters, which were round about paradise, and they froze hard.

CHAPTER XXIX

And I went across, and Michael the archangel went across with me, and he led me back to the place whence he had caught me up. Harken, my son Seth, even to the rest of the secrets and sacraments that shall be, which were revealed to me, when I had eaten of the tree of knowledge, and knew and perceived what will come to pass in this age; what God intends to do to His creation of the race of men. The Lord will appear in a flame of fire, and from the mouth of His majesty He will give commandments and statutes; from His mouth will proceed a two-edged sword; and they will sanctify Him in the house of the habitation of His majesty. And He will show them the marvelous place of His majesty. And then they will build a house to the Lord their God in the land which He shall prepare for them, and there they will transgress His statutes and their sanctuary will be burnt up, and their land will be deserted, and they themselves will be dispersed; because they have kindled the wrath of God. And once more he will cause them to come back from their dispersion; and again they will build the house of God; and in the last time the house of God will be exalted greater than of old. And once more iniquity will exceed righteousness. And

thereafter God will dwell with men on earth in visible form; and then righteousness will begin to shine. And the house of God will be honored in the age, and their enemies will no more be able to hurt the men, who are believing in God; and God will stir up for Himself a faithful people, whom He shall save for eternity, and the impious shall be punished by God their king, the men who refused to love His law. Heaven and earth, nights and days, and all creatures shall obey Him, and not overstep His commandment. Men shall not change their works, but they shall be changed from forsaking the law of the Lord. Therefore the Lord shall repel from Himself the wicked, and the just shall shine like the sun, in the sight of God. And in that time shall men be purified by water from their sins. But those who are unwilling to be purified by water shall be condemned. And happy shall the man be who hath ruled his soul, when the Judgment shall come to pass and the greatness of God be seen among men and their deeds be inquired into by God, the just judge.

The Death of Adam

CHAPTER XXX

After Adam was nine hundred and thirty years old, since he knew that his days were coming to an end, he said: "Let all my sons assemble themselves to me, that I may bless them before I die, and speak with them."

And they were assembled in three parts, before his sight, in the house of prayer, where they used to worship the Lord God. And they asked him, saying: "What concerns thee, father, that thou shouldst assemble us, and why dost thou lie on thy bed?" Then Adam answered and said: "My sons, I am sick and in pain." And all his sons said to him: "What does it mean, father, this illness and pain?"

CHAPTER XXXI

Then said Seth, his son: "O my lord, perchance thou hast longed after the fruit of paradise, which thou wast wont to eat, and therefore thou liest in sadness? Tell me and I

will go to the nearest gates of paradise and put dust on my head and throw myself down on the earth before the gates of paradise and lament and make entreaty to God with loud lamentation; perchance he will harken to me and send his angel to bring me the fruit, for which thou hast longed."

Adam answered and said: "No, my son, I do not long for this, but I feel weakness and great pain in my body." Seth answered, "What is pain, my lord father? I am ignorant; but hide it not from us, but tell us about it."

CHAPTER XXXII

And Adam answered and said: "Hear me, my sons. When God made us, me and your mother, and placed us in paradise and gave us every tree bearing fruit to eat, he laid a prohibition on us concerning the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which is in the midst of paradise; saying, 'Do not eat of it.' But God gave a part of paradise to me and a part to your mother: the trees of the eastern part and north, which is over against Aquilo, he gave to me, and to your mother he gave the part of the south and the western part.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Moreover God the Lord gave us two angels to guard us. The hour came when the angels had ascended to worship in the sight of God; forthwith the adversary (the devil) found an opportunity while the angels were absent and the devil led your mother astray to eat of the unlawful and forbidden tree. And she did eat and gave to me.

CHAPTER XXXIV

And immediately, the Lord God was wroth with us, and the Lord said to me: "In that thou hast left behind my commandment and hast not kept my word, which I confirmed to thee; behold, I will bring upon thy body seventy blows; with divers griefs shalt thou be tormented, beginning at thy head and thine eyes and thine ears down to thy nails on thy toes, and in every separate limb." These hath God appointed for chastisement. All these things hath the Lord sent to me and to all our race.

CHAPTER XXXV

Thus spake Adam to his sons, and he was seized with violent pains, and he cried out with a loud voice, "What shall I do? I am in distress. So cruel are the pains with which I am beset." And when Eve had seen him weeping, she also began to weep herself, and said: "O Lord my God, hand over to me his pain, for it is I who sinned."

And Eve said to Adam: "My lord, give me a part of thy pains, for this hath come to thee from fault of mine."

CHAPTER XXXVI

And Adam said to Eve: "Rise up and go with my son Seth to the neighborhood of paradise, and put dust on your heads and throw yourselves on the ground and lament in the sight of God. Perchance He will have pity upon you and send His angel across to the tree of His mercy, whence floweth the oil of life, and will give you a drop of it, to anoint me with it, that I may have rest from these pains, by which I am being consumed."

CHAPTER XXXVII

Then Seth and his mother went off toward the gates of paradise. And while they were walking, lo! suddenly there came a beast (a serpent)³ and attacked and bit Seth. And as soon as Eve saw it, she wept and said: "Alas, wretched woman that I am. I am accursed since I have not kept the commandment of God." And Eve said to the serpent in a loud voice: "Accursed beast! how is it that thou hast not feared to let thyself loose against the image of God, but hast dared to fight with it?"

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The beast answered in the language of men: "Is it not against you, Eve, that our malice is directed? Are not ye

³ The "serpent" is clearly a later interpolation to connect with the tale of the Fall. Originally this passage was to explain the beasts' revolt.

the objects of our rage? Tell me, Eve, how was thy mouth opened to eat of the fruit? But now if I shall begin to reprove thee thou canst not bear it."

CHAPTER XXXIX

Then said Seth to the beast: "God the Lord revile thee. Be silent, be dumb, shut thy mouth, accursed enemy of Truth, confounder and destroyer. Avaunt from the image of God till the day when the Lord God shall order thee to be brought to the ordeal." And the beast said to Seth: "See, I leave the presence of the image of God, as thou hast said." Forthwith he left Seth, wounded by his teeth.

CHAPTER XL

But Seth and his mother walked to the regions of paradise for the oil of mercy to anoint the sick Adam: and they arrived at the gates of paradise, and they took dust from the earth and placed it on their heads, and bowed themselves with their faces to the earth, and began to lament and make loud moaning, imploring the Lord God to pity Adam in his pains and to send His angel to give them the oil from the "tree of His mercy."

CHAPTER XLI

But when they had been praying and imploring for many hours, behold, the angel Michael appeared to them and said: "I have been sent to you from the Lord — I am set by God over the bodies of men — I tell thee, Seth, thou man of God, weep not nor pray and entreat on account of the oil of the tree of mercy to anoint thy father Adam for the pains of his body.

CHAPTER XLII

"For I tell thee that in no wise wilt thou be able to receive thereof save in the last days."

[When five thousand five hundred years have been fulfilled, then will come upon earth the most beloved king Christ, the son of God, to revive the body of Adam and with him to revive the bodies of the dead. He Himself, the Son of God,

when He comes will be baptized in the river of Jordan, and when He hath come out of the water of Jordan, then He will anoint from the oil of mercy all that believe in Him. And the oil of mercy shall be for generation to generation for those who are ready to be born again of water and the Holy Spirit to life eternal. Then the most beloved Son of God, Christ, descending on earth, shall lead thy father Adam to Paradise to the tree of mercy.]⁴

CHAPTER XLIII

"But do thou, Seth, go to thy father Adam, since the time of his life is fulfilled. Six days hence his soul shall go off his body, and when it shall have gone out thou shalt see great marvels in the heaven and in the earth and the luminaries of heaven." With these words, straightway Michael departed from Seth.

And Eve and Seth returned bearing with them herbs of fragrance, *i.e.*, nard and crocus and calamus and cinnamon.

CHAPTER XLIV

And when Seth and his mother had reached Adam, they told him, how the beast (the serpent) bit Seth. And Adam said to Eve: "What hast thou done? A great plague hast thou brought upon us, transgression and sin for all our generations: and this which thou hast done, tell thy children after my death, for those who arise from us shall toil and fail but they shall be wanting and curse us and say, All evils have our parents brought upon us, who were at the beginning." When Eve heard these words, she began to weep and moan.

CHAPTER XLV

And just as Michael the archangel had foretold, after six days came Adam's death. When Adam perceived that the hour of his death was at hand, he said to all his sons: "Behold, I am nine hundred and thirty years old, and if I die,

⁴ This whole passage in brackets is a Christian interpolation from the Gospel of Nicodemus.

bury me toward the sunrising in the field of yonder dwelling." And it came to pass that when he had finished all his discourse, he gave up the ghost.

CHAPTER XLVI

Then was the sun darkened and the moon and the stars for seven days, and Seth in his mourning embraced from above the body of his father, and Eve was looking on the ground with hands folded over her head, and all her children wept most bitterly. And behold, there appeared Michael the angel and stood at the head of Adam, and said to Seth: "Rise up from the body of thy father and come to me and see what is the doom of the Lord God concerning him. His creature is he, and God hath pitied him."

CHAPTER XLVII

And all the angels blew their trumpets, and cried: "Blessed art thou, O Lord, for thou hast had pity on Thy creature."

CHAPTER XLVIII

Then Seth saw the hand of God stretched out holding Adam, and he handed him over to Michael, saying: "Let him be in thy charge till the day of Judgment in punishment, till the last years when I will convert his sorrow into joy. Then shall he sit on the throne of him who hath been his supplanter."

And the Lord said again to the angels Michael and Uriel: "Bring me three linen clothes of byssus, and spread them out over Adam, and other linen clothes over Abel his son, and bury Adam and Abel his son."

And all the "powers" of angels marched before Adam, and the sleep of the dead was consecrated. And the angels Michael and Uriel buried Adam and Abel in the parts of paradise, before the eyes of Seth and his mother and no one else, and Michael and Uriel said: "Just as ye have seen, in like manner, bury your dead."

CHAPTER XLIX

Six days after, Adam died; and Eve perceived that she would die, so she assembled all her sons and daughters, Seth with thirty brothers and thirty sisters, and Eve said to all: "Hear me, my children, and I will tell you what the archangel Michael said to us when I and your father transgressed the command of God.

"On account of your transgression, our Lord will bring upon your race the anger of his judgment, first by water, the second time by fire; by these two, will the Lord judge the whole human race.

CHAPTER L

"But harken unto me, my children. Make ye then tables of stone and others of clay, and write on them all my life and your father's, all that ye have heard and seen from us. If by water the Lord judge our race, the tables of clay will be dissolved and the tables of stone will remain; but if by fire, the tables of stone will be broken up and the tables of clay will be baked hard."⁵

When Eve had said all this to her children, she spread out her hands to heaven in prayer, and bent her knees to the earth, and while she worshiped the Lord and gave him thanks, she gave up the ghost. Thereafter, all her children buried her with loud lamentation.

CHAPTER LI

When they had been mourning four days, then Michael the archangel appeared and said to Seth: "Man of God, mourn not for thy dead more than six days, for on the seventh day is the sign of the resurrection and the rest of the age to come; on the seventh day the Lord rested from all His works."

Thereupon Seth made the tables.

⁵ In some MSS. is added the story of Solomon finding "the tables," with a conclusion announcing the coming of Christ to judge the world.

THE APOCALYPSE OF MOSES¹

CHAPTER I

This is the story of Adam and Eve after they had gone out of paradise. And Adam knew his wife Eve, and went upward to the sunrising and abode there eighteen years and two months. And Eve conceived and bare two sons; Adiaphotos, who is called Cain, and Amilabes, who is called Abel.²

CHAPTER II

And after this, Adam and Eve were with one another, and while they were sleeping Eve said to Adam, her lord: "My lord, Adam, behold, I have seen in a dream this night the blood of my son Amilabes, who is styled Abel, being poured into the mouth of Cain, his brother, and he went on drinking it without pity. But he begged him to leave him a little of it. Yet he harkened not to him, but gulped down the whole; nor did it stay in his stomach, but came out of his mouth." And Adam said, "Let us arise and go and see what has happened to them. I fear lest the adversary may be assailing them somewhere."

CHAPTER III

And they both went and found Abel murdered by the hand of Cain his brother. And God saith to Michael the archangel: "Say to Adam: 'Reveal not the secret that thou knowest to Cain thy son, for he is a son of wrath. But grieve not, for I will give thee another son in his stead; he shall show to thee all that thou shalt do. Do thou tell him noth-

¹ All MSS. give preface describing book as taught to Moses by Michael the archangel. Like the title, this is a later addition.

² The translator in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, xvi, 1870, suggests "a planter," for Adiaphotos, and "a keeper of sheep" for Amilabes.

ing.'” Thus spake the archangel to Adam. But he kept the word in his heart, and with him also Eve, though they grieved concerning Abel and their son.

CHAPTER IV

And after this, Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare Seth.

And Adam said to Eve: “See! we have begotten a son in place of Abel, whom Cain slew, let us give glory and sacrifice to God.”

CHAPTER V

And Adam begat thirty sons and thirty daughters, and Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years; and he fell sick, and cried with a loud voice and said: “Let all my sons come to me that I may see them before I die.”

And all assembled, for the earth was divided into three parts. And Seth, his son, said to him: “Father Adam, what is thy complaint?”

And he saith, “My children, I am crushed by the burden of trouble.” And they say to him, “What is trouble?”

CHAPTER VI

And Seth answered and said to him: “Hast thou called to mind, father, the fruit of paradise of which thou usedst to eat, and hast been grieved in yearning for it?”

“If this be so, tell me, and I will go and bring thee fruit from paradise. For I will set dung upon my head and will weep and pray that the Lord will harken to me and send his angel and bring me a plant from paradise, and I will bring it thee that thy trouble may cease from thee.”

Adam saith to him: “Nay, my son Seth, but I have much sickness and trouble!” Seth saith to him: “And how hath this come upon thee?”

CHAPTER VII

And Adam said to him: “When God made us, me and your mother, through whom also I die, He gave us power to eat of every tree which is in paradise, but, concerning that

one only, he charged us not to eat of it, and through this one we are to die. And the hour drew nigh for the angels who were guarding your mother to go up and worship the Lord, and I was far from her, and the enemy knew that she was alone and gave to her, and she ate of the tree of which she had been told not to eat. Then she gave also to me to eat.

CHAPTER VIII

“And God was wroth with us, and the Lord came into paradise and called me in a terrible voice and said: ‘Adam, where art thou? And why hidest thou from my face? Shall the house be able to hide itself from its builder?’ And he saith to me: ‘Since thou hast abandoned my covenant, I have brought upon thy body seventy-two strokes; the trouble of the first stroke is a pain of the eyes, the second stroke an affection of the hearing, and likewise in turn all the strokes shall befall thee.’”

CHAPTER IX

As he said this to his sons, Adam groaned sore and said: “What shall I do? I am in great distress.”

And Eve wept and said: “My lord Adam, rise up and give me half of thy trouble and I will endure it; for it is on my account that this hath happened to thee, on my account thou art beset with toils and troubles.” But Adam said to Eve, “Arise and go with my son Seth near to paradise, and put earth upon your heads and weep and pray God to have mercy upon me and send his angel to paradise, and give me of the tree out of which the oil floweth, and bring it me, and I shall anoint myself and shall have rest from my complaint.”

CHAPTER X

Then Seth and Eve went toward paradise, and Eve saw her son, and a wild beast assailing him, and Eve wept and said: “Woe is me; if I come to the day of the Resurrection, all those who have sinned will curse me, saying: Eve hath not kept the commandment of God.” And she spake to the beast: “Thou wicked beast, fearest thou not to fight with

the image of God? How was thy mouth opened? How were thy teeth made strong? How didst thou not call to mind thy subjection? For long ago wast thou made subject to the image of God." Then the beast cried out and said:

CHAPTER XI

"It is not our concern, Eve, thy greed and thy wailing, but thine own; for it is from thee that the rule of the beasts hath arisen. How was thy mouth opened to eat of the tree concerning which God enjoined thee not to eat of it? On this account, our nature also hath been transformed. Now therefore thou canst not endure it, if I begin to reprove thee."

CHAPTER XII

Then Seth speaketh to the beast, "Close thy mouth and be silent, and stand off from the image of God until the day of Judgment." Then saith the beast to Seth: "Behold, I stand off from the image of God." And he went to his lair.

CHAPTER XIII

And Seth went with Eve near paradise, and they wept there, and prayed God to send his angel and give them the oil of mercy.

And God sent the archangel Michael and he spoke to Seth: "Seth, man of God, weary not thyself with prayers and entreaties concerning the tree which floweth with oil to anoint thy father Adam. For it shall not be thine now, but in the end of the times. Then shall all flesh be raised up from Adam till that great day — all that shall be of the holy people. Then shall the delights of paradise be given to them, and God shall be in their midst. And they shall no longer sin before his face, for the evil heart shall be taken from them, and there shall be given them a heart understanding the good and to serve God only.

But do thou go back to thy father. For the term of his life hath been fulfilled, and he will live three days from to-day and will die. But when his soul is departing, thou shalt behold the awful scene of his passing."

CHAPTER XIV

Thus spake the angel and departed from them. And Seth and Eve came to the hut where Adam was laid. And Adam saith to Eve: "Eve, what hast thou wrought in us? Thou hast brought upon us great wrath which is death, lording it over all our race." And he saith to her, "Call all our children and our children's children and tell them the manner of our transgression."

Eve's Account of her Fall

CHAPTER XV

Then saith Eve to them: "Hear, all my children and children's children, and I will relate to you how the enemy deceived us. It befell that we were guarding paradise, each of us the portion allotted to us from God. Now I guarded in my lot the west and the south. But the devil went to Adam's lot, where the male creatures were. For God divided the creatures; all the males he gave to your father, and all the females he gave to me.

CHAPTER XVI

"And the devil spake to the serpent, saying, 'Rise up, come to me and I will tell thee a word whereby thou mayst have profit.' And he rose and came to him. And the devil saith to him: 'I hear that thou art wiser than all the beasts, and I have come to counsel thee. Why dost thou eat of Adam's tares and not of paradise? Rise up and we will cause him to be cast out of paradise, even as we were cast out through him.' The serpent saith to him, 'I fear lest the Lord be wroth with me.' The devil saith to him: 'Fear not, only be my vessel and I will speak through thy mouth words to deceive him.'

CHAPTER XVII

"And instantly he hung himself from the wall of paradise, and when the angels ascended to worship God, then Satan

appeared in the form of an angel and sang hymns like the angels. And I bent over the wall and saw him, like an angel. But he saith to me: 'Art thou Eve?' And I said to him, 'I am.' 'What art thou doing in paradise?' And I said to him, 'God set us to guard and to eat of it.' The devil answered through the mouth of the serpent: 'Ye do well but ye do not eat of every plant.' And I said: 'Yea, we eat of all, save one only, which is in the midst of paradise, concerning which, God charged us not to eat of it: for, He said to us, on the day on which ye eat of it, ye shall die the death.'

CHAPTER XVIII

"Then the serpent saith to me, 'May God live! but I am grieved on your account, for I would not have you ignorant. But arise, come hither, harken to me and eat and mind the value of that tree.' But I said to him, 'I fear lest God be wroth with me as he told us.' And he saith to me: 'Fear not, for as soon as thou eatest of it ye too shall be as God, in that ye shall know good and evil. But God perceived this that ye would be like Him, so he envied you and said, Ye shall not eat of it. Nay, do thou give heed to the plant and thou wilt see its great glory.' Yet I feared to take of the fruit. And he saith to me: 'Come hither, and I will give it thee. Follow me.'

CHAPTER XIX

"And I opened to him and he walked a little way, then turned and said to me: 'I have changed my mind, and I will not give thee to eat until thou swear to me to give also to thy husband.' And I said, 'What sort of oath shall I swear to thee? Yet what I know, I say to thee: By the throne of the Master, and by the Cherubim and the Tree of Life, I will give also to my husband to eat.' And when he had received the oath from me, he went and poured upon the fruit the poison of his wickedness, which is lust, the root and beginning of every sin, and he bent the branch on the earth and I took of the fruit and I ate.

CHAPTER XX

"And in that very hour my eyes were opened, and forthwith I knew that I was bare of the righteousness with which I had been clothed upon, and I wept and said to him: 'Why hast thou done this to me in that thou hast deprived me of the glory with which I was clothed?' But I wept also about the oath, which I had sworn. But he descended from the tree and vanished. And I began to seek, in my nakedness, in my part for leaves to hide my shame, but I found none, for as soon as I had eaten, the leaves showered down from all the trees in my part, except the fig-tree only. But I took leaves from it and made for myself a girdle and it was from the very same plant of which I had eaten.

CHAPTER XXI

"And I cried out in that very hour, 'Adam, Adam, where art thou? Rise up, come to me and I will show thee a great secret.' But when your father came, I spake to him words of transgression which have brought us down from our great glory. For, when he came, I opened my mouth and the devil was speaking, and I began to exhort him and said, 'Come hither, my lord Adam, harken to me and eat of the fruit of the tree of which God told us not to eat of it, and thou shalt be as a God.' And your father answered and said, 'I fear lest God be wroth with me.' And I said to him, 'Fear not, for as soon as thou hast eaten thou shalt know good and evil.' And speedily I persuaded him, and he ate, and straightway his eyes were opened and he, too, knew his nakedness. And to me he saith, 'O wicked woman! what have I done to thee that thou hast deprived me of the glory of God?'

CHAPTER XXII

"And in that same hour, we heard the archangel Michael blowing his trumpet and calling to the angels and saying: 'Thus saith the Lord, Come with me to paradise and hear the judgment with which I shall judge Adam.'

"And when God appeared in paradise, mounted on the

chariot of his cherubim with the angels proceeding before him and singing hymns of praises, all the plants of paradise, both of your father's lot and mine, broke out into flowers. And the throne of God was fixed where the Tree of Life was.

CHAPTER XXIII

"And God called Adam saying, 'Adam, where art thou? Can the house be hidden from the presence of its builder?' Then your father answered: 'It is not because we think not to be found by thee, Lord, that we hide, but I was afraid, because I am naked, and I was ashamed before thy might, my Master.' God saith to him, 'who showed thee that thou art naked, unless thou hast forsaken my commandment, which I delivered thee to keep it?' Then Adam called to mind the word which I spake to him, saying, 'I will make thee secure before God'; and he turned and said to me: 'Why hast thou done this?' And I said, 'The serpent deceived me.'

CHAPTER XXIV

"God saith to Adam: 'Since thou hast disregarded my commandment and hast harkened to thy wife, cursed is the earth in thy labors.

"'Thou shalt work it and it shall not give its strength: thorns and thistles shall spring up for thee, and in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread. Thou shalt be in manifold toils; thou shalt be crushed by bitterness, but of sweetness shalt thou not taste.

"'Weary shalt thou be and shalt not rest; by heat shalt thou be tired, by cold shalt thou be straitened: abundantly shalt thou busy thyself, but thou shalt not be rich; and thou shalt grow fat, but come to no end.

"'The beasts, over whom thou didst rule, shall rise up in rebellion against thee, for thou hast not kept my commandment.'

CHAPTER XXV

"And the Lord turned to me and said: 'Since thou hast harkened to the serpent, and turned a deaf ear to my com-

mandment, thou shalt be in throes of travail and intolerable agonies; thou shalt bear children in much trembling, and in one hour thou shalt come to the birth, and lose thy life, from thy sore trouble and anguish. But thou shalt confess and say: "Lord, Lord, save me, and I will turn no more to the sin of the flesh." And on this account, from thine own words I will judge thee, by reason of the enmity which the enemy has planted in thee.'

CHAPTER XXVI

"But he turned to the serpent in great wrath and said: 'Since thou hast done this, and become a thankless vessel until thou hast deceived the innocent hearts, accursed art thou among all beasts. Thou shalt be deprived of the victual of which thou didst eat, and shalt feed on dust all the days of thy life; on thy breast and thy belly shalt thou walk, and be robbed of hands and feet. There shall not be left thee ear nor wing, nor one limb of all that which thou didst ensnare them in thy malice and causedst them to be cast out of paradise; and I will put enmity between thee and his seed; he shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel until the day of Judgment.'

CHAPTER XXVII

"Thus he spake and bade the angels have us cast out of paradise: and as we were being driven out amid our loud lamentations, your Father Adam besought the angels and said: 'Leave me a little space that I may entreat the Lord that he have compassion on me and pity me, for I only have sinned.' And they left off driving him, and Adam cried aloud and wept, saying: 'Pardon me, O Lord, my deed.' Then the Lord saith to the angels, 'Why have ye ceased from driving Adam from paradise? Why do ye not cast him out? Is it I who have done wrong? Or is my judgment badly judged?' Then the angels fell down on the ground and worshiped the Lord, saying, 'Thou art just, O Lord, and thou judgest righteous judgment.'

CHAPTER XXVIII

"But the Lord turned to Adam and said: 'I will not suffer thee henceforward to be in paradise.' And Adam answered and said, 'Grant me, O Lord, of the Tree of Life that I may eat of it, before I be cast out.' Then the Lord spake to Adam, 'Thou shalt not take of it now, for I have commanded the cherubim with the flaming sword that turneth every way to guard it from thee that thou taste not of it; but thou hast the war which the adversary hath put into thee; yet when thou art gone out of paradise, if thou shouldst keep thyself from all evil, as one about to die, when again the Resurrection hath come to pass, I will raise thee up and then there shall be given to thee the Tree of Life.'

CHAPTER XXIX

"Thus spake the Lord, and ordered us to be cast out of paradise. But your father Adam wept before the angels opposite paradise and the angels said to him: 'What wouldst thou have us to do, Adam?' And your father saith to them, 'Behold, ye cast me out. I pray you, allow me to take away fragrant herbs from paradise, so that I may offer an offering to God after I have gone out of paradise that he hear me.' And the angels approached God and said: 'Jael, Eternal King, command, my Lord, that there be given to Adam incense of sweet odor from paradise and seeds for his food.' And God bade Adam go in and take sweet spices and fragrant herbs from paradise and seeds for his food. And the angels let him go in, and he took four kinds: crocus and nard and calamus and cinnamon and the other seeds for his food: and, after taking these, he went out of paradise. And we were on the earth.

CHAPTER XXX

"Now then, my children, I have shown you the way in which we were deceived; and do ye guard yourselves from transgressing against the good."

CHAPTER XXXI

And when Eve had said this in the midst of her sons, while Adam was lying ill and bound to die after a single day from the sickness which had fastened upon him, she saith to him: "How is it that thou diest and I live, or how long have I to live after thou art dead? Tell me." And Adam saith to her: "Reck not of this, for thou tarriest not after me, but even both of us are to die together. And she shall lie in my place. But when I die, anoint me and let no man touch me till the angel of the Lord shall speak somewhat concerning me. For God will not forget me, but will seek His own creature; and now arise rather and pray to God till I give up my spirit into His hands who gave it to me. For we know not how we are to meet our Maker, whether He be wroth with us, or be merciful and intend to pity and receive us."

The Vision of Eve

CHAPTER XXXII

And Eve rose up and went outside and fell on the ground, and began to say: "I have sinned, O God, I have sinned, O God of All, I have sinned against Thee. I have sinned against the elect angels. I have sinned against the Cherubim. I have sinned against Thy fearful and unshakable Throne. I have sinned before Thee, and all sin hath begun through my doing in the creation." Even thus prayed Eve on her knees; and behold, the angel of humanity came to her, and raised her up and said: "Rise up, Eve, from thy penitence, for behold, Adam thy husband hath gone out of his body. Rise up and behold his spirit borne aloft to his Maker."

CHAPTER XXXIII

And Eve rose up and wiped off her tears with her hand, and the angel saith to her, "Lift up thyself from the earth." And she gazed steadfastly into heaven, and beheld a chariot of light, borne by four bright eagles, and it were impossible

for any man born of woman to tell the glory of them or behold their face — and angels going before the chariot — and when they came to the place where your father Adam was, the chariot halted and the Seraphim. And I beheld golden censers, between your father and the chariot, and all the angels with censers and frankincense came in haste to the incense-offering and blew upon it and the smoke of the incense veiled the firmaments. And the angels fell down and worshiped God, crying aloud and saying, "Jael, Holy One, have pardon, for he is Thy image, and the work of Thy holy hands."

CHAPTER XXXIV

"And I, Eve, beheld two great and fearful wonders standing in the presence of God and I wept for fear, and I cried aloud to my son Seth and said, 'Rise up, Seth, from the body of thy father Adam, and come to me, and thou shalt see a spectacle which no man's eye hath yet beheld.'"

CHAPTER XXXV

Then Seth arose and came to his mother and to her he saith: "What is thy trouble? Why weepest thou?" And she saith to him: "Look up and see with thine eyes the seven heavens opened, and see how the soul of thy father lies on its face and all the holy angels are praying on his behalf and saying: 'Pardon him, Father of All, for he is Thine image.' Pray, my child Seth, what shall this mean? And will he one day be delivered into the hands of the Invisible Father, even our God? But who are the two negroes who stand by at the prayers for thy father Adam?"

CHAPTER XXXVI

And Seth telleth his mother, that they are the sun and moon and themselves fall down and pray on behalf of my father Adam. Eve saith to him: "And where is their light and why have they taken on such a black appearance?" And Seth answereth her, "The light hath not left them, but they can not shine before the Light of the Universe, the

Father of Light; and on this account their light hath been hidden from them."

The Burial Services

CHAPTER XXXVII

Now while Seth was saying this to his mother, lo, an angel blew the trumpet, and there stood up all the angels and they were lying on their faces, and they cried aloud in an awful voice and said: "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from the works of His making, for He hath pitied Adam the creature of His hands." But when the angels had said these words, lo, there came one of the seraphim with six wings and snatched up Adam and carried him off to the Acherusian lake, and washed him thrice, in the presence of God.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

And God saith to him: "Adam, what hast thou done? If thou hadst kept my commandment, there would now be no rejoicing among those who are bringing thee down to this place. Yet, I tell thee that I will turn their joy to grief and thy grief will I turn to joy, and I will transform thee to thy former glory, and set thee on the throne of thy deceiver. But he shall be cast into this place to see thee sitting above him, then he shall be condemned and they that heard him, and he shall be grieved sore when he seeth thee sitting on his honorable throne."

CHAPTER XXXIX

And he stayed there three hours, lying down, and thereafter the Father of all, sitting on his holy throne, stretched out his hand, and took Adam and handed him over to the archangel Michael, saying: "Lift him up into paradise unto the third Heaven, and leave him there until that fearful day of my reckoning, which I will make in the world." Then Michael took Adam and left him where God told him.

CHAPTER XL

But after all this, the archangel asked concerning the laying out of the remains. And God commanded that all the angels should assemble in His presence, each in his order, and all the angels assembled, some having censers in their hands, and others trumpets. And lo! the "Lord of Hosts" came on, and four winds drew Him, and cherubim mounted on the winds and the angels from heaven escorting Him, and they came on the earth, where was the body of Adam. And they came to paradise, and all the leaves of paradise were stirred so that all men begotten of Adam slept from the fragrance save Seth alone, because he was born "according to the appointment of God." Then Adam's body lay there in paradise on the earth, and Seth grieved exceedingly over him.

CHAPTER XLI

Then God spake to the archangels Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael: "Go away to paradise in the third heaven, and strew linen clothes, and cover the body of Adam, and bring oil of the 'oil of fragrance' and pour it over him." And they acted thus, did the three great angels, and they prepared him for burial. And God said: "Let the body of Abel also be brought." And they brought other linen clothes and prepared his body also. For he was unburied since the day when Cain his brother slew him; for wicked Cain took great pains to conceal him, but could not, for the earth would not receive him, for the body sprang up from the earth, and a voice went out of the earth, saying: "I will not receive a companion body till the earth which was taken and fashioned in me cometh to me." At that time the angels took it and placed it on a rock till Adam his father was buried. And both were buried, according to the commandment of God, in the spot where God found the dust, and He caused the place to be dug for two. And God sent seven angels to paradise and they brought many fragrant spices and placed them in the earth, and they took the two

bodies and placed them in the spot which they had digged and builded.

CHAPTER XLII

And God called and said, "Adam, Adam." And the body answered from the earth and said: "Here am I, Lord." And God saith to him: "I told thee that earth thou art and to earth shalt thou return. Again I promise to thee the Resurrection; I will raise thee up in the Resurrection with every man, who is of thy seed."

CHAPTER XLIII

After these words, God made a seal and sealed the tomb, that no one might do anything to him for six days till his rib should return to him. Then the Lord and his angels went to their place. And Eve also, when the six days were fulfilled, fell asleep. But while she was living, she wept bitterly about Adam's falling on sleep, for she knew not where he was laid. For when the Lord came to paradise to bury Adam she was asleep, and her sons too, except Seth, till He bade Adam be prepared for burial; and no man knew on earth, except her son Seth. And Eve prayed (in the hour of her death) that she might be buried in the place where her husband Adam was. And after she had finished her prayer, she saith: "Lord, Master, God of all rule, estrange not me thy handmaid from the body of Adam, for from his members didst thou make me. But deem me worthy, even me unworthy that I am and a sinner, to enter into his tabernacle, even as I was with him in paradise, both without separation from each other; just as in our transgressions we were both led astray and transgressed thy command, but were not separated. Even so, Lord, do not separate us now."

But after she had prayed she gazed heavenward and groaned aloud and smote her breast and said: "God of All, receive my spirit," and straightway she delivered up her spirit to God.

CHAPTER XLIV

And Michael came and taught Seth how to prepare Eve for burial. And there came three angels and they buried her body where Adam's body was and Abel's. And thereafter Michael spake to Seth and saith: "Lay out in this wise every man that dieth till the day of Resurrection." And after giving him this rule; he saith to him: "Mourn not beyond six days, but on the seventh day rest and rejoice on it, because on that very day God rejoiceth, yea, and we angels too with the righteous soul, who hath passed away from the earth." Even thus spake the angel, and ascended into heaven, glorifying God and saying: "Allelujah."

Holy, holy, holy is the Lord, in the glory of God the Father, for to Him it is meet to give glory, honor, and worship, with the eternal life-giving spirit now and always and forever. Amen.

Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts. To whom be glory and power forever and forever. Amen.

Then the archangel Joel glorified God; saying, "Holy, Holy, Holy Lord, heaven and earth are full of thy glory."

THE SLAVONIC BOOK OF EVE

[The opening is like the opening of the Apocalypse of Moses, so is omitted here.]

And we sat together before the gate of paradise, Adam weeping with his face bent down to the earth, lay on the ground lamenting. And seven days passed by and we had nothing to eat and were consumed with great hunger, and I, Eve, cried with a loud voice: "Pity me, O Lord, my Creator! For my sake Adam suffereth thus!"

And I said to Adam: "Rise up! my lord, that we may seek us food; for now my spirit faileth me and my heart within me is brought low." Then Adam spake to me: "I have thoughts of killing thee, but I fear since God created thine image and thou showest penitence and criest to God; hence my heart hath not departed from thee."

And Adam arose and we roamed through all lands and found nothing to eat save nettles and grass of the field. And we returned again to the gates of paradise and cried aloud and entreated: "Have compassion on thy creature. O Lord Creator, allow us food."

And for fifteen days continuously we entreated. Then we heard Michael the archangel and Joel¹ praying for us, and Joel the archangel was commanded by the Lord, and he took a seventh part of paradise and gave it to us. Then the Lord said: "Thorns and thistles shall spring up from under thy hands; and from thy sweat shalt thou eat bread, and thy wife shall tremble when she looketh upon thee."

The archangel Joel said to Adam: "Thus saith the Lord; I did not create thy wife to command thee, but to obey; why art thou obedient to thy wife?" Again Joel the archangel bade Adam separate the cattle and all kinds of flying and creeping things and animals, both wild and tame;

¹ "Joel." Confusion with Jah-El.

and to give names to all things. Then indeed he took the oxen and began to plow.²

Then the devil approached and stood before the oxen, and hindered Adam in tilling the field, and said to Adam: "Mine are the things of earth, the things of Heaven are God's; but if thou wilt be mine, thou shalt labor on the earth; but if thou wilt be God's, pray go away to paradise." Adam said: "The things of Heaven are the Lord's, and the things of earth and paradise³ and the whole universe."

The devil said: "I do not suffer thee to till the field, except thou write the bond that thou art mine." Adam replied: "Whosoever is lord of the earth, to the same do I belong and my children." Then the devil was overcome with joy. But Adam was not ignorant that the Lord would descend on earth and tread the devil under foot. The devil said: "Write me thy bond." And Adam wrote: "Who is lord of the earth, to the same do I belong and my children."

Eve said to Adam, "Rise up, my lord, let us pray to God in this cause that He set us free from that devil, for thou art in this strait on my account."

But Adam said: "Eve, since thou repentest of thy misdeed, my heart will harken to thee, for the Lord created thee out of my ribs. Let us fast forty days; perchance the Lord will have pity on us and will leave us understanding and life." I, for my part, said: "Do thou, my lord, fast forty days, but I will fast forty-four."

And Adam said to me: "Haste thee to the river named Tigris, and take a great stone and place it under thy feet, and enter into the stream and clothe thyself with water, as with a cloak, up to the neck, and pray to God in thy heart and let no word proceed out of thy mouth." And I said:

² "Plow." No extreme asceticism—corn regarded as a blessing—just as there is no disparagement of marriage.

³ Hcretical interpolation by Bogomilian dualist (Jagic). "Paradise" here is the *heavenly* one, widely separated from the earth. For this whole section compare Pauline phrase "bond servants of sin." It occurs in all Slavonic MSS. of "Solfenus" and Polish and Bohemian Adam tales.

"O my lord, with my whole heart will I call upon God." And Adam said to me: "Take great care of thyself. Except thou seest me and all my tokens, depart not out of the water, nor trust in the words, which are said to thee, lest thou fall again into the snare." And Adam came to Jordan and he entered into the water and he plunged himself altogether into the flood, even to the hairs of his head, while he made supplication to God and sent up prayers to Him.

And there, the angels came together and all living creatures, wild and tame, and all birds that fly, and they surrounded Adam, like a wall, praying to God for Adam.

The devil came to me, wearing the form and brightness of an angel, and shedding big tear-drops, and said to me: "Come out of the water, Eve; God hath heard thy prayers and heard us angels. God hath fulfilled the prayers of those who intercede on thy behalf. God hath sent me to thee, that thou mayst come out of the water."

But I perceived that he was the devil and answered him nothing. But Adam, when he returned from Jordan, saw the devil's footprints, and feared lest perchance he had deceived me; but when he had remarked me standing in the water he was overcome with joy and he took me and led me out of the water.

Then Adam cried out with a loud voice: "Be silent, Eve, for already is my spirit straitened in my body; arise, go forth, utter prayers to God, till I deliver up my spirit to God."

[From here the book parallels the Apocalypse of Moses, chapter xxxii, and is like it almost to the end.]

THE APOCALYPSE
OF BARUCH
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EMMANUEL

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TO

MY WIFE

PREFACE

THE Apocalypse of Baruch is a composite work written in the latter half of the first century of the Christian era. It is thus contemporaneous with the chief writings of the New Testament. Its authors were orthodox Jews, and it is a good representative of the Judaism against which the Pauline dialectic was directed.

In this Apocalypse we have almost the last noble utterance of Judaism before it plunged into the dark and oppressive years that followed the destruction of Jerusalem. For ages after that epoch its people seem to have been bereft of their immemorial gifts of song and eloquence, and to have had thought and energy only for the study and expansion of the traditions of the Fathers. But when our book was written, that evil and barren era had not yet set in; breathing thought and burning word had still their home in Palestine, and the hand of the Jewish artist was still master of its ancient cunning.

And yet the intrinsic beauty of this book must to a great degree fail to strike the casual reader. Indeed,

it could hardly be otherwise. For the present English version is a translation of the Syriac; the Syriac was a translation of the Greek, and the Greek in turn a translation from the Hebrew original. In each translation we may feel assured the original work was shorn in large and growing measure of its ancient vigour, and this is certainly the case in the version now before the reader. For the translator, having the interests of scholars before his eyes, has made it his aim to give a literal reproduction of the Syriac. And yet, even so, much of its native eloquence has survived, so that to be prized it needs only to be known, and our appreciation of its beauty, its tragic power and worth, must grow in the measure of our acquaintance with it.

The Apocalypse of Baruch has had a strange history. Written by Pharisaic Jews as an apology for Judaism, and in part an implicit polemic against Christianity, it gained nevertheless a larger circulation amongst Christians than amongst Jews, and owed its very preservation to the scholarly cares of the Church it assailed. But in the struggle for life its secret animus against Christianity begat an instinctive opposition in Christian circles, and so proved a bar to its popularity. Thus the place it would naturally have filled was taken by the sister work, 4 Ezra. This latter work having been written in some degree under Christian influences, and forming, in fact, an unconscious confession of the failure of Judaism to redeem the world, was naturally more acceptable to Christian readers,

and thus, in due course, the Apocalypse of Baruch was elbowed out of recognition by its fitter and sturdier rival.

In this edition of Baruch—which is also the *editio princeps*—no pains have been spared as regards the criticism and emendation of the text, its interpretation, and the determination of its various sources.

As regards the text, the facts are briefly as follows: The first seventy-seven chapters, as appears on the title-page, are found only in one MS., namely, *c*. For the concluding nine chapters—the Epistle of Baruch—I have made use of *c* and nine other MSS. Of these I have collated eight—several of these for the first time. Through the kindness of the publishers I have been enabled to print on pp. 125-167 a critical text of this Epistle based on those MSS. As Ceriani and Lagarde contented themselves each with reproducing a single unamended MS., scholars will, I think, be grateful for this attempt to grapple with all the Syriac MSS. available. By this comparative study of *c* and the remaining nine MSS. in the chapters common to both, I have been able to ascertain the value of *c* in the chapters in which *c* stands alone. The trustworthiness of the MS. *c*, which we have thus established, is further confirmed by a Greek work, which borrows largely from our Apocalypse, the Rest of the Words of Baruch.

There are, of course, corruptions in the text. Some of these that are native to the Syriac have been

removed by Ceriani, others by the editor; others are provisionally emended, or else reproduced in the English translation. But many still remain. Of these some are manifestly peculiar to the Greek, and have been dealt with accordingly. But the rest are not so, and are, in fact, incapable of explanation save on the hypothesis of a Hebrew original. To this hypothesis, which marks a new departure in the criticism of this book, I have been irresistibly led in the course of my study. In many passages I have by its means been able to reduce chaos to order. For details the reader should consult the Introduction, pp. xlv.-liii.

The interpretation of this book has been the severest task as yet undertaken by the editor. Insuperable difficulties confronted on every side, till at last he awoke to the fact that these were due to plurality of authorship. When once this fact was recognised and the various sources determined, the task of interpretation was materially lightened, and the value of the work for New Testament and Jewish scholars became every day more manifest. As my studies in this direction began in 1891, my conclusions are, save in a few cases, the result of long study and slowly matured conviction.

A special study of the relations subsisting between this Apocalypse and 4 Ezra will be found on pp. lxxvii.-lxxvi., where it is shown that whereas 4 Ezra is in many respects non-Jewish, our Apocalypse is a faithful exponent of the orthodox Judaism of the

time. To this subject I may return in an edition of the former work.

Scholars are at last coming to recognise that the study of the literature to which this book belongs is indispensable for the interpretation of the New Testament. Thus Dr. Sanday and Mr. Headlam write in their recent work on the Epistle to the Romans (p. vii.): "*It is by a continuous and careful study of such works that any advance in the exegesis of the New Testament will be possible.*"

My knowledge of Talmudic literature, so far as it appears in this book, is derived from Weber's *Lehren des Talmuds*, Edersheim's *Life and Times*, etc., Wunsche's translations of the various treatises of the Babylonian Talmud, Schwab's French translation of the Jerusalem Talmud, and in passages where translations were wanting, I had the ready help of Dr. Neubauer.

My thanks are also due to Mr. Buchanan Gray, for his revision of my proofs of the Hebrew original of Baruch.

17 BRADMORE ROAD, OXFORD,

September 1896.

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK

THIS beautiful Apocalypse, with the exception of nine chapters towards its close,¹ was lost sight of for quite 1200 years.

Written originally in Hebrew, it was early translated into Greek, and from Greek into Syriac. Of the Hebrew original every line has perished save a few still surviving in rabbinic writings. Of the Greek Version nothing has come down to us directly, though portions of it are preserved in the Rest of the Words of Baruch, a Greek work of the second century, and in a late Apocalypse of Baruch recently discovered in Greek and in Slavonic. Happily, the Syriac has been preserved almost in its entirety in a sixth century MS., the discovery of which we owe to the distinguished Italian scholar Ceriani. Of this MS., Ceriani published a Latin translation in 1866, the Syriac text in 1871, and the photo-lithographic facsimile in 1883. Though

¹ These chapters under the title "The Epistle of Baruch," or a similar one, were incorporated in the later Syriac Bible.

there are no adequate grounds for assuming a Latin Version, it is demonstrable that our Apocalypse was the foundation of a Latin Apocalypse of Baruch, a fragment of which is preserved in Cyprian.

The Apocalypse of Baruch belongs to the first century of our era. It is a composite work put together about the close of the century, from at least five or six independent writings. These writings belong to various dates between 50 and 90 A.D., and are thus contemporaneous with the chief New Testament writings. It is this fact that constitutes the chief value of the work. We have here contemporaneous records of the Jewish doctrines and beliefs, and of the arguments which prevailed in Judaism in the latter half of the first century, and with which its leaders sought to uphold its declining faith and confront the attacks of a growing and aggressive Christianity.

Over against many of the Pauline solutions of the religious problems of the day, Jewish answers are here propounded which are frequently antagonistic in the extreme. It was this hidden hostility to Christianity that no doubt brought it into discredit. As early as the sixth century it seems to have passed out of circulation.

§ 2. OTHER BOOKS OF BARUCH

In addition to our Apocalypse, a considerable literature arose and circulated under Baruch's name, some-

time before and after the Christian era. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to touch briefly on the different books belonging to it.

1. The Apocryphal Baruch in the LXX.—This book falls clearly into two parts—i.-iii. 8 being the first part, and iii. 9-v. constituting the second. The first part was originally written in Hebrew, the second is generally held to be of Greek origin, but this is doubtful. The first part of the book is said by Ewald and Marshall to have been composed three centuries before the Christian era, by Fritzsche and Schrader in the Maccabean period, by Kneucker and Schürer after 70 A.D. Most writers agree in assigning the second half of the book to the last-mentioned date. The second half, however, may also be composite. Thus Professor Marshall differentiates iii. 9-iv. 4 from iv. 5-v. 9, and regards the former as originally written in Aramaic, and the latter in Greek. The chief authorities on this book are Fritzsche, *Exeget. Handbuch zu den Apocryphen*, part i., pp. 165-202, 1851; Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch*, 1879; Gifford, *Speaker's Commentary, Apocrypha*, ii. 241-286, 1888. On the probability that i. 1-3; iii. 9-iv. 29 of this book are a recast of a lost portion of our Apocalypse, i.e. "the Letter to the two and a half Tribes," see § 8, pp. lxv.-lxvii. There is no verbal borrowing between our Apocalypse and the Greek Baruch, but in the following passages there is a similarity of diction or of thought or of both. This list could be enlarged.

Apoc. of Baruch.	Book of Baruch.
i. 1 (mention of Jeconiah).	i. 3.
x. 16.	iv. 10, 14.
lix. 7.	iii. 12.
lxxvii. 10.	ii. 26.
lxxviii. 7.	iv. 36, 37 (v. 5, 6).
lxxix. 2.	i. 17, 18.
lxxx. 5.	ii. 13.
lxxxiv. 2-5.	i. 19 ; ii. 2.
lxxxvi. 1, 2.	i. 14.

2. The Rest of the Words of Baruch.—This book was written in Greek in the second century of our era. It seems in parts to be a Jewish work recast. The Greek text was first printed at Venice in 1609, next by Ceriani in 1868 under the title “Paralipomena Jeremiae” in his *Monumenta Sacra*, v. 11-18, and recently it has been critically edited by Rendel Harris in 1889. This book exists also in the Ethiopic Bible. The Ethiopic Version was edited from three MSS. by Dillmann in his *Chrestomathia aethiopica* in 1866. As these MSS. are inferior, and as no attempt was made by Dillmann to revise his text by means of the Greek, the present writer hopes in due time to edit a critical text from eleven Ethiopic MSS., accompanied with translation and notes. In this edition account will be taken of all the important variations of the Greek text.

This book is deeply indebted to our Apocalypse and attests the accuracy of the Syriac text in the following passages :—

Apoc. Bar.	Rest of the Words.
ii. 1.	i. 1, 3, 7.
ii. 2.	ii. 2.
v. 1.	i. 5 ; ii. 7 ; iii. 6 ; iv. 7.
vi. 1.	iv. 1.
vi. 4, 5, 6, 8, 10.	iii. 2, 5, 8, 14.
viii. 2, 5.	iv. 1, 2, 3, 4.
x. 2, 5, 6, 7, 18.	iv. 3, 4, 6, 9.
xi. 4, 5.	iv. 9.
xxxv. 2.	ii. 4.
lxxvii. 21, 23, 26.	vii. 3, 10, 12.
lxxx. 3.	i. 5 ; iv. 7.
lxxxv. 2.	ii. 3.
lxxxv. 11.	vi. 3.
lxxxvii.	vii. 8, 30.

3. The Gnostic book of Baruch.—Of this book large fragments are found in the *Philosophumena of Hippolytus*, v. 24-27. But these fragments are wholly out of relation with the remaining literature of Baruch.

4. A Latin book of Baruch is quoted in one MS. of Cyprian's *Testimonia*, iii. 29. As this book is clearly based on our Apocalypse, I will give the passage in full. Item in Baruch: "Veniet enim tempus, et quaeretis me et vos et qui post vos venerint, audire verbum sapientiae et intellectus, et non inuenietis" (cf. Apoc. Bar. xlvi. 36). "Nationes autem cupient videre sapientem praedicantem, et non obtinget eis: non quia deerit aut deficiet sapientia hujus saeculi terrae, sed neque deerit sermo legis saeculo. Erit enim sapientia in paucis vigilantibus et taciturnis et quietis" (cf. Apoc. Bar. xlvi. 33), "sibi confabulantes et in cordibus suis meditantes

quoniam quidam eos horrebunt et timebunt ut malos. Alii autem nec credunt verbo legis Altissimi: alii autem ore stupentes non credent et credentibus erunt contrarii et impediētes spiritum veritatis. Alii autem erunt sapientes ad spiritum erroris et pronuntiantes sicut Altissimi et Fortis edicta" (cf. Apoc. Bar. xlviii. 34; lxx. 5; observe also that the titles of God here are characteristic of our Apoc., see vii. 1, note; xxi. 3, note). "Alii autem personales fidei. Alii capaces et fortes in fide Altissimi et odibiles alieno."

In 5 Ezra xvi. 64, 65 (which James ascribes to the third century) we have a clear use of our text. Thus: "Certe Hic novit . . . quae cogitatis in cordibus vestris. Vae peccantibus et volentibus occultare peccata sua: propter quod Dominus scrutinando scrutinabit omnia opera eorum et traducet vos omnes," is based on lxxxiii. 3, which = "Et scrutinando scrutinabit cogitationes arcanas et quidquid in penetralibus omnium hominis membrorum positum est et in apertum coram omnibus cum increpatione educet." We should observe that not only is the thought of the two passages the same, but that the actual diction is borrowed, *i.e.* the Hebraism "scrutinando scrutinabit" and "traducet," which = "in apertum cum increpatione educet" (cf. also "quae cogitatis in cordibus" with "cogitationes arcanas").

5. The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch, or, as Mr. James names it, *Apocalypsis Baruch Tertia*.—This book belongs to the second century, for, on the one hand, it is based largely on the Slavonic Enoch, and on

the other, it is mentioned by Origen, *de Princip.* ii. 3. 6: "Denique etiam Baruch prophetae librum in assertionis hujus testimonium vocant, quod ibi de septem mundis vel caelis evidentius indicatur." This Greek Apocalypse of Baruch was discovered some years ago by Mr. James in a British Museum MS. Through his kindness I have been permitted to examine his copy of this MS. His edition of the text will, we believe, shortly appear. The Slavonic Version of this book has been known for some time, and was published in the *Starine*, vol. xviii. pp. 205-209, 1886, by Novakovic. A German translation, preceded by a helpful introduction by Professor Bonwetsch, appeared this year in the *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1886, Heft i. An English translation will shortly appear by Mr. Morfill in Mr. James's Cambridge edition. The Slavonic is less trustworthy and full than the Greek. This Greek is dependent in certain respects on the Rest of the Words of Baruch, and is thus of service in determining the date of the latter. With our Apocalypse it has only one or two points of contact. Thus with vi. 2, "I was grieving over Zion and lamenting over the captivity which had come upon the people," compare the opening words of the Greek Apocalypse, Ἀποκάλυψις Βαρούχ, ὃς ἔσθη . . . κλαίων ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας Ἱερουσαλήμ: and with x. 5, "I, Baruch, . . . sat before the gates of the temple and I lamented with that lamentation over Zion," and xxxv. 1, "And I, Baruch, went to the holy place, and sat

down upon the ruins and wept," compare the words already quoted together with καὶ οὕτως ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τὰς ὡραίαις πόλεις, ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἄγια. Perhaps liv. 8-9, "Even so I could not give Thee the meed of praise, or laud Thee as is befitting. . . . For what am I amongst men . . . that I should have heard all those marvellous things from the Most High?" may be the source of the following words towards the close of the Greek Apocalypse—δόξαν ἔφερον τῷ θεῷ τῷ ἀξιόσαντί με τοιούτου ἀξιώματος.

6. Finally, another book of Baruch, distinct from the above, and belonging to the fourth or fifth century of our era, is mentioned in the *Altercatio Simonis Judaei et Theophili Christiani*, published by Harnack (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. 1, Heft 3, 1883). In this work Theophilus makes the following quotation from the book of Baruch: "Quomodo ergo prope finem libri sui de nativitate ejus et de habitu vestis et de passione ejus et de resurrectione ejus prophetavit dicens: Hic unctus meus, electus meus, vulvae incontaminatae jaculatus, natus et passus dicitur."

Above all the foregoing works which circulated under Baruch's name, the Apocalypse of Baruch stands head and shoulders alike in respect of form or matter or real worth to the student of Judaism and Christianity.

§ 3. THE SYRIAC MSS.

For chapters i.-lxxvii. of this book we have only one MS., the famous sixth-century Peshitto MS. which

was found by Ceriani in the library in Milan. For convenience we shall call this MS. *c*. In 1871 Ceriani edited the Syriac text from this MS. in his *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, vol. v. Fasc. 2, pp. 113-180. Of chapters lxxviii.-lxxxvi., which constitute the Epistle of Baruch, many MSS. were known to exist, and of three of them (i.e. *a*, *b*, *d*) Ceriani made collations and inserted these in their appropriate place below the printed text of *c*. He made no attempt, however, to correct the text of *c* by their means. This task was attempted in a haphazard fashion by Fritzsche (*Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test. Graece*, 1871, pp. 690-699) in an emended edition of Ceriani's Latin translation of these chapters.

It is manifest that, if we wish to ascertain the value of *c* in those chapters in which it stands alone, i.e. i.-lxxvii., we can do so only by an exhaustive examination of its text in those chapters which it attests in common with *a*, *b*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*, i.e. lxxviii.-lxxxvi., and by a determination of its critical value in respect to them. When we have discharged this task we shall know the real worth of *c* in i.-lxxvii., and familiar with its strength and its weakness shall approach with some confidence the critical problems it presents. With this end in view I have made use of all the Syriac MSS. of lxxviii.-lxxxvi. attainable. These are ten, and are as follows:—

a called A in Ceriani.

b Add. 17,105 in the Brit. Mus., Fol. 116^a-121^a. Sixth century.

c The Milan MS., Fol. 265^b-267^b. Sixth century.

d called *d* in Ceriani.

e No. 1 Syr. MSS., Bodley, Fol. 430-432. 1627.

f Egerton 704 Brit. Mus., Fol. 373^a-374^a. Seventeenth century.

g Add. 12,172 Brit. Mus., Fol. 192^b-195^b. Tenth or eleventh century.

h Add. 18,715 Brit. Mus., Fol. 242^b-244^a. Twelfth century.

i No. 2 Syr. MSS., Bodley, Fol. 492-493. 1614.

k No. 20 Syr. MSS., Bodley, Fol. 37-38.

All these MSS. with the exception of *k* contain the complete Epistle of Baruch. *k* has only lxxxiii. 7-lxxxiv. 1. Of the ten MSS. I have collated directly *b*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*. *b* had already been collated and published by Lagarde. I did it, however, afresh, and found only one important error in his work. For a knowledge of *a*, *d* I am indebted to Ceriani's collations. Of *c* my knowledge is derived directly from the photolithographic reproduction of that MS. In addition to the above MSS., I have found excerpts from the Epistle of Baruch in the three following MSS., from which I have drawn various readings.

l Add. 12,178 Brit. Mus., Fol. 111^b. Ninth or tenth century.

m 14,482 Brit. Mus., Fol. 47^b-48^a. Eleventh or twelfth century.

n 14,684 Brit. Mus., Fol. 24. Twelfth century.

W and P stand for the Walton and Paris Polyglots.

Of the foregoing MSS. *a*, *b*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n* represent one type of text as *c* represents another. But although the former belong to one family they are of very different values. To the more ancient and

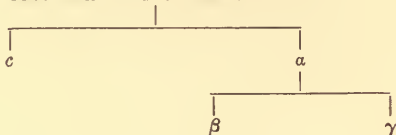
trustworthy belong *a, b, g, h, k* to the latter and less trustworthy *d, e, f, i*. For convenience' sake we shall denote the parent of *a, b, g, h, k* by the symbol β , that of *d, e, f, i* by γ , and the ancestor of both by *a*. First of all we shall study the general relations of *c* to *a* and to the sub-groups β and γ .

c stands frequently alone alike when it is right and when it is wrong. In lxxviii. 1 ; lxxxi. 4 ; lxxxii. 7 ; lxxxv. 1, 7 ; lxxxvi. 3 ; lxxxvii., it is right against *a*, i.e. *a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i* ; and most probably also in lxxix. 2, 3 ; lxxxiii. 3, 7, 8 ; lxxxiv. 1, 9 ; lxxxv. 15. On the other hand, it is frequently wrong. Thus it attests a corrupt text against *a* in lxxviii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7 (?) ; lxxx. 1, 2, 3 ; lxxxi. 3 ; lxxxii. 2 (twice), 3, 4, 5 ; lxxxiii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21 ; lxxxiv. 1, 2, 8, 10 ; lxxxv. 7, 8, 12, 13 ; lxxxvi. 1. Thus we see that whereas *c* independently preserves the true text in many passages, *a* preserves it in thrice as many.

Again, as we have already remarked, the MSS. *a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i, k* are of very different values. Thus *a, b, g, h* agree with *c* in attesting the true text against *d, e, f, i* in lxxviii. 3, 5 ; lxxix. 1 ; lxxx. 3 ; lxxxi. 4 ; lxxxiv. 4, 6, 7, 10 ; lxxxv. 6, 11. In lxxxii. 1 *a, b, g, h* agree alike against *c* and *d, e, f, i*. Only in lxxxiii. 17 do *d, e, f, i* agree with *c* against *a, b, g, h*. In the above passages *k* is wanting, but where it exists it belongs as a rule to β , and agrees with *a* more than with any other member of this group. Thus if we represent *a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i, k* by α , and *a, b, g, h, k*

by β , and d, e, f, i by γ , as we have already arranged, we arrive at the following genealogy:—

ORIGINAL SYRIAC TRANSLATION



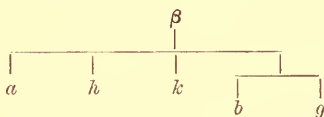
We have also seen from what precedes that c often agrees with β in giving the true text against γ , but c and γ never agree in attesting the true text against β , except perhaps in lxxxiii. 17.

l, m, n , so far as they exist, support a as against c , and where the attestation of a is divided they generally agree with γ against β , *i.e.* with d, e, f, i against a, b, g, h, k .

Having now learnt in some measure the relations of the various groups of MSS. to each other, we have still to study those of the individual MSS., so far as our materials admit. The special study of c we reserve till later.

Amongst a, b, g, h, b and g are closely related. They agree against all else in lxxx. 4; lxxxi. 3; lxxxii. 2, 3; lxxxiii. 2, 9, 11; lxxxv. 12; but this combination is generally wrong. b is never right when it stands alone. a and h are excellent authorities when supported by c . Thus a, c are right in lxxxiii. 4; lxxxiv. 6; lxxxv. 9. They agree in the wrong in lxxix. 2; lxxx. 7; lxxxv. 9. a agrees also with b, c, g against all else in lxxxv. 14, and with c, h against all in

lxxxiv. 3. *h* stands alone with *c* in lxxx. 4 ; lxxxiv. 4 ; lxxxv. 13 ; but the combination is untrustworthy. From these facts we infer that amongst *a, b, g, h, b* and *g* are very closely related, but that no such close relations exist between *a* and *h* or between either of these with *b, g*. Thus the relations of the sub-group to each other might be represented as follows :—

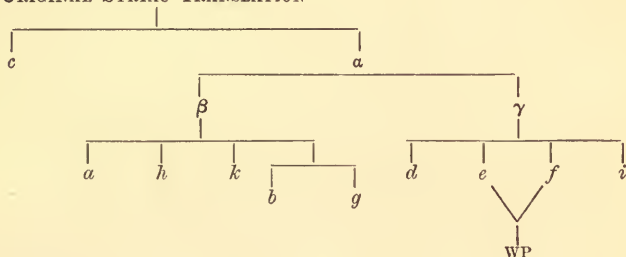


As regards the γ group, we have learnt above that it is quite untrustworthy when it stands alone against *c*. Yet it is upon two of the members of this group that the text of the Walton and Paris Polyglots is based.

The text of these Polyglots may be shortly described as follows. In all cases where it stands in opposition to *c*, WP follow *a* except in lxxxii. 8, lxxxv. 10, where their text is most probably due to conjecture as they here stand alone. Secondly, in cases where γ is opposed to *c* β , WP agree with γ . Thirdly, within the group γ , WP are most closely associated with, and in all probability are based upon, *e, f*. For they agree with *e* against all other MSS. in lxxx. i., lxxxii. 9 in omitting "and," in lxxx. 2 in giving an impossible form, and in lxxxiii. 14 in omitting half the verse. But WP are not based on *e* alone; for though *e* omits a word in lxxxv. 5, it is given in WP. This defect of *e* was made good from

f; for we find that *f*WP stand alone in lxxx. 7. It is of no little interest to have traced the sources of the text in the Polyglots; for, as their editors have given no information on the subject, scholars have hitherto been quite in the dark in this respect. We are now in a position to give the genealogy of the MSS. dealt with above. This is as follows:—

ORIGINAL SYRIAC TRANSLATION



Special Study of c.—It is now time to study the special characteristics of *c*. We have already seen that *c* has independently preserved the true text in many passages against corruptions in *a*. (A list of these passages will be found above, where also it is shown that *a* has preserved the true text much more frequently than *c*.) I have found *c* trustworthy when supported by *a* in lxxxiii. 4; lxxxiv. 6; lxxxv. 9; but not so in lxxix. 2; lxxx. 7; lxxxv. 9; or by *a*, *b*, *g* in lxxxv. 14; or by *a*, *h* in lxxxiv. 3; or by *b*, *g* in lxxxv. 1. But the character of *c* appears more clearly in its errors. Thus it is wrong (1) *through omission* in lxxx. 1, 2 (omission due here to an attempted emen-

dition); lxxxii. 2, 3 ; lxxxiii. 4, 5, 16, 18 ; lxxxiv. 1, 10 ; lxxxv. 4 (through homoioteleuton), 12. Cf. li. 16 and lvi. 14 for omissions of the negative. (2) *Through additions to the text* in lxxviii. 2 ; lxxxiii. 5 ; lxxxv. 8, 9, 15. (3) *Through transposition of words or letters whereby the sense is generally destroyed.* *Transposition of letters* in lxxxii. 4 whereby "drop" becomes "pollution"; lxxxiii. 21 where "by truth" becomes "in silence." For similar transpositions in the earlier chapters see xiv. 6 ; lxx. 8. *Transposition of words* in lxxx. 3 ; lxxxii. 2, 3 ; lxxxiii. 5 ; lxxxiv. 8. For similar transpositions see xiv. 11 ; xxi. 16. (4) *Through clerical errors* in lxxviii. 3 (for a similar error see xxiv. 4), 4 ; lxxx. 3 ; lxxxii. 5 ; lxxxiii. 2, 3, 13, 15, 16, 19 ; lxxxiv. 1 (observe that there is the same erroneous pointing in lxx. 5), 3, 8 ; lxxxv. 12, 13. In lxxxiv. 2 we have an intentional variation. Cf. in earlier chapters li. 1.

We have now completed our study of the MSS. The knowledge which we have thus gained from our comparative criticism of *c* and the other MSS. helps to secure us against the characteristic errors of the former in the chapters where the friendly aid of the latter cannot be invoked. We can thus address ourselves with a certain degree of confidence and skill to the obscurities and corruptions that arise in these chapters. As a further result of this examination, we have come to feel that so long as we follow its guidance, we can nowhere greatly err from the sense of the Hebrew original.

Date of the Common Ancestor of c and a.—Since *c* and *b* are both of the sixth century, we find that already at that date there existed two distinctly developed types of text, both of which must have been for no brief period in existence, owing to the variety of readings already evolved. Further, though *b* belongs to the sixth century, many of its readings are decidedly later than *c* and even than *a* and *h*. In fact, *a, h* represent the text at an earlier period than *b*. The common parent, therefore, of *a, h*, and *b* was probably not later than the fifth century. Such a variety of related yet different MSS. as *a, b, g, h, k* could not well have arisen from an MS. of a later date. This being so, the common progenitor of *c* and *a* can hardly be sought later than the fourth century.

§ 4. PREVIOUS LITERATURE ON THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

The Syriac Text.—As we have seen in the foregoing section, we have only one MS., i.e. *c*, for chapters i.-lxxvii. For Ceriani's edition of this MS. see pp. xxii.-xxiii. Of the text of the remaining chapters, which form the Epistle of Baruch, many editions have appeared:—
 (1) That which is published in the Walton and Paris Polyglots. This text is, as we have shown above (pp. xxvii.-xxviii.), founded on two indifferent MSS., *e* and *f*.
 (2) Lagarde's edition of *b*, pp. 88-93 of his *Libri Vet. Test. Apocryphi Syriace*, 1861. This is merely *b* in a printed form, and not an edition of the Syriac text

based on the Nitrian MSS. in the British Museum, as is everywhere wrongly stated both by German and English writers. Though *b* is a very old and valuable MS., we have now several MSS. at our disposal containing a more ancient text (see pp. xxvi.-xxvii.) (3) Ceriani's published text of *c*, to which he has appended collations of *a*, *b*, *d* in his *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, vol. v. Fasc. 2, pp. 167-180. As we have already remarked, Ceriani has contented himself with printing the text of *c*, and has not sought to correct it by means of *a*, *b*, *d*.

Translations.—Only one translation of our Apocalypse has hitherto appeared, *i.e.* the Latin translation of Ceriani in the *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, vol. i. Fasc. 2, pp. 73-98, 1866. This is certainly a model translation in point of style, and considering the fact that Ceriani was not a specialist in Apocalyptic literature, it is also very accurate. Not quite accurate, indeed, as Ceriani himself was aware in 1871 when he wrote—“Omisi tamen plenam revisionem meae versionis Latinae . . . quia omnino in meis occupationibus tempus me deficit, et quidquid corrigere opus erit, alii ex textu per se poterunt.” Some of the errors are as follows:—In xiii. 8 we must expunge “enim est.” In verses 4-5 of the same chapter we find the peculiar construction “ut . . . dic.” In xv. 6 read “transgressus est” for “fecit.” In xix. 1 for “te” read “vos.” In xxv. 4 for “terrae” read “terram.” In xxxii. 4 for “coronabitur” read “perficietur.” In xl. 1 for “qui tunc” read “illius temporis.” In xlix. 3 for “vestient” read

“induent.” In lv. 1 expunge “ejus.” In lx. 1 add “eorum” after “magiarum.” In lxii. 2 add “et” before “idololatria.” In lxxii. 2 for “vivificabit” read “parcet.” In lxxxv. 9 for “veritatem cujuspiam” read “veritas quodpiam.” In lxxxvi. 12 for “viae” read “recreationis” (= ἀνέσσεως); “viae” is a rendering of *d* but not of *c*, Ceriani’s text. Although Ceriani made no critical study of the text of *c*, he has nevertheless made some most felicitous emendations in x. 14; xiv. 6; li. 1; lvi. 4, 14; lx. 2; lxix. 1, 4; lxx. 8. A critical study of the text and matter would have helped him to deal with the corruptions of the Syriac in xxiv. 4; xlviii. 32; li. 16; lxvii. 2; lxx. 5; lxxii. 1, etc.

As Ceriani did not believe in a Semitic original of our Apocalypse, he was naturally unable to deal with corruptions that were not native to the Syriac Version, but had already appeared in the Hebrew text or had arisen through the misconceptions of the Greek translator.

Ceriani’s Latin translation was republished by Fritzsche in his *Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test. Graece*, 1871, pp. 654-679. Though Fritzsche introduces several changes into Ceriani’s translation, hardly any of these can be justified. Sometimes he makes the change because he has failed to understand the text; thus in xx. 4; xxi. 9, 10, he has emended Ceriani’s “investigabiles” into “ininvestigabiles”; but “investigabilis” in the Vulgate frequently means “unsearchable.” The change of “omne” into “vanum” in xix. 8 is quite wanton. The Latin text also is carelessly edited;

thus for "ego" there is "ergo" in lxxxiv. 1; for "ibi" there is "tibi" in lxxxv. 13; and "opulus" for "populus" in xlviii. 24. In the critical notes on pp. 690-699 there are many confusions and mis-statements of authorities. It is needless to add that none of Ceriani's actual errors were corrected by Fritzsche, for the Syriac text had not yet been published.

Notwithstanding all these defects, every scholar who has used Fritzsche's book is rightly grateful to him for making Ceriani's translation so generally accessible.

Critical Inquiries.—Langen, *De Apocalypsi Baruch anno superiori primum edita commentatio*, Friburgi in Brisgovia, 1867. This treatise, which consists of twenty-four quarto pages, maintains that our Apocalypse was written in Greek in the reign of Trajan. Although no grounds worthy of consideration are advanced in support of a Greek original, Langen's view has been universally accepted. Only two scholars have expressed a doubt on the subject, Mr. Thomson and Professor Ryle of Cambridge. This fact in itself serves to show how inadequately hitherto this Apocalypse has been studied. In other respects, Langen's work is admirable.

Ewald, *Göttinger Gel. Anzeigen*, 1867, pp. 1706-1717, 1720; *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vii. 83-87 (English trans. vol. viii. 57-61). In a short but interesting article Ewald assigns the date of our author to the reign of Domitian. He regards 4 Ezra and this Apocalypse as the work of one and the same author.

Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie*, 1869, pp. 437-440; *Messias Judaeorum*, pp. 63-64. Hilgenfeld ascribes our Apocalypse to the earlier years of Vespasian, possibly to 72 A.D. Vespasian is the leader mentioned in xl. The Baruch Apocalypse is subsequent to 4 Ezra.

Wieseler, "Das Vierte Buch Ezra," *Theol. Stud. und Kritiken*, 1870, p. 288. This writer criticises Hilgenfeld's date. The seven weeks (xxviii. 2) are to be reckoned from the fall of Jerusalem to 119 A.D. The two weeks in that verse point to the years 105-119, i.e. to the time of Trajan.

Fritzsche, *Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test.* 1871, pp. xxx.-xxxii. On Fritzsche's reprint of Ceriani's Latin translation see pp. xxxii.-xxxiii.

Stähelin, "Zur paulinischen Eschatologie," *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, 1874, pp. 211-214.

Hausrath, *Neutestamentl. Zeitgesch.* 2nd ed. iv. 88-90, 1877.

Renan, "L'Apocalypse de Baruch," *Journal des Savants*, 1877, pp. 223-231; *Les Évangiles*, 1877, pp. 517-530. Renan regards this Apocalypse as an imitation of 4 Ezra and in part designed as a correction of it, as, for instance, on the question of original sin (cf. also Langen). The latter was written in Nerva's reign, the former in the last year of Trajan's. The sombre clouds which obscured the last months of Trajan roused the hopes of the Jews and gave birth to the furious revolt of 117, of which this book is a monument. The fact that this book was accepted amongst the Christians excludes a later date. No

Jewish product later than Hadrian gained currency in Christian circles.

Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877, pp. 117-132. Dr. Drummond is of opinion that, "notwithstanding the Hebraic colouring of its thoughts and language, this book may very well have been written in Greek." Its author was a Jew: there is "not a single expression which betrays a Christian hand." It is probably subsequent in date to 4 Ezra, and is divided into the following groups of chapters—i.-ix.; x.-xii.; xiii.-xx.; xxi.-xxx.; xxxi.-xliii.; xliv.-xlvi.; xlviii.-lxxvi.; lxxvii.-lxxxvii.

Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch*, 1879, pp. 190-196. Kneucker believes that the Apocryphal Book of Baruch is the letter which Baruch undertakes in ch. lxxvii. to send by "three men" to the brethren in Babylon. This view needs to be greatly modified; as it stands, he has found none to follow it. The present book, he holds, is defective.

Dillmann, art. "Pseudepigraphen" in Herzog's *Real-Enc.* 2nd ed. xii. 356-358. Baruch, according to Dillmann, was undoubtedly later than 4 Ezra, and was written under Trajan. The writer was an orthodox Jew and wrote in Greek. Dillmann rightly thinks that parts of the book are lost, but he is wrong in supposing it to be not more truly Jewish than 4 Ezra. He falls also into the same mistake as so many other scholars in supposing Lagarde's edition of MS. *b* to be an edition of the Syriac text, based on the Nitrian MSS.

Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 2nd ed. 1884, ii. p. 658.

Rosenthal, *Vier Apocryphische Bücher*, 1885, pp. 72-103. This writer has made a painstaking study of Ceriani's Latin translation. He has likewise given no little thought to the subject matter, and discovered many connections between our book and Talmudic literature. It cannot, however, be said that he has thrown much light on the difficult problems of this book. In most respects Rosenthal follows the traditional lines of interpretation. The work is from the hand of one author. It was written in Greek in the reign of Trajan. Like previous writers Rosenthal regards our Apocalypse as subsequent to 4 Ezra, and as designed in some respects to correct its statements. He accepts Wieseler's interpretation of xxviii., and reckons the seven weeks there mentioned as dating from 70 A.D. Hence $70 + 49 = 119$ and the two last weeks point to the years 105-119, the period of the last woes. 119 is the year of the Messiah's advent. But Rosenthal thinks he can determine the exact year of the book's publication. Thus the letter to the Jews in Babylon shows that it was written before the rebellion of the Jews in Cyrene, Egypt, Cyprus, Babylon, and their extermination by Quietus in 116. On the other hand, he believes that the great earthquake in Syria, which did not affect Palestine in December 115, is referred to in lxx. 8-lxxi. 1. Thus the book was written in the beginning of 116. With many of Dr. Rosenthal's statements, in which he departs from the traditional interpretation of this book, the present writer dissents strongly. Some of these statements are as follows:—The Messiah, he says, has

a less active *rôle* in 4 Ezra than in Baruch. The real facts are that a passive *rôle* is assigned to the Messiah in xxix. 3 of this Apocalypse and in vii. 28-29 of 4 Ezra, and a highly active *rôle* in xxxix.-xl. and lxx.-lxxii. of this Apocalypse and xii. 32-34 and xiii. 32-50 of 4 Ezra. Rosenthal charges our author with being an ignorant man and unacquainted with Scripture. This is strange, seeing that in every instance save one the quotations from the Old Testament are made from the Hebrew and not from the LXX., and that a large and accurate knowledge of Jewish history is shown throughout the work. Again, he says our author makes the resurrection from the dead depend on faith therein, and then quotes as a proof xxx. 1, which says nothing of the kind, and further adduces lxxv. 1, where he alleges Manasseh is reproved for not believing in the future, “dass er an keinen Zukunft glaubte!” This last assertion rests on a strange misconception of the Latin translation—“cogitabat tempore suo quasi ac futurum non esset ut Fortis inquireret ista.” This is, of course, “he thought that in his time the Mighty One would not inquire into these things!” “Futurum” cannot mean “the future.”

Stanton, *The Jewish and Christian Messiah*, 1886, pp. 72-75. This writer ascribes our Apocalypse to the years immediately subsequent to 70 A.D. He divides the book as follows—i.-ix; x.-xii.; xiii.-xx.; xxi.-xxx.; xxxi.-xliii.; xliv.-lxxvi.; lxxvii.-lxxxvii.

Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (translated from the second and

revised edition of the German), 1886, vol. iii. Div. ii. pp. 83-93. We have here an admirable account of our Apocalypse. Schürer regards it as written shortly after 70 A.D., and argues strongly for its priority to 4 Ezra. After citing passages on the question of original sin from both books, he proceeds: "Here, then, we have not even an actual difference of view, far less a correction of the one writer on the part of the other. Further, such other reasons as have been advanced in favour of the priority of Ezra and the dependent character of Baruch are merely considerations of an extremely general kind which may be met with considerations equally well calculated to prove quite the reverse." "My own opinion is that . . . it is precisely in the case of Baruch that this problem is uppermost, *i.e.* How is the calamity of Israel and the impunity of its oppressors possible and conceivable? while in the case of Ezra, though this problem concerns him too, still there is a question that lies almost yet nearer his heart, *i.e.* Why is it that so many perish and so few are saved? The subordination of the former of these questions to the other, which is a purely theological one, appears to me rather to indicate that Ezra is of a later date than Baruch." It must be admitted that these arguments are as conclusive as are the counter-arguments of Ewald, Langen, Hilgenfeld, Hausrath, Stähelin, Renan, Drummond, and Dillmann for the priority of 4 Ezra. And beyond this *impasse* it is impossible for criticism to advance until it recognises the com-

posite nature of both books. Schürer appends a valuable bibliography.

Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 1888, pp. 23-24, 32-35. The composition of Baruch is here assigned to a Jew living in Palestine in the reign of Trajan.

Thomson, *Books which Influenced our Lord and His Apostles*, 1891, 253-267, 414-422. This writer believes with Schürer in the priority of Baruch, but his hardihood goes still farther: he assigns the date of its composition to 59 B.C. Such a date of necessity argued a Semitic original, and this Mr. Thomson contends for, and we hold rightly, though his reason may be wrong. This his sole reason is that in v. 5 we find the proper name Jabish יַבִּישׁ. "This," he says, "almost certainly represents 'Ιαβήης of the Septuagint, 1 Chron. iv. 9, 10 (Heb. יַבֶּנֶץ, Syriac ܝܒܒܥܝ)." There is no ground for this identification; in fact, everything is against it; and even if the identification were right, it would not necessarily prove a Hebrew original. Jabish or Jabesh, for the Syriac is unpunctuated, implies a Greek form *Iabys* or *Iabys*, and this in turn יַבֶּשׁ. Here, as elsewhere, I have had occasion to regret that Mr. Thomson acquainted himself inadequately with the facts before he gave loose rein to his vigorous imagination.

Kabisch, "Die Quellen der Apocalypse Baruchs," *Jahrbücher f. Protest. Theol.* 1891, pp. 66-107. With this writer the criticism of Baruch enters on a new stage. So long, indeed, as it pursued the old lines, finality on the question of the chronological relations

of our Apocalypse and 4 Ezra was impossible, and the champions of the one book with excellent reasons demolished their rivals, and with reasons just as excellent were demolished in turn. The explanation is obvious: both books are composite, and if some parts of 4 Ezra are older than certain parts of Baruch, no less certainly are some parts of Baruch older than some of 4 Ezra.

Kabisch emphasises at the outset certain facts which point to a plurality of authorship. Thus he shows that we find in Baruch side by side, on the one hand, a measureless pessimism and world-despair which look for neither peace nor happiness in this world; and, on the other hand, in the same work, a vigorous optimism and world-joy which look to a future of sensuous happiness and delight, of perfect satisfaction and peace.

Kabisch further points out that the same subjects are treated several times, and often without any fresh contribution to the subject at issue. Thus the Messianic Kingdom is twice delineated, the advent of the Messiah twice foretold, and the Messianic woes just as often depicted. Yet the latter are neither so identical as to point to the same author, nor are the novelties so great as to justify the repetition of the whole complex statement already once given.

On these grounds he shows that the book is derived from at least three or four authors. Thus he distinguishes i.-xxiii.; xxxi.-xxxiv.; lxxv.-lxxxvii. as the groundwork written subsequently to 70 A.D., since the

destruction of the temple is implied throughout these chapters. Further, these sections are marked by a boundless despair of this world of corruption, which fixes its regards on the afterworld of incorruption. In the remaining sections of the book, however, there is a faith in Israel's ultimate triumph here, and an optimism which looks to an earthly Messianic Kingdom of sensuous delights. In these sections, moreover, the integrity of Jerusalem is throughout assumed. Kabisch, therefore, rightly takes these constituents of the book to be prior to 70 A.D. These sections, however, are not the work of one writer, but of three, two of them being unmutilated productions, *i.e.* the Vine and the Cedar Vision, xxxvi.-xl., and the Cloud Vision, liii.-lxxiv., but the third a fragmentary Apocalypse, xxiv. 3-xxix. Finally, these different writings were incorporated in one book by a Christian contemporary of Papias, and to this editor are probably due xxviii. 5 ; xxx. 1 ; xxxii. 2-4 ; xxxv. ; lxxvi. 1. With the bulk of this criticism I have no reason for variance, as by independent study, and frequently on different grounds, I have arrived at several of these conclusions. But taken as it stands, Kabisch's criticism is only an additional stage on the way. It is far from being final, as a more prolonged study would have convinced this writer. Thus, as we shall presently learn (see pp. liii.-lxiv.), the so-called groundwork of Kabisch is as undoubtedly composite as the whole work is composite, and edited from at least two or three distinct writings. In this and in other respects the criticism of our book is

indefinitely more difficult than Kabisch conceives it. But we must not anticipate our conclusions here. Kabisch's work is based on the Latin translation of Ceriani. He follows the traditional views of a Greek original. The possibility of a Semitic original does not seem to have occurred to him.

De Faye, *Les Apocalypses juives*, 1892, pp. 25-28, 76-103, 192-204. It is interesting to find that some of Kabisch's conclusions were reached by this French scholar independently. Thus De Faye, like Kabisch, distinguishes xxxvi.-xl. and liii.-lxxv. as distinct works written before 70 A.D. The rest of his analysis is not likely to gain acceptance. His main conclusions are as follows:—i.-xxxii. 7 constitute an Apocalypse of Baruch written after 70 A.D.; i.-v. and vi.-xxxii. 7, however, were originally derived from two hands (pp. 193-196). Another quite distinct work was the Assumption of Baruch, which consists of xlviii.-lii.; xli.-xliii. 2; lxxvi. 1-4 (p. 97 note). The date of this work is also after 70 A.D. xliii. 3-xlvii. is for the most part the work of the final editor. They are much later in date than the Apocalypse or the Assumption. Thus the following chapters and verses are derived from the final editor: xxxii. 7-xxxv.; xliii. 3-xlvii.; lxxvi. 5-lxxxvii. (pp. 201-202). Much praise is due to M. de Faye for the abundant scholarship and pains he has expended on this book; but his work is unconvincing: a profounder study would have led him to abandon many of the positions which are maintained by him.

Ryle, "The Book of Baruch," *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. Smith, 1893, vol. i. pp. 361-362. Professor Ryle regards our Apocalypse as written shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem, and possibly in Hebrew. He reverts to Ewald's idea of the common authorship of this book and 4 Ezra as a means of explaining their manifold points of identity and similarity. He divides it into the following sections: i.-xii.; xiii.-xx.; xxi.-xxxiv.; xxxv.-xlvi.; xlvii.-lii.; liii.-lxxvi.; lxxvii.-lxxxv.

§ 5. THE SYRIAC—A TRANSLATION FROM THE GREEK

That the Syriac text is a translation from the Greek is to be concluded on several grounds. 1. It is so stated in the sixth-century MS. *c*. 2. There are certain corruptions in the text which are explicable only on the hypothesis that the translator misinterpreted the Greek, or else found the corruption already existing there. Thus in iii. 7 (see note) the Syrian translator renders "ornament" where the text requires "world." It is obvious here that he followed the wrong sense of *κόσμος*. The corrupt readings in xxi. 9, 11, 12; xxiv. 1, 2; lxii. 7 are to be explained on this principle (see notes *in loc.*). 3. Imitations of Greek constructions are found. In lxv. 1 we have *hau* = the Greek article in connection with a proper name. 4. We have frequent transliterations of Greek words, as in vi. 4, 7; x. 17; xvii. 4; xxi. 7, etc. It is possible, of course, that these borrowed Greek words may have

been part of the current language when the translation was made. In lxxvii. 14, however, we have a Greek word transliterated which gives no sense in its context. Hence this word was not written first-hand by a Syriac writer, but was taken by the Syriac translator from the Greek text before him. 5. The Rest of the Words of Baruch is largely based on our Apocalypse, and frequently reproduces it word for word. This book was written in Greek by a Christian Palestinian Jew in the second century. It implies, therefore, the existence of our Apocalypse in a Greek form, and preserves important fragments of the Greek Version.

§ 6. THE GREEK—A TRANSLATION FROM A HEBREW ORIGINAL

It is hard to understand how such an unbroken unanimity has prevailed amongst scholars on the question of a Greek original. Indeed, it is impossible to explain it, save on the hypothesis that they gave the subject the most cursory notice, or more probably none at all. In fact, since the discovery of the book not a single serious attempt has been made to grapple with this problem, and yet, in nearly every instance, scholars have spoken with an assurance on this subject that only a personal and thorough study of the subject could justify. To this strong and unanimous tradition of the learned world I bowed without hesitation at the outset of my studies, but with an awakening distrust and an ever-growing reluctance during the subsequent

years in which the present Translation and Notes were completed. In fact, the feeling grew steadily stronger that only a Hebrew original could account for many of the phenomena of the text. And yet my gathering certainty on this head did not lead to action till the MSS. of the Translation and Notes were partially in type. I then felt that I could no longer stay my hand, and with the kind permission of my publishers I have been enabled to introduce the necessary changes into the Translation and Notes. The facts which have obliged me to maintain a Hebrew original may be summarised as follows:—1. The quotations from the Old Testament agree in all cases but one with the Massoretic text against the LXX. 2. Hebrew idioms survive in the Syriac text. 3. Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retranslation into Hebrew. 4. There are many paronomasiae which discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew. 5. One or two passages of the book have been preserved in Rabbinic writings.

1. *The quotations from the Old Testament agree in all cases but one with the Mass. text against the LXX.*—See vi. 8; xxxviii. 2; xli. 4; li. 4; lviii. 1, with notes *in loc.* In two other passages our text departs alike from the Mass. and LXX.: thus in iv. 2 it agrees with the Syriac Version of Is. xlix. 16 against the Mass., LXX., and Vulg.; and in xxxv. 2 it reproduces Jer. ix. 1, freely and independently. Finally, in lxxxii. 5 only does it agree with the LXX. of Is. xl. 15. It is to be observed, however, that neither does the Vulgate

in that passage agree with the Mass. The Mass.= **יִשְׁרֹף**; the LXX.= **ὡς σίελος λογισθήσονται**= **נִרְשָׁב**; Vulg.=“quasi pulvis exiguus.” Here the Vulg. omits **יִשְׁרֹף** and the LXX. replaces it by repeating a previous verb. Hence this passage is inconclusive, as the text of Isa. xl. 15 seems to have been uncertain.

2. *Hebrew idioms survive in the Syriac text.*—We shall treat this section under four heads.

(a) *Survival of the familiar Hebrew idiom of the infinitive absolute combined with the finite verb.*—The Syriac equivalent of this Hebraism is frequently found in this Apocalypse: cf. xiii. 3 (note); xxii. 7; xli. 6; xlviii. 30; l. 2; lvi. 2; lxxv. 6; lxxvi. 2; lxxxii. 2; lxxxiii. 1, 2, 3, 6; lxxxiv. 2. In this circumstance alone we have sufficient evidence to establish a Hebrew original. This idiom is, it is true, also found in original Syriac, but is comparatively rare. It is not, however, with original Syriac that we have here to do, but with a Syriac translation. We shall now proceed to show that *in a Syriac translation of a Hebrew or a Greek text this idiom does not appear except as a rendering of the corresponding idiom in the Hebrew or Greek before it.*

In order to prove this statement we shall examine the Peshitto Version of Genesis and Exodus. In these two books I have found fifty-seven instances of the occurrence of the infinitive absolute with the finite verb in the Massoretic text.

As we shall require presently to know the usage of the LXX. in this matter, we shall now give a table

furnishing the facts we are in search of from both versions.

Syriac-Peshitto.	Genesis-Massoretic Text.	LXX.
Noun and verb.	ii. 17.	Noun and verb.
Infinitive and verb.	iii. 4.	„
„	iii. 16.	Participle and verb.
„	xvii. 12.	Noun and verb.
„	xviii. 18.	Participle and verb.
Finite verb only.	xix. 9.	Noun and verb.
Infinitive and verb.	xxii. 17 (twice).	Participle and verb.
„	xxvi. 11.	Finite verb only.
„	xxvi. 13.	Different text followed.
„	xxvi. 28.	Participle and verb.
Finite verb only.	xxvii. 30.	Finite verb only.
Infinitive and verb.	xxviii. 22.	Noun and verb.
„	xxx. 16.	Finite verb only.
Finite verb only.	xxxi. 15.	Noun and verb.
Infinitive and verb.	xxxi. 30.	„
„	„	Finite verb only.
„	xxxii. 12.	Adverb and verb.
„	xxxvii. 8 (twice).	Participle and verb.
„	xxxvii. 10.	„
Different text followed.	xxxvii. 33.	Different text followed.
Infinitive and verb.	xl. 15.	Noun and verb.
„	xlili. 2.	„
„	xlili. 6.	Participle and verb.
„	„	Finite verb only.
Finite verb only.	xlvi. 4.	Different text followed.
Infinitive and verb.	l. 24 (twice).	Noun and verb.

Thus in Genesis there are twenty-nine instances of this idiom. These are rendered by the Peshitto as follows: twenty-three by the infinitive and verb; one by cognate noun and verb; four by finite verb only; and in one case a different text is followed. In the case of the LXX., eleven by cognate noun and verb; nine by participle and verb; five by finite verb only; while in four a different text is followed.

An examination of Exodus supplies the following evidence :—

Syriac-Peshitto.	Exodus-Massoretic Text.	LXX.
Infinitive and verb.	iii. 7.	Participle and verb.
„	iii. 16.	Noun and verb.
Different text followed.	xi. 1.	„
Infinitive and verb.	xiii. 19.	„
„	xviii. 18.	„
Finite verb only.	xix. 12.	„
Infinitive and verb.	xxi. 12, 15, 16, 17.	„
Different text followed.	xxi. 19.	Finite verb only.
Infinitive and verb.	xxi. 20, 22, 28.	Noun and verb.
Finite verb only.	xxi. 36.	Finite verb only.
Infinitive and verb.	xxii. 6, 14.	„
„	xxii. 16, 19.	Noun and verb.
Finite verb only (twice) } Infinitive and verb }	xxii. 23 (thrice).	{ Noun and verb (twice). Participle and verb.
Infinitive and verb.	xxiii. 4.	Participle and verb.
„	xxiii. 5.	Finite verb only.
„	xxiii. 22, 24.	Noun and verb.
„	xxxi. 14.	„
„	xxxi. 15.	Finite verb only.

Thus in Exodus there are twenty-eight instances of this idiom. These are rendered in the Peshitto: twenty-two by the infinitive and verb; four by finite verb only; in two cases a different text is followed. In the LXX., nineteen by cognate noun and verb; three by participle and verb; and six by the finite verb only. By combining the facts on both books, we arrive at the following results. The Hebrew idiom occurs fifty-seven times. In the Peshitto forty-five are rendered by infinitive and verb; one by cognate noun and verb; eight by finite verb only; in three cases a different text is followed. In the LXX., thirty are rendered by cognate noun and verb; twelve by participle and verb;

eleven by finite verb only; in four cases a different text is followed. Finally, we should mention here that in no case have we found this idiom in the Syriac Version where the same idiom was not also present in the Hebrew from which it was derived, and the same holds true of the LXX. save in one case, *i.e.* Exod. xxiii. 26.

From the above results obtained from the Peshitto Version of Genesis and Exodus we learn that *whereas the Syriac translator on the one hand never inserts this idiom unless as an equivalent of the corresponding Hebrew idiom before him, on the other he has failed to render it in eight cases out of fifty-seven.* In these he gives the finite verb only. Thus the irresistible conclusion is: *if we find this idiom occurring at all in a Syriac translation, it is a presumption that it existed in the language from which the translation was made; whereas if we find it frequently (as in our Apocalypse) the presumption changes to a certainty.*

The above conclusions drawn from a study of the Peshitto Version of the Hebrew text of Genesis and Exodus may be further confirmed and extended in their application by a short consideration of the corresponding phenomena in the New Testament. So far as I can discover, the Peshitto Version of the New Testament in no case inserts this idiom where it does not already exist in the Greek. This idiom occurs, as we know, at least six times: see Matt. xiii. 14; xv. 4; Luke vii. 34; xxii. 15; Acts vii. 34; Hebrews vi. 14. Five of these passages are quotations from

the LXX., and thus the idiom goes back to the Hebrew. In the remaining one, Luke xxii. 15, it implies undoubtedly an Aramaic or Hebrew original. The Peshitto renders these instances by the infinitive and verb except in Matt. xiii. 14, where it misses the point, and in Luke xxii. 15, where it gives the noun and verb. In both these verses the Sinaitic MS. gives the infinitive and verb.

The Syriac translator therefore is so far from inserting this idiom, unless it exists already in the Hebrew or Greek text before him, that, as we found above, he occasionally fails to do so when he ought. The bearing of this conclusion on our present investigation is obvious. This idiom is found fifteen times in our Apocalypse; we can therefore conclude with confidence that it occurred at least fifteen times in the Greek, and in all likelihood oftener.

Having now found that this idiom occurred frequently in the Greek, we have now to ask, could it have appeared there for the first time, *i.e.* in an original Greek writing?

The answer does not require a long investigation. The idiom is thoroughly Semitic, and is only once found in all Greek literature, and that in Lucian. In the New Testament there is no instance of it unless in a quotation from the Old Testament; in the Old Testament only once, Exod. xxiii. 26, without a Semitic background.

Hence we conclude that its frequent occurrence in our Apocalypse is in itself demonstrable evidence of a Hebrew original. Further, it is probable that it occurred in

the Hebrew original more frequently than in the Greek translation; for we found above that out of fifty-seven instances of this idiom in Genesis and Exodus, the LXX. failed to render eleven.

(b) *The survival of various Hebraisms.*—In xx. 2 (see note); xxiv. 2, where Syriac for “throughout all generations” = *ἐν πάσῃ γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ* = *בכל־דור ודור*; cf. Ps. cxlv. 13; the same idiom is found in xxix. 7, where I render “every morning”; xxxviii. 4, where “from my (earliest) days” is the Hebrew idiom found in 1 Kings i. 6.

(c) *Probable survival of Hebrew order against Syriac idiom.*—In xiii. 12 (see notes); lxiii. 8. In connection with the notes on xiii. 12 it is worth observing that, in Western Aramaic, unlike Syriac, the order of the participle and the substantive verb in the compound past imperfect indicative is indifferent. Thus in Dan. v. 19; vi. 4, 5, 11, 15, etc., the substantive verb precedes, whereas in Dan. ii. 31; iv. 7, 10, 26; vii. 2, 6, 8, etc., the participle.

(d) *Probable survival of syntactical idioms against Syriac idiom.*—For omission of relative see xx. 3, note; imperative used as jussive, xi. 6, note; Hebrew perfect with strong vav in xxi. 21, and the voluntative with weak vav in xlvi. 6, reproduced literally but not idiomatically.

3. *Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retranslation into Hebrew.*—In xxi. 9, 11, 12; xxiv. 2; lxii. 7, I have been able to explain and restore an unintelligible

text by retranslation first into Greek and thence into Hebrew. The Syriac in these verses is the stock rendering of *δικαιοῦσθαι*, and this in turn of *צדק*. But *צדק* also = *δίκαιος εἶναι*, and this is the meaning required in the above passages (see notes *in loc.*), but the Greek translator erroneously adopted the more usual rendering.

Again in xlv. 12 we have another interesting restoration through the same means. There we find in the Syriac "on its beginning" set over anti-thetically against "to torment." Here the context requires "to its blessedness." Now the corrupt text = *בראשו*, which by the transposition of the single letter *ר* gives us the text *באשרו* = "to its blessedness." Again in lxxxv. 12 we have another instance of the Greek translator following the wrong of two alternative meanings.

Again in xi. 6; xx. 3; xxi. 21; xxix. 5; xlviii. 6, we are obliged by the context to translate not the Syriac text but the Hebrew text presupposed by the Syriac, but mistranslated by the Greek translator, and, therefore, of necessity by the Syriac. See notes *in loc.*; also 2 (*d*) above, p. xlvii. For other restorations the reader should consult the notes on x. 13; lxx. 6; lxxx. 2. Finally in lxxvii. 14 we have a transliteration of the Greek word *ἔλγ*. *ἔλγ* is either a corruption or a mistranslation of some Hebrew word. It could not have been written for the first time in Greek. I have hazarded a conjecture in the note on the passage.

4. *Many paronomasiae discover themselves on re-translation into Hebrew.*—We have in xv. 8 (see note) one that is already familiar to us in Isaiah and Ezekiel. As many as three spring into notice in xlviii. 35 (see note), and probably two in lxxxiv. 2. The most interesting perhaps are those on the proper names, Hezekiah and Sennacherib, in lxiii. 3, 4 (see notes). In the case of the former, I had the good fortune to conjecture the existence of the same paronomasia in Ecclus. xlviii. 22, and to restore the Hebrew there as it actually stood before Dr. Neubauer's discovery of the Hebrew MS. of Ecclus. xl. 1.

5. *One or two passages of this book have been preserved in rabbinic writings* (see notes on x. 18; xxxii. 2-4; lxiv. 3). ✓

§ 7. THE DIFFERENT ELEMENTS IN THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE CHARACTERISTICS AND DATES.

As we have seen above, the composite nature of this book has already been recognised independently by Kabisch and De Faye. And the more thoroughly we study it, the more conscious we become of the impassable gulf which sunders the world-views which underlie the different parts. In one class of the passages there is everywhere manifest a vigorous optimism as to Israel's ultimate well-being on earth; there is sketched in glowing and sensuous colours the blessedness which awaits the chosen people in the

kingdom of the Messiah which is at hand (xxix.; xxxix.-xl.; lxxiii.-lxxiv.), when healing will descend in dew, and disease and anguish and lamentation will flee away; when strife and revenge and hatred will go into condemnation; when gladness will march throughout the earth, the reapers not grow weary, nor they that build toil-worn; when child-birth will entail no pangs, and none shall die untimely (lxxiii.-lxxiv. 1); when Israel's enemies shall be destroyed (xxxix.-xl.; lxx. 7-lxxii.), and to God's chosen people will be given a world-wide empire with its centre at Jerusalem (xl. 2; lxxiii.-lxxiv.). Over against these passages which ring with such assurance of coming victory and untold blessedness stand others wherein, alike to Israel's present and its future destiny on earth, there is written nothing save "lamentation and mourning and woe." These veritable cries from the depths give utterance to a hopeless pessimism—a bottomless despair touching all the things of earth. This world is a scene of corruption, its evils are irremediable; it is a never-ceasing toil and strife, but its end is at hand; its youth is past; its strength exhausted; the pitcher is near to the cistern, the ship to the port, the course of the journey to the city, and life to its consummation (lxxxv.). The advent of the times is nigh, the corruptible will pass away, the mortal depart, that that which abides for ever may come, and the new world which does not turn to corruption those who depart to its blessedness (cf. xxi. 19; xliv. 9-15; lxxxv.).

Thus we discover that whereas (1) optimism as to Israel's future on earth is a characteristic of some sections of the book, pessimism in this respect characterises others. The former are the Messiah Apocalypses, xxvii.-xxx. 1 ; xxxvi.-xl. ; liii.-lxxiv. (which for convenience I designate respectively as A¹, A², A³), and a short original Apocalypse of Baruch, B¹. The remaining sections are B², B³. The contents of these we shall determine presently. Again (2), A¹, A², A³, B¹, agree in teaching the advent of the Messianic kingdom, but this doctrine is absolutely relinquished in B², B³.

Thus, A¹, A², A³, B¹, agree in presenting an optimistic view of Israel's future on earth, and in inculcating the hope of a Messianic kingdom ; whereas in B², B³, such expectations are absolutely abandoned, and the hopes of the righteous are directed to the immediate advent of the final judgment and to the spiritual world alone. But at this point a difference between A¹, A², A³, and B¹, emerges. The former look for a Messiah and a Messianic kingdom, the latter for a Messianic kingdom without a Messiah.

As we pursue our study, other features, one by one, disclose themselves which belong to A¹, A², A³, but not to B¹, B², B³, and thus differentiate them from the latter. Some of these are: (1) In A¹, A², A³, Jerusalem is still standing — hence they were written before 70 A.D. ; whereas in B¹, B², B³, it is already destroyed (for details see pp. 49, 61, 87, 101, 111). In B¹, Jerusalem is to be restored ; (2)

in A¹, A², A³, the advent of the Messiah is looked for, but not in B¹, B², B³; (3) in A¹, A², A³, it is only to the actual inhabitants of Palestine that the promise of protection is given in the time of the Messianic woes (see xxix. 2; xl. 2; lxxi. 1)—thus the Jews are still in Palestine; but in B¹, B², B³, the Jews are already carried into exile. In B¹ they are to be ultimately restored.

These conclusions as to the different authorship of A¹, A², A³, and B¹, B², B³, are confirmed by the following facts:—

(1) According to the scheme of the final editor of this book (see v. 7; ix. 2; pp. 36, 61), events proceed in each section in a certain order: first a fast, then a divine disclosure, then an announcement or address to the people based on this disclosure. This being so, it is significant that in the various addresses in v. 5; x. 4; xxxi. 2-xxxiv.; xliv.-xlvi.; lxxvii. 1-17, there is not a single reference to these Messianic Apocalypses, A¹, A², A³. (2) From (1) it follows that A¹, A², A³, have no real organic connection with the rest of the book, B¹, B², B³. And a detailed examination of their immediate contents shows that the removal of A¹ (= xxvii.-xxx. 1), A² (= xxxvi.-xl.), A³ (= liii.-lxxiv.) serves to restore some cohesion to the text (see xxx. 2, note; xli. 1, note; lxxv.-lxxvi., note).

Having thus seen that A¹, A², A³, were written prior to 70 A.D., and are of different authorship to B¹, B², B³, which were written subsequent to that

date, we have next to deal with the relations in which A^1 , A^2 , A^3 stand to each other.

A^1 , A^2 , A^3 ; *their relations to each other and dates.*
—On pp. 61, 87, we have shown that A^1 is of distinct authorship to A^2 and A^3 , on the ground that in A^1 the Messiah pursues an entirely passive rôle, and does not appear till the enemies of Israel are destroyed and the kingdom established; whereas, in A^2 and A^3 , it is the Messiah that destroys the enemies of Israel and establishes the Messianic kingdom. As regards the date of A^1 , all that can be said with safety is that it was composed before 70 A.D.

It is hard to determine with certainty the relation of A^2 and A^3 . In many points they are at one: their differences are few. Some of these are: A^2 has more affinities in matter and character with the older Jewish Apocalyptic, *i.e.* that of Daniel; A^3 is more nearly related in form and spirit to later Judaism, to the rabbinic type of thought. Further, whereas in xl. 2, it is the Messiah that defends the inhabitants of the Holy Land, in lxxi. 1, it is the Holy Land itself; and whereas in A^2 (= xxxvi.-xl.) the law is only passingly alluded to, in A^3 (= liii.-lxxiv.) its importance is frequently dwelt upon. The latter difference may partly be due to their diversity in subject and method as well as to the brevity of A^2 . On the whole, we are inclined to regard A^2 and A^3 as springing from different authors; but the evidence is not decisive.

As to the date of A^2 we are unable to say any-

thing more definite than that it was composed before 70 A.D. The case of A³ is different. Like A¹ and A², it was written before 70 A.D., as we have seen above (see also p. 87 and lxviii. 6, note). The earlier limit of composition is fixed by lix. 5-11. In the notes on that passage we have shown that in our Apocalypse there is a transference of Enoch's functions to Moses, and an attribution to Moses of revelations hitherto ascribed to Enoch (see also xiii. 3, note). This glorification of Moses at Enoch's expense is a clear sign of Jewish hostility to Christianity, and a tribute to Enoch's influence in the Christian Church of the first century. This acceptance of Enoch as a prophet in Christian circles became the ground of his rejection by the Jews, and of a hostility which was unswervingly pursued for several centuries. This aggressive attitude of Judaism could not have originated before the open breach of Christianity with the Synagogue, which was brought about by the Pauline controversy. Hence A³ cannot be earlier than 50 A.D. Thus the limits of its composition are 50-70 A.D.

B¹, B², B³, *the later constituents of Baruch, their characteristics and dates.*—We have seen above the grounds on which we are obliged to ascribe B¹, B², B³, to a different authorship and later date than A¹, A², A³. We have now to study the relations which subsist between B¹, B², B³. We shall consider B³ first, as it consists of a single chapter.

B³ = lxxxv. This chapter agrees with B¹, B², in being written after 70 A.D.; but differs from B¹ and

agrees with B² in despairing of a national restoration, and in looking only for spiritual blessedness in the world of incorruption. But, again, it differs from B³ also, in that B² was written in Jerusalem or Judæa, whereas B³ was written in Babylon or some other land of the Dispersion—in the former most probably ; for it was written in Hebrew (cf. lxxxv. 2, 3, 12, notes). Again, whereas, according to B², Jeremiah was with the captivity in Babylon, it is here definitely stated that the righteous and the prophets are dead, and that the exiles have none to intercede for them (see notes on pp. 154, 156). B³ was thus written after 70 A.D. in Hebrew, and most probably in Babylon.

B¹, B².—After the removal of A¹, A², A³, and B³, the remaining chapters, when submitted to a searching scrutiny, betray underlying suppositions, statements, and facts which are mutually irreconcilable.

Thus certain sections, i.-ix. 1 ; xliii.-xliv. 7 ; xlv.-xlvi. 6 ; lxxvii.-lxxxii. ; lxxxiv. ; lxxxvi.-lxxxvii., are optimistic and hopeful as to this world, whereas certain others, ix.-xii. (?) ; xiii.-xxv. ; xxx. 2-xxxv. ; xli.-xlii. ; xliv. 8-15 ; xlvii.-lii. ; lxxv.-lxxvi. ; lxxxiii., are decidedly of an opposite character. The former sections we have named B¹, and the latter B². That B¹ and B² are derived from different authors will be clear from the following considerations :—

(1) In B¹ the earthly Jerusalem is to be rebuilt (i. 4, note ; vi. 9, note ; lxxviii. 7, note), but not so in B², where it is said that Jerusalem is removed with a view to usher in the judgment (see xx. 1, 2).

(2) In B¹ the exiles are to be restored, but not in B²; see notes cited in (1).

(3) In B¹ an earthly felicity or a Messianic kingdom is expected (i. 5; xlv. 6; lxxvii. 12), whereas in B² no earthly consolation of any kind is looked for (xlv. 8-15), and the judgment is close at hand (xlviii. 39; lxxxiii.).

(4) In B² there is a strongly ascetic tone (see xv. 8, note); but this is wholly absent from B¹.

(5) In B¹, Baruch is to die an ordinary death, whereas in B² he is to be taken up or translated and preserved till the last day, to testify against the Gentile oppressors of Israel (see xiii. 3, note).

(6) In B¹, Jeremiah is not sent to Babylon, but in B² he is (see x. 2, note; xxxiii. 2, note; lxxvii. 12, note).

(7) In B¹, Jerusalem is destroyed by angels lest the enemy should boast; this idea seems foreign to B² (see lxvii. 6, note).

(8) In B¹ the main interest of the writer is engaged in dealing with the recent destruction of Jerusalem; in tracing this calamity to the nation's sins; in exhorting to renewed faithfulness; and in inculcating the sure and certain hope of Israel's restoration. In B² the writer has relinquished all hopes of national restoration, and is mainly concerned with theological problems and questions of the schools.

In x. 6-xii. 4 it is not improbable, as we have shown in the notes on the passage, that we have a fragment of a Sadducean writing, which I have marked by the symbol S. It may possibly belong to B²; it

cannot to B¹. Having now recognised that the groundwork is in the main derived from the two sources B¹ and B², and having already acquainted ourselves with the leading characteristics of each, it is next incumbent on us to consider the use made of these sources.

B¹, *its extent in this book*.—It is not difficult to ascertain the extent to which B¹ has been put in requisition by the final editor. Thus i.-ix. 1, with the exception of the interpolation iv. 2-7, clearly belongs to it, as it discovers most of the characteristics which belong to B¹ as over against their contraries in B². B² begins clearly with x. 1.-5, for these verses give the account of Jeremiah's departure to Babylon, which is peculiar to B²; ix. 2 and other references to fasts of seven days are probably due *in their present positions* to the final editor. The next fragments of B¹ are xliii.-xliv. 7; xlv.-xlvi. 6 (see pp. 68, 69, for detailed criticism), and the rest that are drawn from this source are lxxvii.-lxxxvii., with the exception of lxxxiii. = B² and lxxxv. = B³ (see pp. 119, 140, 154, 156).

B², *its extent in this book*.—Criticism encounters its chief difficulty in dealing with the source B², and with the use to which it has been put by the final editor. From B¹ the editor borrowed materials and used them in a straightforward fashion, but those from B² he mutilated and transposed in every imaginable way. This will be manifest to every serious student of xiii.-xxv. It was my sheer inability to write any connected or reasonable commentary on

these chapters in their present order, that led me at last to recognise the true nature of the case. Then I came to see that these chapters could not have been written originally as they stand at present, and further study made it clear that we had here a most complete but instructive example of the perverse ingenuity of a redactor, by which the original text was dislocated and transposed, the original development of thought arrested and inverted, questions frequently recorded after their specific answers had already been given in full, and passages torn from their original setting in Baruch's address to the people and inserted in Baruch's prayers to God, where they are bereft of all conceivable meaning.

The reader will find a list of these logical *anacoloutha* and inversions on pp. 20, 21, and likewise an attempt to restore these chapters to their original order in B². With the paucity of materials at our disposal, this can only be partially satisfactory. The original order was probably xiii. 1-3*a*; xx.; xxiv. 2-4; xiii. 3*b*-12; xxv.; xiv.-xix.; xxi.-xxiv. 1.

The next fragment from B² is xxx. 2-5, which forms a good sequel to xxiv. 1. Of the intervening chapters xxvii.-xxx. 1 is an independent Apocalypse, as we have already found, *i.e.* A¹ and xxvi. is an addition of the editor; xxxi.-xxxv.; xli.-lii., with the exception of xliii.-xliv. 7; xlv.-xlvi. 6, which belong to B¹ and xxxii. 2-4; xlv. 7, which are due to the editor, are also fragments of B² (see pp. 57, 58, 66, 68, 69, 74). These chapters from B² have met with no better treatment at the hands of the editor than

those already mentioned. Thus we find that xxxi.-xxxii. 6, which contains an address of Baruch to the people, presupposes xlii.; xlviii.; lii. to be already in the background; for the subject of each address is founded on a previous revelation (see p. 57). Thus xxxi.-xxxv. was read originally after xlviii.-lii., but not immediately, for lxxv. intervened (see p. 117), forming the natural sequel to lii. when A³, *i.e.* liii.-lxxiv. is removed; xli.-xlii. appear to have followed close on xxx. (see p. 66). Thus so far the order roughly was: xxx. 2-5; xli.-xlii.; xlviii.-lii.; lxxv.; xxxi.-xxxv. But there are grounds for regarding xlv. 8-15; lxxxiii. as intervening after xxxii. 6. Finally, the last fragment of B² is found in lxxvi., but this cannot have formed the end of B². It was probably closed with an account of the Assumption of Baruch.

For further disarrangements of the text by which words used originally by Baruch in addressing the people, are used in their present context in an address to God, though quite impossible in that connection, and the probable restoration of these fragments, see xlviii. 48-50; lii. 5-7; liv. 16-18, notes. The surviving fragments of B², which we have just dealt with, may be restored as follows to what seems to have been their original order in their source: xiii. 1-3a; xx.; xxiv. 2-4; xiii. 3b-12; xxv.; xiv.-xix.; xxi.-xxiv. 1; xxx. 2-5; xli.-xlii.; xlviii. 1-47; xlix.-lii. 3; lxxv.; xxxi.-xxxii. 6; liv. 17, 18; xlviii. 48-50; lii. 5-7; liv. 16; xlv. 8-15; lxxxiii.; xxxii. 7-xxxv.; lxxvi.

S, *its relation to B¹ and B²*.—We have adjourned

to the present the treatment of x. 6-xii. 4, which in the notes on this passage we have assigned to a Sadducean author, S. However this may be, I cannot but regard it as of different authorship to B¹ and B². Several grounds for this conclusion will be found in pp. 14-19. We might further observe that although, in vividness of grief and the still overwhelming consciousness of national calamity, S has features in common with B¹, it is sundered from it as resigning all hope of the restoration of the temple and its sacrifices, and as presenting the most hopeless pessimism in the book. And again, whereas S is related to B² in its world despair, it is no less certainly sundered from it in its complete absorption in the present wreck of the nation's material interests. Of this subject as now far distant B² recks little, and gives its chief energies and affections to religious problems and the conservation of Israel's spiritual interests.

Dates of S, B¹, B², B³.—In respect of date, S seems to have been written immediately after the fall of Jerusalem, in 70 A.D.; B¹ soon after this date, when the destruction of Israel and its hoped-for restoration were still the supreme subject of interest and speculation. B² is much later; its interests have passed from the material to the spiritual world; patriotic aims have ceased to affect it. B³ is probably still later than B².

Date of editing entire book.—Since the author of the Rest of the Words of Baruch has used portions of ii., v., vi., viii., x., xi., xxxv. 2 (?), lxxvii., lxxx., lxxxv., lxxxvii. of our Apocalypse, it is clear that he had the

present form of our book before him in Greek. Thus, as this Christian Apocalypse was written between 130 and 140 A.D., the date of the Greek translation of our Apocalypse may be taken as not later than 130. The editing of the Hebrew may have been one or more decades earlier.

§ 8. THE LOST EPISTLE TO THE TWO AND A HALF TRIBES

A portion of this letter is probably to be found in the Apocryphal Book of Baruch, *i.e.* in i. 1-3 ; iii. 9-iv. 29. This section corresponds in many respects with the writings we are in search of. Thus (1) the lost Epistle was addressed to Judah and Benjamin in exile (lxxvii. 12, 17). Now it is clear that iii. 9-iv. 29 was also addressed to *Judah and Benjamin in exile*. It is *Judah and Benjamin* that are addressed ; for throughout iv. 5-29 it is Jerusalem that is represented as being deprived of her children. Further, it is Judah and Benjamin *in exile*, for they are said to be "sold to the nations and delivered to their enemies" (iv. 6), and Jerusalem describes herself as robbed of her sons and daughters (iv. 16), and the writer asks in iii. 10 : "Why is it, Israel, that thou art in thine enemies' land, and that thou art waxen feeble (so Kneucker) in a strange country ?"

(2) The lost Epistle was "an epistle of doctrine and a scroll of good tidings" (lxxvii. 12). This forms an admirable description of iii. 9-iv. 29,

which is essentially a writing of consolation and encouragement.

(3) The lost Epistle was to hold out the promise of return (lxxvii. 6); this is done in iv. 22-24.

(4) The lost Epistle was written by Baruch *to Babylon* (lxxvii. 12, 17).

Now i. 1-3; iii. 9-iv. 29, which purport to have been written by Baruch in Babylon and addressed to the exiles there, appear rather to have been written by Baruch in Jerusalem and addressed to the exiles in Babylon; for (a) the speaker does not identify himself with those who are in exile. Cf. iii. 10: "Why is it, Israel, that thou art in thine enemies' land"; and iv. 5, 6, where he calls them the remnant dispersed among the nations; (b) the speaker rather identifies himself with Jerusalem; at all events, in iv. 9-29 he personifies Jerusalem, and represents her as addressing the neighbouring peoples, and then her own children as they are being led into captivity, and promising them a safe return to her.

(5) Finally, in B¹, to which the lost Epistle belongs, the blamelessness of Jerusalem over against her children is insisted on (cf. lxxvii. 8). The same thought would naturally recur in some form in the lost Epistle. And so, in fact, we find it underlying iv. 8-29. And as in B¹ it is taught that Israel is punished only as a chastisement (cf. i. 5; lxxix. 2), the same idea would most probably appear in the lost Epistle as an encouragement to the exiles. Now this is emphatically declared to be so in iv. 6.

On the above grounds to which others could be added, I am inclined to regard iii. 9-iv. 29 as a recast of, or, at all events, as based upon the lost Epistle. This Epistle was probably introduced by some form of i. 1-3. These verses are, as Kneucker has shown, corrupt in their present form.

iv. 39-v. 9, which consists of a direct address to Jerusalem, is derived by the final editor from a different source, mainly from the eleventh of the Psalms of Solomon.

§ 9. THE RELATIONS OF THIS APOCALYPSE WITH 4 EZRA

In this section we shall deal with the following questions:—

- (a) The composite nature of 4 Ezra.
- (b) Conflicting characteristics of 4 Ezra and Baruch, the former to some extent non-Jewish.
- (c) 4 Ezra from a Hebrew original.
- (d) Relations of the respective constituents of our Apocalypse and 4 Ezra.

(a) *The composite nature of Ezra.*—Into this question this is not the place to enter. I shall content myself with expressing my acceptance in the main of Kabisch's masterly criticism¹ of this work. Though many of his positions cannot be maintained, the greater number of them will, I believe, be ultimately accepted as final. The work is very unequal.

¹ Kabisch, *Das vierte Buch Esra*, 1889, Göttingen.

In it there stand side by side numerous instances of extremely fine insight and not a few gross misapprehensions and bizarre conclusions. His analysis is as follows :—

S = an Apocalypse of Salathiel written *circ.* 100 A.D. at Rome, preserved in a fragmentary condition : iii. 1-31 ; iv. 1-51 ; v. 13*b*-vi. 10 ; vi. 30-vii. 25 ; vii. 45-viii. 62 ; ix. 13-x. 57 ; xii. 40-48 ; xiv. 28-35.

E = an Ezra Apocalypse, *circ.* 31 B.C., written in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem : iv. 52-v. 13*a* ; vi. 13-25, 28 ; vii. 26-44 ; viii. 63-ix. 12.

A = Adlergesicht—an Eagle Vision, written 90 A.D. by a Zealot : x. 60-xii. 40.

M = Menschensohn—a Son-of-Man Vision, written in Jerusalem about the time of Pompey : xiii., but much interpolated by R.

E² = an Ezra fragment, *circ.* 100 : xiv. 1-17*a*, 18-27, 36-47.

R = the Editor—a Zealot, *circ.* 120 : iii. 1. (*qui et Ezras*), 32-36 ; vi. 11, 12, 26, 27, 29 ; x. 58, 59 ; xii. 9, 34, 37-39, 49-51 ; xiii. 13*b*-15, 16-24, 26*b*, 29-32, 54-58 ; xiv. 8, 17*b*, 48-50, as well as parts of iv. 52 ; vi. 20, etc.

The above analysis may be taken as a good working hypothesis. Among other grounds which Kabisch might have pressed to show that the book as it stands has been edited from various independent sources and edited most ignorantly, I will adduce only one. The title, *Dominator Domine*, which in the Apocalypse of Baruch is used only of God, and rightly so, in 4 Ezra is a designation of God in five instances—iii. 4 ; v. 23 ; vi. 38 (in Syr., Eth., and Arm. Versions) ; xii. 7 ; xiii. 51 ; but of an angel in six—iv. 38 ; v. 38 ; vi. 11 ;

vii. 17, 58, 75. The attribution of this divine title to an angel can only be due to gross confusions or interpolations in the text (see note on iii. 1 of our text). It is to be observed that this phenomenon is found only in the late source S and R.

(b) *Conflicting characteristics of 4 Ezra and Baruch, the former to some extent non-Jewish.*—On the following doctrines the teaching of our Apocalypse represents faithfully the ordinary Judaism of the first century, whereas that of 4 Ezra holds an isolated position or is closely related to Christianity.

1. *The Law.*—From an exhaustive comparison of the passages dealing with this subject in the two books (see xv. 5, note) it is clear that the possession of the law by Israel is less a subject of self-gratulation in 4 Ezra than in Baruch. In the latter, especially in B², it protects the righteous (xxxii. 1), justifies them (li. 3), is their hope (li. 7) and never-failing stay (xlvi. 22, 24). This is decidedly orthodox Judaism. In 4 Ezra, on the other hand, man trembles before the law; he needs mercy, not the award of the law, for all have sinned (viii. 35); it has served rather unto condemnation; for only a very few are saved through good works (vii. 77) or the divine compassion (vii. 139). It is hardly necessary to point out that this conception of the law approximates to the Pauline view. p. 20

2. *Works.*—In my note on xiv. 7 I have contrasted the teaching of the two books on this subject, and arrived at the conclusion that in 4 Ezra the Paul

doctrine of works as it is found in Baruch can hardly be said to exist. Here again Baruch represents traditional Jewish orthodoxy, but 4 Ezra not. We should observe also that the latter guards carefully against the doctrine of salvation by works by making salvation depend on works and faith combined (cf. ix. 7; xiii. 23; cf. St. James ii. 14-26).

3. *Justification, i.e. by the law or by works.*—This subject might have more logically been treated under the preceding head. For my own convenience I have given it separately. On p. 39 I have shown that justification by the law, though taught in Baruch, is absent from 4 Ezra. In this respect again the latter is non-Jewish.

4. *Original Sin and Freewill.*—On pp. 92-93, from a study of the passages in 4 Ezra bearing on these subjects, we have found that there was in man to begin with a wicked element (“granum seminis mali,” iv. 30); and that through Adam’s yielding to this evil impulse a hereditary tendency to sin was created, and the *cor malignum* developed (iii. 21-22). The evil element having thus gained the mastery over man, only a very few are saved through mercy (vii. 139; viii. 3); hence the writer of vii. 118 naturally charges Adam with being the cause of the final perdition of man.

In the face of such a hopeless view of man’s condition, human freewill cannot be maintained: *practically* man has none, for only a handful out of the whole human race are saved (vii. 51-61; ix. 16);

theoretically he is said to have it, but this is to justify his final condemnation (see p. 93).

This teaching is practically unique in Judaism between 1-300 A.D.—in fact it is not Jewish but Christian doctrine. In Baruch, on the other hand, conformably to early Rabbinic teaching, it is declared that Adam is not the cause of man's perdition, but that each man is the Adam of his own soul (liv. 19). There is not, moreover, a trace of Ezra's elaborate theory, and the doctrine of original sin is stoutly denied in liv. 15, 19—not a trace save only in xlviii. 42, where spiritual death is traced to Adam. Elsewhere—xvii. 3; xxiii. 4; liv. 15—it is only physical death that is ascribed to Adam's transgression. But in Ezra, as we might expect from what precedes, both spiritual and physical death are always traced to Adam—iii. 21, 22; iv. 30; vii. 118-121.

Thus on various grounds we see that *whereas Baruch is a pure product of the Judaism of the time, 4 Ezra is the result of two influences at work, first and mainly a Jewish, and secondly a Christian. It was no doubt owing to this Christian element in the latter that it won and preserved a high position in the Christian Church. It constitutes, in fact, a confession of the failure of Judaism.*

The above peculiarities of doctrine in 4 Ezra discover themselves almost universally in S. The author of S was undoubtedly a Jew, but a Jew who had been impressed and imbued to some extent by Christian teaching, probably by Pauline.

(c) *4 Ezra from a Hebrew Original.*—Though this question could only be settled by an exhaustive study of the text presupposed by the Versions, I am convinced that a Hebrew groundwork underlies at all events the greater part of this book. I might call attention here to the frequent occurrence of the Hebraism—the finite verb combined with the cognate infinitive—as evidence in this direction. Thus in iii. 33 we have “pertransiens pertransivi”; iv. 13, “festinans festinavit”; iv. 26, “proficiscens profectus sum”; v. 30, “odians odisti”; v. 45, “videntes vivent”; vi. 32, “auditu audita est”; vii. 5 “volens voluerit,” and so on in vii. 14, 21, 67, 70, 75; viii. 8, 15, 58; ix. 1; x. 32; xi. 45; xiv. 3, 29. All these appear in the Syriac Version, save five—iv. 26; vii. 5, 14; x. 32; xiv. 29. Still more are omitted in the Ethiopic Version. On the weight to be assigned to this feature of the text as evidence of a Hebrew background, see pp. xliv.-li. I may add that in the late work 5 Ezra xv. 9; xvi. 65, this idiom is found; but in the latter passage it is a quotation from our Apocalypse (see p. xx.), and in the former it is apparently a quotation also.

(d) *Relations of the respective constituents of our Apocalypse and 4 Ezra.*—My present purpose does not call for an exhaustive list of the passages common to the two books. This will be given elsewhere. It will be sufficient to indicate the direction such an inquiry should pursue, and to mention some of the chief grounds for determining the relations in which the various constituents of

Baruch stand to those of 4 Ezra. These determinations must, however, pending further investigation, be regarded as provisional.

Of the multitude of thoughts, phrases, and commonplaces that are common to both books, a large number already occur in previously existing literature ; and as these may possibly be drawn independently from such sources by both books, they are not helpful at the outset in determining the priority of either book or of their respective constituents. Again, of many other common passages, the sources, it is true, are no longer found ; yet that such did exist in certain cases we have ample grounds for believing ; see the note on xxix. 4 for the common original of 4 Ezra vi. 49-52 and of our Baruch xxix. 4. Thus we must be on our guard against tracing relations of dependence where both books have been borrowing independently from the same lost source.

We shall now point out the relations in which A¹, A², A³, B¹, B² stand to Ezra. I shall refer to the following constituents of the latter, S, E, E², M (according to Kabisch's analysis on p. lxviii.).

A¹.—A¹ and S are apparently related in only one passage : Bar. xxix. 4 and 4 Ezra vi. 49-52. But this relation is not of dependence on either side, but of common derivation from the same lost source ; see xxix. 4, note. As regards A¹ and the E constituent of Ezra, xxix. 3b-6 of the former, "*The Messiah will then begin to be revealed . . . and those who hungered will rejoice ; moreover also they will behold marvels,*"

and vii. 27b-28 of the latter, "*Videbit mirabilia mea ; revelabitur enim filius meus . . . et jocundabit qui relictus sunt,*" are certainly connected. If we add to these connections in thought and diction the fact that only in A¹ and E in the Baruch and Ezra literature is the passive rôle assigned to the Messiah, we may reasonably conclude that there is a direct relation of dependence between them. A¹, I think, is earlier than E; both are prior to 70 A.D. Finally, A¹ and M may be connected in xxix. 3 and xiii. 16-20. The thought seems earlier and more vigorous in A¹. In M it is threshed out; but such considerations are indecisive. If there is a relation of dependence between them, A¹ is probably earlier than M, for in A¹ the Messiah has a passive rôle, in M an active one. The idea of a passive Messiah conceived as early as 160 B.C. was not likely to hold its ground in later times when the needs of the people called for an active leader and combatant in the Messiah.

A².—A² and M, *i.e.* xiii. of 4 Ezra, are related. Cf. xl. 2, "My Messiah will convict him of all his impieties . . . and set before him all the works of his hosts," with 4 Ezra xiii. 37, "*Ipse autem filius meus arguet quae advenerunt gentes impietates eorum . . . et improperebit*" ("improperebit" is a mistaken rendering; read "ordinabit" with Syr. and Eth.) "*coram eis mala cogitamenta eorum.*" The connection is manifest.

The first halves of these sentences agree verbally, so likewise do the second; for "set before him" = *παραστήσει κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ* = *יערך לעיניו*; and

“improperabit” (or “ordinabit,” Syr. and Eth.) “coram eis” = ἐπιστοιβάσει κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν = יַעֲרֶךְ לְעֵינֵיהֶם; for παριστάναι and ἐπιστοιβάζειν are both LXX. renderings of עָרַךְ. The phrase is derived from Psalm xlix. 22 (cf. also Leviticus i. 1, 7, 8, 12; vi. 12).

A number of features into which I cannot enter here show that it is M that is dependent on A², and not *vice versa*.

The verse just dealt with reappears in xii. 32, in the Eagle Vision designated A by Kabisch, in a form which shows it dependent on M. A² is thus earlier than M and A in 4 Ezra.

A³.—Although there are many points of contact between A³ and 4 Ezra, there are none that necessitate the theory of dependence on either side save in liv. 15, 19. These verses which represent the teaching of orthodox Judaism *circ.* 50-70, were before the writer of the S element in 4 Ezra (cf. iii. 21-22; iv. 30; vii. 48), where a non-Jewish turn is given to the borrowed thoughts and phrases.

B¹.—Although there are many similar and identical thoughts and phrases in B¹ and 4 Ezra, these are not sufficiently characteristic or definite to furnish grounds for determining the dependence of either. This question must be settled on other grounds, *i.e.* chronological. From the use of like thought or diction, one might argue, on the one hand, that B¹ is dependent on the E element of 4 Ezra; compare iii. 7 with vii. 30; on the other, that B¹ is a source of E² of 4 Ezra; compare lxxvii. 3-6 with xiv. 30-33, and lxxvii. 14 with xiv.

20; that it is likewise a source of S; compare lxxxiv. 10 with x. 24. In these latter passages a different turn is given to the phrases found first in Baruch.

B².—Between B² and 4 Ezra there are almost innumerable points of contact, but the bulk of them are indecisive for our purposes. With the older elements of 4 Ezra its points of similarity are few and unimportant; but the relations between B² and S are very close. The fact of man's sinning consciously is frequently emphasised in B² and S (cf. Bar. xv. 6; xix. 3; xlviii. 40; and 4 Ezra viii. 56, 58-60; vii. 72). The doctrine that the world was made for man is confined to B² and S; see notes on xiv. 18; xv. 7. Their teaching on the law and on works and justification is allied—in some particulars identical but as a whole at variance, owing to Christian influences at work in S; see pp. lxix.-lxx. In B² we have an exposition of the views of orthodox Judaism 70-100 A.D.; in S we find much of the actual teaching in B² recast under Christian influences. S seems to us in every respect to be later than B².

§ 10. RELATION OF THIS APOCALYPSE WITH THE NEW TESTAMENT

The points of contact between this Apocalypse and the New Testament are many in number. The most of these, however, are insufficient to establish a relation of dependence on either side; for the thoughts and expressions in question could be explained from pre-existing literature, or were commonplaces of the time.

Of these a list will be given immediately, followed by another list of passages which seem to show that our text may in a few instances be derived from the New Testament.

New Testament.	Parallels in our Apocalypse.	Probable source of both.
Mt. iii. 16.—Lo, the heavens were opened.	xxii. 1. — Lo, the heavens were opened.	Ezek. i. 1.
Mt. iii. 17 (xvii. 5; John xii. 28). — A voice from heaven.	xiii. 1; xxii. 1.— A voice from the height.	Dan. iv. 31.
Mt. iv. 8.	lxxvi. 3.	Deut. xxxiv. 1-4.
Mt. xxiv. 7 (Mk. xiii. 8; Luke xxi. 11).—Famines . . . and earthquakes.	xxvii. 6, 7.	Commonplaces of Jewish Apocalyptic.
Mt. xxiv. 11, 24. — Many false prophets.	xlvi. 34 (see note).	...
Mt. xxiv. 19 (Luke xxiii. 29).	x. 13, 14 (resemblance slight).	Isa. liv. 1.
Mt. xxvi. 24.— It had been good for that man, etc.	x. 6.—Blessed is he who was not born, etc.	A Jewish Commonplace.
Mt. xxiv. 27.— For as the lightning . . . so shall be the coming of the Son of Man.	liii. 9. — Now that lightning shone exceedingly so as to illuminate the whole earth. (The lightning here symbolises the Messiah.)	A coincidence (?).
Luke xx. 36.— Equal unto the angels.	li. 10.	Eth. En. civ. 4, 6.
Luke xxi. 28 (1 Pet. iv. 7).—Your redemption draweth nigh.	xxiii. 7.—My redemption has drawn nigh.	Eth. En. li. 2.— The day of their redemption has drawn nigh.

New Testament.	Parallels in our Apocalypse.	Probable source of both.
Acts xv. 10 (where the law is spoken of as a "yoke"; cf. Gal. v. 1).	xli. 3.—The yoke of Thy law.	A current expres- sion.
Rom. ii. 14, 15.	xlvi. 40 (see note).	A Jewish Com- monplace.
Rom. viii. 18 (2 Cor. iv. 17).—The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be com- pared with the glory, etc.	xv. 8.—This world is to them a trouble and a wear- iness . . . and that which is to come, a crown with great glory.	A Jewish Com- monplace (?).
1 Cor. iv. 5 (Heb. iv. 13).	lxxxiii. 3.	(Cf. Eth. En. ix. 5).
2 Cor. iv. 17 (Rom. viii. 18).	xv. 8.	A Jewish Com- monplace.
1 Tim. i. 2.— Mercy and peace.	lxxviii. 2.— Mercy and peace.	A coincidence.
2 Peter iii. 9.	xxi. 20.	A coincidence.
2 Peter iii. 13 (Mt. xix. 28 ; Rev. xxi. 1).—New heavens and a new earth.	xxxii. 6.—Re- newed His creation.	Isa. lxxv. 17, etc.
Rev. xx. 12.— The books were opened.	xxiv. 1.—The books will be opened.	Dan. vii. 10.

In the following passages our text is dependent on the New Testament, or on some lost common source :—

Mt. xvi. 26.—For what shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and forfeit his soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?

Luke i. 42.—Blessed art thou among women, etc.

li. 15.—For what then have men lost their life or for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul?

liv. 10.—Blessed be my mother among those that bear, etc. (probably interpolated).

1 Cor. xv. 19.—If in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.

1 Cor. xv. 35.—How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come?

James i. 2.—Count it all joy when ye fall into manifold temptations.

Rev. iv. 6.—In the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, four living creatures.

xxi. 13.—For if there were this life only . . . nothing could be more bitter than this.

xlix. 2.—In what shape will those live who live in that day?

lii. 6.—Rejoice ye in the suffering which ye now suffer.

li. 11.—The living creatures which are beneath the throne.

§ 11. VALUE OF OUR APOCALYPSE IN THE ATTESTATION OF THE JEWISH THEOLOGY OF 50-100 A.D., AND IN THE INTERPRETATION OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY FOR THE SAME PERIOD.

This book presents us with a vivid picture of the hopes and beliefs of Judaism during the years 50-100 A.D. As it was written at different dates during this period and by different authors, its composition was thus contemporaneous with that of the New Testament. It is, therefore, of very great value to the New Testament student, as it furnishes him with the historical setting and background of many of the New Testament problems. We are thereby enabled to estimate the contributions made in these respects by Christian thought, as well as to appreciate the world's need of the Pauline dialectic. For the purpose of illustrating our meaning we shall first of all draw attention to the doctrine of the Resurrection in our Apocalypse. Of the Jewish doctrine

here set forth, St. Paul's teaching on this subject will be seen to be in some respects a development. Secondly, we shall briefly advert to the doctrines of Original Sin and Freewill, Works and Justification, Forgiveness, in which the Jewish teaching and the Christian stand in strong antagonism.

(a) *The Resurrection*.—In xlix. 2-li. a view of the resurrection is expounded, which sets forth first the raising of the dead with their bodies in exactly the same form in which they had been committed to the earth with a view to their recognition by those who knew them, and next their subsequent transformation with a view to a spiritual existence of unending duration. In my notes on pp. 83, 84, I have shown that the Pauline teaching in 1 Cor. xv. 35-50 is in many respects not an innovation, but a developed and more spiritual exposition of ideas already current in Judaism.

(b) *Original Sin and Freewill*.—According to our Apocalypse,¹ the penalties which man has incurred through Adam's sin affect only his *physical* existence. He still preserves his freewill; whether he is saved or lost, it is his own doing. Adam's sin is limited in

¹ Only in B², xlviii. 42, is spiritual death traced to Adam. This passage may be interpolated; for (1) in all other passages in B² it is only physical death that is so traced. (2) It conflicts with the presupposition underlying B² that man can work righteousness and acquire merit as against God (see xiv. 7, note). (3) In A³ (see liv. 15, 19) original sin is denied and freewill asserted in the clearest terms. (4) The doctrine of original sin is unknown to the Talmud (see Weber, 217, 240; Edersheim, *Life and Times*, etc., i. 165). We have shown elsewhere (pp. lxix.-lxxi.) that the teaching of 4 Ezra on this subject is largely non-Jewish.

spiritual consequences to himself; every man is the Adam of his own soul (see pp. 44-45, 93).

St. Paul's doctrine is strongly antagonistic. Both *physical* and *spiritual* death are due to Adam's sin. Owing to that sin man is henceforth dominated by a power (= original sin) which makes his fulfilment of law and therefore his realisation of righteousness impossible. He is not, however, robbed wholly thereby of freewill, but retains it in a degree only sufficient to justify his condemnation.

Works and Justification.—In our Apocalypse the righteous are saved by their works (li. 7), and their righteousness is of the law (lxvii. 6). In the consciousness of their justification by the law (li. 3) they can with confidence approach God and look to Him for the fulfilment of their prayers because of their works wherein they trust (lxiii. 3, 5; lxxxv. 2), and owing to the same ground of confidence they depart from this world full of hope (xiv. 12). But their works are not limited to themselves in their saving influences. So long as the righteous live, their righteousness is a tower of strength to their people (ii. 2), and after their death it remains to their country a lasting ground of merit (xiv. 7; lxxxiv. 10); see notes on xiv. 7; xxi. 9.

With every position here maintained Christianity is at variance, and rabbinic teaching in full accord.

Forgiveness.—How far did this doctrine exist in Pharisaic Judaism, and in what relation does it stand to the Christian doctrine of forgiveness? In Phari-

saic Judaism forgiveness was a wholly subordinate conception, and can only be considered in conjunction with its views on merit and demerit. If we wish to discover the Pharisaic doctrine of forgiveness we must have recourse to the Talmud; for that the Pharisaic views of the first century on this subject were those which later prevailed in the Talmud, is to be inferred on these grounds:—(1) In Matt. iii. 9 the words “Think not to say within yourselves, we have Abraham to our father,” show that the doctrine of the vicarious righteousness of Abraham was a popular belief. Now this latter doctrine at once presupposes and forms an organic part of the Talmudic doctrine. (2) The teaching on works in our Apocalypse and partially also in 4 Ezra, as well as that of St. Paul’s Jewish antagonists, belong also organically to the Talmudic doctrine of works and forgiveness.

The Talmudic doctrine of works may (see Weber, pp. 267-300) be shortly summarised as follows:—Every good work—whether the fulfilment of a command or an act of mercy—established a certain degree of merit with God, while every evil work entailed a corresponding demerit. A man’s position with God depended on the relation existing between his merits and demerits, and his salvation on the preponderance of the former over the latter. The relation between his merits and demerits was determined daily by the weighing of his deeds (see Eth. En. xli. 1; lxi. 8; Weber, 272). But as the results of such judgments were necessarily unknown, there could not fail to be

much uneasiness, and to allay this the doctrine of the vicarious righteousness of the patriarchs and saints of Israel was developed, not later than the beginning of the Christian era (cf. Matt. iii. 9). A man could thereby summon to his aid the merits of the fathers, and so counterbalance his demerits.

It is obvious that such a system does not admit of forgiveness in any spiritual sense of the term. It can only mean in such a connection a remission of penalty to the offender, on the ground that compensation is furnished, either through his own merit or through that of the righteous fathers. Thus, as Weber vigorously puts it: "*Vergebung ohne Bezahlung gibt es nicht.*"¹ Thus, according to popular Pharisaism, *God never remitted a debt until He was paid in full, and so long as it was paid it mattered not by whom.*

It will be observed that with the Pharisees forgiveness was *an external thing*; it was concerned not with the man himself but with his works—with these indeed as affecting him, but yet as existing independently without him. This was not the view taken by the best thought in the Old Testament. There forgiveness dealt first and chiefly with the direct relation between man's spirit and God; it was essentially a restoration of man to communion with God. When, therefore, Christianity had to deal with these problems, it could not accept the Pharisaic solutions, but had in some measure to return to the Old Testament to

¹ In certain extraordinary cases, the divine forgiveness was conceived possible where no merit was at hand, see 4 Ezra viii. 36; Weber, 292, 300.

authenticate and develop the highest therein taught, and in the person and life of Christ to give it a world-wide power and comprehensiveness.

We thus see that forgiveness was conceived as (1) *the restoration of man to communion with God*; (2) *the remission of penalty on the receipt of certain equivalents*. Of these two the former alone is taught in the Gospels. In the Pauline Epistles, however, the writer maintains indeed the former as the essential element in forgiveness, but he also incorporates in some degree the latter conception, and not unnaturally as having been originally a Pharisee of the Pharisees. Thus in his doctrine of the Atonement, he introduces the Pharisaic conception by representing the penalty due to man's sin as endured by Christ. This is undoubtedly a more spiritual form of the Pharisaic doctrine, and rightly interpreted it preserves the element of truth which underlies the Pharisaic teaching. It needs, however, to be kept in complete subordination to the former. But that it has not been so kept is obvious from every page of the history of this doctrine since the Christian era. In every age this Pharisaic error has won an evil eminence in the Church—before the eleventh century in representing Christ's death as a debt paid to the devil in lieu of the latter's claim on man, and in the subsequent centuries as a sacrifice to the alleged unforgiveness of God. Wherever or whenever this evil leaven has appeared, it has been followed by shallowness, unreality, and every vice of the unspiritual life.

THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

[TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK INTO SYRIAC]

I. AND it came to pass in the twenty-fifth year of I.-IV. 1=B¹.

THE FIRST SECTION

I.-V. 6. These chapters constitute the first of the seven sections into which, according to the scheme of the final editor, the book was originally divided by fasts. These sections were divided by fasts which generally lasted seven days (see v. 7, note; ix., note). In each section there is a definite movement or order of events observed. This order briefly is: first a fast, then a divine command or revelation, and finally the publication of the command or matter so revealed. In some cases a prayer follows the fast, and a lamentation the publication of the divine disclosure (see notes already referred to).

It will be observed that iv. 2-7 is interpolated probably from B².

In this section the word of the Lord comes to Baruch announcing the coming, though temporary, destruction of Jerusalem on account of the wickedness of the two tribes (i.); with a view to this destruction Baruch is to bid Jeremiah and the remaining righteous to withdraw (ii.); Baruch then in his alarm asks, will this destruction be final? will chaos return and the number of souls

be completed (iii.)? God replies that the punishment is only temporary (iv. 1). Yet, rejoins Baruch, even so, the enemy will, by the pollution and fall of Zion, glory before their idols over the nation loved of God (v. 1). Not so, answers God; judgment must be executed on Judah, yet the heathen will have no cause to glory, for it is not they that will destroy Zion (v. 2, 3). Baruch thereupon assembled the people in the Cedron valley, and delivered the divine message; and the people wept (v. 5, 6).

I. [*Translated from Greek into Syriac.*] These words are found in their above position in the Syriac MS. As they were placed there either by the Syriac translator or a subsequent scribe, I have bracketed them. The statement they convey, however, is borne out by all other evidence. Thus we find (1) transliterations of Greek words; (2) renderings explicable only on the hypothesis that the translator followed the wrong meaning of the Greek word before him.

I. 1. *In the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah.* Jeconiah was eighteen years when he began to reign in 599 (2 Kings xxiv. 8). After reigning three months he was carried into

Jeconiah king of Judah, that the word of the Lord came to Baruch the son of Neriah, and said to him: 2. "Hast thou seen all that this people are doing to Me; that the evils which these two tribes which remained have done are greater than (those of) the ten tribes which were carried away captive? 3. For the former tribes were forced by their kings to commit sin, but these two of themselves have been forcing and compelling their kings to commit sin. 4. For this reason, behold I bring evil upon this city, and upon its inhabitants, and it will be removed from before Me for a time, and

captivity. Yet during his captivity he is still called king (2 Kings xxv. 27; Jer. xxix. 2; Ezek. i. 2). Thus his twenty-fifth year would be 592, or two years before the approach of Nebuchadrezzar. It is no objection to this that, according to vi. 1, only one day and not two years should elapse between the prediction and its fulfilment; for in like manner the siege of Jerusalem, which lasted two years, is represented as lasting one day. The unities of time are sacrificed to suit the dramatic purposes of the writer. Why the writer spoke of Jeconiah and not of Zedekiah here, I cannot say. It was not from ignorance of the latter (cf. viii. 5).

The Lord. This title of God is found in iii. 1, 4; iv. 1; v. 2; x. 4, 18; xi. 3; xv. 1; xvii. 1; xxiv. 3; xxviii. 6; xlviii. 2; liv. 1, 20; lxxv. 1; lxxvii. 3. It is, therefore, not peculiar to any of the different elements of the book. This, however, may be due in part to the final editor. See note on iii. 1.

Baruch the son of Neriah. Cf. Jer. xxxii. 12; xxxvi. 4; Bar. i. 1.

2. *The ten tribes.* Elsewhere in this Apocalypse called "the nine and a half tribes." See lxxviii. 1, note.

3. *Forced by their kings.* I.e. by Jeroboam and others of the kings of Israel.

These two . . . compelling their kings to commit sin. It was in some instances the princes of Judah, and not Zedekiah, that resisted the teaching and prophecy of Jeremiah: cf. Jer. xxxviii.; and Josephus, *Ant.* x. 7. 2, ὁ δὲ Σεδεκίας ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν ἤκουε τοῦ προφήτου ταῦτα λέγοντος, ἐπέιθετο αὐτῷ, καὶ συνήδει πᾶσιν ὡς ἀληθεύουσι . . . διέφθειραν δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸν οἱ φίλοι, καὶ διήγον ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς ἅπερ ἤθελον.

4. *I bring evil upon this city, and upon its inhabitants* (2 Kings xxii. 16; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 28; Jer. vi. 19; xix. 3, etc.)

Will be removed from before Me (2 Kings xxiii. 27; xxiv. 3; Jer. xxxii. 31).

For a time. This phrase recurs in iv. 1; vi. 9; xxxii. 3. Since we must on other grounds regard xxxii. 2-4 in its present context as an interpolation, this phrase is peculiar to i.-viii., i.e. to B¹. Although Jerusalem has fallen under the Romans, the writer of these chapters believes that its desolation will be but "for a time." The future restoration of

I will scatter this people among the Gentiles that they may do good to the Gentiles. 5. And My people will be chastened, and the time will come when they will seek for the prosperity of their times.

II. "For I have said these things to thee that thou mayst say (them) to Jeremiah, and to all those who are like you, in order that ye may retire from this city. 2. Because your works are to this city as a firm pillar, and your prayers as a strong wall."

Jerusalem is implied also in lxxvii. 6; lxxviii. 7, where the return of the ten tribes is foretold. In B², i.e. ix.-xxvi.; xxxi.-xxxv.; xli.-xliii.; xlv. 9-15; xlvii.-lii.; lxxxiii.; B³, i.e. lxxxv., no such restoration is looked for; Jerusalem is removed, xx. 2 (see note *in loc.*), in order to usher in the judgment more speedily; in x. 10 the writer abandons all hope of a restored Jerusalem.

Scatter this people, etc. Jer. xxx. 11; Ezek. xxxvi. 19.

Do good to the Gentiles. This seems to mean to make proselytes of the Gentiles. Cf. xli. 4; xlii. 5; see also xiii. 12.

5. *My people will be chastened*. Cf. xiii. 10; xiv.; lxxix. 2; Pss. Sol. vii. 3; x. 1-3; xiii. 6-8; xviii. 4.

Seek for the prosperity of their times. The writer looks forward to a Messianic kingdom or period of blessedness for Israel on earth.

II. 1. According to Jer. xxxviii. 13, 28, Jeremiah was a prisoner in the court of the guard till the capture of Jerusalem.

Jeremiah is mentioned again in v. 5; ix.; x. 2, 4.

Those who are like you. This phrase is found in three of the sections of this book (cf. xxi. 24;

lvii. 1; lix. 1; lxvi. 7). Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 36; viii. 51, 62; xiv. 9, 49.

Withdraw from the city. This reappears in the Rest of the Words of Baruch i. 1: "Jeremiah . . . go forth from this city." Cf. also i. 3, 7. The reason for this command appears in the Talmud. Thus, as in *Taanith*, 19, we are told that a house cannot fall so long as a good man is in it; so in *Pesikta*, 115b (Buber's edition, 1868), it is said: "So long as Jeremiah was in Jerusalem, it was not destroyed, but when he went forth from it, it was destroyed."

2. *Your works are to this city as a firm pillar*, etc. We have here quite an illegitimate application of Jer. vi. 27: "I have made thee a tower and a fortress among my people." It is, however, a natural inference from Gen. xviii. 23-33. This verse is reproduced in the Rest of the Words of Baruch i. 2: *αἱ γὰρ προσευχαὶ ὑμῶν ὡς στῦλος ἐδραῖος ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς, καὶ ὡς τεῖχος ἀδαμάντινον περικυκλοῦν αὐτήν*. It will be remarked that the reference to "works" is omitted by this latter book, as we should naturally expect in a work of Christian authorship.

Your works. On the doctrine of works taught in this book see note on xiv. 7.

III. And I said: "O LORD, my Lord, have I come into the world for this purpose that I might see the evils of my mother? not (so) my Lord. 2. If I have found grace in Thy sight, first take my spirit that I may go to my fathers and not behold the destruction of my mother. 3. For two things vehemently constrain me: for I cannot resist Thee, and my soul,

III. 1. *O LORD, my Lord.* This title of God is found also in xiv. 8, 16; xvi. 1; xxiii. 1; xxxviii. 1; xlviii. 4, 5, and is thus, except in one instance, confined to B and B¹. It is remarkable that, whereas it is used only of God in the Apocalypse of Baruch, in 4 Ezra it is a designation of God in five instances (iii. 4; v. 23; vi. 38 (in Syriac, Eth., and Arm. versions); xii. 7; xiii. 51), and of an angel in six (iv. 38; v. 38; vi. 11; vii. 17, 58, 75). This fact makes it probable that the introduction of the angel in 4 Ezra is the work of the final editor. The usual titles used in addressing an angel in that book are *dominus meus* (iv. 3, 5; v. 33; vii. 3; x. 34). This is applied also to Ezra in ix. 41; *domine* (iv. 22, 41; v. 34, 35, 41, 56; vii. 10, 53, 132; viii. 6, 20, 36, 63). These last two titles are probably equivalents of אֲדֹנָי which is employed in Dan. x. 17, 19, in addressing an angel. The words אֲדֹנָי אֱלֹהֵינוּ are to be rendered *O LORD, my Lord* as above and not *Dominator Domine*, as we find in Ceriani and Fritzsche. Linguistically indeed either rendering is right, but the frequent occurrence of this phrase in the Syriac Version of 4 Ezra enables us to see that the suffix is not moribund but living; for it appears in the Ethiopic Version and occasionally in the Armenian. The Syriac is a translation either of δέσποτα κύριέ μου or κύριε κύριέ σου; these in turn would

point either to אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה, as in Gen. xv. 2, 8, or אֲדֹנָי יְהוֹיָה. Since such titles could only be used of God, we can with certainty conclude that their attribution to an angel in 4 Ezra is due to gross confusions or interpolations in the text.

My mother. Cf. iii. 2, 3; x. 16; Baruch iv. 9-16. This was a very natural term for a Jew to apply to Jerusalem. We find the correlative expression in Isa. xlix. 21; Matt. xxiii. 37; Gal. iv. 25. It is the earthly Jerusalem that is referred to here, for the writer of B¹ looks for a restored earthly Zion (see note on i. 4). Again the same title is applied to the fallen Jerusalem in 4 Ezra x. 7: "Sion mater nostra omnium," though there the writer looks for the restoration of Zion. In Gal. iv. 26 St. Paul uses it of the heavenly Jerusalem; for he has no further interest in the earthly. The earthly was the mother of Jews, but the heavenly of Christians. The earthly Jerusalem, as we should expect, in Matt. v. 35 is still "the city of the great King."

O Lord. See i. 1, note.

2. *If I have found grace.* xxviii. 6; 4 Ezra v. 56; vii. 102; viii. 42; xii. 7.

Take my spirit. An O. T. expression (cf. Ps. xxxi. 13; Jer. xv. 15).

Go to my fathers. xlv. 2; cf. also xi. 4; lxxxv. 9; Gen. xv. 15.

moreover, cannot behold the evils of my mother. 4. But one thing I will say in Thy presence, O Lord. 5. What, therefore, will there be after these things? for if Thou destroyest Thy city, and deliverest up Thy land to those that hate us, how shall the name of Israel be again remembered? 6. Or how shall one speak of Thy praises? or to whom shall that which is in Thy law be explained? 7. Or shall the world return to its nature (of aforetime), and the age revert to primeval silence? 8. And shall the multitude of souls be taken away, and the nature of man not again be named? 9. And where is all that which Thou didst say to Moses regarding us?"

IV. And the Lord said unto me: "This city will be delivered up for a time, and the people will be

4-IV. 1. Baruch asks God if the end of all things will follow on the delivery of Jerusalem into the hands of its enemies; will Israel be blotted out? will there be no longer any students of the law? will all men die and chaos return? In iv. 1 God answers that Jerusalem will again be restored; the chastisement of its people soon be accomplished and chaos will not return. The writer thus looks forward to the returning felicity of Jerusalem.

III. 6. *To whom shall that which is in Thy law be explained?* The real answer to this question is given in Baruch's own words in xlv. 4.

7. We should observe that the Syriac word ܐܡܝܢ, here translated "world," really means "ornament." Thus the translator followed a wrong sense of κόσμος here.

Revert to primeval silence. Cf. 4

Ezra vii. 30. In. iv. 1 this is answered in the negative, but in xlv. 9 (*i.e.* B²) in the affirmative.

IV. 2-7. In these verses we have an undoubted interpolation. The earthly Jerusalem, the restoration of which has just been promised, is here derided. This of itself is suspicious. When, however, we turn to vi. 9 and see there that *the very Jerusalem* that is now delivered up to its foes will hereafter be restored, and that for ever, the incongruity of these verses with their present context emerges still more clearly. This incongruity is still further emphasised when we observe that the actual vessels of the earthly temple are committed to the earth by an angel, that they may be preserved for future use in the restored Jerusalem (vi. 7-9). The vessels of the heavenly Jerusalem would naturally be of a heavenly kind, and are in fact already there (iv. 5).

chastened during a time, and the world will not be given over to oblivion. 2. [Dost thou think that this is that city of which I said: 'On the palms of My hands have I graven thee'? 3. It is not this building which is now built in your midst; (it is) that which will be revealed with Me, that which was pre-

2. It is noteworthy that the words "On the palms of My hands," etc., which are taken from Isa. xlix. 16, agree letter for letter with the Syriac Version, which here stands alone against the Mass., LXX., and Vulg., in presupposing על כפות יד instead of Mass. על כפים. This fuller phrase which the Syriac presupposes is the usual one (cf. 1 Sam. v. 4; 2 Kings ix. 35; Dan. x. 10).

3. *It is not this building . . . (it is) that which will be revealed.* These words represent one of the final stages of a movement which had already its beginnings in the O. T. Throughout the O. T. Jerusalem had always been singled out as the one place on earth in which it had pleased God to dwell, and with which He had inseparably connected His name. But from the growing transcendence and enlargement of the idea of God, combined with the deepened consciousness of sin, and the consequent sense of the unfitnes of Jerusalem as God's habitation, the doctrine of a heavenly Jerusalem complete in all its parts came to be evolved.

Of the existence indeed of heavenly antitypes of the Tabernacle and its furniture we are told already in the Priest's Code (Exod. xxv. 9, 40, cf. Heb. viii. 5). It needed only a step further to postulate the existence of the heavenly temple and city. That the earthly copies needed to be purified or even

wholly renewed, we are taught in Isa. lx.; Ezek. xl.-xlviii.; but that nothing else could suffice save the actual descent of the heavenly Jerusalem to the earth was not concluded till the revival of religion under the early Maccabees. In Isa. liv. 11 and Tob. xiii. 16, 17, there are highly figurative accounts of the rebuilding of Jerusalem, but it is the earthly. The first actual emergence of the idea of the heavenly seems to be in the Eth. En. xc. 28, 29, where the old Jerusalem is removed and the new is brought and set up by God Himself, though even there a prior existence is not assigned to the latter. This would be about 164 B.C. But the older ideas still held their ground. Thus in the Psalms of Solomon xvii. 25, 33 (circ. 70-40 B.C.), as in the oldest part of the Eth. En. x. 16-19; xxv. 1 (circ. 180 B.C.), the purification of Jerusalem is all that appears needful to the writers as a preparation for the Messianic kingdom. Even when we come down to the first century of the Christian era, such purification is deemed sufficient for the temporary Messianic kingdoms depicted in Apoc. Bar. xxix.; xxxix.-xl.; lxxii.-lxxiv.; Ezra vii. 27-30 (for vii. 26 is an interpolation, as Kabisch points out); xii. 32-34; and possibly in xiii. 32-50, where xiii. 36 seems also an intrusion. In all these passages a Messiah is expected. In B¹ of the Apoc. Bar. i.e. vi. 9, Jerusalem is to be restored

pared beforehand here from the time when I took counsel to make Paradise, and showed it to Adam before he sinned, but when he transgressed the commandment, it was removed from him, as also Paradise. 4. And after these things I showed it to My

and to be established for ever, but this is not the new Jerusalem coming down from heaven. The latter is mentioned in xxxii. 2-4. It was indeed a very current conception in the latter half of the first century A.D. Thus we find it in Gal. iv. 26; Heb. xii. 22; Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2, 10. In Gal. iv. 26 the heavenly Jerusalem is a symbol of the spiritual commonwealth of which the Christian is even now a member. But in Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2, 10, it is an actual city, the counterpart of the earthly Jerusalem, with its own buildings and vessels. Here we should probably class the passage in Test. Dan. v. This city was to descend from heaven, but this expectation does not apparently lie at the base of Heb. xii. 22. Similar conceptions to that found in Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2, 10, appear in 4 Ezra viii. 52, 53; x. 44-59; and also in vii. 26 and xiii. 36, though we must regard one or both of the last two as interpolated. With these last we might reckon also the heavenly Jerusalem mentioned in the text. The heavenly Jerusalem is variously described as the *véa* (Test. Dan. v.), *ἡ ἄνω* (Gal. iv. 26), *καινή* (Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2), *ἐρουπάριος* (Heb. xii. 22). It was created in the beginning of creation, and preserved in heaven. It was shown to Adam before he sinned. To Adam indeed the heavens had been open originally (Slav. En. xxxi. 2; Philo, *Quaest.* xxxii. in *Gen.*; Book of Adam and Eve, i. 8); but when he transgressed the commandment the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem

was taken from him and likewise the possession of Paradise. Among the Rabbins the heavenly Jerusalem was called *ירושלים של מעלה* (= *ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ*). For the various Rabbinic conceptions regarding it, see Schöttgen, *de Hieros. Coelest.* in his *Horae Hebr.* 1205 *sqq.*; Meuschen, *N.T. ex Talm. ill.* p. 199 *sqq.*; Bertholdt, *Christologia*, 217-220; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. 839-845; Weber, *Lehren d. Talmud*, 356-359, 386.

Took counsel to make Paradise. Which Paradise is this? The context might support either. For we might regard it as the Paradise which is kept in heaven like the heavenly Jerusalem. Adam could see both before his fall, but after it he lost the vision of both. It may, however, be the earthly Paradise in which he was placed at the first. The period to which the creation of the earthly Paradise is assigned varies. In Gen. ii. 8-17 it is apparently one of the last works of the creation. When, however, we come down to the Christian era, its creation was attributed to the third day (Jub. ii. 7; Slav. En. xxx. 1). The heavenly Paradise, on the other hand, is described as already existing before the creation of the world either actually or in the mind of God (see *Pesach.* 54a; *Beresh.* 20 in Weber *L. d. T.* 191).

4. *I showed it to My servant Abraham.* There is naturally no mention of this in Gen. xv. 9-21; but in the *Beresh. rabba* on Gen. xxviii. 17 we are told that this

servant Abraham by night among the portions of the victims. 5. And again also I showed it to Moses on Mount Sinai when I showed to him the likeness of the tabernacle and all its vessels. 6. And now, behold, it is preserved with Me, as also Paradise. 7. Go, therefore, and do as I command thee.”]

V.-IX. 1=B¹.

V. And I answered and said: “I shall, therefore, be in great straits in Zion, because Thine enemies will come to that place and pollute Thy sanctuary, and lead Thine inheritance into captivity, and will lord it over those whom Thou hast loved, and they will depart again to the place of their idols, and will boast before them. And what wilt Thou do for Thy great name?” 2. And the Lord said unto me: “My name and My glory have an eternal duration; My judgment, moreover, will preserve its rights in its own time. 3. And thou wilt see with thine eyes that the enemy will not overthrow Zion, nor burn Jerusalem, but be subservient to the judge for a time. 4. But do thou go and do whatsoever I have said unto thee.” 5. And I went and took Jeremiah, and Adu, and Seriah, and Jabish,

vision was accorded to Jacob when sleeping at Bethel.

5. Cf. Exod. xxv. 9, 40.

6. See note on verse 3.

7. *As I command thee.* A frequently recurring phrase (cf. v. 4; x. 4; xxi. 1; 4 Ezra v. 20; xii. 51).

V. 1. *Thine inheritance.* Deut. iv. 20; ix. 26, etc.; Rest of Words of Baruch, ii. 7; iii. 6.

Whom Thou hast loved. Ephes. xxi. 20; 4 Ezra iv. 23.

Boast before them. Cf. vii. 1; lxxvii. 2, 7; lxxx. 3; Rest of Words of Baruch, i. 5; iv. 7.

What wilt Thou do, etc. Joshua vii. 9; cf. 4 Ezra iv. 25; x. 22.

2. *My name and My glory, etc.* Ps. cxxxv. 13.

My judgment, moreover, will preserve its rights. This phrase in a slightly different form recurs in xlvi. 27, and lxxxv. 9.

3. This is carried out in vi. 5; vii.

4. This refers to the command given in ii. 1.

5. *Adu.* There is a priest of this name who went up with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 4). According to Mass. he is called Iddo, but both the

and Gedaliah, and all the honourable men of the people, and I led them to the valley of Cedron, and I narrated to them all that had been said to me. 6. And they lifted up their voice, and they all wept. 7. And we sat there and fasted until the evening.

VI. And it came to pass on the morrow that, lo!

Syriac and Vulgate give Addo. In Ezra viii. 17 another Iddo is mentioned who returned with Ezra from Babylon.

Seriah. This Seriah was brother of Baruch and chief chamberlain of Zedekiah. He went with the latter to Babylon (see Jer. li. 59, 61).

Jabish. This name has been identified with 'Iγαβής = יָבִישׁ (1 Chron. iv. 9), but both the form of the name and the time of Jabez are against this identification.

Gedaliah. This is Gedaliah the son of Ahikam (see Jer. xl. 14). But Gedaliah might also be from Γοθολίας = גּוֹתְלִיָּה (cf. 1 Chron. viii. 26) a companion of Ezra (see Ezra viii. 7). Gedaliah is again mentioned in xlv. 1 in a fragment of B¹.

Cedron, i.e. קְרִדּוֹן (2 Sam. xv. 23). The valley of the Cedron is again the scene of Baruch's fast in xxi. 1, and of an assembly of the people in xxxi. 2.

Narrated to them, etc. After most of the revelations which Baruch receives, he makes known their disclosures to his friends and the elders of the people (see x. 4; xxxi. 3-xxxii. 7; xlv.-xlvi.; lxxvii. 1-17). There is no need of such a disclosure in the second section, *i.e.* v. 7-viii., and such disclosure is forbidden in the fourth, *i.e.* xii. 5-xx.

THE SECOND SECTION

V. 7-VIII. This is a short section. First there is the fast of

one day (v. 1). Thereupon to Baruch in his grief (vi. 2) is disclosed a vision. In this he sees the sacred vessels committed to the earth for a season and the city destroyed by angels, lest the enemy should triumph (vi. 3-vii.) The realisation of this vision which follows thereupon dispenses with the need of its publication by Baruch (viii.)

7. *Fasted until the evening.* The other fasts mentioned are of seven days. Of these there are four (see ix. 2; xii. 5; xxi. 1; xlvii. 2). The symmetry of the book would require another such fast after xxxv. For the scheme of the final editor is first a fast, then generally a prayer, then a divine message or revelation, then an announcement of this either to an individual, as in v. 5; x. 4, or to the people (xxx. 2-xxxiv.; xlv.-xlvi.; lxxvii. 1-17), followed occasionally by a lamentation. In xx. 5, at the close of the fourth section, Baruch is bidden to make no announcement.

It will be observed that this scheme is broken through in the fifth section only, *i.e.* in xxi.-xlvi., where there is a fast, a prayer, an address to the people followed by a lament over Zion, a revelation and an address to the people (see ix. 2, note). In 4 Ezra there are four fasts of seven days (see v. 20; vi. 35; ix. 26, 27; xii. 51).

VI. 1. *On the following morning, etc.* These words are reproduced in Rest of Words (iv. 1).

the army of the Chaldees surrounded the city, and at the time of the evening I, Baruch, left the people, and I went forth and stood by the oak. 2. And I was grieving over Zion, and lamenting over the captivity which had come upon the people. 3. And, lo! suddenly a strong spirit raised me, and bore me aloft over the wall of Jerusalem. 4. And I beheld, and lo! four angels standing at the four angles of the city, each of them holding a lamp of fire in his hands. 5. And another angel began to descend from heaven, and said unto them: "Hold your lamps, and do not light them till I tell you. 6. For I am first sent to speak a word to the earth, and to place in it what the Lord the Most High has commanded me." 7. And I saw him descend into the Holy of Holies, and take from thence the veil,

By the oak. This oak is outside the city; for in ii. 1 Jeremiah and all that were like him were bidden to leave the city. This they and Baruch did in v. 5, and they fasted in the valley of the Cedron. On the following day the Chaldees surround the city. On that day Baruch left Jeremiah and the rest and went forth (probably from the cavern in the Cedron valley mentioned in xxi. 1) and stood by the oak. The oak thus appears to be near or in the Cedron valley, and thus in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. This oak is mentioned again in lxxvii. 18. We are not, therefore, to compare this oak with the well-known one at Hebron, as Fritzsche, who compares LXX.; Gen. xiii. 18; xiv. 13; xviii. 1.

It is noteworthy that no mention of this oak appears in B². In B¹ it is found twice (vi. 1 and lxxvii.

18). A tree is referred to in A³ in lv. 1.

3. As the Chaldeans encompassed Jerusalem, Baruch was unable to draw near to the wall. But a strong angel lifts him on high above the wall.

4. Cf. Rev. vii. 1, "I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth"; Rest of Words of Bar. iii. 2.

5. Cf. Rev. vii. 2; Rest of Words, iii. 4.

6. The office of the angel here is executed by Jeremiah in Rest of Words, iii. 8.

The Lord the Most High. Occurs here only in this book. It is not found in 4 Ezra.

7. *Take from thence*, etc. According to Josephus, *Bell.* V. 5, 5, the Holy of Holies in Herod's temple was empty.

See Appendix for a similar account

and the holy ephod, and the mercy-seat, and the two tables, and the holy raiment of the priests, and the altar of incense, and the forty-eight precious stones, wherewith the priest was adorned, and all the holy vessels of the tabernacle. 8. And he spake to the earth with a loud voice: "Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the mighty God, and receive what I commit to thee, and guard them until the last times, so that, when thou art ordered, thou mayst restore them, so that strangers may not get possession of them. 9. For the time comes when Jerusalem also will be delivered up for a time, until it is said, that it is again restored for ever. 10. And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up."

VII. And after these things I heard that angel say-

in Macc. *The veil*, i.e. כִּתְרוֹת (Exod. xxvi. 31). *The ephod*, i.e. אֵפֹד (Exod. xxix. 5).

Mercy-seat, כַּפֹּרֶת (Exod. xxv. 17). *Forty-eight precious stones*. How this number is made up I cannot discover. There were twelve stones on the breastplate (Exod. xxviii. 15-21), and two on the ephod (Exod. xxviii. 9).

The altar of incense. The Syriac implies θυμιατήριον, which in Josephus and Philo = מִזְבֵּחַ הַקְטֹרֶת. See Appendix.

According to *Bammidbar rabba*, 15, five things were taken away and preserved on the destruction of Solomon's temple: the candlestick, the ark, the fire, the Holy Spirit, and the cherubim.

8. In the Rest of Words, iii. 8, these words in a greatly altered shape are attributed to Jeremiah.

Earth . . . of the mighty God; drawn from Jer. xxii. 29. Text agrees with Mass., Syr., Vulg., against LXX., which gives "earth" only twice.

Mighty God. This title recurs in vii. 1, and xiii. 2, 4. It is not found in 4 Ezra.

Guard them until the last times. Cf. Rest of Words, iii. 8, "Preserve the vessels of worship until the coming of the Beloved."

That . . . thou mayst restore them, i.e. for use in the temple of the rebuilt Jerusalem.

That strangers may not get possession of them (cf. x. 19). For a slightly different reason see lxxv. 2.

9. *For a time*. See i. 4, note.

Restored for ever. It is not necessary to take the phrase "for ever" literally. In any case a Messianic kingdom of indefinite duration is looked forward to with Jerusalem as its centre, and likewise the temple in which the sacred vessels of the former temple will again be used. During this kingdom the dispersion will again return to Palestine (lxxvii. 6; lxxviii. 7, notes).

ing unto those angels who held the lamps: "Destroy, therefore, and overthrow its walls to its foundations, lest the enemy should boast and say: 'We have overthrown the wall of Zion, and we have burnt the place of the mighty God.'" 2. And the Spirit restored me to the place where I had been standing before.

VIII. Now the angels did as he had commanded them, and when they had broken up the angles of the walls, a voice was heard from the interior of the temple, after the wall had fallen, saying: 2. "Enter ye enemies, and come ye adversaries; for He who kept the house has forsaken (it)." 3. And I, Baruch, departed. 4. And it came to pass after these things that the army of the Chaldees entered and seized the house, and all that was around it. 5. And they led the people away captive, and slew some of them, and bound Zedekiah the king, and sent him to the king of Babylon.

VII. 1. *Destroy, therefore, and overthrow, etc.* Cf. v. 3; lxxx. 1.

Boast. Cf. v. 1; lxvii. 2, 7; lxxx. 3; Rest of Words, i. 5; Ps. xxxv. 19; xxxviii. 16; Eccclus. xxiii. 3; Pss. Sol. xiii. 7, ἐν περιστολῇ παιδεύεται δίκαιος, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιχαρῇ ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς τῷ δικαίῳ.

Mighty God. See vi. 8, note.

2. *And the Spirit restored me.* I have here made a necessary emendation of the text. Thus I have emended ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛ = "and you have seized it," into ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ, "And the spirit restored me." The unamended text gives no sense, whereas the change just made restores the harmony of the context. Thus in vi. 31, "a strong spirit" carried Baruch aloft in

order to see the vision. After the vision this spirit restores him to where he had been before. From this place Baruch departs in viii. 3.

VIII. 1. Cf. vii. 1; lxxx. 1.

2. Cf. Rest of Words, iv. 1. *He who kept the house has forsaken (it).* Cf. Josephus, *De Bello Jud.* vi. 5. 3: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (ἀντιλαβέσθαι) καὶ φωνῆς ἀθρόας μεταβαλῶμεν ἐν τεύθειν.

Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 13, "Et apertae repente delubri fores et audita major humana vox, excedere deos."

5. *Led . . . away captive.* lxxx. 4; Rest of Words, iv. 2.

Bound Zedekiah the king, and sent, etc. Whatever explanation we give of i. 1, it is clear from these words that the writer was acquainted with the history of the kings of Judah and the captivity of Judah under Zedekiah.

IX. And I, Baruch, came, and Jeremiah, whose heart was found pure from sins, who had not been captured in the seizure of the city. 2. And we rent our garments, and wept, and mourned, and fasted seven days.

IX. 2-X. 5 =
E and B².

X. And it came to pass after seven days, that the word of the Lord was upon me, and said unto me: "Tell Jeremiah to go and confirm the captivity of the

Bound and sent to the king of Babylon. Cf. lxxx. 4.

IX. 1. *Heart . . . pure from sin.* Contrast the "wicked heart" in 4 Ezra iii. 20, 21, 26; iv. 4, etc. In Pss. Sol. xvii. 41, the Messiah is said to be *καθαρός ἀπὸ ἀμαρτίας*.

THE THIRD SECTION

IX. 2-XII. 4. We have first the fast of seven days amid the ruins of Zion (ix., cf. x. 3). Then the word of the Lord comes to Baruch and bids him to tell Jeremiah to go to Babylon (x. 2), and promises a revelation of what should be in the end (x. 3). Then follows Baruch's announcement of the divine message to Jeremiah (x. 4). The section closes with Baruch's lament before the gates of the temple over Zion (x. 5-xii. 4).

We have shown below that x. 6-xii. 4 comes probably from the hand of a Sadducean priest.

IX. 2. *Fasted seven days.* See v. 7, note. This is the first fast of seven days. It is observed amid the ruins of Zion (cf. x. 3). There are three others to follow, though, as we have shown in the note just referred to, there should be four. The insertion of the fasts in *their present positions* is the work of the final editor. There seem to have been fasts in his sources (B¹ and B²).

Fasting was the usual preparation for the reception of supernatural communications (cf. Dan. ix. 3, 20-21, and all the instances in this book and 4 Ezra cited in note on v. 7). In Test. Jos. iii. there is likewise a fast of seven days (Armenian Version), and in 2 Macc. xiii. 12, and Ass. Mosis ix. 6, of three days.

The scene of the first and fourth fasts is Cedron; of the second and sixth, Mount Zion; of the third, the gates of the temple; the account of the fourth is lost.

X. 1. *God.* This word is found only twice again, *i.e.* liv. 12; lxxxii. 9. Its use is more frequent in 4 Ezra (see vii. 19, 20, 21, 79; viii. 58; ix. 45; x. 16).

2. The divine communication that follows on the fast consists of a command to be given through Baruch to Jeremiah. Jeremiah is bidden to go to Babylon. We have here a violation of historical truth. According to Jer. xliii. 4-7, both Jeremiah and Baruch were carried down into Egypt. In the Apocryphal Baruch i. 1, Baruch is represented as being in Babylon five years after the capture of Jerusalem. In the Rest of Words, iv. 5, Jeremiah was dragged an unwilling captive to Babylon, whereas in our text he goes there at the bidding of God. The words "go and confirm the captivity" recur in xxxiii. 2.

people unto Babylon. 3. But do thou remain here amid the desolation of Zion, and I will show to thee after these days what will befall at the end of days."

4. And I said to Jeremiah as the Lord commanded me.

5. And he, indeed, departed with the people, but I, Baruch, returned and sat before the gates of the temple, and I lamented with that lamentation over Zion and

X. 6.-XII. 4 = said: 6. "Blessed is he who was not born, or being B² or S.

It is probable that the references to Jeremiah in connection with Babylon belong to B²; for it is noteworthy that in lxxvii. 17, 19; lxxx. 4; lxxxv. 6, Baruch always speaks of writing to the brethren in Babylon, but never to Jeremiah. This would be strange if the writer believed Jeremiah to be there. The people also urge Baruch in lxxvii. 12 to write to their brethren in Babylon to confirm them. Now if Jeremiah were in charge of the people there, as x. 2, 5; xxxiii. 2, clearly imply, any letter of Baruch to Babylon would have been addressed to him. As a matter of fact, in the Rest of Words of Baruch, when Baruch writes to Babylon, he directs the letter to Jeremiah.

It is probable, therefore, that the account of B¹ does not conflict with Jer. xliii., where Johanan takes Jeremiah with him down into Egypt.

3. Baruch is commanded to remain among the ruins of Zion, and is promised a revelation of what will befall in the last days. The words "after these days" show that this revelation will be accorded on a future occasion, after a fast, no doubt.

At the end of days. Cf. xxv. 1.

5. *Before the gates of the temple.* This is the scene of the following lamentation of Baruch, and probably of the fast in xii. 5. It is again the scene of his lamentation in xxxv. 1.

A passage in the beginning of the Apoc. Bar. Tert. seems to be derived from our text: οὕτως ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τὰς ὥρας πύλας θοῦ ἐκεῖτο τὰ τῶν ἀγίων ἄγια. Mount Zion, on the other hand, is the scene where revelations are accorded to him (cf. xiii. 1; xxi. 2; xlvii. 2).

X. 6-XII. 4. This fragment appears to be the work of a Sadducee—probably a Sadducean priest writing just after the fall of the temple. For (1) in x. 6 and xi. 7 we have a thoroughly Sadducean sentiment, *i.e.* it were best not to be born at all, or, being born, to die; for the dead enjoy a sorrowless rest and a tranquil sleep (xi. 4); they know not the anguish of the living (xi. 5). No resurrection of the individual or of the nation is looked for, but only that retribution in due course may come upon the enemies of Israel (xii. 4). (2) The conception of Sheol in xi. 6 is Sadducean. (3) In x. 6-xii. 4 we have the saddest dirge in the Jewish literature of the time. This might well be; for for the priesthood there was no future. As false stewards they relinquish their charge and restore the keys of the temple to God (x. 18). Never again should sacrifices be offered in Zion (x. 10).

X. 6. *Blessed is he who was not born,* etc. Similar expressions of pessimism and despair return time and again in the later literature of Judaism. But in this passage and in xi. 7 the

born has died. 7. But as for us who live, woe unto us, because we see the afflictions of Zion, and what has befallen Jerusalem. 8. I will call the Sirens

phrase is used with a significance that severs it from all other instances of its occurrence. For whereas repeatedly elsewhere, as we shall see presently, it is said that it were better man had never been born because of sin and future condemnation, here non-existence or death is said to be preferable to witnessing the present woes of Jerusalem. Lest we should suppose this to be an accidental exaggeration, we should observe that it recurs in an intensified form in xi. 7, where the state of the dead in Sheol is said to be better than that of the living. Such a sentiment was impossible for the Pharisaic author of B², or indeed for any of the authors of this Apocalypse. It is a genuinely Sadducean sentiment, and the conception of Sheol in xi. 6, 7 is likewise Sadducean—practically that of the O. T. or of Hades in the Greek world. To a Pharisee no condition of earthly life could in any way approach the horrors of the existence of the wicked in the after-world.

In 4 Ezra and elsewhere, as we have remarked, quite a different turn is given to the expression in our text. There it is said that it were better man had not been at all than be born and have to face *future torment and judgment*. Thus in vii. 66 the writer declares: "It is much better for them (*i.e.* the beasts of the field) than for us; for they expect not a judgment and know not of torments." Again in vii. 116, 117, it is urged that "it would have been best not to have given a body to Adam, or, that being done, to have restrained him from sin; for what profit is there that man should in the present life live in heaviness and

after death look for punishment?" Finally, in iv. 12 the nexus of life, sin and suffering, just referred to is put still more strongly: "It were better we had not been born at all than that we should be born and live in sin and suffer." A perfect parallel to the last passage is found in the Slav. En. xli. 2: "Blessed is the man who was not born, or, having been born, has never sinned . . . so that he should not come into this place (*i.e.* hell);" and to 4 Ezra vii. 116, 117, in the Eth. En. xxxviii. 2, where it is said, in reference to the future destiny of the wicked: "It had been good for them if they had not been born." For a N. T. parallel see Matt. xxvi. 24. It is worth observing that there is a perfect parallelism of thought between the passage in our text and in Sophocles, *Oed. Col.*, 1220—

μη φῦναι τὸν ἅπαντα νι-
κᾷ λόγον · τὸ δ', ἐπεὶ φανῇ,
βῆναι κείθεν ὄθεν περ ἤ-
κει, πολὺ δεύτερον ὡς τάχιστα,

and in Theognis, 425—

πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν
ἄριστον,
μὴ εἶσιδεν αὐγάς ὀξέος ἡελίου ·
φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Αἰδαο
περῆσαι,
καὶ κείσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπαμησά-
μενον.

8. *Sirens*. These are said in the Eth. En. xix. 2 (Greek Version) to have been the wives of the angels who went astray. It is strange that we have here the Greek conception of the Sirens, *Σειρῆνες*, *i.e.* that of sea-nymphs. But with the Greek translators of the O. T. it had quite a different meaning. Thus it is a

from the sea, and ye Lilin, come ye from the desert, and ye Shedim and dragons from the forests: awake and bind your loins unto mourning, and take up with me lamentation, and mourn with me. 9. Ye husbandmen, sow not again; and thou, earth, wherefore givest thou the fruits of thy produce? keep within thee the sweets of thy sustenance. 10. And thou, vine, why further dost thou give thy wine? for an offering will

rendering of *בנות יענה* = ostriches in Isa. xiii. 21; Jer. l. 39; Mic. i. 8; of *הנים* or *הננין* = jackals in Isa. xxxiv. 13; xliii. 20. It is similarly used by Symmachus, Theodotion, and Aquila in rendering the above words.

Lelito. These are the Lilin (לילין) from the singular Lilith (לילית). Male and female demons named Lil and Lilit belong to Assyrian and Babylonian demonology. They were thought, as were also the Lilin (Shabbath, 151b), to attack men and women in their sleep (Lenormant, *La Magie*, p. 36). The Lilith, or night demon, is mentioned in Isa. xxxiv. 14, along with the satyr *שִׁטְרִי*. The Lilin, according to the Talmud, were female demons corresponding to the Shedim or male demons. They were partly the offspring (*Erub*, 18b; *Beresh*. 42) of Adam and Lilith, Adam's first wife, a demon, and partly were derived from the generation that God dispersed (Gen. xi.), for God (*Jalkut Shim.*, *Beresh*. 62) transformed that generation into Shedim, Ruchin, and Lilin. These Lilin inhabited desert places. They were said to kill children. They have been compared with the Lamiae and Striges; *δνοκένταυροι* is the LXX. rendering of the word in Isa. xxxiv. 14. For further details on the subject see Weber, *Lehren d. Talm.*, pp. 245, 246, 248; Bochart,

Hierozaicon; iii. 829-831; Eisenmenger, *Entd. Judenthum*, ii. 413-426, 452.

Shedim. These were male demons to which various origins were assigned. Their souls were created by God, but as the Sabbath intervened before they received bodies they had to remain without them (*Beresh. rabba*, c. 7); or they were sprung from Adam and a demon wife, or from Eve and a demon husband (*Beresh. rabba*, c. 24); or were originally the generation that God transformed into Shedim, Ruchin, and Lilin. Their place of resort is the wilderness. For an account of their activities, see Weber, 245, 246.

Dragons. The word *דִּרְגָּן* is found in the Peshitto of Isa. xiii. 22 as a translation of *הנים*. Levy (*Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, ii. 265) defines it as "Drache oder sonst ein Thier mit klagendem, heulendem Tone." The word frequently occurs in the Targums and later Hebrew as *ירור* (ירור).

10. The writer of x. 6-xii. 4 resigns absolutely all hope of the restoration of Jerusalem. This is throughout the attitude of B² (see i. 4, note).

With the thought of this verse, cf. *Kethuboth* 112a: "O land, land, let thy fruit shrivel: for whom art thou producing thy fruit? is it not

not again be made therefrom in Zion, nor will first-fruits again be offered. 11. And do ye, O heavens, withhold your dew, and open not the treasures of rain. 12. And do thou, O sun, withhold the light of thy rays; and do thou, O moon, extinguish the multitude of thy light; for why should light rise again where the light of Zion is darkened? 13. And you, ye bridegrooms, enter not in, and let not the brides adorn themselves with garlands; and, ye women, pray not that ye may bear. 14. For the barren shall rejoice more, and those who have no sons shall be glad, and those who have sons shall have anguish. 15. For why should they bear in pain and bury in grief? 16. Or wherefore, again, should mankind have sons; or wherefore should the seed of their nature again be named, where that mother is desolate, and her sons are led into captivity? 17. From this time forward speak not of beauty and discourse not of gracefulness. 18. Moreover, ye priests, take ye the keys of the sanctuary and cast them into the height of heaven, and give them to the

for the Gentiles who rose up against us because of our sins?

13. Cf. Jer. vii. 34; xvi. 9; xxv. 10; Baruch ii. 23.

Brides. Syriac gives "virgins," but this idea is out of place in verses 13-16, where everything refers to marriage. The first right mention of virgins is in verse 19. The wrong text may be explained by a corruption of כלות into בחולות or עלמות. In the original Hebrew we should then have a paronomasia, כלילים אל חקרינה כלות. In *Gît. 7a*, and in *Shabbath, 59b*, bridegrooms are forbidden to use garlands.

14. Cf. Matt. xxiv. 19; Luke xxiii. 29: "Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the breasts that never gave suck" (cf. Isa. liv. 1).

16. *That mother.* See iii. 1, note

18. The priesthood have proved faithless to their duty, and the charge of the temple is no longer theirs. Cf. Rest of Words, iv. 3, 4, where another turn is given to the text: "And thereupon Jeremiah took the keys of the temple . . . and cast these keys before the sun, saying: 'I say unto thee, O sun, take the keys of the house of God and keep

Lord, and say: 'Guard Thy house Thyself, for lo! we are found false stewards.' 19. And you, ye virgins, who spin fine linen and silk with gold of Ophir, hasten and take all things and cast (them) into the fire, that it may bear them to Him who made them, and the flame send them to Him who created them, lest the enemy get possession of them."

XI. Moreover, I, Baruch, say this against thee, Babylon: "If thou hadst prospered, and Zion had dwelt in her glory, it would have been a great grief to us that thou shouldst be equal to Zion. 2. But now, lo! the grief is infinite, and the lamentation measureless, for lo! thou art prospered and Zion desolate. 3. Who will be judge regarding these things? or to whom shall we complain regarding that which has befallen us? O Lord, how hast Thou borne (it)? 4. Our fathers went to rest without grief, and lo! the righteous sleep in the earth in tranquillity. 5. For

them till the days when the Lord shall ask thee concerning them. For we are not worthy to keep them; for we have been found false stewards.'"

This verse reappears in the *Talkut Shim*, on Isa. xxi. as follows: "The flower of the priests . . . gathered together . . . the keys of the court and the sanctuary and said before God: 'Lord of the universe, we are not fit to be stewards before Thee (לא זכינו להיות גוברים לפניך). Behold Thy keys are returned to Thee.' And they cast them aloft" (quoted by Rosenthal).

19. *Fine linen and silk.* Cf. Ezek. xvi. 10.

Lest the enemy get possession. Cf. vi. 8.

XI. 1. *Babylon* stands here for

Rome, as in Rev. xiv. 8; xvi. 19; xvii. 5; xviii. 2.

Prospered. Cf. xii. 1-3.

3. *How hast Thou borne (it)?* Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 30: "I have seen how Thou dost bear with them that sin." In Pss. Sol. ii. 1 and 4 Ezra iii. 8 the writers complain that God did not prevent such wrong-doing. With the latter cf. Isa. xiv. 6.

4. *Our fathers went to rest.* Cf. lxxxv. 9.

Sleep in the earth. Cf. xxi. 24; while the diction corresponds to Dan. xii. 2, "sleep in the dust of the earth," the thought is Sadducean and belongs to the earlier sphere of O.T. thought, presupposed in such a phrase as "slept with his fathers" (1 Kings ii. 10; xi. 21,

they knew not this anguish, nor yet had they heard of that which had befallen us. 6. Would that thou hadst ears, O earth, and that thou hadst a heart, O dust, that ye might go and announce in Sheol, and say to the dead: 7. 'Blessed are ye more than we who are living.'"

XII. But I will say this as I think, and I will speak against thee, O land, which art prospering. 2. The noonday does not always burn, nor do the constant rays of the sun (always) give light. 3. Do not conclude or expect that thou wilt always be prosperous and rejoicing, and be not greatly uplifted and boastful. 4. For assuredly in its own season wrath will awake against thee, which now in long-suffering is held in as it

etc.) There is no ground for supposing with Kabisch (*Das vierte Buch Ezra*, 68, 69) that this phrase in the mouth of a Pharisee of this period implied a capacity of life as still existing in the body even when interred. That "to sleep in the earth" and "to be in Sheol" are equivalent expressions for a Pharisee, is clear from *Eth. En.* li. 1 and 4 *Ezra* vii. 32. The former phrase, "to sleep in the earth," is merely a figure of speech, and must not be pressed. Yet see l. 2, note. These phrases are equivalents in verses 6, 7. Sadducean thought admitted of no resurrection; hence "life in Sheol" or "sleep in the earth" were interchangeable expressions for the same fact.

5. To a Pharisee this would be a trifling pain compared with the torments of the damned. But the Sadducee looked for no retribution in the world to come, but, like most of the writers in the O.T. and in *Ecclesiasticus*, only for a shadowy existence in Sheol.

6. *That ye might go*, etc. The

Syriac = "and go ye." Here we have a Hebrew idiom, *i.e.* an imperative is used instead of a jussive in order to express the intention signified by the preceding verb (see Driver, *Hebrew Moods and Tenses*, p. 82).

Sheol. We have here the O.T. conception of Sheol—the eternal abode of the shades. This view of Sheol was maintained in N.T. times by the Sadducees. In *xxiii.* 5; *xlvi.* 16; *lii.* 2; *lvi.* 6, Sheol seems to be the abode of all departed souls prior to the final judgment. This also may be its meaning in *xxi.* 23 and in 4 *Ezra* iv. 41. In 4 *Ezra* viii. 53 it seems to bear the meaning of "hell." For a history of the various meanings borne by this word see *Eth. En.* *lxiii.* 10, note.

7. The condition of the shades was for the writer undoubtedly more blessed than that of the living (*cf.* *x.* 6, note).

XII. 3. *Boastful*. I have here emended  = "do (not) oppress" into  = "be (not) boastful."

XII. 5=E.

were by reins. 5. And when I had said these things, I fasted seven days.

XIII.-XXV.=
B².

XIII. And it came to pass after these things, that

THE FOURTH SECTION

XII. 5-XX. This section begins with a fast of seven days (xii. 5). Then follows a long revelation to Baruch (xiii. 2-xx. 2). (Owing to the complete disarrangement and confusion of the text, this revelation cannot be summarised here. For a discussion of these chapters see pp. 20-34.) Contrary to the usual procedure, Baruch is bidden not to publish this revelation (xx. 3).

XII. 5. On the fasts of Baruch see v. 9, note; ix. 2, note.

XIII.-XXV. The text of these chapters is inexplicable as it stands. The difficulties are due not to corruption, though that undoubtedly exists, but to a recasting of the original text by the final editor. In this process many passages were torn from their original contexts and placed in settings which are quite unsuitable. Some of the incongruities thus produced are as follows: (1) The words "those prosperous cities" are represented as speaking in xiii. 4 without a single note of introduction. (2) In the next verse the words, "thou and those like thee who have seen," are similarly unexplained, and are in fact inexplicable in their present context; for though Baruch was to be preserved till the consummation of the times, his *contemporaries* were not, and hence they could not see the future retribution of the Gentiles. If, however, xxiv. 2 originally preceded xiii. 3b-5, the words, "thou and those like thee who have seen," would be perfectly intelligible. (3) Again the retribution of the Gentiles referred to in xiii. 4, 5 has not been mentioned before, though the text

presupposes some such mention. It is intelligible if xxv. or xxiv. 4 precedes where Baruch asks what will befall the enemies of Israel. (4) In xiv. 1 Baruch replies that God has shown him "the method of the times," whereas in xx. 6 this appears not to have been yet done, and it seems that a revelation of "the method of the times" is still to come. (5) In xxiv. 4 Baruch asks what retribution awaits the enemies of Israel, and when will the judgment be? In xxv. we find the answer to the latter question, whereas the answer to the former is already given in xiii. 4-12. (6) I can discover no adequate explanation of the "therefore" with which xx. 1 begins in its present context. If xx. were read immediately after xiii. the text would at once become clear. On these and other grounds we must attempt to restore the original order of the chapters before they were broken up and rearranged, mutilated, and interpolated by the final editor. Owing to the paucity of materials the attempt to restore the original order can only be partially successful. This order was probably xiii. 1-3a; xx.; xxiv. 2-4; xiii. 3b-12; xxv., xiv.-xix.; xxi.-xxiv. 1; xxx. 2. To reassure Baruch, who is plunged in grief over Jerusalem (xiii. 3a), God declares (xx. 1, 2) that the days and years will speed more quickly by in order to usher in the judgment which will right all wrongs, and that even Jerusalem was removed with this end in view. On the "method of the times" Baruch is then promised disclosures (xx. 6), and "he and many with him" will see the mercy of God on those that sinned and were righteous

I, Baruch, was standing upon Mount Zion, and lo! a voice came from the height and said unto me: 2. 'Stand upon thy feet, Baruch, and hear the word of the mighty God. 3. Because thou hast been astonished at what has befallen Zion, thou shalt therefore be assuredly preserved to the consummation of the times,

(xxiv. 2). Baruch, thereupon, asks two questions (xxiv. 4): (a) what will befall Israel's enemies? (b) when will God judge the world (of which event He had already spoken, xx. 2)?

The answer to (a) is given in xiii. 3b-12. But the first words of this answer are lost. In these words there was a statement of this nature: "retribution will come upon the prosperous cities of your enemies" (cf. xiii. 4). Baruch, moreover (xiii. 3b-12), will be preserved until those days for the express purpose of testifying the reason of the retribution that has befallen these cities, and the date of its consummation. "He and those like him who have seen" (cf. xxiv. 2) should answer the remonstrances of the tormented Gentiles. And in answer to Baruch's second question, he is informed (xxv. 1, 2) that he shall likewise be preserved till the sign of the last days has come. This sign will be a stupor that shall seize the inhabitants of the earth (xxv. 3, 4). Baruch, thereupon, acknowledges: "Behold Thou hast shown me the method of the times" (xiv. 1). After this the thought advances connectedly through xiv. - xix.; xxi. - xxiv. 1; xxx. 2. For like rearrangements of already existing texts by the final editor, see my edition of the Eth.En. pp. 189, 260, 267, 268, 270, 274.

XIII. 1. *Mount Zion*. Mount Zion is the scene of the revelation in xiii.-xx.; of the prayer in xxi. 4-25 (cf. xiii. 1; xx. 6; xxi. 2); of the revelation in xxii.-xxx.; of

the seven days' fast in xlvii. 2; and of the prayer and revelation that follow xlviii.-lii.

A voice. Cf. xxii. 1, note.

2. *Stand upon thy feet*. Ezek. ii. 1.

The mighty God. Cf. vi. 8; vii. 1; xiii. 4.

3. *Thou shalt therefore be assuredly preserved*, etc. This promise recurs twice again in B², *i.e.* in xxv. 1 and lxxvi. 2. Baruch is thus to be preserved as a testimony or a sign against the inhabitants of the earth in the last days (see also xiv. 2). This assumption and preservation of Baruch till the last judgment is the teaching of B². With the above passages compare also xlviii. 30 and xlvi. 7, where the last is due to the final editor. In B¹, on the other hand, Baruch is to die a natural death (lxxviii. 5; lxxxiv. 1); he is to go the way of all flesh (xliv. 2) and to forget all corruptible things and the affairs of mortals (xliii. 2). Thus we have two conflicting accounts touching the destiny of Baruch. It is noteworthy that we have in the text a transference of a distinct Enochic function to Baruch. For in Jubilees iv. 24 it is stated: "(Enoch) was set as a *sign* there (in Eden), and that he should *testify* against all the children of men;" and again in x. 17: "As a *testimony* to the generations of the world the office was ordained for Enoch of recounting all the deeds of generation unto generation till the day of judgment" (see also Slav. En. xl. 13; liii. 2; lxiv. 5).

that thou mayst be for a testimony. 4. So that, if ever those prosperous cities say: 'Why hath the mighty God brought upon us this retribution?' 5. Thou and those like thee may say to them (even) ye who have seen: 'This evil and (these) retributions which

This robbing of Enoch to benefit Baruch is a clear sign of Jewish hostility to Christianity, and a tribute to the influence that Enoch enjoyed in the Christian Church of the first century. Enoch's acceptance amongst Christians as a Messianic prophet was the ground for his rejection by the Jews. So thoroughgoing, indeed, was this rejection that, although he was the chief figure next to Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic prior to 40 A.D., in subsequent Jewish literature his functions and achievements are assigned to others, such as Moses, Ezra, or Baruch, and, with the exception of two or three passages, his name in subsequent Jewish literature is henceforth studiously ignored. The observation of this tendency of Jewish thought becomes of practical value to us when we come to lix. 4-11, as we are thus enabled to conclude that a document which on other grounds is prior to 70 A.D., is posterior to the rise of Christianity because it manifests clear signs of this tendency.

Assuredly be preserved. The Syriac lit. = *σασθεις σασθησει*, a familiar Hebraism *שָׁחַד תִּשָּׁחַד*. This idiom recurs frequently in this book (see xxii. 7; xli. 6; xlviii. 30; l. 2; lvi. 2; lxxv. 6; lxxvi. 2; lxxxii. 2; lxxxiii. 1, 2, 3, 6; lxxxiv. 2). That we have herein indubitable evidence of a Hebrew original we have shown in the Introduction.

4. *Those prosperous cities.* The abruptness with which these cities are introduced, though not hereto-

fore mentioned, and their complaints about the retribution that has befallen them, though no such retribution has as yet been recorded, shows either that the text preceding these words has been lost, or else that xiii. 3b-12 should be read after xxiv. 2-4. In fact, since in xiii. 3b-12 we have an answer to xxiv. 4, we must assume that xiii. 3b-12 originally followed after xxiv. 4, and since xiii. 4 presupposes that a statement about the retribution that is to come upon the prosperous enemies of Israel has already been made, and since no such statement is found, we must further assume the loss of such words immediately preceding xiii. 3b (see note on xxiv. 3, 4). It might be possible to explain xiii. 4 by xxv. 3, and accordingly regard xiii. 3b-12 as following originally upon xxiv. 2-xxv. But many difficulties beset this interpretation. The cities here spoken of are of course Gentile cities (cf. ver. 11).

Brought upon us this retribution. The same phrase practically is applied to Israel in lxxvii. 4, but here the "us" refers to the "prosperous cities." The *retribution* intended by the editor seems to be that threatened in xii. 4.

5. *Thou and those like thee who have seen it.* These words are hardly capable of interpretation as they stand. They clearly mean Baruch's contemporaries; observe "ye who have seen"; but as the time is that of the end, they cannot be his contemporaries; for only

are coming upon you and upon your people (are sent) in its time that the nations may be perfectly chastened.' 6. And then they will expect. 7. And if they say at that time: 'When?' 8. Thou wilt say to them: 'Ye who have drunk the strained wine, drink ye also of its dregs, the judgment of the Lofty One who has no respect of persons.' 9. On this account He had before no mercy on His own sons, but afflicted them as His enemies, because they sinned. 10. They were therefore chastened then that they might receive mercy. 11. But now, ye peoples and nations, ye are debtors. because all this time ye have trodden down the earth,

Baruch is to be preserved till that date. If, however, xiii. 3b-12 was originally preceded by xxiv. 2-4, we can trace the phrase back to xxiv. 2—"thou wilt see and many who are with thee."

That the nations may be perfectly chastened. That this chastisement is vindictive and not corrective is clear from verse 7; the nations are to "drink of the dregs, the judgment of the Lofty One"; and also from verses 10, 11, where the implication obviously is that, whereas Israel is punished with a view to its ultimate pardon, it is otherwise with the Gentiles. The vindictive punishment therefore of the Gentiles is dealt with in this chapter. But so far as I know 𐤁𐤓𐤕 = "chasten" is never used in the sense of vindictive punishment. This difficulty might be surmounted by supposing 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁 = "may be chastened," corrupt for 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁 = "may be dispersed" (cf. Isa. xxxiii. 3). In the next chapter, however, in xiv. 1, the retribution spoken of

by God is to be of service to the Gentiles. But see note *in loc.* On the other hand, it might be possible to understand 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁 = "nations," "peoples," of Israel, as in xlii. 5 (if the text is right there). But in this case it would be better to emend 𐤁𐤓𐤕 into 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁 = "that the people may be chastened."

6. The Gentiles will wait for or look forward to the consummation of their chastisement. This verse might by a slight change be understood of Israel (cf. xiv. 3).

8. Cf. Ps. lxxv. 7, 8: "God is the judge. . . . For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup . . . surely all the wicked of the earth . . . shall drink them."

The Lofty One. Here only in this book (see 4 Ezra iv. 34; Isa. lvii. 15).

Has no respect of persons. Cf. xliv. 4.

10. *Chastened.* Cf. i. 5.

11. *Trodden down.* I.e. in the sense of oppressing it, a frequent meaning in the O.T.

and used the creation unrighteously. 12. For I have always benefited you, and ye have always denied the beneficence."

XIV. And I answered and said: "Lo! Thou hast shown me the method of the times, and that which will be after these things, and Thou hast said unto me, that the retribution, which has been spoken of by Thee, will be of advantage to the nations. 2. And now I know that those who have sinned are many, and they have lived in prosperity, and departed from the world, but that few

12. Cf. i. 4.

I have . . . benefited you. The Syriac is ܐܢܝܢ ܐܬܝܒܬܝܢ, but this order of the words, with this meaning, is highly irregular; for Syriac idiom all but universally requires the participle before the substantive and not as here, and in lxiii. 8, the converse order. This exceptional order may be due to the survival of the Hebrew order in the Syriac translation, i.e. הָיִיתָ מְבַרֵךְ. For this seems to be the explanation of two out of the three instances where I have observed this irregularity in the Peshitto O.T., i.e. Gen. iv. 17 and 2 Sam. viii. 15. In the third (1 Sam. xviii. 13) I can offer no explanation, and the abnormality is there all the more striking, as three verses later the same phrase recurs in its right order. This irregularity (which is not noticed in Duval's Grammar, and only passingly mentioned in Nöldeke's) is not found, so far as I am aware, in the Peshitto N.T.

Ye have . . . denied. The Syriac is ܐܢܝܢ ܐܬܝܒܬܝܢ, which, according to Syriac idiom, is an imperative = "deny ye." The converse order = "ye have denied." This irregularity, as in the last instance, I

would trace to a survival of the Hebrew idiom through the Greek.

XIV. 1. The final editor is again greatly to blame here. According to the text Baruch says: "Thou hast shown me the method of the times and that which will be after these things." Now this has not been done. In the preceding chapter instruction has been given as to the reason of the retribution which has come upon the cities of the Gentiles, and likewise as to the date when their chastisement will be consummated. "The method or scheme of the times" would imply such information as we find in xxiv. 2-xxv. taken in conjunction with xiii., or to xxvii.-xxx. In xx. 6 certain disclosures are promised regarding "the method of the times." The phrase is found also in xlvi. 1.

The retribution . . . spoken of by Thee. These words probably refer to xiii. 5, and yet the retribution in question is first mentioned, not by God but by the cities (xiii. 4), unless we suppose xxv. 3 to precede xiv.

Will be of advantage to the nations. In xiii. 5-11 the context is against the idea of a remedial chastisement of the Gentiles, which seems to be asserted here. Here, again something seems wrong,

nations will be left in those times, to whom those words shall be said which Thou didst say. 3. For what advantage is there in this, or what (evil), worse than what we have seen befall us, are we to expect to see? 4. But again I will speak in Thy presence: 5. What have they profited who confessed before Thee, and have not walked in vanity as the rest of the nations, and have not said to the dead: 'Give us life,' but always feared Thee, and have not left Thy ways? 6. And lo! they have been carried off, nor on their account hast Thou had mercy on Zion. 7. And if others did evil, it was

2. *Few nations will be left in those times to whom, etc.* Do these words refer back to xiii. 3? In that case Baruch complains that few of the Gentile nations will be alive to whom the words in xiii. 5, 7-11 are to be addressed.

3. These words seem to point to xiii. 6; cf. "they will expect" and "what . . . are we to expect to see?" But here they undoubtedly refer to Israel, whereas there they naturally refer to the Gentiles.

4-19. Of what profit has been the righteousness of the righteous? Of none; for it has helped neither them nor their city, though the last was at least their due (verses 4-7). Seeing this is so, man cannot understand Thy judgment (verses 8, 9), for he is but a breath; his birth is involuntary, and his end a mystery (verses 10, 11); for that end the righteous indeed may hope, for they have treasures in heaven, but for us there is only woe, here and hereafter (verses 12-14). Hence what Thou hast done on Thy servants' behalf Thou knowest, but we cannot discover. The world indeed Thou didst say was made for man. But how can this be? We pass

away and the world abides (verses 15-19).

5. *Confessed before Thee.* I have here emended אָדָּנָיִם = "knew" into אָדָּנָיִם = "confessed."

Walked in vanity. Jer. ii. 5.

Have not said to the dead, etc. Cf. Isa. viii. 19b: "On behalf of the living should they seek unto the dead?"

6, 7. In these verses the destruction of Zion seems to be far in the background.

6. *Have been carried off.* Cf. lxxxv.

3. I have here followed Ceriani's emendation of אֲדָמָה into אֲדָמָה, who rightly compares xv. 2.

Nor on their account hast Thou had mercy on Zion. This was a great difficulty to the Jew. The presence of ten righteous men would have preserved Sodom; why then did Zion fall? Moreover, the preservation of the world, according to the Talmud (Weber, 201), depended on Israel. See xiv. 18, note.

7. We have here ideas which in some respects resemble those in Gen. xviii. 23-33. But whereas it

due to Zion, that on account of the works of those who wrought good works she should be forgiven, and should not be overwhelmed on account of the works of those who wrought unrighteousness. 8. But who, O LORD, my Lord, will comprehend Thy judgment, or who will find out the profoundness of Thy path? or who will think out the gravity of Thy way? 9. Or who will be able to think out Thy incomprehensible counsel? or who of those that are born has ever found

is taught there that God would spare a city because of the righteous *persons* in it, here and in ii. 2 it is the works of the righteous considered in themselves that are put forward as the ground of such mercy. On the question of good works the thought of the writers in this book, *i.e.* between 50 and 80 A.D., is to be described as follows: (a) The righteous are saved by their works (li. 7); they are justified by the law (li. 3); for righteousness is by the law (lxvii. 6). (b) Their works impart confidence to the righteous with respect to God when they pray for themselves or others. Thus Hezekiah trusted in his works and was hopeful in his righteousness, and so God heard him (lxiii. 3, 5); and the prophets also were heard because they trusted in their works (lxxxv. 2). (c) But the works of the righteous avail not themselves only; they are a defence; also to the unrighteous among whom they dwell (ii. 2), and even after their death their works are regarded as a lasting merit on the ground of which mercy should be shown to Zion (xiv. 7; lxxxiv. 10). (d) Again these works are conceived as going before them to the next world, and being there guarded in the treasure chambers of God (xiv. 12), where they will be kept

safely till the final judgment (xxiv. 1); hence the righteous hope for the end and leave the world without fear (xiv. 12). (On the teaching of this book as to faith, see note on liv. 21.) In 4 Ezra the doctrine of works as it is found in Baruch can hardly be said to exist. To (b) and (c) we find no parallels and only seeming parallels to (a), such as men "will be able to escape by their works or their faith in which they have believed" (ix. 7), and that "God will guard those who have works and faith in the Most Mighty" (xiii. 23). It will be observed that the doctrine of salvation by works is carefully guarded against by the addition of the words "and faith." To (d) we have good parallels in vii. 77, where Ezra is said to have "a treasury of works laid up with the Most High," and in viii. 33, where "the righteous are those who have many works laid up with Thee: from their own works will they receive reward."

Though the doctrine of justification as taught in Baruch should naturally be discussed here, we must refer the reader to the note on xxi. 9.

8. O LORD, my Lord. See iii. 1, note.

the beginning or end of Thy wisdom? 10. For we have all been made like a breath. 11. For as the breath ascends from the heart, and returning not is extinguished, such is the nature of men, who depart not according to their own will, and know not what will befall them in the end. 12. For the righteous justly hope for the end, and without fear depart from this habitation, because they have with Thee a store of works preserved in treasuries. 13. On this account also these without fear leave this world, and trusting with joy they hope to receive the world which Thou hast promised them. 14. But unto us there is woe, who also now are shamefully entreated, and at that time look forward

10. See references on next verse.

11. *Ascends from the heart, and returning not is extinguished.* Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 39: "a wind that passeth away, and cometh not again;" Ps. cxlvi. 4; Job vii. 7; James iv. 14. This rendering rests on a slight change of order in the text, *i.e.*

על לב סגור הפך instead of
גבול על לב סתפך. Ceriani and Fritzsche render the text, "ascendit quin procedat de corde et restinguitur."

Depart not according to their own will. Man does not settle the hour of his departure from this life. Cf. xlviii. 15; 4 Ezra viii. 5, "convenisti enim obaudire" (read *volens* with Syr. for *obaudire*) et profecta es nolens."

Know not what, etc. Cf. Slav. En. ii. 1; vii. 5.

12. *The righteous justly hope.* Eth. En. cii. 4.

A store of works, etc. The text reads סגור, גבול = "a force or supply of works." But it also = "a store of works." Cf. 4 Ezra

vii. 77, where we find "a treasure of works." In *Shabbath*, 31b, a man is spoken of as having זכיות, "a treasure of merits" in heaven. Cf. Matt. vi. 19, 20; Pss. Sol. ix. 9, ὁ ποιῶν δικαιοσύνην θησαυρίζει ζωὴν ἐαυτῷ παρὰ κυρίῳ. See note on verse 7.

13. *The world which Thou hast promised.* This is clearly the spiritual world. Thus in li. 3 the righteous after death are to "receive the world which does not die, which is then promised to them;" in xlv. 13, 15 "theirs is the inheritance of the promised time," "for unto them will be given the world to come;" and in xv. 7, 8 "the world which is to come" is said to be on their account. Cf. 4 Ezra ix. 13. It is referred to again in xxi. 25 and lxxiii. 5 under the general name of something promised. Throughout B² there is no promise of an earthly felicity, but only of spiritual transmundane blessedness.

14. *There is woe.* Cf. for diction lxxiv. 11; 4 Ezra xiii. 16.

(only) to evils. 15. But Thou knowest accurately what Thou hast made on behalf of Thy servants; for we are not able to understand by means of any good thing that Thou art our Creator. 16. But again I will speak in Thy presence, O LORD, my Lord. 17. When of old there was no world with its inhabitants, Thou didst devise and speak with a word, and forthwith the works of creation stood before Thee. 18. And Thou didst say that Thou wouldst make for Thy world man as the administrator of Thy works, that it might be known that he was by no means made on account of the world, but the world on account of him.

Evils. These words refer back to xiv. 3, and their subject is again touched upon in xv. 1. What these are is given in xliv. 15; lxxxv. 13.

15. *What Thou hast made (or done) on behalf of Thy servants.* *I.e.*

ܠܥܠܡ ܕܥܒܕܝܐ. If my rendering is right, the entire verse appears to be in its wrong place, and should be read after verse 16. The sense then would be excellent: "Thou knowest what good things Thou hast created on behalf of Thy servants; but we know of none: yet Thou didst say that Thou didst make the world for man," etc. (verses 15, 17, 18). But the Syriac may be translated, "what Thou hast made out of Thy servants," or if we neglect the diacritic point, "what Thou has wrought out of Thy works." Ceriani translates the verse: "Tu autem recte nosti quid feceris de servis tuis: quia nos non possumus intelligere aliquid boni, quomodo tu sis fctor noster." Before aliquid we should read "per."

17. *Speak with a word*, etc. Cf. Gen. i. 6, 7; Ps. xxxiii. 6; Heb.

xi. 3; 2 Peter iii. 5; Slav. En. xxiv. 5; xxv. 1; 4 Ezra vi. 38.

18. *Thou wouldst make for Thy world man*, etc. Cf. Gen. i. 26, 28; Ps. viii. 6; 4 Ezra vi. 54.

The world on account of him. So far as I am aware this exalted view of man's dignity in respect of the world is not found earlier than the first century of the Christian era. It recurs frequently in the literature of this time: cf. xiv. 19; xv. 7; xxi. 24 (this doctrine is thus confined to B² in this book); Assumpt. Mosis i. 12; 4 Ezra vi. 55, 59; vii. 11; viii. 44; ix. 13. In these passages the statement of the reason for the creation of the world assumes three forms: First, the world was created on account of man (Apoc. Bar. xiv. 18; 4 Ezra viii. 1, 44). But the writers of these books if pressed, would at once have withdrawn this statement in favour of two diverging statements: the one, that the world was created on account of Israel (4 Ezra vi. 55, 59; vii. 11; Assumpt. Mosis i. 12); the other that the world was created on account of the righteous in Israel

19. And now I see that as for the world which was made on account of us, lo ! it abides, but we, on account of whom it was made, depart."

XV. And the Lord answered and said unto me :
 "Thou art rightly astonished regarding the departure of man, but thou hast not judged well regarding the evils which befall those who sin. 2. And as regards what thou hast said, that the righteous are carried off and the impious are prospered, 3. And as regards what thou hast said: 'Man knows not Thy judgment'—
 4. On this account hear, and I will speak to thee, and hearken, and I will cause thee to hear My words.
 5. Man would not rightly have understood My judgment, if he had not accepted the law, and if his fear

(Apoc. Bar. xiv. 19 ; xv. 7 ; xxi. 24). Either of the latter forms the real Jewish view from the Christian era onwards. Thus in the Talmud, it is either Israel, or the righteous in Israel, that were the cause of the world's creation and its subsequent preservation. Thus in *Bammidbar rabba*, ii., "if Israel were not, the world would not exist"; in the *Shemoth rabba*, xxviii., "The world was created owing to the merits of Israel, and upon Israel stands the world." See Weber, pp. 201, 202, for other passages of the same import. See also note on xv. 7.

19. See note on last verse. That the "us" and the "we" here are the righteous is clear from xv. 7. This verse shows that the writer believed in the view that the safety of the world was bound up with that of the righteous.

In *Pesikta* 200b God is said to have created the world on account of Abraham's merit (Weber, p. 295).

XV. 1. *Astonied regarding the de-*

parture of man. These words refer to xiv. 19. The Syriac noun translated "departure" is derived from the verb translated "depart" in xiv. 19. In xiii. 3 Baruch was "astonied" about the fate of Jerusalem.

Not judged rightly regarding the evils, etc. See xiv. 3, 14.

2. See xiv. 6.

3. See xiv. 8, 9.

5. *The law.* The law was the centre round which Jewish thought and life revolved. To a limited extent the Messianic expectation was likewise a centre. Frequently we find that in proportion as the one is emphasised the other falls into the background. This will receive illustration as we proceed to examine the position assigned to the law and the Messiah respectively in the five main constituents of this book. Thus in B¹ (written after 70 A.D.) where the restoration of Jerusalem is looked for, but no Messiah, the law is spoken of as

had not been (rooted) in understanding. 6. But now,

follows : God gave the law to Israel (lxxvii. 3) ; for transgressing it they were sent into exile (lxxvii. 4 ; lxxxiv. 2) ; but let not Israel withdraw from the law (xliv. 3), but obey it (xlvi. 5) ; let them remember it (lxxxiv. 8) ; for if they do so, they will see the consolation of Zion (xliv. 7), and a son of the law will never be wanting (xlvi. 4), nor a lamp nor a shepherd (lxxvii. 16) ; for lamps and shepherds are from the law, and though these depart the law stands (lxxvii. 15) ; if they remember it, they will see the consolation of Zion (xliv. 7). In B² *where there is no Messiah and no expectation of the restoration of Jerusalem*, the law is still further glorified. Thus Moses brought the law to Jacob (xvii. 4) ; this conveyed a knowledge of the judgment of God (xv. 5), and entailed retribution on the consciously disobedient (xv. 6 ; xix. 3 ; xlviii. 40) ; it will exact all its rights (xlvi. 27), and repay the transgressor (xlvi. 47) ; apostates from it (xli. 3) will be specially dealt with (xlii. 4). On the other hand it will protect those who receive it in their hearts (xxxii. 1 ; xlviii. 24) ; by it they will be justified (li. 3), and in it will be the hope of the righteous (li. 7) ; the law is with Israel, and so long as they obey it they will not fall (xlvi. 22, 24). They have received one law from One (xlvi. 24). In B³ (which is akin to xiii. 2 in this respect) Israel has nothing save the Mighty One and the law (lxxxv. 3) ; they have one law by one (lxxxv. 14). When, however, we turn to the Messiah Apocalypses A¹ (= xxvii.-xxx. 1), A² (= xxxvi.-xl.), A³ (= llii.-lxxiv.), and to S. (= x. 6-12) which form more than a third of the entire book, we find no mention at all of the law in A¹ and S. In A² there is only one mention of

it, *i.e.* God's law is life (xxxviii. 2). In A² it naturally becomes more prominent, as A³ gives a brief history of God's dealings with Israel. The law and the tradition were observed by Abraham and his sons (lvii. 2). Thus, through the agency of Moses, its light shone on those in darkness (lix. 2). God imparted to Moses certain studies of the law (lix. 3). Josiah alone was faithful to it in his time (lxvi. 5). Such as loved it not perished (liv. 14). Righteousness comes by the law (lxvii. 6). Thus we observe that in purely eschatological descriptions such as A¹, there is not a single allusion to the law : the Messiah is the entire centre of interest. This is practically true in A² also ; for the reference in xxxviii. 2 does not belong to the account of the last things. In A³ finally, most of the references are to historical incidents, though it is true that in A² great store is set by the law. The law was the centre of Jewish life, the source of righteousness, and in fact its spiritual schoolmaster, till the advent of the Messiah had arrived. Thenceforward (lxx.-lxxiv.) there is not even an allusion to it. The same phenomena are observable in the various constituents of 4 Ezra. Thus in the three or four distinct Messiah Apocalypses in that book (according to Kabisch's critical analyses) the law is only mentioned two or three times. The only strong expression regarding it is in xiii. 38, and there the text is doubtful. In the groundwork of the book (*circa* 100 A.D.) however, *where we find no hope of a Messiah nor of a restored Jerusalem*, the law, as might be expected, has a more important rôle to play. Thus God gave the law to Jacob (iii. 19). He sowed it in them that they might keep it (ix. 32), but it bore no fruit owing to

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because he transgressed though he knew, yea, on account of this also, he shall be tormented because he knew. 7. And as regards what thou didst say touching the righteous, that on account of them has this world come, nay more, even that which is to come is on their account. 8. For this world is to them

the evil heart (iii. 20); they neglected it (vii. 20), did not keep it (ix. 32), rejected it (vii. 72), despised it (vii. 24; viii. 56), yet the law cannot perish (ix. 37.) Some did try to keep the law perfectly in this life (vii. 89), and God bore testimony to them because they did so (vii. 94); these acquired a store of good works (vii. 77; viii. 33), and from these they received their reward (viii. 33); and yet none can claim heaven purely as the reward of their righteousness, for all men have sinned (viii. 35).

It is obvious at a glance that the possession of the law by Israel is less a subject of self-gratulation in 4 Ezra than in Baruch. In the latter, especially in B² (written, like the groundwork in 4 Ezra, after 70 A.D., and having no expectation of the Messiah or a restored Jerusalem) the law is everything: it protects the righteous (xxxii. 1), justifies them (li. 3), is their hope (li. 7), and so long as it is with Israel, Israel cannot fall (xlviii. 22, 24). In Ezra, on the other hand, the law has begotten in the writer such a sense of sin that he trembles before it. Man needs mercy, not the award of the law; for all have sinned (viii. 35), and all but a very few would perish, but for the divine compassion (vii. 139).

5, 6. *If his fear had not been (rooted) in understanding. But now, because he transgressed though he knew*, etc. Here Ceriani followed by Fritzsche has mistranslated

ⲁⲃⲓ (= transgressus est) by "fecit," thus taking it for ⲁⲃⲓ. This thought partially recurs in xix. 3; xlviii. 40, "Each of the inhabitants of the earth knew when he was committing iniquity" (see note *in loc.*), lv. 2; and almost a perfect parallel is found in 4 Ezra vii. 72: "Qui ergo commorantes sunt in terra hinc cruciabuntur quoniam sensum habentes iniquitatem fecerunt." Cf. Luke xii. 48.

7. *As regards . . . has this world come.* See note on xiv. 18. Nowhere in the present book are these words given as a divine utterance. The same statement is again made in xxi. 24. From a similar statement in 4 Ezra vi. 55, at the close of the short hexæmeron there, it is probable that some such statement was originally included in that hexæmeron in its independent form. On this hexæmeron see xxix. 4, note. Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 55; vii. 11.

Seeing that this world is "a trouble and a weariness" to the righteous, it is hard to understand such a belief unless we suppose that it was designed to be their discipline for the future life. Cf. lii. 6. On *the world which is to come*, see xiv. 13, note.

8. *This world is to them a trouble . . . with much labour.* Cf. xlviii. 50; li. 14; 4 Ezra vii. 3-14; Rom. viii. 18; 2 Cor. iv. 17. This world is evidently regarded by the

a trouble and a weariness with much labour; and that accordingly which is to come, a crown with great glory."

XVI. And I answered and said: "O LORD, my Lord, lo! the years of this time are few and evil, and who is able in this little (space) to acquire that which is measureless?"

XVII. And the Lord answered and said unto me: "With the Most High account is not taken of much time nor of a few years. 2. For what did it profit Adam that he lived nine hundred and thirty years, and transgressed that which he was commanded? 3. Therefore the multitude of time that he lived did not profit him, but brought death and cut off the years of those who were born from him. 4. Or wherein did Moses suffer loss in that he lived only one hundred and twenty years, and, inasmuch as he was subject to Him who formed him, brought the law to the

writer of B² but not of B¹ as a scene of trial and sorrow: a man must give himself to an ascetic life here if he is to attain blessedness hereafter. There is a more ascetic tone about 4 Ezra. In the Eth. En., however, still stronger statements are found. Thus in xlviii. 7 the Messiah "preserveth the lot of the righteous because they have hated and despised this world of unrighteousness," and in cviii. 7 God recompenses "the spirits of the humble and of those who afflict their bodies," and likewise those (cviii. 10) who, though "trodden under foot of wicked men," "loved heaven more than their life in this world."

Crown with great glory. Cf. 1 Pet. v. 4. We should expect "crown

of great glory." Observe that if we retranslate these words into Hebrew, we have a paronymasia already familiar from Isa. lxii. 3; Ezek. xvi. 12; xxiii. 42, *i.e.* עֲטָרָה בְּתַפְאֵרָה רַבָּה.

XVI. 1. *Years . . . few and evil.* Gen. xlvii. 9.

XVII. 1. *The Most High.* This title belongs to B¹, B², B³, and A³. See xxv. 1; liv. 9, 17; lvi. 1; lxiv. 6, 8; lxvii. 4, 7; lxix. 2; lxx. 7; lxxvi. 1; lxxvii. 4, 21; lxxx. 1, 3; lxxxi. 2, 4; lxxxii. 2, 6; lxxxiii. 1; lxxxv. 8, 12.

3. *Brought death,* etc. See xxiii. 4, note.

4. *Brought the law,* etc. Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 19. "Give the law to the seed of Jacob, and the commandment to the race of Israel."

seed of Jacob, and lighted a lamp for the nation of Israel."

XVIII. And I answered and said: "He that lighted has taken from the light, and there are but few that have imitated him. 2. But those many whom he has lighted have taken from the darkness of Adam, and have not rejoiced in the light of the lamp."

XIX. And He answered and said unto me: "Wherefore at that time he appointed for them a covenant, and said: 'Behold I have placed before you life and death,' and he called heaven and earth to witness against them. 2. For he knew that his time was but short, but that heaven and earth endure always. 3.

Lighted a lamp. Cf. lix. 2, "lamp of the eternal law." The thought in both phrases is drawn from Ps. cxix. 105, "Thy word is a lamp," etc. Cf. xviii. 2.

XVIII. 1. *Has taken from the light, i.e.* has chosen the light. In the next verse the many are said to have chosen the darkness of Adam.

2. The law and Adam are in this passage symbolical names for the opposing powers of light and darkness. This thought is foreign to the O.T. though Gen. i.-iii. has prepared the way for it. Adam is here, as in the Slav. En., represented as the primary source of human transgression, whereas in the Eth. En. and Jubilees human depravity is traced mainly to the angels that sinned with the daughters of men. Again, as in the Slav. En., the writer does not teach the doctrine of original sin and inherited spiritual incapacities. He implies rather that man is left to determine his own destiny, to choose light or take darkness for his portion, just as in much later

times it was said: "God does not determine beforehand whether a man shall be righteous or wicked, but puts this into the hands of the man himself" (*Tanchuma, Pikkude* 3). See Slav. En. xxx. 15, 16, notes. The same view is enforced in A³, i.e. liv. 15, 16. See notes *in loc.*

XIX. 1, 2. Because few chose light and many chose darkness, Moses showed further that their choice of light or darkness was likewise a choice of life or death. xix. 1-3 looks like an addition of the final editor. The answer to xviii. seems to begin with xix. 4.

Behold I have placed, etc., Deut. xxx. 19. *Called heaven, etc.,* Deut. iv. 26; xxx. 19; xxxi. 28. Cf. lxxxiv. 2; Ass. Mos. iii. 12.

Later times seem to have drawn from Deut. xxx. 19 the conclusion that the permanence of the law was bound up with that of heaven and earth. Cf. ver. 2; Matt. v. 18. Contrast Luke xvi. 17; Mark xiii. 31.

For after his death these sinned and transgressed (the covenant), though they knew that they had the law reproving (them), and the light in which nothing could err, also the spheres, which testify, and Me. 4. Now regarding everything that is it is I that judge, but do not thou take counsel in thy soul regarding these things, nor afflict thyself because of those which have been. 5. For now it is the consummation of time that is sought, whether of business, or of prosperity, or of shame, and not the beginning thereof. 6. Because if a man be prospered in his beginnings and shamefully entreated in his old age, he forgets all the prosperity that he had. 7. And again, if a man is shamefully entreated in his beginnings, and at his end is prospered, he remembereth not again his evil entreatment. 8. And again hearken: though each one were prospered all that time—all the time from the day on which death was decreed against those who transgress—and

3. *Transgressed*. This word recurs in the same connection (lxxxiv. 2) where it has as its object "the law." We must supply this or "the covenant" from ver. 1.

4. These words deal with Baruch's difficulties in xviii. 1, 2. Do not distress thyself with such problems; the end of all things is at hand.

5. Here only the end of all things is looked for—not an earthly felicity in a rebuilt Jerusalem.

6-8. The end of all things is at hand, and the only important question is: How does it find a man? will it bring him shame or honour? We are strongly reminded here of the well-known words of Solon in Herodotus i. 32 σκοπέειν δὲ χρόν

παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κῆ ἀποβήσεται. πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προορρίζουσ ἀνέτρεψε. It was a familiar Hellenic theme. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 1-3; *Oed. Rex*, 1494-97; Eurip. *Androm.* 100-103, etc.

8. *Though a man . . . vanity*. This seems the natural rendering of the passage. Ceriani renders: "Omne tempus istud a die quo decreta fuit mors contra eos qui praetereunt in isto tempore, si unusquisque prosperatus esset, et in fine suo in vanitatem corrumperetur, esset omne." Fritzsche quite wrongly writes "vanum" for "omne."

On which death was decreed, etc. See xxiii. 4, note.

in his end was destroyed, in vain would have been everything."

XX. Therefore, behold! the days will come, and the times will hasten more than the former, and the seasons will speed on more than those that are past, and the years will pass more quickly than the present (years). 2. Therefore have I now taken away Zion, in order that I may the more speedily visit the world in its season. 3. Now therefore hold fast in thy heart everything that I command thee, and seal it in the recesses of thy mind. 4. And then I will

XX. 1. *Therefore.* It is not clear that this word follows upon anything in xix. It could be taken closely with xviii. So far as I can see it is best to regard it as following directly on xiii. 3a. Jerusalem has fallen, therefore the years intervening before the judgment will be shortened. Cf. liv. 1, "Against the works of the inhabitants of the earth Thou dost hasten the beginnings of the times"; Matt. xxiv. 22. For the probable order of the text originally see pp. 20, 119.

The days will come. Cf. xxiv. 1; xxxi. 5; xxxix. 3; 4 Ezra vi. 18. A familiar O.T. phrase. Cf. Jer. xxiii. 7; xxx. 3, etc.

The times will hasten. Cf. lxxxiii. 1, 6, where almost the same thoughts and diction recur. Cf. liv. 1; 4 Ezra iv. 26.

2. The fall of Jerusalem is one of the steps preparatory for the final judgment. See xxi. 21. There is no hope here of a restored Jerusalem. See i. 4, note.

Speedily visit. The Syriac literally = *σπεύσω καὶ ἐπισκέψωμαι*, a Hebraism, *אסתר ואפקר*,

Visit. Cf. xxiv. 4; lxxxiii. 2.

This word seems to be used in Baruch in a bad sense of the penal visitation of God, as in Exod. xx. 5; Ps. lxxxix. 32; Jer. vi. 15; ix. 25; xi. 22, etc.; also in 4 Ezra v. 56; vi. 18; ix. 2; Pss. Sol. xv. 14. The word (ῥῆς = ἐπισκέπτεσθαι) has generally a good sense in the O.T., as in Gen. xxi. 1; Exod. iv. 31; Job x. 12; Pss. viii. 4; lxxx. 14; also in Ecclus. xvi. 14; Wisdom vii. 7, 13; Pss. Sol. iii. 14; x. 5(?); xi. 2, 7; always in the N.T., as in Luke i. 68, 78; vii. 16; xix. 44; Acts xv. 14; 1 Peter ii. 12. It is noteworthy that whereas in the N.T. the thought of God's visitation is one of joy, its associations in 4 Ezra and Baruch are fear and wrath to come.

3. *Everything that I command thee.* The relative is omitted in the Syriac, but both the sense and the Syriac idiom require it. If the text is right, we must take it as a Hebraism; for the Hebrew admits the omission of the relative. We must then suppose this Hebraism misunderstood by the Greek translator; for neither does the Greek allow of the omission of the relative.

show thee the judgment of My might, and My ways which are past finding out. 5. Go therefore and sanctify thyself seven days, and eat no bread, nor drink water, nor speak to any one. 6. And afterwards come to that place, and I will reveal Myself to thee, and speak true things with thee, and I will give thee commandment regarding the method of the times; for they will come and will not tarry.

THE PRAYER OF BARUCH THE SON OF NERIAH

XXI. And I went thence and sat in the valley of Cedron in a cave of the earth, and I sanctified my

4. *Show thee the judgment of My might.* In lxxxiii. 7 we have a nearly related phrase, "The consummation . . . will show the great might of its ruler."

6. *That place.* See xiii. 1, note.

Method of the times. See xiv. 1, note.

Will come and will not tarry. Hab. ii. 3. Cf. xlviii. 39 of text.

people assembled in Cedron (xxxi.-xxxiv.). At the close of xxxiv. there should follow a fast of seven days. The sixth section should open with this fast, but all mention of it has disappeared from the present text. After the fast comes a vision (xxxvi.-xl.) and a revelation regarding apostates and proselytes (xli. xlii.) with some further disclosures (xliii.); then the sixth section duly closes with an address to the people (xliv.-xlv.)

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH SECTIONS

XXI.-XLVI. This constitutes the fifth section of the book according to the present text, but in reality the fifth and sixth sections (see v. 7, note). For according to the scheme of the final editor, events proceed in each section in a certain order: thus first we find a fast, then generally a prayer or lamentation, then a divine message or disclosure followed by an announcement to the people. Thus we have here the fast of seven days in Cedron (xxi. 1); the prayer on Mount Zion (xxi. 4-26); the revelation (xxii. - xxx.); address to the

It will be observed that xxi.-xlv. embrace material from a variety of sources. Thus xxvi.-xxx. 1 = A¹, and xxxvi.-xl. = A² are independent Messiah apocalypses, and xliii. xlv. 7; xlv. xlv. are derived from B¹. What remains of B² has been completely rearranged according to the views of the final editor. For what was probably the original order of B² see p. 119, and the Introduction, pp. lxi.-lxiii.

XXI. 1. *Cedron.* See v. 5. On the fasts of Baruch see notes on v. 7 and ix.

Cave. Cf. Assumpt. Mos. ix. 6.

soul there, and I eat no bread, yet I was not hungry, and I drank no water, yet I thirsted not, and I was there till the seventh day, as He had commanded me. 2. And afterwards I came to that place where He had spoken with me. 3. And it came to pass at sunset that my soul took much thought, and I began to speak in the presence of the Mighty One, and said: 4. "O Thou that hast made the earth hear me, that hast fixed the firmament in its fulness, and hast made firm the height of the heaven by the spirit, that hast called from the beginning of the world that which did not yet exist, and they obey Thee. 5. Thou that hast commanded the air by Thy nod, and hast seen those things which are to be as those things

2. *That place.* Probably Mount Zion. Cf. xx. 6 and xiii. 1; otherwise the temple, x. 5. But this and some other such place determinations may be due to the final editor. The scene of the fast, the prayer, and the revelation was probably the same. See xlvii. 1, note.

3. *The Mighty One.* This is the first time this title occurs. It is found in B¹, B², A³, but not in A¹, A². See xxv. 4; xxxii. 1, 6; xxxiv. 3, 6; xlv. 1, 4; xlvii. 1; xlviii. 1, 38; xlix. 1; liv. 1; lv. 6; lvi. 2, 3; lix. 3; lxi. 6; lxiii. 3, 5, 6, 8, 10; lxiv. 3, 4; lxv. 1; lxvi. 1, 5, 6; lxvii. 2; lxx. 2, 5; lxxvii. 11, 26; lxxx. 4; lxxxii. 5; lxxxiv. 1, 6, 7, 10; lxxxv. 2, 3.

4. *By the spirit.* Have we here a reference to Gen. ii. 1, "The spirit of God," or does the whole phrase, "made firm . . . by the spirit," show a connection partly with the LXX. of Ps. xxxiii. 6, τῷ λόγῳ κυρίῳ οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος κτλ.

Hast called . . . that which did not yet exist. Cf. xlviii. 8, "with a word Thou quickenest that which was not." We seem to have here creation *ex nihilo*. On the other hand the words above are found in Philo, *de Justitia*, τὰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι. This may be accidental. At any rate the fundamental principles of the two writers are different; for, except in the *De Somno*, i. 13, Philo taught the formation of the world from pre-existent elements. See Slav. En. xxiv. 2; xxv. 1, notes. Such expressions as that in the text spring from the repeated "and God said," Gen. i. Cf. Ps. cxlviii. 5; Philo, *de sacrif. Abel et Cain*, ὁ γὰρ θεὸς λέγων ἅμα ἐποίησεν, μηδὲν μεταξὺ ἀμφοῖν τιθεῖς. In 2 Pet. iii. 5, "There were heavens from of old, and an earth compacted out of water . . . by the word of God," we have the same teaching, with the additional idea that the solid earth was made from the water, as in the Slav. En. xxviii. 2.

which Thou art doing. 6. Thou that rulest with great thought the powers that stand before Thee: (yea) rulest with indignation the holy living creatures, who are without number, which Thou didst make from the beginning, of flame and fire, which stand around Thy throne. 7. To Thee only does this belong that Thou shouldst do forthwith whatsoever Thou dost wish. 8. Who causest the drops of rain to rain by number upon the earth, and alone knowest the consummation of the times before they come: have respect unto my prayer. 9. For Thou alone art able to sustain all who are, and those who pass away, and those who are to be, those who sin, and those who are righteous [as

6. *Powers that stand before Thee.* Cf. xlviii. 10; 4 Ezra viii. 21a, "cui adstat exercitus angelorum."

Creatures, who are without number. lix. 11.

Which Thou didst make from the beginning. In Jub. ii. 2, the creation of the angels is assigned to the first day—evidently on the ground of Job xxxviii. 7. According to *Targ. Jer.* I. on Gen. i. 26, and *Shemoth rabba*, 15, God created the angels on the second day. So also Slav. En. xxix. 1.

7. Pss. cxv. 3; cxxxv. 6; Jonah i. 14.

8. *The drops of rain to rain by number.* Cf. lix. 5; Ecclus. i. 2; Slav. En. xlvii. 5, note.

Alone knowest the end of the times. Cf. liv. 1.

9. *Those who sin, and those who are righteous.* For "who are righteous" the Syriac reads here and in xxiv. 2 ܐܠܝܢ ܕܝܫܝܡ = "who are justified" = οἱ δικαιοῦνται, and in xxi. 11, 12; lxii. 7, ܕܝܫܝܡ = "have

been justified" = δεδικαιωμένοι εἰσιν.

In all these passages the Syriac is at fault, but its error is to be traced to the Greek Version; for the Greek translator mistranslated the Hebrew before him, which was in the former case הצדקים, and in the latter צדקו. The grounds for this conclusion are as follows: (i.) The antithesis to "those who sin" is not "those who are justified," but "those who do righteousness" or "are righteous." (ii.) If "those who are justified" was the true text, then its antithesis would not be "those who sin," as we find it in xxi. 9, 11, 12; xxiv. 2, but "those who are condemned," as in li. 1 and 4 Ezra iv. 18. (iii.) But since "those who sin" is undoubtedly original, the error must lie in the phrase "those who are justified." (iv.) Now this error is easy to explain. From the LXX. we know that צדק was generally rendered by δικαιοῦσθαι, and only in a few cases by δικαίος εἶναι (Job ix. 2, 15; x. 15; xv. 14; xxv. 4; xxxiii. 12; xxxiv. 5;

living (and) being past finding out]. 10. For Thou alone dost live immortal and past finding out, and knowest the number of mankind. 11. And if in time many have sinned, yet others not a few have been righteous. 12. Thou knowest where Thou preservest

xxxv. 36). The Greek translator, not appreciating the right meaning of קָרָא in our Apocalypse, gave it the sense he was most familiar with, and so mistranslated it by δικαιόσθαι. (v.) The above conclusions receive confirmation from the fact that the antithesis in our emended text is actually found in Job x. 15 and xxxv. 36, 37. I have emended the text accordingly in xxi. 9, 11, 12; xxiv. 1, 2; lxvii. 2.

The doctrine of justification in this Apocalypse differs from that taught in 4 Ezra.

(1) In Baruch men are justified by the law: thus the text in li. 3 = ἐδικαιώθησαν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μου (where μου = τοῦ θεοῦ), and in lxvii. 6 it = ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἡ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, and in lxxxi. 7 it = ἐσώθησαν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν. In Ezra, on the other hand, the expression "salvation by works" is qualified by the addition of "and by faith." Cf. ix. 7; xiii. 23. In fact we do not find there either expressed or implied the doctrine of justification by works. (2) Quite in keeping with what precedes is the absolute assurance of salvation on the part of Baruch. He never personally dreads condemnation: he looks forward calmly to a life of future blessedness. Cf. xiii. 3; xxv. 1; xlv. 7; lxxvi. 2. Ezra, on the other hand, continually assumes his future woe till assured otherwise in viii. 47-49, 51-54. 4 Ezra xiv. does not belong to the rest of the book. There is a pessimistic outlook in Ezra as there is an optimistic one in Baruch save S (i.e. x. 6-xii.). The note on xiv. 7

of this book will confirm the view
above taken.

In 4 Ezra "to justify" preserves its ordinary meaning of "to declare just" in iv. 18 and xii. 7. It is used in this sense also in Ecclus. i. 22; vii. 5; x. 29; xiii. 22; xviii. 22; xxxi. 5; xlii. 2. In 4 Ezra, however, we find another use: thus in x. 16 it = "to vindicate as just." So also in Ps. li. 4; Isa. xlii. 21 (?); Pss. Sol. ii. 16; iii. 5; iv. 9; viii. 7, 27, 31; ix. 3; Luke vii. 29; Apoc. Baruch lxxviii. 5. On the word *δικαιούν* the reader can consult with advantage Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, pp. 28-31. On the teaching on faith in A³, *i.e.* chaps. liii.-lxxiv., see liv. 25, note.

As living . . . out. This I bracket
as a dittography. See next line.

10. *Knowest the number of mankind.* Gen. xxiii. 4, 5 ; xlviii. 4, 6.

11. Men many have sinned, but
many also have been justified.

Others not a few have been righteous. This statement differs strongly from that given in 4 Ezra viii. 3 where it is said plainly that whereas "multi quidem creati sunt, pauci autem salvabuntur," and that the ratio of the saved to the lost is as the amount of gold in the earth to that of the clay in it (viii. 2). This optimism which we have observed already (see xxi. 9, note) differentiates Baruch from Ezra. The latter is in the main pessimistic both with regard to his own destiny (till otherwise reassured by God) and that of the vast bulk of mankind.

12, 13. But this life is not all ;
sin and righteousness have further

the end of those who have sinned, or the consummation of those who have been righteous. 13. For if there were this life only, which here belongs to all men, nothing could be more bitter than this. 14. For of what profit is strength that turns to weakness, or the food of plenty that turns to famine, or beauty that turns to a hateful (thing)? 15. For the nature of man is always changeable. 16. For we have by no means been from the beginning what we now are, and what we now are we shall not afterwards remain. 17. For if a consummation had not been prepared for all, in vain would have been their beginning. 18. But regarding everything that comes from Thee, do Thou inform me, and regarding everything about which I ask Thee, do Thou enlighten me. 19. How long will that which is corruptible remain, and how long will the time of

issues; else the life of the righteous here were a crowning bitterness.

13. This verse may be drawn from 1 Cor. xv. 19, or else both from a common source. Of what worth is life? for (1) it is subject to constant change (xxi. 14, 15); and (2) is likewise mortal (xxi. 16, 17, 22).

14. *Strength that turns, etc.* lxxxiii. 11.

Beauty that turns to a hateful (thing). lxxxiii. 12.

15. There is no fixity in the being of man: he is the creature of change. In ver. 22, which should follow verses 17, 18, man is by appointment mortal.

16. The text is corrupt. The above rendering rests on an emendation of the text. Thus for

וְהָיָה כְּעֵצ׃ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁׁלַח הָאֱלֹהִים
עַל הָאָדָם׃ וְהָיָה כְּעֵצ׃ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁׁלַח הָאֱלֹהִים

I have read וְהָיָה כְּעֵצ׃ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁׁלַח הָאֱלֹהִים
עַל הָאָדָם׃ This restores, I believe, the original sense (cf. ver. 15). As the text stands it="aut nihil, sicuti quod sumus, est enim ab initio, nunc non sumus" (Ceriani).

17. Ver. 22 may have originally followed this verse.

19. *How long will that which is corruptible remain?* If this question comes from the final editor, its answer will be found in xl. 3; lxxiv. 3. But if it belongs to B², its answer would naturally be found in xxiii. 7-xxiv. 1; xxxi. 5. The writers of this book (particularly the writer of B²) are greatly impressed with the corruptibility of the present world. The whole present world, the *olam hazzeh*, belongs

mortals be prospered, and until what time will those who transgress in the world be polluted with much wickedness? 20. Command therefore in mercy, and accomplish all that Thou saidst Thou wouldst bring, that Thy might may be made known to those who think that Thy long-suffering is weakness. 21. And show to those who know not, and let them see that it has befallen us and our city until now according to the long-suffering of Thy power, because on account of Thy name Thou hast called us a beloved people. 22. Every nature therefore from this onward is mortal.

to the sphere of corruption. Even so does the Messianic kingdom if it falls within the *olam hazzeḥ*, as it does in A¹, A², and A³ in this book. Thus in A² the Messianic reign forms the end of the world of corruption (xl. 3), and in A³, the end of corruption and the beginning of incorruption (lxxiv. 3). In B² all that has been is doomed to corruption (xxxi. 5); all that is corruptible will perish (xliv. 9); the new world that awaits them will not turn them to corruption (xliv. 12). In B³ what the righteous have lost was corruptible, but what they will receive is incorruptible (lxxxv. 5). The only reference to this subject in B¹ is where Baruch is told that he will pass away from the earth and forget all that is corruptible (xliii. 2). As to the remaining passages where this word recurs, the text is doubtful in xlviii. 29, and probably interpolated in xxviii. 5. In 4 Ezra vii. 113, the day of judgment is the end of this period and the beginning of the next immortal period. See also iv. 11; vii. 111.

Who transgress. These words could be rendered "who pass away," as in verse 9.

20. This is a prayer for the hastening of the final judgment (cf. 2 Pet. iii. 4-9).

21. The text is unintelligible as it stands: "Show to those who know not, and they have seen what has befallen us and our city until now according to the longsuffering," etc. Merely by the emendation of וַיִּסְמְכוּ = "and they have seen," into וַיִּסְמְכוּ = "and that it has been," we arrive at a perfectly consistent text. The fall of Jerusalem was brought about in the mercy of God to hasten the final judgment. See verse 23; xx. 2.

But, if the text is correct, it = καὶ ἐπαράσσω = וְרָאוּ. Have we here an instance of the Hebrew perfect with strong waw used as a continuation of the imperative? In that case the original may have been וְרָאוּ אֶת אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָה לָנוּ . . . = "Show . . . and let them see that it has happened to us." I have emended accordingly.

A beloved people. Cf. v. 1.

22. It is obvious that this verse breaks the connection of thought. It should be read after verse 17 as

23. Reprove therefore the angel of death, and let Thy glory appear, and let the might of Thy beauty be known, and let Sheol be sealed so that from this time forward it may not receive the dead, and let the treasures of souls restore those which are enclosed in them. 24. For there have been many years like those that are desolate from the days of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and of all those who are like them, who sleep in the earth, on whose account Thou didst say that Thou hadst created the world. 25. And now quickly show Thy glory, and do not defer

suggested above. It is possible that **לש** is corrupt for **לש**. We should then translate, "Every one, therefore, according to this law is mortal" (cf. ver. 15).

23. The writer in 20, 21, urged God to bring on the final judgment, that His power might be made known, and that men might learn that Israel's calamities had befallen them in the mercy of God. With a view to this final judgment the writer prays to God to put an end to death, to let His glory appear, and the dead arise.

23. *The angel of death.* Cf. Rev. vi. 8. On the prominent rôle played by this angel in later Jewish writings, see *Testament of Abraham* (ed. James); Weber, 239-242, 244, 247, 262, 321, 322, 373; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Jud.* i. 854, 855, 862-879.

Sheol. See xi. 6, note.

Be sealed. Cf. Isa. v. 14.

Treasures of souls. Only the righteous souls were admitted to these treasures or chambers. I have preserved the literal meaning of the original word. These are the places in which God *treasures* His righteous ones, or their righteous acts. After

the death of a righteous man his soul was permitted during seven days to behold the seven ways of the righteous and the seven ways of the wicked. After so doing, the soul entered these chambers (4 Ezra vii. 101; iv. 35). These chambers were in Sheol (4 Ezra iv. 41); only righteous souls could enter them (4 Ezra vii. 80); they were guarded by angels, and were full of rest (Eth. En. c. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 95); at the final judgment they were to restore the souls committed to them (Apoc. Bar. xxi. 3; xxx. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 32, 80). It is to be observed that as there were treasures of righteous souls, so there were treasures of righteous works (see xxiv. 1).

It is strange that only the righteous souls are here mentioned. The reference to the wicked may be lost.

24. This verse should in all probability be read after ver. 19. It would there form a good link between vers. 19 and 20. If this is not so the text seems corrupt.

Sleep in the earth. See xi. 4, note.

On whose account, etc. See xv. 7, note; xiv. 18, note.

what has been promised by Thee." 26. And it came to pass that when I had completed the words of this prayer that I was greatly weakened.

XXII. And it came to pass after these things that lo! the heavens were opened, and I saw, and power was given to me, and a voice was heard from on high, and it said unto me: 2. "Baruch, Baruch, why art thou troubled? 3. He who travels by a road but does not complete it, or he who departs by sea but does not arrive at the port, can he be comforted? 4. Or he who promises to give a present to another, but does not fulfil it, is it not robbery? 5. Or he who sows the earth, but does not reap its fruit in its season, does he not lose everything? 6. Or he who plants a plant, unless it grows till the time suitable to it, does he who planted it expect to receive fruit from it? 7. Or a woman who has conceived, if she bring forth untimely, does she not assuredly slay her infant? 8. Or he who builds a house, if he does not roof it and com-

25. *What has been promised by Thee.* I.e. "the world which Thou hast promised them" (xiv. 13; cf. lxxxiii. 5). The new world would become the dwelling of the righteous after the judgment.

26. *I was greatly weakened.* This weakness follows again on the prayer in xlvi. 25; cf. 4 Ezra v. 14.

XXII. 1. *The heavens were opened and I saw.* Ezek. i. 1; cf. Matt. iii. 16; John i. 52; Rev. iv. 1; Acts vii. 56.

A voice was heard, etc., i.e. the bath-qôl. Cf. xiii. 1; Matt. iii. 17; xvii. 5; Rev. iv. 1.

3-8. In xxii. 3, 5, God rejoins that no man undertakes a work without hoping to enjoy its results, and that

no work can be duly judged till it is completed (xxii. 8). Thus Baruch's depreciation of this life (xxi. 13-17, 22) is in some fashion answered. Things must be judged in the light of their consummation. Again, in reply to Baruch's request to hasten the period of judgment (xxi. 19, 24, 20, 21, 23, 25), God rejoins that, for the due accomplishment of any work, time is needed (xxii. 6, 7). Finally, to Baruch's plea for the fulfilment of the divine promise (xxi. 25), God acknowledges the obligation of that promise (xxii. 4).

7. *Does . . . assuredly slay.* A Hebraism. Text = הרוג יורג. Cf. xiii. 3; xli. 6; xlvi. 30, etc.

plete it, can it be called a house? Tell me that first."

XXIII. And I answered and said: "Not so, O LORD, my Lord." 2. And He answered and said unto me: "Why therefore art thou troubled about that which thou knowest not, and why art thou ill at ease about things in which thou art ignorant? 3. For as thou hast not forgotten the people who now are and those who have passed away, so I remember those who are remembered, and those who are to come. 4. Because when Adam sinned and death was decreed against those who should be born, then

XXIII. 1, 2. Baruch having admitted the justice of the divine reasons, God rejoins in the words of xxii. 3, "Why therefore art thou troubled?" for Baruch thereby acknowledges his ignorance of the things in question.

3. It is hard to see the relevance of this verse to any of Baruch's representations. Baruch has never doubted the ultimate fulfilment of the divine promises.

Who are remembered and those who are to come. The Syriac here

ܐܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ seems corrupted from ܐܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ = "who are appointed to come."

4. *When Adam sinned and death was decreed against, etc.* There are two different conceptions of man's original destiny and of the physical effect of Adam's sin upon it in two of the different constituents of this book. (1) Thus in B², i.e. in xvii. 3; xix. 8; xxiii. 4, Adam's sin brought in physical death, otherwise man would have been immortal. We find the same view in Ecclus. xxv. 24 ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀρχὴ ἁμαρτίας, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν

ἀποθνήσκομεν πάντες, though this view cannot be reconciled with the main teaching and tendencies of that book, which are to the effect that man was mortal from the outset (cf. xiv. 17; xvii. 1, 2; xl. 11). The conditional immortality of man appears next in Eth. En. lxix. 11; Book of Wisdom i. 13, 14; ii. 23, 24; Slav. En. xxx. 16, 17 (see notes *in loc.*); in 4 Ezra iii. 7, "Et huic (sc. Adamo) mandasti diligentiam unam tuam: et prae-terivit eam, et statim instituisti in eum mortem et in nationibus ejus." It is likewise the Pauline view (cf. Rom. v. 12; 1 Cor. xv. 21). In the Talmud this was the prevailing view; thus, according to the *Beresh. rabba*, c. 9, Adam was not originally destined for death (*Pesikta*, 76a); if Adam had not sinned he would have lived for ever (see Weber, 214, 215, 239). (2) In A³, i.e. in liv. 15; lvi. 6, Adam is said to have brought in only *pre-mature* death. This seems to be the view underlying Gen. ii., iii., though many, it is true, take it to be conditional immortality. But such an interpretation is difficult in the face

the multitude of those who should be born was numbered, and for that number a place was prepared where the living might dwell and the dead might be guarded. 5. Unless therefore the number aforesaid is fulfilled, the creature will not live again [for My spirit is the creator of life], and Sheol will receive the dead. 6. And again it is given to thee to hear what things are to come after these times. 7. For truly My redemption has drawn nigh, and is not far distant as aforetime.

of Gen. iii. 19. (3) It may be well to add here that a third view is occasionally taught in the Talmud. Death came into the world in consequence of divine predestination (see Edersheim, *Life and Times, etc.*, i. 166; Weber, 238, 239). On the spiritual effects of Adam's sin on his posterity, see xlviii. 42, note. On the whole question, see Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, 136-138.

The multitude of those who should be born was numbered. This was a secret known only to God (xxi. 10; xlviii. 46). How this number was fixed upon is not recorded. It could not be added to or diminished; for the judgment could not come till it was completed (xxiii. 5; 4 Ezra iv. 33-43).

For that number a place was prepared. Cf. Slav. En. xlix. 2: "There has not been even a man in his mother's womb, for whom a place has not been prepared for every soul"; and lviii. 5: "There is a special place for mankind for all the souls of men according to their number." So in the Tractate *Chagiga*, fol. 15, col. 1; *Torath Adam*, fol. 101, col. 3; *Avodath hakkodesh*, fol. 19, col. 1, it is said that a place is prepared for every man either in Paradise or hell (Eisenmenger, ii. 315).

The dead might be guarded. The righteous were in "the treasuries of souls" guarded by angels (Eth. En. c. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 85, 95); the wicked in places of punishment guarded likewise by "those who keep the keys and are the guardians of the gates of hades standing like great serpents, and their faces are like quenched lamps, and their eyes fiery" (Slav. En. xlii. 1).

5. Not till the secret number of mankind is fulfilled can the resurrection take place. In Rev. vi. 11 and 4 Ezra iv. 36 the consummation of the world will follow, not when the number of mankind, but of the saints, is fulfilled. According to the *Shemoth rabba*, c. 39 (cf. *Aboda Sara*, 5a), all the generations of mankind were contained in a register called the ספר חיליות of Adam. And (*Beresh. rabba*, c. 24; *Wajjikra rabba*, c. 15) not until all the souls still dwelling in the תוך הנשמות, and included in the above register, had been born in the flesh should the Messiah come (i.e. the end of the world). See Weber, 335.

Sheol will receive. Cf. xxi. 23; xi. 6, note.

7. Cf. lxxxii. 2; Luke xxi. 28; 1 Pet. iv. 7.

XXIV. "For behold! the days come and the books will be opened in which are written the sins of all those who have sinned, and again also the treasures in which the righteousness of all those who have been

XXIV. 1. *Behold! the days come.* See xx. 1, note.

The books will be opened. Dan. vii. 10; Eth. En. xc. 20; Rev. xx. 12; 4 Ezra vi. 20. The books mentioned here contain only a record of the sins of sinners, as in Eth. En. xc. 20. This is probably the case also in Rev. xx. 12: "And books were opened." In the last passage the succeeding words have to do with the lot of the righteous: "And another book was opened which (is the book) of life." This book of life is mentioned also in Eth. En. xlvii. 3; cviii. 3. The books that are spoken of in Dan. vii. 10; 4 Ezra vi. 20, may be records both of the righteous and the wicked.

The treasures in which, etc. See xxi. 23, note. Divine "treasuries" or "storehouses" are a familiar idea in the O.T. Thus we have treasures of rain (Deut. xxviii. 12), of snow and hail (Job xxxviii. 22), of wind (Jer. x. 13; li. 16; Ps. cxxxv. 7), of the sea (Ps. xxxiii. 7); see also Eth. En. lx. 11, 19, 20, 21; 4 Ezra vi. 40. Again the idea of laying up spiritual things in store is found in the LXX. Thus in Prov. i. 18 *θησαυρίζουσιν ἑαυτοῖς κακά*, and still more clearly in Pss. Sol. ix. 9 *θησαυρίζει ζωὴν ἑαυτῷ παρὰ κυρίῳ*. The last passage belongs to a time when heaven had come to be regarded as the true home and destination of the righteous. Naturally, when this was the belief of the faithful, their highest thoughts, aspirations, and efforts would be directed thither, and thus Ezra is assured: "Tibi thesaurus operum repositus apud

Altissimum" (4 Ezra vii. 77), and the righteous are those qui fidem thesaurizaverunt (vi. 5); they would lay up treasures in heaven (Matt. vi. 19, 20). By a faithless life, on the other hand, men "treasured up for themselves wrath against the day of wrath" (Rom. ii. 5). Finally, the deeds of the righteous were regarded as gathered in "treasuries," as in our text. The expression is found in another sense in xlv. 14. We should observe that *אוצר* and *θησαυρός* alike mean a treasure and the place where it is stored.

The righteousness of all, etc. As Dr. Sanday writes (*Romans*, p. 29): "For a Jew the whole sphere of righteousness was taken up by the Mosaic Law. His one idea of righteousness was that of conformity to this law. Righteousness was for him essentially obedience to the law." That these words are true of the conception of righteousness entertained by the writers of this book will be seen by a perusal of the note on xiv. 7. But naturally the conception of righteousness varied accordingly as it was used by the legalistic or the prophetic wing, if I may so speak, of Pharisaism. With the strict Legalists righteousness meant the fulfilment first and mainly of ceremonial observances, and secondly, but only in a very subordinate degree, of works of mercy. See, for instance, the Book of Jubilees. With the prophetic wing, from which emanated most of the Messianic Apocalypses, righteousness was taken in its large sense as the fulfilment of

righteous in creation is gathered. 2. For it will come to pass at that time that thou shalt see—and many that are with thee—the long-suffering of the Most High, which has been throughout all generations, who has been long-suffering towards all those born that sin and are righteous.” 3. And I answered and said: “But, behold! O Lord, no one knows the number of those things which have passed nor yet of those things which are to come. 4. For I know indeed that which has befallen us, but what will happen to our enemies I know not, and when Thou wilt visit Thy works.”

moral duties and only in a very secondary degree of ceremonial. The Ethiopic and Slavonic Books of Enoch are illustrations of the latter statement. In some books it is hard to determine the pre-eminence of either tendency.

Who have been righteous. See note on xxi. 9.

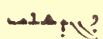
2. I have already shown on p. 20 that xxiv. 2-4 probably followed originally on xx.

Thou shalt see—and many, etc. See note on xiii. 5.

Sin and are righteous. Both verbs depend on the same subject.

3, 4. In the preceding verse God had just assured Baruch that he and many with him should ultimately see the long-suffering of God. Baruch rejoins when that time of recompense will be no man knows (ver. 3), but there is one thing he knows well, *i.e.* the present calamities of Israel. Hence he wishes to know (a) what fate is in store for the Gentiles who inflicted these, and (b) when will it take effect. The answer to (a) is given in xiii. 3b-12. Just before xiii. 3b some statement

such as “retribution will come upon your enemies who are now prospering,” has been lost. Then follows xiii. 3b-12, in which Baruch is told that a special *rôle* is assigned him in reference to the enemies of Israel. He is to be preserved till the end of the times to testify to these cities, when the threatened retribution has befallen them, the reason of such retribution, the thoroughness with which it will be carried out, and the time of its consummation. Then in xxv. comes the answer to Baruch’s second question: “When wilt Thou visit Thy works?” Baruch is to be preserved to play a part in this respect also (xxv. 1).

Befallen us. For  = “what has befallen me,” I have read  = “what has befallen us?” The same corruption of the suffix appears in this MS. in lxxviii. 3 over against the right text in nine MSS.

Visit Thy works. xx. 2, note. The reference here is to the final judgment.

XXV. And He answered and said unto me :
 "Thou too shalt be kept safely till that time till that
 sign which the Most High will work for the inhabit-
 ants of the earth in the end of days. 2. This there-
 fore will be the sign. 3. When a stupor shall seize
 the inhabitants of the earth, and they shall fall into
 many tribulations, and again when they shall fall into
 great torments. 4. And it will come to pass when
 they will say in their thoughts by reason of their
 much tribulation : 'The Mighty One doth no longer
 remember the earth'—yea, it will come to pass
 when they abandon hope, that the time will then
 awake."

XXVI.=E.

XXVI. And I answered and said : "Will that
 tribulation which is to be continue a long time, and
 will that necessity embrace many years ?"

XXVII.-
 XXX. 1=A¹.

XXVII. And He answered and said unto me :

XXV. In this chapter we have
 an answer to Baruch's question :
 "When wilt Thou visit Thy works?"

XXV. 1. In xiii. 3b Baruch was
 to be preserved to testify against
 the Gentiles. He has also a further
 function : observe the "too."

Till that time till that sign which.
 The sign is the stupor that will
 come on the inhabitants of the earth.

The inhabitants of the earth.
 This phrase is always used in a bad
 ethical sense in Baruch. Cf. xxv.
 2 ; xlviii. 32, 40 ; liv. 1 ; lv. 2 ;
 lxx. 2, 10 ; generally in 4 Ezra ; cf.
 iii. 34, 35 ; iv. 39 ; v. 6 ; vi. 24 ;
 vii. 72 ; x. 59 ; xiii. 30 ; but in vi.
 18, 26 ; xi. 5, 32, 34 ; xii. 24, the
 sense of the phrase is merely geo-
 graphical. For the various mean-
 ings of this phrase in the Eth. En.
 and Rev., see Eth. En. pp. 43, 111.

3, 4. When stupor and despair
 have seized the inhabitants of the
 earth, the time of the judgment has
 come.

3. *Stupor.* Cf. lxx. 2. This is
 rendered *excessus mentis* in 4 Ezra
 xiii. 30. For the diction, cf. Jer.
 viii. 21.

4. At the end of the tribulation
 and torments of the inhabitants of
 the earth the time of the judgment
 has come (cf. xiii. 8). This leaves no
 room for the Messianic kingdom in
 xxix., which precedes the judgment.

XXVI. This chapter is an addition
 of the final editor in order to intro-
 duce xxvii.-xxx. 1. xxv. was origin-
 ally followed by xiv.-xix.

XXVII.-XXX. 1. We have here
 a fragment of a Messiah Apoca-
 lypse which for convenience of refer-
 ence we designate A¹. Its (1) chief

“Into twelve parts is that time divided, and each one of them is reserved for that which is appointed for it. 2. In the first part there will be the beginning of commotions. 3. And in the second part (there will be) slayings of the great ones. 4. And in the third part (there will be) the fall of many by death. 5. And in the fourth part the sending of desolation. 6.

characteristics, (2) its date, and (3) its points of divergence from B¹ and B² are as follows:—(1) After a terrible period of tribulation (*i.e.* the travel pains of the Messiah) (xxvii.-xxviii. 1) which should imperil the salvation even of the elect (xxviii. 3), and should prevail over all the earth (xxviii. 7-xxix. 1), a glorious kingdom, accompanied with every possible blessing, was to be established under the Messiah (xxix. 3-8), who after a reign of indefinite duration should return in glory into heaven (xxx. 1a). Thereupon the resurrection was to follow (xxx. 1b). The outlook is hopeful and thoroughly optimistic. (2) The later limit of composition is easy to determine. (a) Since the kingdom is to be established in Palestine, and only those Jews who are found there are to share in it, it is clear that there has been no dispersion of the Jews; for had there been, as it was in the case of B¹, we should here be told of a return from exile. Hence this fragment was written before 70 A.D. (b) Again, since Palestine is the scene of the kingdom, Jerusalem must still be standing; for in case it had fallen, we should here be told of its restoration, as in B¹, or of the setting up of the new Jerusalem, as in 4 Ezra xiii. 36. The Messianic kingdom could not be set up over the ruins of the holy city. Hence, again, we conclude that A¹ was written before 70 A.D. (3) Its points of

divergence from B¹ and B² are obvious. In the latter, Jerusalem is destroyed and its people in exile; whereas in A¹ Jerusalem is standing and the Jews are in their own land. Again, whereas the law is the centre of interest and expectation in B², and in a somewhat less degree in B¹ (see xv. 5, note), it is the Messiah that is such in A¹. Further, whereas there is not a single allusion to the Messiah in B¹ and B², there is not a single allusion to the law in A¹. This, indeed, may be partly due to the shortness of this fragment.

XXVII. 1. In A³, *i.e.* liii.-lxxiv. and 4 Ezra xiv. 11, 12, there are similar twelvefold divisions; but in these it is the entire history of the world that is so divided, whereas in our text it is only the time of troubles preceding the advent of the Messiah. These troubles were popularly conceived as the travail pains of the Messiah *הבלי המשיח*. We find a list of such woes (*ᾠδῶνες*, Matt. xxiv. 8) in xlviii. 31-37; lxx. 2-10; Matt. xxiv. 6-29, with synoptic parallels; 2 Tim. iii. 1; Jubilees xxiii. 13, 16-25; 4 Ezra v. 1-12; vi. 14-18, 20-24; *Orac. Sibyl.* iii. 796-807; see Weber, 336; Schürer, Div. II., vol. ii. 154-156. In the Gospels, however, these woes are to precede the second coming of Christ or the end of the world.

5. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 8; vi. 22. For *desolation* we might also render “the sword”; cf. 5 Ezra xv. 5.

And in the fifth part famine and the withholding of rain. 7. And in the sixth part earthquakes and terrors. 8. [Wanting.] 9. And in the eighth part a multitude of portents and incursions of the Shedim. 10. And in the ninth part the fall of fire. 11. And in the tenth part rapine and much oppression. 12. And in the eleventh part wickedness and unchastity. 13. And in the twelfth part confusion from the mingling together of all those things aforesaid. 14. For these parts of that time are reserved, and will be mixed one with another and will minister one to another. 15. For some will of themselves be of service, and they will receive from others, and from themselves and others they will be perfected, so that those may not understand who are upon the earth in those days of this consummation of the times.

XXVIII. "Nevertheless, whosoever shall understand will then be wise. 2. For the measure and reckoning of that time are two parts weeks of seven weeks." 3. And I answered and said: "It is good for a man

6. *Famine*. As a sign of the end, cf. lxx. 8; Matt. xxiv. 7; Mark xiii. 8; Luke xxi. 11.

7. *Earthquakes*. Cf. lxx. 8; Matt. xxiv. 7; Mark xiii. 8; Luke xxi. 11.

9. *Portents*. Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 21: "Et anniculi infantes loquentur vocibus suis, et praegnantes immaturos parient infantes, etc." But owing to the next words it would perhaps be better to render  = *ḥav-tarlau* as "spectres."

The Shedim. See x. 8, note.

10. *The fall of fire*. Cf. lxx. 8; 4 Ezra v. 8. If with the reviser of

the MS. we delete the  before  we should render "the fire will fall."

15. These verses are obscure. They are possibly corrupt. For "of this . . . times" we can equally well render "that this is the consummation of the times."

XXVIII. 1. This verse recalls Dan. xii. 10: "the wise shall understand."

2. I cannot interpret this verse.

3. This verse expresses the difficulty of faithfulness in the times just described. Cf. 4 Ezra xiii. 16-20: "Vae qui derelicti fuerint in diebus illis, et multo plus vae his

to come and behold, but it is better that he should not come lest he fall. 4. [But I will say this also. XXVIII. 4-5 = E. 5. 'Will he who is incorruptible despise those things which are corruptible, and whatever befalls in the case of those things which are corruptible, so that he might look only to those things which are not corruptible?'] 6. But if, O Lord, those things shall assuredly come to pass which Thou hast foretold to me; if, moreover, I have found grace in Thy sight, show this also unto me. 7. Is it in one place or in one of the parts of the earth that those things are to come to pass, or will the whole earth experience (them)?"

XXIX. And He answered and said unto me: "Whatever will then befall will belong to the whole earth; therefore all who live will experience (them). 2. For at that time I will protect only those who are found in those self-same days in this land. 3. And it

qui non sunt derelicti! Qui enim non sunt derelicti, tristes erunt, intelligentes quae sunt reposita in novissimis diebus et non occurrentes eis . . . adtamen facilius est periclitantem venire in haec quam pertransire . . . et non videre quae contingent in novissimo." Only the righteous, the fittest survive. Cf. xli. 1; lxxv. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 46, 47; Matt. xxiv. 22; Mark xiii. 21. This verse looks forward to the blessings described in xxix. 4-8.

4, 5. I have bracketed these verses as an interpolation of the final editor. They break the connection of thought. Further, no account is taken of them either by Baruch to whom they are assigned, or by God to whom they are addressed. They are unreasonable and out of place in the presence of

the sensuous picture of Messianic bliss which meets us in the next chapter. The real answer to Baruch's question here can be gathered from xliii. 2.

6. *If I have found grace*, etc. A familiar O.T. phrase (Gen. vi. 8; xix. 19, etc.; 4 Ezra v. 56; vii. 102; viii. 42; xii. 7).

XXIX. 2. *I will protect*, etc. Here God protects His people who are found in the Holy Land, whereas in A² it is the Messiah (xl. 2) in A³ the Holy Land itself (lxxi. 1). In B² it is the law that protects the faithful, irrespective of their place of habitation (xxxii. 1; cf. 6 Ezra vii. 122).

Found . . . in this land. Cf. xl. 2; lxxi. 1; 4 Ezra xiii. 48, 49. A special blessing attached to residence in Palestine. It alone was to escape the woes that should befall

will come to pass when all is accomplished that was to come to pass in those parts, that the Messiah will then

all the earth besides. But this thought is found only in the sections of this book written prior to 70 A.D. Such ideas as to the sacrosanct and inviolable character of Palestine seem to have disappeared for a time from Jewish speculation with the desecration and destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, unless where the Messiah was expected. Hence in B² it is the law that protects the faithful (xxxii. 1), and in 4 Ezra vii. 122 it is the glory of God; and this protection avails them irrespective of their place of dwelling. The special privileges attaching to the Holy Land reappear in the Talmud, but in another form. Thus three will inherit the world to come: he who dwells in the land of Israel, he who brings up his sons to the study of the law, and he who repeats the ritual blessing over the appointed cup of wine at the close of the Sabbath (*Pesachim*, fol. 113a). Again the merits of the fathers will not avail a man who leaves the land of Israel for an outside land (*Baba bathra*, fol. 91a). Further, those who died in the Holy Land should rise first in the resurrection (Weber, pp. 64, 352); hence it is called "the land of the living" (*Beresh. rab.* 74); if the righteous died in any other land their bodies would have to roll (תהולות) through underground passages (תהולות) till they came to Palestine before they could be raised (Weber, 352; Eisenmenger, ii. 920, 921). It was for this reason that Jacob and Joseph (Eisenmenger, ii. 925) and the Rabbis, who were specially honoured (Weber, 64), were buried in Canaan. Nay more, residents in the land of Israel could procure the resurrection of their relatives who died among the Gentiles

(Eisenmenger, ii. 900). That the righteous who were buried outside the limits of Palestine should rise is also stated (Weber, 352).

3. The rôle here assigned to the Messiah is a passive one like that in Eth. En. xc. 37, 38; 4 Ezra vii. 28, 29. In this respect it differs from that represented in A² and A³, i.e. xxxvi.-xl.; lii.-lxxiv.; and in Eth. En. xxxvii.-lxx.; Pss. Sol. xvii., xviii.; 4 Ezra xii. 32-34; xiii. 32-50, where the Messiah fights either with spiritual or material weapons on behalf of Israel, destroys its enemies, and sets up the Messianic kingdom.

The Messiah will then begin to be revealed. The phrase "begin to be revealed" seems corrupt. We should perhaps have "the principate of the Messiah will be revealed," as in xxxix. 7. We can get this by reading

instead of

Cf. xli. 3. Or by simply reading

"Messiah the prince will be revealed." In this case the phraseology might be due to Dan. ix. 25. From a comparison of this verse and xxx. 1 the Messiah appears to be in heaven and is to be revealed from thence; but in other passages the implication of such language as "will be revealed" is merely that the Messiah may be already on earth and yet be unknown.

This emergence of the Messiah from concealment was a current view. Thus we find it in 4 Ezra vii. 28; xiii. 32; also in John vii. 27: "When the Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is." This concealment of the Messiah is mentioned also in Targum Jon. on Zech-

begin to be revealed. 4. And Behemoth will be revealed from his place, and Leviathan will ascend from

ariah iii. 8; vi. 12. In the Targum on Micah iv. 8 it is said to be due to the sins of the people. From Justin's *Dial. c. Tryph.* 8, it appears that though the Messiah may be already born, yet He may be unknown, and not even know His own calling till Elijah anoints and reveals Him. Χριστὸς δέ, εἰ καὶ γεγένηται καὶ ἔστι πῶ, ἀγνωστὸς ἔστι καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς πῶ ἐάντων ἐπίσταται οὐδὲ ἔχει δύναμιν τινα, μέχρις ἂν ἔλθῶν Ἡλίας χρίσῃ αὐτὸν καὶ φάνερον πᾶσι ποιήσῃ. Cf. also c. 110.

According to the Talmud, the Messiah was born at Bethlehem on the day of the destruction of the temple, was named Menahem, and afterwards suddenly carried away by a storm (*Hieros. Berachoth*, p. 5). His temporary abode, according to later writers, was to be Rome (*Sanhedrin*, 98a). On this subject see Lightfoot's *Horae* on Matt. ii. 1; Oehler's *Messias* in Herzog's *R.E.* ix. 668; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, 293, 294; Schürer's *N.T. Times*, Div. II., vol. ii. 163, 164; Weber, 342, 343; Wünsche, *Die Leiden des Messias*, 57-59.

4. *And Behemoth will be revealed*, etc. The full form of this myth is given in 4 Ezra vi. 49-52: "Et tunc conservasti duo animalia, nomen uni vocasti Behemoth et nomen secundi vocasti Leviathan, Et separasti ea ab alterutro, non enim poterat septima pars ubi erat aqua congregata capere ea. Et dedisti Behemoth unam partem quae siccata est tertio die, ut inhabitet in ea, ubi sunt montes mille; Leviathan autem dedisti septimam partem humidam: et servasti ea ut fiant in devorationem quibus vis et quando vis." From a comparison of verse 4 with the verses just cited, it is clear that the words "from his

place" and "from the sea" imply the account in these verses of Ezra. This is confirmed by the fact that not only is the thought the same, but also almost word for word the diction in the Syriac Versions of the two clauses: "Servasti ea ut fiant in devorationem" (4 Ezra vi. 52) and "kept them until that time and then they will be for food." Thus so far 4 Ezra would seem to be the source of our text. But if in these respects Baruch presupposes 4 Ezra, 4 Ezra in turn presupposes Baruch in the clauses: "Quibus vis et quando vis" (4 Ezra vi. 52) over against "for all that are left" in verse 4—the words "those who are left" being a technical phrase to express those who should survive to participate in the Messianic kingdom. We are thus led to assume that a short hexaameron, closely resembling that found in 4 Ezra vi. 38-54, existed at one time independently, and that the writers of Ezra vi. 30-vii. 25 and Bar. xxvii.-xxx. laid it under contribution for their own purposes. (For a probable additional fragment of this hexaameron, see xv. 7, note.) This assumption gains confirmation from the facts (1) that this hexaameron cannot originally have proceeded from the writer of the Salathiel Apocalypse (*i.e.* the groundwork of 4 Ezra); for the latter looked for no Messianic kingdom, whereas the writer of this hexaameron did as is obvious from vi. 52 compared with xxix. 4 of our text; and (2) that whereas A¹ of Baruch was written prior to the fall of Jerusalem, the Salathiel Apocalypse was written subsequently to it.

4. *Behemoth . . . and Leviathan.* In addition to the references in the preceding note, see Eth. En. lx. 7-9, 24, notes; Targ. Jon. on Gen.

the sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and I kept them until that time; and then they will be for food for all that are left. 5. The earth also will yield its fruit ten thousand-fold, and on one vine there will be a thousand branches,

i. 21: "And God created great beasts Leviathan and his wife which were prepared for the day of consolation;" see also the Targum on Ps. l. 10; Weber, 156, 195, 370, 384; Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chald. rabb. Talmud*, and Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch und Neuhebräisches Wörterb. in loc.*

All that are left. This is in fact "the remnant" that survives to share in the Messiah's kingdom. This remnant is frequently referred to in this sense (cf. xl. 2; 4 Ezra vi. 25; vii. 28; ix. 7; xii. 34; xiii. 48).

5. We have here another fragment of an old Apocalypse, of which we find a Latin version in Irenaeus, v. 33. This Apocalypse Papias, according to Irenaeus, assigned to our Lord. It is recounted in the fourth book of his *Δογμῶν κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις*. The passage in question is: "Venient dies, in quibus vineae nascentur, singulae decem millia palmitum habentes, et in uno palmite dena millia brachiorum, et in uno vero palmite dena millia flagellorum, et in unoquoque flagello dena millia botrum, et in unoquoque botro dena millia acinorum et unumquodque acinum expressum dabit vigintiquinque metretas vini. Et quum eorum apprehenderit aliquis sanctorum botrum, alius clamabit: Botrus ego melior sum, me sume, per me Dominum benedic." Scholars have taken our text to be the original of this passage. That this is unlikely, and that both may be derived from the same original source, I will now proceed to show. In the first place, the passage in Irenaeus contains two additional

sentences: "Dena millia brachiorum . . . palmitum," and "Et quum eorum . . . benedic." Hence a fuller text is presupposed than we have in Bar. xxix. 5. In the next place, immediately after the words just cited, the text in Irenaeus proceeds: "Similiter et granum tritici decem millia spicarum generaturum, et unamquamque spicam habituram decem millia granorum, et unumquodque granum quinque bilibres simulae clarae mundae." With these words compare the Eth. En. x. 19, where, in an account of Messianic bliss, we find "The vine that is planted thereon will yield wine in abundance, and of all the seed which is sown thereon will each measure bear ten thousand." From this we conclude that for a long time prior to Christianity there existed either in tradition or in writing a sensuous description of Messianic felicity. In this description not only the fruitfulness of the vine was dwelt upon, but also of all seeds and fruit-bearing trees. Of this description the largest survival is in Irenaeus, v. 33, preserved through the agency of Papias; the fragmentary survivals in the Eth. En. x. 19 (see above) and in our text form complimentary portions of this tradition.

Finally, the text presents a syncretistic appearance. In xxix. 4 one description of food—a flesh diet—is provided for the members of the Messianic kingdom; and in the next verse quite another—a vegetable diet; and in xxix. 8 a heavenly food, *i.e.* manna. The second is a more ancient view than the first and

and each branch will produce a thousand clusters, and each cluster will produce a thousand grapes, and each grape will produce a cor of wine. 6. And those who have hungered will rejoice: moreover, also, they will behold marvels every day. 7. For winds will go forth from before Me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits, and at the close of the day clouds distilling the dew of health. 8. And it will come to pass at that self-same time that the treasury of manna will again descend from on high, and they will eat of it in those years, because these are they who have come to the consummation of time.

the most reasonable, being a return to the food of Adam in Paradise.

As to the origin of the 10,000-fold yield of the corn and wine, etc., Mr. Rendel Harris (*Expositor*, 1895, pp. 448, 449) offers a most ingenious and probable suggestion. He derives it from the blessing of Isaac (Gen. xxvii. 28), where he conjectures that in the statement רב הין ותירש = "plenty of corn and wine," the word רב was taken as רבו = 10,000. He points out that the context in Irenaeus (see above), in which the story of Papias and the elders is given, supports his contention; for that it follows a discussion of the blessing in question.

Each branch . . . each cluster . . . each grape. Instead of "each" the Syriac in all three cases gives "one." But the sense requires "each," and in the Latin Version of this passage preserved in Irenaeus (see above) "each" is found in the three phrases, *i.e.* "unoquoque flagello, unoquoque botro, unoquoque acinum." The explanation is not far to seek. The Hebrew אחר which = εἷς, one, occasionally

also = ἕκαστος, each. The former meaning was wrongly followed by the Greek translator. Hence the wrong turn in the Syriac.

A cor. This represents κόρος which in turn is a translation of כּר or חֶקֶר. The cor was equal to about 120 gallons. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 9, 2 ὁ δὲ κόρος δύνатаι μεδύμους ἄπτικους δέκα.

6. *Rejoice.* This is a characteristic of the members of the kingdom. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28; xii. 34.

Behold marvels. The belief that the Messiah would signalise His advent by marvels was general. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 27; xiii. 50; Matt. xi. 4-6; Luke vii. 22, 23; John vii. 31.

8. *The treasury of manna will again descend, etc.* In Ps. lxxviii. 25 manna is called angels' food. In *Or. Sibyl.* vii. 149 it is to be the food of the members of the Messianic kingdom Μάννην τὴν δροσερὴν λευκοῖσιν ὀδοῦσι φάγονται, and in Rev. ii. 17 the idea is spiritualised: the faithful are to receive "hidden manna."

These are they, etc. These are "the remnant" of verse 4.

Consummation of time. This

XXX. "And it will come to pass after these things, when the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled, and He will return in glory, then all who have fallen asleep in hope of Him shall rise again. 2. And it will come to pass at that time that the treasures will be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous, and they will come forth, and a multitude of souls will be seen together in one assemblage of one thought, and the first will rejoice and the last will not be grieved. 3.

XXX. 2-
XXXV. = B².

phrase is found in xxvii. 15. The Messianic age forms the "consummation of the time or times" = ἡ συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος or τῶν αἰώνων. We should observe that this phrase has a different meaning in xxx. 3; but there we have the work of B².

XXX. 1. *When the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled*, etc. This can have only one meaning, and this is that, at the close of His reign, the Messiah will return in glory to heaven. The word translated "advent" is אָדָמְתָא which in turn was an ordinary rendering of παρουσία. Now παρουσία can mean not only "coming" or "advent," but also "presence" (cf. 2 Cor. x. 10; 2 Macc. xv. 21, and probably 2 Cor. vii. 6, 7; 2 Thess. ii. 9). Hence we should render: "When the time of the presence of the Messiah is fulfilled."

Return in glory. These words imply that the Messiah pre-existed in heaven before His advent. He returns whither He had come. This is also the teaching of Eth. En. xlvi. 1, 2; xlviii. 3 (see note); lxii. 7; 4 Ezra xii. 32; xiii. 26 (?); xiv. 9. This seems also to be the legitimate interpretation of Pss. Sol. xviii. 6 εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκλογῆς ἐν

ἀνάξει χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. In 4 Ezra vii. 29, 30, the Messiah and the righteous die at the close of the Messianic kingdom.

Then all who have fallen asleep in hope of Him shall rise again. The resurrection follows immediately on the return of the Messiah into heaven; on his death in 4 Ezra vii. 29, 30. The words "of him" cannot be original. The text was probably "those who have fallen asleep in hope." Cf. LXX. of Ps. xvi. 9 ἡ σὰρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι. The corruption could have arisen easily in the Syriac by a change of אָדָמְתָא into אָדָמְתָא.

Fallen asleep. Cf. xi. 4, note. As A¹ is fragmentary, we are not told what befalls the living righteous. In the following verses of B² only the destinies of souls are dealt with. The complementary half of this doctrine is given in l, li.

2. With this verse we return to B², resuming the text that ended with xxiv. 1. We have here an account of the general resurrection (cf. xlii. 8; l. 2).

Treasures. See xxi. 23, note; xxiv. 1, note.

For he knows that the time has come of which it is said, that it is the consummation of the times. 4. But the souls of the wicked, when they behold all those things, shall then waste away the more. 5. For they will know that their torment has come and their perdition has arrived."

XXXI. And it came to pass after these things that I went to the people and said unto them: "Assemble unto me all your elders and I will speak

3. *The consummation of the times.* This phrase means here the final judgment; in A¹ it means the Messianic age (cf. xxvii. 15; xxix. 8).

4. *Waste away.* Cf. li. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 87.

5. This verse does not mean that the wicked souls have not hitherto suffered, but that their suffering hitherto is as nothing compared to the torments they shall now endure. Similarly, the righteous have in the treasures of souls had rest and peace, but they too (cf. ver. 3) know that their real blessedness has now come. See xxxvi. 10.

XXXI.-XXXV. Baruch assembles and addresses the elders of the people (xxx. 1-3); he exhorts them not to forget the anguish of Zion (xxx. 4), and announces the coming end of all that is corruptible (xxx. 5); and, in case they observe the law, their safety amid the convulsions which will accompany the renewal of the entire creation (xxx. 1); they are not to grieve so much for the past as for the coming time; for then the strife and stress will exceed all that has been before when God renews creation (xxx. 1, 5, 6). Thereupon, when Baruch seeks to dismiss the people (xxx. 7), they remonstrate against his forsaking them (xxx. 8-xxxiii.) Baruch rejoins

that he is not forsaking them, but only going to the Holy Place to get light from God (xxxiv.) He then proceeds thither and laments over Zion (xxxv.) A fast of seven days should follow here.

The subject on which Baruch addresses the people is to be found in each instance in the previous divine revelation (see v. 5; x. 4); but it will be observed that this address (xxx. 3-xxxii. 6) is wholly out of relation to all that has gone before. There is therefore something wrong. The gist of this address is: (a) The end of all things corruptible is at hand; (b) if ye prepare your hearts to obey the law ye will then be safe in this time of crisis; (c) for the entire creation must be shaken, and give place to a new and incorruptible creation. Now these questions are discussed later in the dialogues between God and Baruch. Thus, for (a), see xli. 6-8; for (b), see xlviii. 22-24, 38-41; for (c), see xlviii. 49; lii. 3, 8-9, 16. We therefore hold that xxxi.-xxxv. was read after lii. originally. Finally, xlv. 8-15 really forms the conclusion of Baruch's address in xxxi., xxxii.; it should be read immediately after xxxii. 6 (see p. 69).

XXXI. 1. *All your elders.* See xlv. 1, note.

words unto them." 2. And they all assembled in the valley of the Cedron. 3. And I answered and said unto them: "Hear, O Israel, and I will speak to thee, and give ear, O seed of Jacob, and I will instruct thee. 4. Forget not Zion, but hold in remembrance the anguish of Jerusalem. 5. For lo! the days come, when everything that exists will become the prey of corruption and be as though it had not been.

XXXII. "But ye, if ye prepare your hearts, so as to sow in them the fruits of the law, it will protect you in that time in which the Mighty One is to shake the whole creation. [2. Because after a little time the building of Zion will be shaken in order that it

XXXII. 2-4 =
E.

2. *Cedron.* See v. 5, note.

3. *Hear, O Israel . . . and give ear, O seed of Jacob.* Cf. xvii. 4; Jobi. 4; 4 Ezra ix. 30. For the combination "hear . . . and give ear," see Isa. i. 2.

5. *Will become the prey of.* Literally = "will be taken to corruption." See xxi. 19, note.

XXXII. 1. *Prepare your hearts.* An O.T. phrase (cf. 1 Sam. vii. 3; Jobi. xi. 13; Ps. lxxviii. 8). It is a favourite expression in B¹ and B² of this book; cf. xlvi. 5; lii. 7; lxxxiii. 8; lxxxv. 9, 11.

The fruits of the law. Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 20; ix. 32; see note on xv. 5.

It will protect. See xxix. 2, note. These words point back to xlviii. 22-24; cf. xlv. 13, 14; xlviii. 38-41.

Shake the whole creation. I.e. with a view to a new heavens and a new earth (see ver. 6). The thought comes originally from Haggai ii. 6; cf. Heb. xii. 26.

2-4. I have bracketed these verses as an interpolation; for in verse 2 it is announced that the temple will be

destroyed after a little time; but, according to all B² as well as B¹, the temple has already been destroyed, and this is the presupposition of xxxi. 4. Again, verses 2-4 break the connection of thought in the text. Observe the awkwardness of "Because after a little time," etc., following on verse 1; and, on the other hand, how appropriately verse 5 follows on xxxi. 4-xxxii. 1. We should observe that there is nothing inconsistent in the idea of a heavenly Jerusalem being established on a new and incorruptible earth. Indeed, it is not impossible that iv. 2-7 originally followed xxxii. 6. We have a close parallel to xxxii. 2-4 in *Beresh rab.* 2, and *Pesikta*, 145a, where it is said that the temple was built in glory, destroyed, again rebuilt, but in mean fashion; finally, it should again be rebuilt in glory.

2. *Zion will be shaken.* I.e. in 588 by Nebuchadnezzar; but according to xxxi. 4; xxxii. 5; xxxiii. 2, 3; xxxv. 1, this is already in the past.

may again be built. 3. But that building will not remain, but will again after a time be rooted out, and will remain desolate until the time. 4. And afterwards it must be renewed in glory, and it will be perfected for evermore.] 5. Therefore we should not be distressed so much over the evil which has now come as over that which is still to be. 6. For there will be a greater trial than these two tribulations when the Mighty One will renew His creation. 7. And now do not draw near to me for a few days, nor seek me till I come to you." 8. And it came to pass when I had spoken to them all these words, that I, Baruch, went my way, and when the people saw me setting out, they lifted up their voice and lamented and said:

In order that it may again be built.
I.e. by Ezra and Nehemiah.

3. *Again . . . be rooted out.* I.e. by the Romans in 70 A.D.

4. On the heavenly Jerusalem.
See iv. 3, note.

5. *We should . . . be distressed.*
I have here followed Bensly's emendation of 𐤁𐤏𐤃𐤁 into 𐤁𐤏𐤃𐤁𐤏. Otherwise, we should render with Ceriani, "Non ergo debet nos contristare hoc omne super malo quod supervenit," etc.

The evil which has now come. The fall of Jerusalem.

6. *Two tribulations.* I.e. those accompanying the destruction of Jerusalem and the renewal of creation. But the more natural rendering is: "For there will be a greater trial than the two tribulations when," etc. If we must accept this, the words "than the two tribulations" are an addition of E, and without them the text would

run: "For the trial will be great when," etc.

Renew His creation. This signifies an incorruptible world which was to take the place of the corruptible (cf. xxxi. 5; xlv. 12; lvii. 2). It was a current expectation from the times of the captivity (cf. Isa. lxxv. 17; lxxvi. 22; Eth. En. xlv. 4, note; lxxii. 1; xci. 15, 16; 4 Ezra vii. 75; Matt. xix. 28; 2 Pet. iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1). This announcement of Baruch is the presupposition of li, lii., and the truth correlative to the renewal and transformation of the righteous in li.

7. *Do not draw near,* etc. 4 Ezra v. 19. This verse was preceded originally by xlv. 8-15 (see p. 69).

For a few days. These words refer to the interval in which the next fast of seven days should take place. The mention of this fast at the beginning or close of xxxv. has through some accident been omitted (see v. 7, note; ix. 2, note).

9. "Whither departest thou from us, Baruch, and forsakest us as a father who forsakes his orphan children, and departs from them?"

XXXIII. "Are these the commands which thy companion, Jeremiah the prophet, commanded thee, and said unto thee: 2. 'Look to this people till I go and confirm the rest of the brethren in Babylon, against whom has gone forth the sentence that they should be led into captivity?' 3. And now if thou also forsakest us, it were good for us all to die before thee, and then that thou shouldst withdraw from us."

XXXIV. And I answered and said unto the people: "Far be it from me to forsake you or to withdraw from you, but I will only go unto the Holy of Holies to enquire of the Mighty One concerning you and concerning Zion, if in some respect I should receive more illumination: and after these things I will return to you."

XXXV. And I, Baruch, went to the holy place, and sat down upon the ruins and wept, and said: 2. "Become ye springs, O mine eyes, and ye, mine eyelids, a fount of tears. 3. For how shall I lament

9. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 18.

XXXIII. 1, 2. See x. 2, note, where I have shown that, according to B¹, Jeremiah does not seem to have gone to Babylon.

3. For another form of the same thought, cf. 4 Ezra xii. 44.

XXXIV. *Far be it from me to forsake you.* Cf. 4 Ezra xii. 48: "Si ergo tu nos dereliqueris, quanto erit nobis melius, si essemus succensi et nos in incendio Sion."

Holy of Holies. This is practically the same place as is mentioned in x. 5; in xxxv. 1 it is simply called the holy place. It is where the altar stood. See xxxv. 4.

XXXV. 1. *The holy place, and sat down upon the ruins.* See preceding note, and x. 5, note.

2. From Jer. ix. 1; cf. Eth. En. xcv. 1.

for Zion, and how shall I mourn for Jerusalem? 4. Because in that place where I am now prostrate, the high priest of old used to offer holy sacrifices, and to place thereon the smoke of the incense of fragrant odours. 5. But now our glorying has been made into dust, and the desire of our soul into sand."

XXXVI. And when I had said these things I fell XXXVI.-XL.
=A².

THE SIXTH SECTION

XXXVI.-XLVI. This in reality forms the sixth part of this book. For the symmetry of the book as constructed by the final editor requires, as we have already shown (see v. 7, note, introduction to the fifth section, p. 36, and xxxii. 7, note), the insertion of a seven days' fast after xxxv., or possibly even before it. The omission of this fast may have been an original oversight of the editor, or may have been due to a careless copyist. The structure of this part is as follows:—First, the omitted fast, then a Messiah vision and its interpretation (xxxvi.-xl.), with further disclosures regarding apostates and proselytes (xli. 2-xlii. 8), and the announcement of Baruch's coming death (xliii.) Finally, Baruch's address to the people (xliv.-xlvi.)

This section is of very composite origin. Thus xxxvi.-xl. is a Messiah Apocalypse written prior to 70 A.D.; xliii.-xliv. 8; xlv.-xlvi. 6 belongs to B¹; the rest of the section mainly to B².

XXXVI.-XL. We have here the second Messiah Apocalypse A². (a) *Date of A² and its Relation to B¹ and B².* A² is quite distinct in its world-view and date from B¹ and B². We shall first establish the difference of date. Now whereas we have seen that B¹ and B² were written subsequent to the fall of Jerusalem, it is clear that A² was

written prior to that event. For whereas, in a short historical outline from the rise of Babylon to the reign of the Messiah (xxxix. 2-xl. 2), the first destruction of Jerusalem is mentioned (xxxix. 3), there is not even a hint given as to its destruction by Rome, although the Roman oppression of Palestine is clearly indicated (xxxix. 5, 6). Again the Messiah makes Zion His capital (xl. 1). If it were in ruins, its restoration would of necessity be mentioned. Finally, as there is no allusion in A² to the second destruction of Jerusalem, so there is none to the subsequent dispersion after that event, and none to a return of the exiles. Consequently, as we find, the remnant of Israel is still in Palestine (xl. 2). It is wholly otherwise in B¹ and B².

As regards their difference of world-view, it will be sufficient here to remark that whereas there is no Messiah in B¹ and B², the Messiah is the centre of expectation and the stay of Israel in A². And whereas B² is pessimistic as regards this world, A² is optimistic. And whereas in B², and in a less degree in B¹, the law is the centre and the end of life, in A² this place is occupied by the Messiah.

(b) *Relation of A² to A¹.* The two writings come from different authors. In A¹ the Messiah has only a passive rôle assigned to Him; He does not appear till the enemies

asleep there, and I saw a vision in the night. 2. And lo! a forest of trees planted on the plain, and lofty mountains surrounded it and precipitous rocks, and that forest occupied much space. 3. And lo! over against it arose a vine, and from under it there went forth a fountain peacefully. 4. Now that fountain came to the forest and was (stirred) into great waves, and those waves submerged that forest, and suddenly they rooted out the multitude of (the trees) of that forest, and overthrew all the mountains which were round about it. 5. And the height of the forest began to be made low, and the top of the mountains was made low, and that fountain prevailed greatly, so that it left nothing of that great forest save one cedar only. 6. Also when it had cast it down and had destroyed and rooted out the multitude of (the trees of) that forest, so that nothing was left of it, nor could its place be recognised, then that vine began to come with the fountain in peace and great tranquillity, and it came to a place which was not far from the cedar, and they brought the cedar which had been cast down to it. 7. And I beheld and lo! that vine opened its mouth and spake and said to that cedar: "Art thou not that cedar which was left of the forest of wickedness, and by whose means wickedness persisted, and was wrought all those years, and goodness never. 8.

of Israel are destroyed. In A², on the other hand, the destruction of the wicked and the vindication of Israel is the sole work of the Messiah.

XXXVI. 1. It will be remarked that these visions are only found in A² and A³. Elsewhere we have direct revelations.

I fell asleep. Cf. lii. 8.

And thou didst keep conquering that which was not thine, and to that which was thine thou didst never show compassion, and thou didst keep extending thy power over those who were far from thee, and those who drew nigh thee thou didst hold fast in the toils of thy wickedness, and thou didst uplift thyself always as one that could not be rooted out! 9. But now thy time has sped and thy hour is come. 10. Do thou also therefore depart, O cedar, after the forest, which departed before thee, and become dust with it, and let your ashes be mingled together. 11. And now recline in anguish and rest in torment till thy last time come, in which thou wilt come again, and be tormented still more."

XXXVII. And after these things I saw that cedar burning, and the vine growing, itself and all around it, the plain full of unfading flowers. And I indeed awoke and arose.

XXXVIII. And I prayed and said: "O LORD, my Lord, Thou dost always enlighten those who are led by understanding. 2. Thy law is life, and Thy

8. *Rooted out.* This phrase is constantly used in the Talmud with reference to the future fate of Rome. The word is רקע.

11. *In anguish*, etc. See xxx. 5, where as here the intermediate state is one involving certain degrees of happiness or pain.

XXXVII. *Unfading flowers.* Cf. Apoc. Pet. τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀνθοῦσαν ἀμαράντοις ἀνθεσι.

XXXVIII. 1. *O LORD, my Lord.* See note on iii. 1. It is God Himself who interprets this vision for

Baruch, but Ramiel who does so in A³ (see lv. 3).

2. *Thy law is life.* Cf. xlv. 2; Ecclus. xlv. 5 νόμον ζωῆς καὶ ἐπιστήμης (also xvii. 11). With this sentiment cf. Hillel's words (*Aboth.* ii. 7): "The more law the more life . . . he who gains a knowledge of the law gains life in the world to come." As correlative expressions might be cited (John vii. 49), "This people, which knoweth not the law, is accursed," and Hillel's saying: "An unlearned man cannot be

wisdom is right guidance. 3. Make known to me therefore the interpretation of this vision. 4. For Thou knowest that my soul hath always walked in Thy law, and from my (earliest) days I departed not from Thy wisdom."

XXXIX. And He answered and said unto me: "This is the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen. 2. As thou hast seen a great forest which lofty and precipitous mountains surrounded, this is the world. 3. Behold! the days come, and this kingdom will be destroyed which once destroyed Zion, and it will be subjected to that which comes after it. 4. Moreover, that also again after a time will be destroyed, and another, a third, will arise, and that also will have dominion for its time, and will be destroyed. 5. And after these things a fourth kingdom will arise, whose power will be harsh and evil far beyond those which were before it, and it will rule many times as the forests on the plain, and it will hold fast the times, and will

pious" (לא עם הארץ חסיד). He was even excluded from the resurrection (see Weber, 42-44). The words in the text, however, are far from being as strong as these statements. So we infer from the parallel, "Thy wisdom, etc."

Thy wisdom is right guidance. This is based upon the Massoretic text of Ecclesiastes x. 10, where the Versions take directions of their own. Thus the Heb. is יתרון הבשר, הבנה. The LXX. καὶ περισσολα τοῦ ἀνδρείου σοφία, and the Syr. = "et sapientia sollertibus emolumentum."

4. *From my (earliest) days.* This is the Hebrew idiom כִּי־יָמַי.

Cf. 1 Kings i. 6; 1 Sam. xxv. 28.

XXXIX. 3-5. Of the four world empires here mentioned there can be no doubt as to the first and fourth. The first is of course the Babylonian, for it is that which effected the first destruction of Jerusalem in 588 (see ver. 3). The fourth (in verses 5-7; cf. xxxvi. 5-10) is just as clearly Rome. The second and third empires are probably the Persian and the Græco-Egyptian and Syrian. The fourfold division of world empires in the text is due no doubt to Dan. vii. On these four empires, see *Tanchuma, Terumah*, 7.

exalt itself more than the cedars of Lebanon. 6. And by it the truth will be hidden, and all those who are polluted with iniquity will flee to it, as evil beasts flee and creep into the forest. 7. And it will come to pass when the time of his consummation that he should fall has approached, then the principate of My Messiah will be revealed, which is like the fountain and the vine, and when it is revealed it will root out the multitude of his host. 8. And that which thou hast seen, the lofty cedar, which was left of that forest, and with regard to this fact, that the vine spoke those words with it which thou didst hear, this is the word.

XL. "The last leader of that time will be left alive, when the multitude of his hosts will be put to the sword and be bound, and they will take him up to Mount Zion, and My Messiah will convict him of all his impieties, and will gather and set before him all the works of his hosts. 2. And afterwards he will put

6. *The truth will be hidden.* Cf. 4 Ezra v. 1, where, in connection with Rome, the same statement is made: "abscondetur veritatis via."

7. *The principate of My Messiah,* etc. See xxix. 3, note.

XL. 1. Who this last leader is we cannot determine; it may be any emperor or general from 70 A.D. back till Pompey's time. Since the personal wrong-doings of this leader are dwelt upon, it is possible that it is actually Pompey that is here referred to. The words "his impieties" = מַעֲשֵׂי אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה, might favour this view (cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 24-35).

According to the Talmud, a single

leader was to "unite in himself all hatred and hostility against God's people. He was to be called Armilus, and to be the אַרְמִילֵס קַט' *ἐξοχήν*." See Weber, 348, 349.

My Messiah. As we have already remarked (pp. 52, 61), the Messiah here plays an active part as compared to the Messiah in A¹, i.e. xxvii.-xxx. 1. The protection of the remnant of Israel and the destruction of their enemies, which are here the work of the Messiah, are there assigned to God Himself, and the Messiah does not appear till these tasks are completed (see xxix. 3).

Will convict . . . of . . . impieties. So 4 Ezra xii. 32; xiii. 37.

him to death, and protect the rest of My people which shall be found in the place which I have chosen. 3. And his principate will stand for ever, until the world of corruption is at an end, and until the times aforesaid are fulfilled. 4. This is thy vision, and this is its interpretation."

XXI.-XLII. =
B².

XXI. And I answered and said: "To whom will these things be, and how many (will they be)? or who will be worthy to live at that time? 2. For I will speak before Thee everything that I think, and I will ask of Thee regarding those things which I meditate. 3. For lo! I see many of Thy people who have withdrawn from Thy covenant, and cast from them the yoke of Thy law. 4. But others again I

2. *Protect the rest*, etc. See xxix. 2, note.

3. *Until the world of corruption is at an end*. The Messianic kingdom is only of temporary duration; it belongs to the *olam hazze* (see xxi. 19, note).

XXI., XLII. These two chapters appear to belong to B², and to have followed originally after xxx. The same world-view is presented as in B². Thus the times (xlii. 6) are hastened, as in xx., in order to usher in the end, when corruption will disappear and the life of incorruption set in through the resurrection (xlii. 7, 8).

The chief topics discussed in these chapters are two: First, the ultimate destiny of the apostates; and secondly, that of the proselytes.

Thus hitherto the portions of this book derived from B², and their original order, appear to have been ix. 2-xii. (?); xiii. 1-3a; xx. 2-4; xiii. 3b-12; xxv. 4; xiv.-xix.; xxi.-xxiv. 1; xxx. 2-5; xli.-xlii.

XXI. 1. Baruch's question goes back to xxx. 2-5, with which they originally stood in connection in B². For a similar question, cf. lxxv. 5.

To live. The life referred to here is the spiritual life subsequent to the resurrection (cf. xlix. 2; lxxvi. 5; 4 Ezra xiv. 22).

3. The apostates here dealt with may be Christians.

Yoke of Thy law. On the "law" see xv. 5, note. The term "yoke" as expressing "obligation" is common in Jewish writings (cf. Ecclus. li. 26), τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν ὑπόθετε ὑπὸ ζυγόν (Pss. Sol. vii. 8; xvii. 32; Acts xv. 10; Gal. v. 1). In later Judaism such expressions as "yoke of the law," "yoke of the precept," "yoke of the kingdom of heaven," are frequent. See Schöttgen, *Hor. Hebr.* i. 115-120. Contrast Matt. xi. 29, 30.

4. The proselytes, i.e. the גרים. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 133: "Et miserator

have seen who have forsaken their vanity, and fled for refuge beneath Thy wings. 5. What therefore will be to them? or how will the last time receive them? 6. Or perhaps the time of these will assuredly be weighed, and as the beam inclines will they be judged accordingly?"

XLII. And He answered and said unto me: "These things also I will show unto thee. 2. As for what thou didst say—'To whom will these things be, and how many (will they be)?'—to those who have believed there will be the good which was spoken of aforetime, and to those who despise there will be the contrary of these things. 3. And as for what thou didst say regarding those who have drawn near and those who have withdrawn, this is the word. 4. As for those who were before subject, and afterwards withdrew and mingled themselves with the seed of mingled peoples,

in eo quod miseretur illis qui conversionem faciunt in lege ejus."

Their vanity. I.e. their idols (cf. Deut. xxxii. 21).

Fled for refuge beneath Thy wings. Exactly the sense of Ps. xxxvi. 8, בָּזַל כְּנֶפֶךְ יְחִסִּין; and of lvii. 1, where in both cases the LXX. renders חָסָה by ἐλπίζειν and the Syr. by two different words meaning "to hide." This tends to show that the writer used the Hebrew text independently. For other instances of the same metaphor, cf. Ps. xvii. 8; lxiii. 8; Deut. xxxii. 11.

But in our text the above phrase is technically used of proselytes גֵּרִים. This technical sense is derived from Ruth ii. 12, where, in reference to Ruth, it is said: "The God of

Israel under whose wings thou art come to take refuge" (לְחֹסֶה תַּחַת-כְּנָפָיו).

In the *Aboda* (Sara, 13b, *Shabbat*, 31a, the proselyte is said to have come under the wings of the Shekinah; and in the *Jer. Sanh.* ii. 20c, it is stated that "Solomon loved many strange women in order to bring them under the wings of the Shekinah."

5. *The last time.* I.e. that described in xxx. 2-5.

XLII. 2. *Those who believed.* See liv. 5, note, also xxi. 9, on the doctrine of justification in Baruch.

4. The sense seems to be that the apostates have only this world.

Mingled peoples. This is a rendering of עֲרָבָה (cf. Jer. xxv. 20, 24). The Greek translation of it is found in Pss. Sol. xvii. 17 ἐθνῶν συμμικταν.

the time of these is the former, and I am meditating deep things. 5. And as for those who before knew not but afterwards knew life, and mingled (only) with the seed of the people which had separated itself, the time of these (is) the former, I am meditating deep things. 6. And time will succeed to time and season to season, and one will receive from another, and then with a view to the consummation will everything be compared according to the measure of the times and the hours of the seasons. 7. For corruption will take those that belong to it, and life those that belong to it. 8. And the dust will be called, and there will be said to it: 'Give back that which is not thine, and raise up all that thou hast kept until its time.'

XLIII.-XLIV.  XLIII. "Moreover, do thou, Baruch, strengthen thy 7=B.¹

5. *Of the people.* The text  = "of the peoples" I have emended into , for it would be strange to speak of Israel as "the peoples" or "the nations."

Which had separated itself. I.e. the legalistic Israel by means of the "fence" of the law (cf. xlviii. 23). The "separatists" are the Pharisees, the פרושין.

The former. This seems corrupt, and probably, as Kabisch proposes, we should have "the latter." This would admit the proselytes to all the blessings of the world to come. On the treatment of "proselytes" in the Talmud, see Weber, 55, 73 f., 98, 107, 183, 254, 257 f., 282 f., 368 f.

6. This verse is obscure. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 37.

7. Cf. xxxi. 5. See note on xxi. 19.

8. *Give back*, etc. Cf. l. 2. The

earth gives back the body; Sheol gives back the soul.

XLIII.-XLVI. Of these chapters xliii.-xlv. 7; xlv.-xlv. 6 belong to B¹. Not to B², for (1) in xliii. 2; xlv. 2, as in lxxviii. 5; lxxxiv. 1, Baruch is to die an ordinary death and go the way of all the earth and forget all the concerns of mortals, whereas in B² he is not to die an ordinary death, but to be taken up and preserved till the last day; he is not to forget human affairs, for he is in the last days to testify against the Gentile oppressors of Israel (xiii. 3, note; xxv. 1; xlviii. 30). (2) The people are assured of good tidings in store for them (xlv. 6) just as in lxxvii. 12; they are bidden to look for the consolation of Zion (i.e. its restoration), as we infer from lxxxi. 1, 4, taken together with i. 4; vi. 9, whereas in B² there is no consolation of any kind to be looked for *in this world*. (3) In

heart for that which has been said to thee, and understand those things which have been shown to thee; for there are many eternal consolations for thee.

2. For thou wilt depart from this place, and thou wilt pass from the regions which are now seen by thee, and thou wilt forget whatever is corruptible, and wilt not again recall those things which happen among mortals.

3. Go therefore and command thy people, and come to this place, and afterwards fast seven days, and then I will come to thee and speak with thee."

XLIV. And I, Baruch, went from thence, and

xliv. 7 and xlviii. 38 the same phrase, *i.e.* as to a "change of the times," is found; in the former with an optimistic, in the latter with a pessimistic reference. (4) xlv. 5 vividly recalls the scene depicted in vi.-viii. As all the intervening chapters deal with questions of the school, xliii.-xlvi. probably stood originally in close juxtaposition with vi.-viii.

The fragment xlv. 8-15 belongs to B², for just as in B² expectation is fixed not on an earthly felicity but only on the world to come (xliv. 15), the inheritance of the promised time (xliv. 13), the time that passeth not away (xliv. 11), the new world which turneth not to corruption those who enter it (xliv. 12), (2) the whole present world, the entire *olam hazzeḥ* is hopeless; it is defiled with evil (xliv. 9), and with its corruption it will pass away (xliv. 8). (3) In xlv. 9 the present world is to be committed to oblivion. This is in flat contradiction to iv. 1.

The original position of xlv. 8-15. This seems easy to determine. The main statements in this address of Baruch to the people really presuppose xlviii.-lii. as their background.

They express shortly some of the main conclusions of these chapters. It is not reasonable to suppose that Baruch makes known to the people the very truths which, according to the present order of the book, are revealed to him later by God. We have already seen that xxxi.-xxxv. were originally subsequent to xlviii.-lii. (see p. 57). Since therefore both these passages form the address or part of the address of Baruch that was based upon previous disclosures of God, it is obvious that xlv. 8-15 followed originally on xxxii. 6 and formed the natural sequel to the closing words of that verse.

XLIII. 1. These words have no reference to the preceding chapters. They refer probably to some lost passage of B¹.

2. *Thou wilt depart.* Both the context and the word "depart" point to an ordinary death here. See xiii. 3, note. The word rendered "depart" is . It is found also in xiv. 19; xv. 1; xlv. 2.

Whatever is corruptible. Cf. xxi. 19, note.

3. Parts of this verse relating to the fast, etc., are probably due to the final editor. See xlvii. 1, note.

came to my people, and I called my first-born son and the Gedaliahs my friends, and seven of the elders of the people, and I said unto them: 2. "Behold, I go unto my fathers according to the way of all the earth. 3. But withdraw ye not from the way of the law, but guard and admonish the people which remain, lest they withdraw from the commandments of the Mighty One. 4. For ye see that he whom we serve is just, and our Creator is no respecter of persons. 5. And see ye what hath befallen Zion, and what hath happened to Jerusalem. 6. For the judgment of the Mighty One will (thereby) be made known, and His ways, which, though past finding out, are right. 7. For if ye endure and persevere in His fear, and do not forget His law, the times will change over you for good, and ye will see the consolation of Zion. 8. Because whatever is now

XLIV. 8-15=
B².

XLIV. 1. *My first-born son.*
Elsewhere mentioned only in xlvi. 1.

The Gedaliahs—possibly a corruption for Gedaliah. Cf. v. 1. Gedaliah is mentioned only in B¹.

Seven of the elders of the people.
In v. 5 Baruch assembled all the elders or honourable amongst the people. This is natural, as it is prior to the destruction of the city. That seven should be summoned now that the bulk of the population is carried into exile is equally fitting. We must bear in mind that in xxxii. 1 we have the work of a different author, else the writer might seem to have been guilty of an inconsistency.

2. Cf. iii. 2. See xiii. 3, note. The text is drawn from Gen. xv. 15 and Joshua xxiii. 14; 1 Kings ii. 2.

3. *Way of the law.* See xv. 5, note.

Commandments of the Mighty One. Cf. xlviii. 38; lxxiv. 7.

4. *No respecter of persons.* Cf. xiii. 8.

5. These words as we have observed above (p. 69) vividly recall vi.-viii., and seem to show that these chapters followed much more closely on vi.-viii. than they do now.

6. *Which, though . . . right.* The text=*which are past finding out and right.*

7. *The times will change over you for good.* Contrast the use of this phrase in xlviii. 38.

The consolation of Zion. I.e. its restoration; cf. lxxxi. 1, 4; for the temple was to be rebuilt (i. 4; vi. 9) according to B¹. The announcement of this future in store for Zion is called good tidings in xlvi. 6; lxxvii. 12; lxxxi. 1.

is nothing, but that which will be is very great. 9. For everything that is corruptible will pass away, and everything that dies will depart, and all the present time will be forgotten, nor will there be any remembrance of the present time, which is defiled with evils. 10. For that which runs now runs unto vanity, and that which prospers will quickly fall and be humiliated. 11. For that which is to be will be the object of desire, and on that which will come afterwards do we place our hope; for it is a time that will not pass away. 12. And the hour comes which will abide for ever, and the new world which does not turn to corruption those who depart to its blessedness, and has no mercy on those who depart to torment, and will not

8-15. These verses should be read after xxxii. 6 (see p. 69).

8. In xxxii. 6 God has declared His purpose to renew creation; the reason is given here; for all things that now are are nothing.

9. *Corruptible.* Cf. xxi. 19, note; xxxi. 5.

All the present time will be forgotten. In iv. 1 this is denied, but iv. 1 is from B¹ (cf. Isa. lxv. 17).

11. *A time that will not pass away.* This is set over against xlvi. 50: "this world which passeth away."

12. *The new world, etc.,* implied in the new creation (xxxii. 6). In li. 3 it is the world which dies not, nor ages those who come to it (lii. 9, 16).

Who depart to its blessedness.

The text here בְּחַיַּת אֲנִי = "who depart on its beginning" is corrupt. This clause should describe

the destination of the righteous, as the antithetical clause in the next line, "those who depart to torment," describes that of the wicked. The error thus lies in the words "in its beginning." In the next place, we can reason back to what should stand here instead of these words. For the corresponding phrase in the other clause, *i.e.* "to torment," requires as its antithesis, not the meaningless "on its beginning," but "to blessedness." That is, over against "those who depart to torment," the sense needs "those who depart to blessedness." This conclusion as to the original text is confirmed by the fact that the erroneous text can be explained by the transposition of a single letter in the Hebrew original. Thus "in its beginning" = בְּרֵאשִׁית, but this arose from a false transcription of בְּאַשְׁרֵי, *i.e.* by wrongly transposing the ר. Now בְּאַשְׁרֵי = "to its blessedness," I have emended accordingly.

lead to perdition those who live in it. 13. For these are they who shall inherit that time which has been spoken of, and theirs is the inheritance of the promised time. 14. These are they who have acquired for themselves treasures of wisdom, and with them are found stores of understanding, and from mercy have they not withdrawn, and the truth of the law have they preserved. 15. For to them will be given the world to come, but the dwelling of the rest who are many will be in the fire.

XLV.-XLVI.
6=B¹.

XLV. "Do ye therefore so far as ye are able instruct the people, for that labour is ours. 2. For if ye teach them, ye will quicken them."

XLVI. And my son and the elders of the people answered and said unto me: "Has the Mighty One humiliated us to such a degree as to take thee from us quickly? 2. And truly we shall be in darkness, and there will be no light to the people who are left. 3. For where again shall we seek the law, or who will distinguish for us between death and life?" 4. And I said unto them: "The throne of the Mighty One I cannot resist: nevertheless, there shall not be wanting to Israel

13. *The inheritance . . . time* = "the world to come" in verse 15.

14. This verse presupposes li. 3, 7. The "treasures" here mentioned differ from those in xxiv. 1.

15. Those described in the preceding verse are to receive the world to come, just as those who are similarly described in li. 3 are to receive the world that dies not. On the contrast of this world and the world to come, see xv. 8, note.

In the fire. Cf. xlviii. 39, 43; lix. 2; lxiv. 7; lxxxv. 13.

XLV. B¹ reappears here. The connection with xlv. 7 is all that could be desired. There it is said, "If ye keep faithful to the law ye will see the consolation of Zion"; "do ye therefore . . . instruct the people . . . for if ye teach them ye will quicken them."

2. *If ye teach*, etc. Cf. xxxviii. 2; Ps. cxix. 50, 93. This is the work of the true scribe. Pharisaism teaches obedience to the law, God will do the rest (cf. xlv. 7).

XLVI. 2. For similar diction, cf. lxxvii. 14; 4 Ezra xiv. 20.

a wise man nor a son of the law to the race of Jacob. 5. But only prepare ye your hearts, that ye may hear the law, and be subject to those who in fear are wise and understanding; and prepare your soul that ye may not depart from them. 6. For if ye do these things, good tidings will come unto you, which I before told you of; nor will ye fall into the torment, of which I testified to you before."

[7. But with regard to the word that I was to be taken, I did not make (it) known to them or to my son.]

XLVI. 7 = E.

XLVII. And when I had gone forth and dismissed them, I went thence and said unto them: "Behold! I go to Hebron: for thither the Mighty One hath sent me."

XLVII.-LII. = B².

4. *There shall not be wanting . . . a son of the law.* This is really an answer to the question put in iii. 6. The expression "son of the law" seems to occur here first in existing literature. Its earliest occurrence elsewhere in the Talmud appears to be in *Baba Mezia*, 96a. See Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, i. 258. The term בן מצוה was used in the Middle Ages as a designation of a full-grown Israelite. See Schürer, *Div. II.*, vol. ii. 51 (note). For the parallelism *Israel . . . Jacob*, cf. xvii. 4; xxxi. 3.

5. *Prepare ye your hearts.* See xxxii. 1, note.

Obedience to the law and the Rabbis is here enforced.

6. Here the promise in xlv. 7 is enforced anew.

Good tidings. Cf. lxxvii. 12.

7. This verse is an addition of the final editor in order the better to adapt the fragment of B¹ just given to its new context. It belongs in spirit to B².

I was to be taken. Cf. xiii. 3, note; xlviii. 30. In lxxxv. 9 the phrase

has a different meaning. נצח is a rendering of ἀναλαμβάνειν (also of μεταθέναι in Gen. v. 24). The former is the usual word in the sense of the text. The idea of the ascension into heaven of great heroes in Jewish history was a familiar one. Thus it is told of Elijah in the LXX. of 2 Kings ii. 11, καὶ ἀνελήμφθη . . . εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν: Ecclus. xlviii. 9, ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς ἐν λαίλαπι πυρός: also in Eth. En. lxxxix. 52; xciii. 8; 1 Macc. ii. 58; of Enoch in Ecclus. xlv. 16; Eth. En. lxx. 1; lxxxvii. 3, 4; Slav. En. lxvii. 2; Jubilees, iv. 24; of Moses, Assumpt. Mos. x. 12; of Baruch, Apoc. Bar. xiii. 3; xxv. 1; xlv. 7; xlviii. 30; lxxvi. 2; of Ezra, 4 Ezra viii. 20; xiv. 49; of many unnamed heroes, 4 Ezra vi. 26. ἀναλαμβάνειν is well-known in the N.T. in this sense (cf. Mark xvi. 19; Acts i. 2, 11, 22; 1 Tim. iii. 16). The substantive ἀνάληψις is rare. Ryle and James (Pss. Sol.) take iv. 20 of those Pss. to be the first known instance of its use; see also Luke ix. 51, and Test. Levi xviii. In the last passage it is a late Christian interpolation.

2. And I came to that place where the word had been spoken to me, and I sat there, and fasted seven days.

PRAYER OF BARUCH

XLVIII. And it came to pass after the seventh day, that I prayed before the Mighty One and said :
 2. "O my Lord, Thou summonest the advent of the times, and they stand before Thee ; Thou causest the power of the ages to pass away, and they do not resist Thee ; Thou arrangeest the method of the seasons, and they obey Thee. 3. Thou alone knowest the goal of the generations, and Thou revealest not Thy mysteries to many. 4. Thou makest known the multitude of the fire, and Thou weighest the lightness of the wind.

THE SEVENTH SECTION

XLVII.-LXXXVII. First, we have Baruch's fast of seven days (xlvi. 2), followed by his prayer (xlviii. 2-24). Then in the dialogue that ensues various revelations are made to Baruch touching the coming woes and the judgment (xlvi. 26-41), and the resurrection (l.-lii.) On these revelations follows a Messiah Apocalypse (liii.-lxxiv. = A³). In lxxvi. Baruch is told of his approaching translation, and in lxxvii. he calls the people together and addresses them.

This section is composite : xlviii.-lii. being derived from B² ; liii.-lxxiv. from A³ ; lxxv., lxxvi. from B² ; and lxxvii. from B¹.

XLVII. 1. The purposeless journey to Hebron spoken of here must be derived from an original source. According to the scheme of the final editor it has no business here. Further, no such command has been given to Baruch in the existing text.

Hence this entire verse must be regarded as drawn from B¹ or B², and the next verse, which conflicts with it, as due to the final editor, as also xliii. 3. It is noteworthy, too, that the words "and dismissed them" must be corrupt ; for "and when I had gone forth and dismissed them, I went thence and said unto them" is absurd. Baruch goes forth from some place (here undefined) and dismisses the people ; then he departs thence and speaks to them. It is possible then that "when I had gone forth" refers to "the cavern in the earth" in xxi. 1. It will be remembered that of chapters xxi.-xlv., xxi.-xxiv. 1, xxx. 2-5, xli., xlii. belong to B². These form in some sense a whole, and the scene with which they are connected may be the "cavern" in xxi. 1. If this is so, xlvii. 1 belongs to B².

2. Cf. xliii. 3 ; v. 7, note ; ix., note ; xxi. 2, note.

XLVIII. 2. *Method of the seasons.* Cf. xiv. 1, note ; xx. 6.

5. Thou explorest the limit of the heights, and Thou scrutinisest the depths of the darkness. 6. Thou carest for the number which pass away that they may be preserved, and Thou preparest an abode for those that are to be. 7. Thou rememberest the beginning which Thou hast made, and the destruction that is to be Thou forgettest not. 8. With nods of fear and indignation Thou givest commandment to the flames, and they change into spirits, and with a word Thou quickenest that which was not, and with mighty power Thou holdest that which has not yet come. 9. Thou instructest created things in the understanding of Thee, and Thou makest wise the spheres so as to minister in their orders. 10. Armies innumerable stand before Thee and minister in their orders quietly at Thy nod. 11. Hear Thy servant and give ear to my petition. 12. For in a little time are we born, and in a little time do we return. 13. But with Thee hours are as a time, and days as generations. 14. Be not therefore wroth with man; for he is nothing, and take not account of our works. 15. For what are we? for lo! by Thy gift do we come

6. See xxiii. 4, note.

Thou carest . . . preserved. The text which here = "Thou commandest the number which passes away and it is preserved" is nonsense as it stands, but, if retranslated into Hebrew, it supplies us at once with the true text. Retranslated it = *אתה פקד את המספר העובר וישקר*. Here clearly the Greek translator followed the wrong meaning of פקד, and mistranslated the weak vav with the voluntative imperfect. The translation required by the context is given above.

8. *With a word . . . which was not.* Cf. xxi. 4, note; 4 Ezra iv. 37. *Flames . . . spirits.* Cf. Ps. civ. 4; Heb. i. 7.

9. *The spheres . . . in their orders.* Cf. Eth. En. ii. 1; Slav. En. xxx. 2, 3; Pss. Sol. xix. 2, 3.

10. Cf. Slav. En. xvii.; Test. Levi iii. *In their orders.* There were ten orders of angels according to the Jews; nine according to the Christians (see Slav. En. xx. 1, 3, note).

13. We should expect rather: "time is as a (few) hours, and generations as days."

into the world, and we depart not of our own will. 16. For we said not to our parents, 'Beget us,' nor did we send to Sheol and say, 'Receive us.' 17. What therefore is our strength that we should bear Thy wrath, or what are we that we should endure Thy judgment? 18. Protect us in Thy compassions, and in Thy mercy help us. 19. Behold the little ones that are subject unto Thee, and save all that draw nigh unto Thee, and destroy not the hope of our people, and cut not short the times of our aid. 20. For this is the nation which Thou hast chosen, and these are the people, to whom Thou findest no equal. 21. But I will speak now before Thee, and I will say as my heart thinketh. 22. In Thee do we trust, for lo! Thy law is with us, and we know that we shall not fall so far as we keep Thy statutes. 23. In this at least we are always blest that we have not mingled with the Gentiles. 24. For we are all named one people, who have received one law from One, and the law which is amongst us will aid us, and the surpassing wisdom which is in us will help us." 25.

15. *Depart not*, etc. In xiv. 11 men are said to "come not of their own will"; in 4 Ezra viii. 5 the two statements are combined.

16. *Sheol*. See xi. 6, note.

18. See lxxv. 6.

19. *That are subject to Thee*. Cf. xlii. 4.

All that draw nigh. Are these proselytes? (see xli. 4; xlii. 3).

20. Cf. xxi. 21; 4 Ezra v. 27.

The nation. So I have emended by reading |ΔΩΔ| for the unmeaning |ΔΩΔ|. This gives a good parallel

to "people" (|ΔΩΔ|). Ceriani proposes |ΔΩΔ| = "servant."

21. *Say as my heart thinketh*. Cf. xli. 2.

22. See xv. 5, note.

23. Cf. xlii. 5.

24. *One law from One*. lxxxv. 14. This is directed polemically against the Christians.

The law . . . will aid us. Cf. xxix. 2, note; xxxii. 1; xv. 5, note; cf. *De singularitate cler.* 15 (Cyprian, Ed. Hartel. ii. 190), "sicut Esaias ait, legem inquit in adiutorium dedit."

And when I had prayed and said these things, I was greatly weakened. 26. And He answered and said unto me: "Thou hast prayed simply, O Baruch, and all thy words have been heard. 27. But My judgment exacts its own and My law exacts its rights. 28. For from thy words I will answer thee, and from thy prayer I will speak to thee. 29. For this is as follows: he that is corrupted is not at all; he has both wrought iniquity so far as he could do anything, and has not remembered My goodness, nor been grateful for My long-suffering. 30. Therefore thou shalt surely be taken up, as I before told thee: and the time is coming of which I told thee. 31. For that time will arise which brings affliction; for it will come and pass by with quick vehemence, and it will be turbulent coming in the heat of indignation. 32. And it will come to pass in those days that all the inhabitants of the earth will be moved one against another, because they know not that My judgment has drawn nigh. 33. For there will not be found many wise at that time, and the intelligent will be but a few: moreover,

25. *I was greatly weakened.* Cf. xxi. 26. The same phenomenon accompanies the visions in Dan. vii. 28; viii. 27; x. 8, 16.

27. Cf. v. 2; lxxxv. 9.

29. *For this . . . is not at all.* The text which is unintelligible runs:

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-בְּרָכִי וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-בְּרָכִי
וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-בְּרָכִי וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-בְּרָכִי

30. See xlvi. 7, note.

31-41. The last woes and the final judgment. Cf. xxvii.-xxix. 1; lxx. 2-10.

32. *The inhabitants of the earth.* See xxv. 1, note.

Will be moved one against another.

The text וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-בְּרָכִי = "will rest" is meaningless. It seems corrupted from וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-בְּרָכִי or וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-בְּרָכִי, either of which can be rendered as above.

33. Cf. lxx. 5. This verse seems to be the source of the following words which Cyprian (*Testim.* iii. 29) quotes as from Baruch: "erit enim sapientia in paucis vigilantibus et taciturnis."

even those who know will most of all be silent. 34. And there will be many rumours and tidings not a few, and the works of portents will be shown, and promises not a few will be recounted, (and) some of them (will prove) idle, and some of them will be confirmed. 35. And honour will be turned into shame, and strength humiliated into contempt, and probity destroyed, and beauty will become a scorn. 36. And many will say to many at that time: 'Where hath the multitude of intelligence hidden itself, and whither hath the multitude of wisdom removed itself?' 37. And whilst they are meditating these things, then zeal will arise in those of whom they thought not, and passion will seize him who is peaceful, and many will be roused in anger to injure many, and they will rouse up armies in order to shed blood, and in the end they will perish together with them. 38. And it will come to pass at the self-same time, that a change of times will manifestly appear to every man, by reason of which in all those times they were polluted and practised oppression, and walked every man in his own works, and remembered

34. Joseph, *Ant.* xx. 5. 1; 8. 6, tells of many impostors who so deceived the people (cf. Matt. xxiv. 11, 24). This verse seems to be the source of Cyprian's (*Testim.* iii. 29) quotation from Baruch: "alii autem sapientes ad spiritum erroris et pronuntiantes sicut Altissimi et Fortis edicta."

35. Cf. lxx. 3. It is remarkable that if we retranslate this verse into Hebrew we have a series of paronomasiae. Thus "honour will be turned into shame" = כבוד יהפך

ללקן, "strength humiliated into contempt" = עו יורד אל בו, and "beauty will become a scorn" = יופי יהיה לרפי.

36. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 9-11. This seems the source of Cyprian's quotation from Baruch (*Testim.* iii. 29): "Quaeritis me et vos et qui post vos venerint audire verbum sapientiae et intellectus et non inveniatis."

37. Cf. lxx. 6.

38. *A change of times.* Cf. xliv. 7. *Walked every man, etc.* Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 8.

not the law of the Mighty One. 39. Therefore a fire will consume their thoughts, and in flame will the meditations of their reins be tried; for the Judge will come and will not tarry. 40. Because each of the inhabitants of the earth knew when he was committing iniquity, and they have not known My law by reason of their pride. 41. For many will then assuredly weep, yea, over the living more than over the dead." 42. And I answered and said: "O Adam, what hast thou done to all those who are born from thee?"

Remembered not the law of the Mighty One. Cf. xlv. 3, 7; lxxxiv. 7.

39. *A fire will consume*, etc. Cf. verse 43; xlv. 15; lix. 2, note.

The Judge will come and will not tarry. Cf. xx. 6, note.

40. *Knew when he was committing*, etc. See xv. 6, note; lv. 2. Cf. Ep. Barn. v. 4 *δικαίως ἀπολείται ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἔχων ὁδοῦ δικαιοσύνης γινώσκων ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὁδὸν σκότους ἀποσυνέχει*. In xv. 6 men are to be tormented because, though knowing the law, they transgressed it. In that passage the words, therefore, may be limited to Israel, but here they are obviously descriptive of the Gentiles: "the inhabitants of the earth" (see xxv. 2, note). The writer thus holds that all men alike possessed a conscience or faculty for moral judgment. We have, therefore, in this verse a statement in some degree parallel to Rom. ii. 14, 15: "For when Gentiles, which have no law, do by nature the things of the law, these, having no law, are a law unto themselves: in that they shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith, etc."

Have not known My law by reason

of their pride. These words seem to point to the rejection of the law by the Gentiles; for according to an oft-repeated statement in the Talmud (see Weber, 19, 56, 57, 65), the law was originally designed for all nations, but the Gentiles rejected it (see 4 Ezra vii. 72, 73).

41. Since the sin of the world is intensified towards its close, so naturally the sinners then surviving will meet with severer judgment than the less guilty of earlier times.

42-50. What havoc Adam and Eve have wrought by the spiritual death and torments which they have brought upon their posterity. Yet God knows all that is in man, for He created him; He knows likewise the number of men that are to be, and their sins (verses 42-46). But since the law will give all these their due in the judgment, let inquiry be made rather after the blessedness of the righteous; for though they have endured much weariness in this passing world, in the world to come they shall have abundant light.

42. Spiritual death is here traced to Adam and Eve, but in xvii. 3; xxiii. 4; liv. 15 it is only physical death. See notes on xxiii. 4; liv. 15-19. In 4 Ezra both spiritual

and what will be said to the first Eve who hearkened to the serpent? 43. For all this multitude are going to corruption, nor is there any numbering of those whom the fire devours. 44. But again I will speak in Thy presence. 45. Thou, O LORD, my Lord, knowest what is in Thy creature. 46. For Thou didst of old command the dust to produce Adam, and Thou knowest the number of those who are born from him, and how far they have sinned before Thee, who have existed and not confessed Thee as their Creator. 47. And as regards all these their end will convict them, and Thy law which they have transgressed will requite them on Thy day. [48. But now let us dismiss the wicked and enquire about the righteous. 49. And I will recount their blessedness and not be silent in celebrating their

death and physical are always traced to Adam (iii. 21, 22; iv. 30; vii. 118-121).

43. *Fire devours.* Cf. verse 39; xliv. 15; lxiv. 7.

46. *Command the dust to produce Adam.* 4 Ezra iii. 4, 5; vii. 116.

The number of those who are born. See xxiii. 5, note.

47. *Thy law . . . will requite.* See v. 2, note.

48-50. These verses were used originally in B² by Baruch in addressing the people, or by God in addressing Baruch, but not by Baruch in addressing God as the present text implies. That they could not have been addressed by Baruch to God is clear; for Baruch could not say to God, "In this world . . . in which ye live" (ver. 50). Two facts are in favour of their being God's words to Baruch: (1) The very same contrast between the two worlds is found in God's reply to

Baruch in xv. 7; and (2) the very same change of subject is enjoined and the same word "inquire" used in reference to the righteous in 4 Ezra ix. 13: "tu ergo adhuc noli curiosus esse quomodo impii cruciabuntur sed inquire quomodo iusti salvabuntur." But the plural in verse 48 is against this view; and secondly, the words "I will not be silent in celebrating, etc.," while hardly conceivable on the divine lips, are appropriate on Baruch's. Hence we must regard xlviii. 48-50 as a fragment of an address delivered by Baruch to the people. Another fragment of this same address which originally preceded xlviii. 48-50 is to be found in liv. 16-18, and yet another which followed it in liv. 16-18.

49. *Will not be silent in celebrating.* A Hebrew idiom = לא אחרל לשבח.

glory, which is reserved for them. 50. For assuredly as in a little time in this world which passeth away, in which ye live, ye have endured much labour, so in that world to which there is no end, ye shall receive great light.”]

XLIX. “Nevertheless, I will again ask from Thee, O Mighty One, yea, I will ask mercy from Him who made all things. 2. ‘In what shape will those live who live in Thy day? or how will the splendour of those who (are) after that time continue? 3. Will they then resume this form of the present, and put on these entrammeling members, which are now involved in evils, and in which evils are consummated, or wilt Thou perchance change these things which have been in the world as also the world?’”

L. And He answered and said unto me: “Hear,

50. Cf. xv. 8 for the same contrast and largely the same diction.

Light. This does not seem the right word.

XLIX. 2. *In what shape*, etc. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 35: “How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come?”

Live. See xli. 1, note.

The splendour of those who (are) after that time. For “splendour” we might perhaps render “appearance.” The text is בְּהַרְבֵּי עֲלָמוֹת

בְּהַרְבֵּי עֲלָמוֹת.

3. *Entrammeling members*, lit. members of bonds.

L.-LI. *The nature of the resurrection body.* The teaching here as to the nature of the resurrection proceeds on the line suggested in xlix. 3: “Wilt thou perchance change these things (*i.e.* man’s material body)

which have been in the world as also the world?” The world was to be renewed (xxxii. 6), and in this renewal from being transitory and verging to its close (xlviii. 50; lxxxv. 10), it becomes undying (li. 3) and everlasting (xlviii. 50); from being a world of corruption (xl. 3; lxxiv. 2; xxi. 19; xxxi. 5, etc.) it becomes incorruptible (lxxiv. 2) and invisible (li. 8). As these conceptions are in germ and principle as old as Isa. lxxv. 17-lxvi., the same doctrine of renewal and transformation that was taught touching the world was naturally applied in due course to those destined to live in it. This is done partially in Isa. lxxv. 17-25, but the developed form appears in Dan. xii. 2, where the risen righteous are to shine as the stars for ever and ever; in Eth. En. they are to joy as the angels (civ. 4)

Baruch, this word, and write in the remembrance of thy heart all that thou shalt learn. 2. For the earth will then assuredly restore the dead, which it now receives, in order to preserve them, making no change in their form, but as it has received, so will it restore them, and as I delivered them unto it, so also shall it raise them. 3. For then it will be necessary to show to the living that the dead have come to life again, and that those who had departed have returned (again). 4. And it will come to pass, when they have severally

and to become angels in heaven (li. 4) and companions of the heavenly hosts (civ. 6), and to be clad in garments of life (lxii. 15, 16) and in raiment of light (cviii. 12); see also xc. 38. We thus see that long before the time of the writers of Baruch the Pharisees were familiar with the idea of the spiritual transformation of the body after the resurrection; and that *to some extent* the Pauline teaching on the resurrection in 1 Cor. xv. 35-50 was not an innovation, but an able and developed exposition of ideas that were current in the Judaism of the time. 1 Cor. xv. 35-50 is in one of its aspects the logical sequel of Isa. lxxv. 17.

Over against this spiritual view of the future life we must remember that a materialistic one prevailed not only popularly, but also in Rabbinic circles. According to the latter the blessed should beget children and eat the flesh of the Leviathan. See Weber, 383, 384.

L. 2. Cf. xi. 4, note; xlii. 8, note; Eth. En. li. 1, note. In the resurrection soul and body were to be united. On the scene of the resurrection see xxix. 2, note. The soul's abode was Sheol (see xxi. 23 note); the body rested in the earth

(xlii. 8). According to the text the body was to be restored in exactly the same form in which it had been committed to the earth. The following speculations of later Judaism on this subject are instructive. According to the *Othioth*, 17c, of R. Akiba (Weber, 352, 353), God was to sound a trumpet seven times at the end of the world. At the first blast the whole world was to be moved, at the second the dust was to be separated, at the third the bones of the dead were to be gathered together, at the fourth their limbs were to be warmed, at the fifth they were to be covered with skin, at the sixth the souls and spirits were to enter their bodies, in the seventh they were to become living and stand upon their feet, clad in their clothes. According to another account (*Beresh. rab.* 28) the resurrection body was built up from a small fragment of the backbone which was in all cases indestructible. This was called נֶלֶם. See Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterb.* ii. 481; see verse 4, note.

L. 3. Those who are to be judged are the living righteous, and sinners, and the risen dead.

4. The object with which the dead are raised is for common recognition.

recognised those whom they now know, then judgment will grow strong, and those things which before were spoken of will come.

LI. "And it will come to pass, when that appointed day has gone by, that then shall the aspect of those who are condemned be afterwards changed, and the glory of those who are justified. 2. For the aspect of those who now act wickedly will become worse than is that of such as suffer torment. 3. Also (as for) the glory of those who have now been justified in My law, who have had understanding in their life, and who have planted in their heart the root of wisdom, then their splendour will be glorified in changes, and the form of their face will be turned into the light of their beauty, that they may be able to acquire and receive the world which does not die, which is then promised to them. 4. For

There is nothing corresponding to this in the N.T. In later Judaism the resemblance of the risen was to be so carefully preserved that they were to be raised in the same clothes in which they were buried. This was proved *Sanhedrin*, 90b (Weber, 353) by the analogy of a grain of corn which comes up from the earth, not naked but clothed. The Rabbis, therefore, on the approach of death, gave careful directions as to their grave-clothes. According to the *Beresch. rab.* 95 (Weber, 353), men were to be raised with all their bodily defects, such as blindness, lameness, etc., in order that their identity might be established. Thereupon, in the case of the righteous these infirmities were healed.

LI. 1. This transformation of the living is mentioned in 1 Cor. xv. 51.

Aspect. I have here followed

Ceriani's emendation of $\rho\sigma\tau\lambda\omicron\delta\epsilon$ into $\rho\sigma\tau\lambda\omicron\delta\epsilon$.

Condemned . . . justified. See xxi. 9, note. The word "justify" has here its ordinary meaning of "to declare righteous."

3. *Justified in My law.* See xv. 5, note; xxi. 9, note.

Root of wisdom. lix. 7; Eccus. i. 6, 20, $\rho\lambda\iota\alpha\ \sigma\phi\lambda\alpha$ s; Wisdom iii. 15.

Their splendour, etc. The righteous will undergo successive transformations till their bodies are assimilated to their new environment, or to use the words of the text, "that they may be able . . . to receive the world that does not die."

The world that does not die. Cf. xlviii. 50; li. 8; lxxiv. 2, for various characteristics of the *olam habba* or future world.

Then promised. See xiv. 13, note.

over this above all will those who come then lament, that they rejected My law, and stopped their ears that they might not hear wisdom or receive understanding.

5. When therefore they see those, over whom they are now exalted, (but) who will then be exalted and glorified more than they, they will respectively be transformed, the latter into the splendour of angels, and the former will mainly waste away in wonder at the visions and in the beholding of the forms. 6. For they will first behold and afterwards depart to be tormented. 7. But those who have been saved by their works, and to whom the law has been now a hope, and understanding an expectation, and wisdom a confidence, to them wonders will appear in their time. 8. For they will behold the world which is now invisible to them, and they will behold the time which is now hidden from them. 9. And again time will not age them. 10. For in the heights of that world shall they dwell, and they shall be made like unto the angels, and be made

4. The wicked here include not only the faithless Israelites, but also the Gentiles.

Stopped their ears that they might not hear. Zech. vii. 11. The LXX. renders differently: τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν ἐβάρυναν κτλ.

5. *The splendour.* This word |ο| here, and in xlix. 2; li. 3, might also be rendered by "appearance."

Will waste away, or will be dissolved. Cf. xxx. 4; 4 Ezra vii. 87. The latter reference as well as our text show that the writer here was not thinking of annihilation, though this view is found later. Cf. Weber, 374, 375.

7. *Saved by their works.* See xiv. 7, note.

9. Cf. verse 3, note, and the phrase in verse 16: "The world which ages not those." After this verse we should probably read verses 13 and 14. Verse 12 would then form a fitting close and climax to li. 1-9, 13, 14, 10, 11.

10. The condition of the risen righteous is very spiritually conceived. Thus they have passed from a world of tribulation (li. 14) and enter a world that is everlasting (li. 3), invisible (li. 8); they live in the high places thereof (li. 10); they are made equal to the stars (li. 10),

equal to the stars, and they shall be changed into every form they desire, from beauty into loveliness, and from light into the splendour of glory. 11. For there will be spread before them the extents of Paradise, and there will be shown to them the beauty of the majesty of the living creatures which are beneath the throne, and all the armies of the angels, who [are now held fast by My word, lest they should appear, and] are held fast by a command, that they may stand in their places till their advent comes. 12. Moreover, there will then be excellency in the righteous surpassing that in the angels. 13. For the first will receive the last, those whom they were expecting, and the last those of whom they used to hear that they had passed away. 14. For they have been delivered from this world of tribulation, and laid down the burthen of anguish. 15. For what then have men lost their life, and for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul? 16. For then they chose (not) for themselves that time, which, beyond the reach of

and their glory is greater than that of the angels (x. 12).

Made equal to the stars. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 97, 125.

11. *Living creatures which are beneath the throne.* Cf. Rev. iv. 6.

Armies of the angels who . . . are held fast, etc. These angels are probably the armed host mentioned in lxx. 7; Slav. En. xvii.; and in Test. Lev. 3: ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ εἰσὶν αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν παρεμβολῶν, οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης καὶ τοῦ Βελιάρ. I have bracketed one of the clauses in this verse as a gloss.

13, 14. These two verses seem to be wrongly transposed from their place after verse 9.

13. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 42: "Coronae adsimilabo iudicium meum; sicut non novissimorum tarditas, sic nec priorum velocitas"; also Matt. xix. 30.

14. See xv. 8, note.

15. Cf. Matt. xvi. 26.

16. I have added a negative in the first clause as the sense requires it. In lvi. 14 there is a similar loss of the negative, as Ceriani has already observed. *Which ages not,* etc. (cf. ver. 9).

anguish, could not pass away, and they chose for themselves that time, whose issues are full of lamentations and evils, and they denied the world which ages not those who come to it, and they have rejected the time and the glory, so that they shall not come to the honour of which I told thee before."

LII. And I answered and said: "How do those forget for whom woe is then reserved? 2. And why therefore again do we mourn for those who die? or why do we weep for those who depart to Sheol? 3. Let lamentations be reserved for the beginning of that coming torment, and let tears be laid up for the advent of the destruction of that time. 4. But even in the face of these things I will speak. [5. And as for the righteous, what will they do now? 6. Rejoice ye in the suffering which ye now suffer: for why do ye look for the decline of your enemies? 7. Make ready your soul for that which is reserved for you, and prepare your souls for the reward which is laid up for you.]"

LIII. And when I had said these things I fell asleep there, and I saw a vision, and lo! a cloud was

LII. 1, 2. Considering the terrible destiny in store for the wicked after the resurrection, our grief should be reserved for those who shall suffer its torments, and not for those who depart to Sheol. And yet there is a certain degree of pain and torment in Sheol as we have seen (cf. xxx. 5; xxxvi. 10).

5-7. These verses cannot have been addressed by Baruch to God. Like xlvi. 48-50, they are part of his address to the people. They would

form an appropriate sequel to xlvi. 48-50 (see note on liv. 16-18).

6. Cf. lxxviii. 6. These words recall James i. 2: "Count it all joy, my brethren, when ye fall into manifold temptations." The sentiment looks Christian.

7. *Make ready . . . prepare your souls.* See xxxii. 1, note. One half of this verse seems to be a gloss on the other.

8. Cf. xxxvi. 1.

LIII. - LXXIV. This constitutes

ascending from a very great sea, and I kept gazing upon it, and lo! it was full of waters white and black, and there were many colours in those self-same waters, and as it were the likeness of great lightning was seen at its summit. 2. And I saw that cloud passing swiftly in quick courses, and it covered all the earth. 3. And it came to pass after these things

the third Messiah Apocalypse=A³ embodied by the final editor in this book. It will be sufficient here to indicate (a) its date; (b) its relation to the other constituents of the book; and to touch on (c) the question of its integrity; (d) and of its author.

(a) *Its date.* It was written prior to 70 A.D. (see lxviii. 5, note), and subsequent to 50 A.D. (see lix. 5-11, note).

(b) *Relations of A³ to B¹, B², A¹, A².* It is distinct from B¹, and B² in date, as these were composed subsequently to the fall of the temple. It is distinct in character from B¹ and B²; for whereas in the latter there is no expectation of the Messiah, in A³ the Messiah is the centre of interest. Other points of difference will be dealt with in the notes. A³ is distinct from A¹. In the latter the Messiah does not appear till the enemies of Israel are destroyed; in A³, on the other hand, the Messiah is the agent of their destruction. A³ may be distinct from A²; contrast lxxi. 1 with xl. 2. If xl. 1, 2 refers to Pompey, it was written prior to his death, and A² would in that case be much earlier than A³, which was composed between 50 and 70 A.D.

(c) *Integrity.* A³ is handed down in tolerable preservation. liv. 17, 18 is an interpolation, and possibly lxx. 9. The text has been badly tampered with in lxxii. 1 and lxxxiv. 4 by the final editor.

(d) *The author.* A³ is of extreme interest, as it is the oldest writing in which full justice is done alike to the claims of the Messiah and those of the law in moulding the world's history. The author belongs to the Rabbinical school, and assigns to certain elements of the law and tradition (cf. lvii., notes) the pre-Mosaic origin attributed to them in Jubilees. On the other hand, he recognises the popular aspiration for God's kingdom on earth as a legitimate outcome of prophecy, and gives it complete development in his forecast of history. Thus A³ is the oldest literary evidence of the fusion of early Rabbinism and popular Messianic expectation.

LIII. In this vision a cloud is seen coming up from the sea and covering the whole earth with its summit crowned with lightning. And soon it began to discharge black waters, and then clear, and again black waters, and then clear, and so on till this succession of black and bright waters had occurred six times. And at the end of these twelve showers there was yet another shower of black waters, blacker than had been all before. Thereupon the lightning on the summit of the cloud flashed forth and healed the earth, and twelve streams came up from the sea and were subject to that lightning.

1. *A very great sea.* Cf. Dan. vii. 2.

that that cloud began to pour upon the earth the waters that were in it. 4. And I saw that there was not one and the same likeness in the waters which descended from it. 5. For in the first beginning they were black exceedingly for a time, and afterwards I saw that the waters became bright, but they were not many, and after these things again I saw black (waters), and after these things again bright, and again black and again bright. 6. Now this was done twelve times, but the black were always more numerous than the bright. 7. And it came to pass at the end of the cloud, that lo! it rained black waters, and they were darker than had been all those waters that were before, and fire was mingled with them, and where those waters descended, they wrought devastation and destruction. 8. And I saw after these things that lightning which I had seen on the summit of the cloud, that it held it fast and made it descend to the earth. 9. Now that lightning shone exceedingly, so as to illuminate the whole earth, and it healed those regions where the last waters had descended and wrought devastation. 10. And it took hold of the

6. For the twelvefold division of history see 4 Ezra xiv. 11, 12: "XII enim partibus divisum est saeculum, et transierunt ejus X jam et dimidium Xmae partis, Superant autem ejus duae post medium decimae partis." Cf. Hilgenfeld, *Mess. Jud.* 104.

7. These black waters are interpreted in lxix., lxx. They symbolise the travail pains of the Messiah.

8. The lightning on the cloud symbolises the Messiah. The im-

agery is derived from Dan. vii. 13. It was from the last passage that the Messiah was named עֲנַנִי = "the cloud-man," or בֶּרֶךְ נִפְלִי = "the son of the cloud." See Levi, *Neuhebräisch. Lex.* iii. 271, 422.

9. *Lightning shone . . . so as to illuminate the whole earth.* Cf. Matt. xxiv. 27: "For as the lightning cometh forth from the east, and is seen even unto the west, so shall be the coming of the Son of man."

whole earth and had dominion over it. 11. And I saw after these things, and lo! twelve rivers were ascending from the sea, and they began to surround that lightning and to become subject to it. 12. And by reason of my fear I awoke.

[PRAYER OF BARUCH]

LIV. And I besought the Mighty One, and said :
 "Thou alone, O Lord, knowest of aforetime the deep things of the world, and the things which befall in their times Thou bringest about by Thy word, and against the works of the inhabitants of the earth Thou dost hasten the beginnings of the times, and the end of the seasons Thou alone knowest. 2. For whom nothing is too hard, but Thou doest everything easily by a nod. 3. To whom the depths as the heights are accessible, and the beginnings of the ages minister to Thy word. 4. Who revealeth to those who fear Him what is prepared for them, that He may thereby console them. 5. Thou showest great acts to those

10. We have here symbolised the Messiah's reign.

11. Do these twelve rivers symbolise the Gentile nations submitting themselves to the Messiah, or the twelve tribes of Israel?

LIV. 1. *Against the works, etc. . . . hasten the beginnings of the times.* See xx. 1, note.

The end of the seasons Thou alone knowest. Cf. xxi. 8.

2. *For whom nothing is too hard.* This is a rendering of the phrase found in Gen. xviii. 14 ; Jer. xxxii. 17, 27. By comparing the text

with the Peshitto of Luke i. 37, we see that the Greek was here $\pi\alpha\rho' \hat{\omega} \rho\eta\mu\alpha \text{ } \omicron\upsilon\kappa \text{ } \acute{\alpha}\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}$. This is the LXX. of Gen. xviii. 14 $\mu\eta \acute{\alpha}\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota} \pi\alpha\rho\grave{\alpha} \tau\hat{\omega} \theta\epsilon\hat{\omega} \rho\eta\mu\alpha$, but not of Jer. xxxii. 17, 27, where we find (xxxix. 17, 27 in LXX.) $\omicron\upsilon \mu\eta \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\upsilon\beta\eta\grave{\iota} \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron \varsigma \omicron\upsilon \omicron\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$. This is the rendering of the Peshitto also in Gen. xviii. 14 and Jer. xxxii. 17, 27. From this verse in itself, therefore, we cannot conclude for or against the influence of the LXX. on the writer.

5. *Great acts* or "wonders."

who know not; Thou breakest up the enclosure of those who are ignorant, and lightest up what is dark, and revealest what is hidden to the pure, who in faith have submitted themselves to Thee and Thy law. 6. Thou hast shown to Thy servant this vision; reveal to me also its interpretation. 7. For I know that as regards those things wherein I besought Thee, I have received a response, and as regards what I besought, Thou didst reveal to me, and didst show me with what voice I should praise Thee, or from what members I should cause praises and hallelujahs to ascend to Thee. 8. For if my members were mouths, and the hairs of my head voices, even so I could not give Thee the meed of praise, or laud Thee as is befitting, nor could I recount Thy praise, nor tell the glory of Thy beauty, 9. For what am I amongst men, or why am I reckoned amongst those who are more excellent than I, that I should have heard all those marvellous things from the Most High, and good tidings numberless from Him who created me? 10. Blessed be my mother amongst those that bear, and praised among women be she that bare me. 11. For I will not be silent in praising the Mighty One, and with the voice of praise I will recount His marvellous deeds. 12. For who doeth like unto Thy marvellous deeds, O God, or who comprehendeth Thy deep thought of

In faith. See note on liv. 21.

8. In the *Shir ha-Shirim rabba*, i. 3 we find the hyperbolic statements of this verse far outdone: "R. Eliezer said: 'if all the seas

were ink, and all the reeds were pens, and heaven and earth were rolls, and all men were scribes, yet the law could not be written down which I have taught.'"

10. An interpolation? it breaks

life? 13. For with Thy counsel Thou dost govern all the creatures which Thy right hand has created, and Thou hast established every fountain of light beside Thee, and the treasures of wisdom beneath Thy throne hast Thou prepared. 14. And justly do they perish who have not loved Thy law, and the torment of judgment will await those who have not submitted themselves to Thy power. 15. For though Adam

the connection. Cf. Luke i. 42 ; xi. 27 ; Judges v. 24.

13. *Thou dost govern.* Cf. verse 22.

14. A deliberate rejection of the law of God is here implied as in xlviii. 40, see note.

15, 19. In xxiii. 4 the *physical* effects of sin are referred to ; in xlviii. 42 the *spiritual* effects. The former consisted according to B² (see xxiii. 4, note) in man's subjection to physical death. According to A³ (see liv. 15 ; lvi. 6), however, man was already subject to physical death, and the penalty of sin consisted in premature death.

The main question, however, which concerns us here is that of predestination and free will. In order to understand the position of the writers of this book, it will be helpful to draw attention to the chief statements which appear on these subjects in Jewish non-canonical literature. In Ecclesiasticus these antinomies are stated unconditionally, not indeed in immediate contrast, but in distinct passages. Thus in xv. 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20, we have the freewill of man strongly affirmed : *μη εἴπῃς ὅτι διὰ κύριον ἀπέστην . . . μη εἴπῃς ὅτι αὐτός με ἐπλάνησεν· οὐ γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχει ἀνδρὸς ἁμαρτωλοῦ . . . αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐν χειρὶ διαβουλίου αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν θέλῃς, συντηρήσεις ἐντολάς. . . ἐναντι ἀνθρώπων*

ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὃ ἐὰν εὐδοκήσῃ δοθήσεται αὐτῷ. . . καὶ οὐκ ἐνετείλατο οὐδενὶ ἀσεβεῖν. Cf. also xviii. 6. The doctrine of predestination is absolutely maintained in xxxvi. 10, 12, 13, *καὶ ἄνθρωποι πάντες ἀπὸ ἐδάφους καὶ ἐκ γῆς ἐκτίσθη Ἀδάμ· ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐλόγησεν καὶ ἀνύψωσεν . . . ἀπ' αὐτῶν κατηράσατο καὶ ἐταπείνωσεν καὶ ἀνέστρεψεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ στάσεως αὐτῶν. ὡς πηλὸς κεραμέως ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ· οὕτως ἄνθρωποι ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ ποιήσαντος αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτοῦ.* Cf. also xxiii. 20 ; xxxix. 20, 21. These two doctrines which are thus separately affirmed in Ecclus., are given by Josephus as co-ordinate articles of the Pharisaic creed. Thus in *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, 14, he says : *Φαρισαῖοι . . . εἰμαρμένην τε καὶ θεῷ προοπίουσι πάντα καὶ τὸ μὲν πράττειν τὰ δίκαια καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸ πλείστον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κεῖσθαι, βοηθεῖν δὲ εἰς ἕκαστον καὶ τὴν εἰμαρμένην.* *Ant.* xiii. 5, 9 : *οἱ μὲν οὖν Φαρισαῖοι τινὰ καὶ οὐ πάντα τῆς εἰμαρμένης εἶναι λέγουσιν ἔργον, τινὰ δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὑπάρχειν, συμβαλεῖν τε καὶ μὴ γίνεσθαι* (*Ant.* xviii. 1. 3) *πράσσεισθαι τε εἰμαρμένῃ τε πάντα ἀξιοῦντες, οὐδὲ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τοῦ βουλούμενον τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁρμῆς ἀφαιροῦνται, δοκῆσαν τῷ θεῷ κρᾶσιν γενέσθαι καὶ τῷ βουλευτῇ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῷ θελήσαντι προσ-*

first sinned and brought untimely death upon all, yet of those who were born from him each one of them has

χωρεῖν μετ' ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας. The same paradoxical creed appears in the *Pirke Aboth*. iii. 24 (ed. Taylor p. 73): "Everything is foreseen; and freewill is given. And the world is judged by grace: and everything is according to work"; and possibly also in the Pss. Sol. ix. 7 τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκλογῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν τοῦ ποιῆσαι δίκαιοσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν (see Ryle and James's edition, pp. 95, 96).

This co-ordination of fate and freewill as articles of faith was nothing more or less than an attempt on the part of the Pharisees to embody in their creed the two O.T. doctrines of God's omnipotence and man's responsibility. That theoretically such a creed was current may reasonably be concluded from the passages just cited, as well as from the attestation it receives in Pauline teaching in Rom. ix.-xi. (see Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, pp. 347-350). Its acceptance, too, would, no doubt, be furthered by the pressure of the rival creeds of the Sadducees and the Essenes, who were the champions, respectively, of freewill and of fate (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14; *Ant.* xiii. 5. 9). With the disappearance of Sadduceeism, however, the paradoxical character of Pharisaic belief seems to have disappeared also. Henceforth the Rabbinic schools teach mainly man's freedom of the will and limit God's predestinating action to his external lot.

The two doctrines of fate and freewill, though seen to be mutually exclusive, were, as we have already remarked, accepted *theoretically* as equally imperative by the Pharisees. The only instance where these two doctrines are developed into irre-

concilable fulness and results and applied to religious questions in the first century is to be found in St. Paul's teaching (see above). In every other attempt to grapple with these problems a compromise is effected which results either in a vigorous or else in a very attenuated doctrine of freewill. Of this wavering attitude among the Pharisees in the first century we have sufficient evidence. Thus man's freewill is maintained in the Slav. En. xxx. 15: "And I gave him his will, and I showed him the two ways, the light and the darkness . . . that I should know whether he has love for Me or hate"; though in the next verse it is recognised that his freewill is hampered by his incorporation in the body, and his ignorance of its good and evil impulses. But the best evidence in this direction is furnished by the Apocalypse of Baruch and 4 Ezra. From our comparative study hitherto of these two works (see notes on xiv. 7; xxi. 9; xlviii. 42), we should expect that man's freewill and capacity for doing God's will, despite Adam's sin, would be emphasised in the former, and that man's helplessness and practical incapacity for righteousness in consequence of his original defects or Adam's sin would be conspicuous in the latter, and this we do find as a matter of fact. First as to 4 Ezra. In 4 Ezra the bulk of mankind was predestined to destruction (viii. 1-3); for from the beginning there was in man a wicked element (*i.e.* צר הרע) called here *granum seminis mali* (4 Ezra iv. 30): "Quoniam granum seminis mali seminatum est in corde Adam ab initio, et quantum impietatis generavit usque nunc et

prepared for his own soul torment to come, and again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come.

generabit usque cum veniat area"; through Adam's yielding to this evil element a hereditary tendency to sin was created and the *cor malignum* developed (iii. 21, 22). Cor enim malignum baiolans primus Adam transgressus et victus est, sed et omnes qui ex eo nati sunt. Et facta est permanens infirmitas, et lex in corde populi cum malignitate radice, et discessit quod bonum est, et mansit malignum. We should observe that *baiolans* in iii. 21 just cited represents *φωρέσας*: for both the Syriac and Ethiopic Versions = *cum vestivit*. Hence Adam "clothed himself" with a wicked heart by yielding to the evil impulse which was in him when created. Adam was created with two impulses: "the good impulse" (יצר הטוב) implied in the words *discessit quod bonum est* (iii. 22), and "the evil impulse" already referred to. This subject is further pursued in iii. 25, 26: "Et deliquerunt qui habitabant civitatem, In omnibus facientes sicut fecit Adam et omnes generationes ejus, utebantur enim et ipsi cor malignum." As a result of Adam's transgression, the evil impulse having been developed into the *cor malignum*, and having thus obtained the mastery over man, the writer of vii. 118 naturally charges Adam with being the cause of the final perdition of mankind: "O tu quid fecisti Adam? si enim tu peccasti, non est factum solius tuus casus sed et nostrum qui ex te advenimus." Naturally in the face of such a hopeless view of man's condition no real doctrine of freewill could be maintained. In fact, in 4 Ezra only sufficient freewill is accorded to man to justify his final condemnation. Cf. 4 Ezra viii. 56,

58-60, "Nam et ipsi accipientes libertatem spreverunt Altissimum et legem ejus contempserunt. . . . Et dixerunt in corde suo non esse deum, et quidem scientes sciunt quoniam moriuntur. . . . Non enim Altissimus voluit hominem disperdi; Sed ipsi qui creati sunt coinquinaverunt nomen ejus qui fecit eos." vii. 72, "Qui ergo commorantes sunt in terra hinc cruciabuntur, quoniam sensum habentes iniquitatem fecerunt et mandata accipientes non servaverunt ea et legem consecuti fraudaverunt eam quam acceperunt." ix. 11, Fastidierunt legem meam cum adhuc erant habentes libertatem.

Turning now to the present Apocalypse, we find in all its sections, even in the gloomiest, B², a view of man's present capacities and future destiny that is optimistic when set side by side with 4 Ezra. Whereas in A³, according to liv. 15, 19, the effects of Adam's sin are limited to physical results; his descendants must die prematurely. On the nature of these physical results in other sections see xxiii. 4, note. As to spiritual results, each man is the Adam of his own soul, and can choose for himself either bliss or torment; he can work out his own salvation and even make God his debtor (see xiv. 7, note). Only in xlviii. 42 is spiritual death traced to Adam.

The view set forth in the text as to man's condition is exactly that which prevails in the Talmud. In fact, Weber's summing up on this question would serve admirably for an exposition of the text: "Der freie Wille auch in Bezug auf das Verhalten gegen Gott ist dem Menschen auch nach dem Fall geblieben. Es

LIV. 16-
18=B².

[16. For assuredly he who believeth will receive reward. 17. But now, as for you, ye wicked that now are, turn ye to destruction, because ye will speedily be visited, in that from time to time ye have rejected the understanding of the Most High. 18. For His works have not taught you, nor has the skill of His creation which is at all times persuaded you.] 19. Adam is

gibt eine Erbschuld, aber keine Erbsünde: der Fall Adam's hat dem ganzen Geschlecht den Tod, nicht aber die Sündigkeit im Sinne einer Nothwendigkeit zu sündigen verursacht; die Sünde ist das Ergebnis der Entscheidung jedes Einzelnen, erfahrungsgemäss allgemein, aber an sich auch nach dem Fall nicht schlechthin nothwendig" (*Lehren d. Talmud*, p. 217).

Only one statement in this citation seems untrustworthy, *i.e.* *Es gibt eine Erbschuld*. I can see nothing in Weber's learned work to justify this statement, but everything to show that there was neither hereditary sin nor hereditary guilt. Moreover, on p. 240 this statement is actually made: "Wenn die Sünde und Schuld nicht erblich ist, kann dann die Strafe erblich sein? . . . Diese Antinomie hat die jüdische Theologie durch drei Sätze auszugleichen versucht."

15. *Untimely*. See note on xxiii. 4. The phrase rendered "untimely" is *בְּעֵתוֹ כְּכֹנֶה*. It recurs in lvi. 6 and lxxiii. 3.

16-18. These verses are clearly an interpolation for the same reasons as xlviii. 48-50 and lii. 5-7. These three passages seem to have been addressed by Baruch to the people, and to have formed part of one and the same discourse. The original order appears to have been: first, liv. 17, 18, where the wicked are

menaced with the final judgment; then xlviii. 48-50, in which the destiny of the wicked is dismissed and that of the righteous described; next, lii. 5-7, where a line of conduct is prescribed to the righteous on the ground of that destiny, and a preparation of their souls for the reward laid up for them; and finally, liv. 16, where the faithful are assured of that reward.

It will be observed (1) that these verses break the sense of the context; (2) that a direct address to the wicked could not occur in a prayer to God.

18. In liv. 14 it is implied that the wicked there described knew the law. This is intelligible from the standpoint of the Jewish belief that the Gentiles were offered the law but refused it. But in this verse no such view is implied. Their knowledge of God could only arise from reflection on His works in nature. The same argument is found in Rom. i. 20. This argument "is as old as the Psalter, Job, and Isaiah (Pss. xix. 1; xciv. 9; cxliii. 5; Isa. xlii. 5; xlv. 18; Job xii. 9; xxvi. 14; xxxvi. 24; Wisdom ii. 23; xiii. 1, 5). It is common to Greek thought as well as Jewish (Arist. *De Mundo*, 6; Philo, *De Praem. et Poen.* 7" (Sanday and Headlam, Rom. p. 43).

19. See note on verse 15. The real force of this verse is that a man's guilt and sin are not derived

erefore not the cause, save only of his own soul, but
 ch one of us has been the Adam of his own soul.
 . But do Thou, O Lord, expound to me regarding
 use things which Thou hast revealed to me, and
 form me regarding that which I besought Thee. 21.
 r at the consummation of the world there will be
 ngeance taken upon those who have done wickedness
 according to their wickedness, and Thou wilt glorify the
 ithful according to their faithfulness. 22. For those
 ho are amongst Thine own Thou rulest, and those
 ho sin Thou blottest out from amongst Thine own."

LV. And it came to pass when I had finished
 peaking the words of this prayer, that I sat there
 under a tree, that I might rest in the shade of the
 branches. 2. And I wondered and was astonished,
 and pondered in my thoughts regarding the multitude
 of goodness which sinners who are upon the earth

from Adam, but are due to his own
 action. The evil impulse (יצר הרע)
 does not constitute guilt or sin
 unless man obeys it. As the
 Talmudists say, it was placed in
 man to be overcome (Weber, 210).

21. *The faithful according to
 their faith.* Faith in this passage
 is contrasted with unrighteousness
 ("שם = *avopula*). Hence we
 should take it here as equivalent either
 to "righteousness" or "fidelity to the
 law." In liv. 16 the verb "believe"
 may mean "to be faithful." But
 the context is doubtful. Elsewhere
 in Baruch faith = "belief." Thus
 in lix. 2 those who "believe" are
 opposed to those who "deny"; in
 xlii. 2 to those who "despise."
 This is the meaning also in liv. 5;
 lvii. 2; lxxxiii. 8. In 4 Ezra vi. 5

faith seems to mean "righteousness,"
 the result of fidelity to the law (as
 in Apoc. Bar. liv. 21); for the
 righteous are those *qui fidem
 thesaurizaverunt*; possibly also in
 v. 1; vi. 28; it means fidelity to the
 law in vii. 34, as *incredulitas* in vii.
 114 = "disloyalty." In ix. 7, 8;
 xiii. 23, faith and works are com-
 bined and appear nearly synony-
 mous. For a most instructive
 note on the various meanings of
 "faith," see Sanday and Head-
 lam's *Romans*, pp. 31-34.

Faith in the Talmud is in one of
 its aspects regarded as a work which
 as the fulfilment of the law pro-
 duces merit. In the *Beresh. rabba*,
 lxxiv. the merit arising from faith
 and the merit arising from the law
 are co-ordinated. See Weber, pp.
 292, 295, 298.

have rejected, and regarding the great torment which they have despised, though they knew that they should be tormented because of the sin they had committed. 3. And when I was pondering on these things and the like, lo! the angel Ramiel who presides over true visions was sent to me, and he said unto me: 4. "Why does thy heart trouble thee, Baruch, and why does thy thought disturb thee? 5. For if by the hear say which thou hast only heard of judgment thou art so moved, what (wilt thou be) when thou shalt see it manifestly with thine eyes? 6. And if with the expectation wherewith thou dost expect the day of the Mighty One thou art so overcome, what (wilt thou be) when thou shalt come to its advent? 7. And, if the word of the announcement of the torment of those who have done foolishly thou art so wholly distraught, how much more when the event will reveal marvellous things? 8. And if thou hast heard tidings of the good and evil things which are then coming and art grieved, what (wilt thou be) when thou shalt behold what the majesty will reveal, which will convict these and cause those to rejoice?

LV. 2. *Despised, though they knew.* See xv. 6, note; xlviii. 40, note.

3. *Ramiel.* Cf. lxiii. 6; this angel is mentioned in the Eth. En. xx. 7 (Greek) 'Ρεμειήλ ὁ εἰς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ὃν ἔταξεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνισταμένων: also in 4 Ezra iv. 36, where the Syriac Version = "And the angel Ramiel answered and said unto them" (i.e. the righteous souls in the soul-treasuries); for "Ramiel" the Latin gives *Hieremihel*. Finally,

in *Or. Sibyl.* ii. 215-217, Ramiel is one of the five angels appointed by God to bring the souls of men to judgment: 'Αρακιήλ 'Ραμυήλ Οὐριήλ Σαμυήλ 'Αζαήλ τε . . . ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς . . . ἐς κρῖσιν ἀξουσιν πάσας. The function of Ramiel in the text agrees to some extent with that assigned to him in 4 Ezra.

5. *And art so moved.* I have followed Ceriani's suggestion here in supplying ο before יִנָּחֵם.

LVI. "Nevertheless, because thou hast besought the Most High to reveal to thee the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen, I have been sent to say to thee. 2. And the Mighty One hath assuredly made known to thee the methods of the times that have passed, and of those that are destined to pass in His world from the beginning of its creations even unto its consummation, of those things which (are) deceit and of those which (are) in truth. 3. For as thou didst see a great cloud which ascended from the sea, and went and covered the earth, this is the duration of the world (= *ai'ōn*) which the Mighty One made when He took counsel to make the world. 4. And it came to pass when the word had gone forth from His presence, that the duration of the world had come into being in a small degree, and was established according to the multitude of the intelligence of Him who sent it. 5. And as thou didst previously see on the summit of the cloud black waters which descended previously on the earth, this is the transgression wherewith Adam the first man transgressed. 6. For owing to his transgression untimely death came into being, and grief was named

LVI. 2. *And the Mighty.* We should expect *That the Mighty*.

3. *A great cloud . . . this is the duration of the world.* This cloud is divided into thirteen parts: the first twelve parts of alternate black and bright waters (see liii. 5, 6), and the thirteenth of the blackest waters of all (see liii. 7). These symbolise the thirteen periods into which the history of the world is divided prior

to the Messiah's kingdom. This kingdom is foreshadowed by the lightning that shone on the extremity or summit of the cloud.

4. *Was established.* I have followed Ceriani here in reading  instead of .

6. *Owing to his transgression.* The text literally is "when he transgressed."

Untimely. See liv. 15, note.

and anguish was prepared, and pain was created, and trouble perfected, and boasting began to be established, and Sheol to demand that it should be renewed in blood, and the begetting of children was brought about, and the passion of parents produced, and the greatness of humanity was humiliated, and goodness languished. 7. What therefore can be blacker or darker than these things? 8. This is the beginning of the black waters which thou hast seen. 9. And from these black (waters) again were black derived, and the darkness of darkness produced. 10. For he was a danger to his own soul: even to the angels was he a danger. 11. For, moreover, at that time when he was created, they enjoyed liberty. 12. And some of them descended, and mingled with women. 13. And then those who did so were tormented in chains. 14. But the rest of the multitude of the angels, of which there is no number, restrained themselves. 15. And those who dwelt on the earth perished together (with them) through the waters of the deluge. 16. These are the black first waters.

Sheol to demand, etc. For this hunger of Sheol, cf. Prov. xxvii. 20; Isa. v. 14. On Sheol, see note on xi. 6.

10. *He was a danger*, etc. This must mean that man's physical nature was a danger to his spiritual; for it was the physical side of man that proved a danger to the angels who fell through lust. Man's physical nature was dangerous; for in it resided the "evil impulse" (see note on liv. 15, 19).

11-13. *They enjoyed liberty*,

i.e. the angels. This liberty, according to the ancient myth, they abused by taking to themselves wives of the daughters of men (see Eth. En. vi. 2, note; Slav. En. xviii. 4-6; Jubilees v. 1-11; x. 1-13).

14. *No number*. The MS. omits the negative, but wrongly, as Ceriani has already observed (cf. xxi. 6; lix. 11). For a still more obvious loss of the negative see li. 16, though strangely enough it has not hitherto been remarked.

LVII. "And after these (waters) thou didst see bright waters: this is the fount of Abraham, also his generations and advent of his son, and of his son's son, and of those like them. 2. Because at that time the unwritten law was named amongst them, and the works of the commandments were then fulfilled, and belief in the coming judgment was then generated, and hope of the world that was to be renewed was then built up, and the promise of the life that should come hereafter was implanted. 3. These are the bright waters, which thou hast seen.

LVIII. "And the black third waters which thou

LVII. 1. The first bright period embraces human history from the time of Abraham to that of the twelve sons of Jacob and their righteous contemporaries or immediate successors.

2. *The unwritten law.* This statement proceeds from the same spirit which animates the entire Book of Jubilees, and which seeks to trace traditionalism and its observances to the times of the patriarchs. In later Judaism there were manifold attempts of this nature. Thus in the *Avoda-sara*, 36b, according to Gen. xxxviii. 24, impurity was forbidden by the Rabbinic tribunal of Shem; in the *Beresh. rabba*, xciv., Shem and Eber are said to have handed on certain traditions to Jacob; in the *Joma*, 28b, Abraham is said to have observed the whole Torah and the traditional or unwritten law. To Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob the three daily times of prayer are traced back in the *Berachoth*, 26b. The above statements are drawn from Herzfeld, *Geschichte Israels*, p. 226. For a detailed description of the traditional law from the

earliest times down to Hillel, see *op. cit.* iii. 226-263; Weber, 255.

Works of the commandments were then fulfilled. See preceding note.

Belief. See note on liv. 21.

Hope of the world to be renewed. See note on xxxii. 6. In the earlier Messiah-Apocalypses in this book, *i.e.* in A¹ and A², the renewal of the world is to take place at the close of the Messianic kingdom, for in these writings this kingdom belongs to this world $\delta\ \alpha\iota\omega\omicron\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (Matt. xii. 32) = $\eta\eta\ \epsilon\beta\iota\upsilon\eta$; whereas in A³ with which we are at present dealing it is said (lxxiv. 2) to form the close of the present world and the beginning of the next (*i.e.* $\delta\ \alpha\iota\omega\omicron\nu\ \delta\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ or $\delta\ \epsilon\rho\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ = $\eta\eta\ \epsilon\beta\iota\upsilon\eta$). If we are to take (lxxiv. 2) literally, then the renewal of the world is to take place during the Messiah's reign. But this is unlikely. In 4 Ezra vii. 28-30; xii. 32-34, the Messiah's kingdom belongs to this world. In xiii. 32-50 to the next, if xiii. 36 is genuine. In the older literature the Messianic kingdom belongs to the next world (cf. Eth. En. xxxvii.-lxx.)

hast seen, these are the mingling of all sins, which the nations afterwards wrought after the death of those righteous men, and the wickedness of the land of Egypt, wherein they did wickedly in the service wherewith they made their sons to serve. 2. Nevertheless, these also perished at last.

LIX. "And the bright fourth waters which thou hast seen are the advent of Moses and Aaron and Miriam and Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb and of all those like them. 2. For at that time the lamp of the eternal law shone on all those who sat in darkness, which announced to them that believe the promise of their reward, and to them that deny, the torment of fire which is reserved for them. 3. But also the heavens at that time were shaken from their place, and those who were under the throne of the Mighty One were perturbed, when He was taking Moses unto Himself. 4. For He showed him many admonitions together with the principles of the laws and the consummation of time, as also to thee, and likewise the pattern of Zion and its measures, which was to be

LVIII. 1. *The service wherewith they made their sons to serve.* Exod. i. 14 is here closely followed: בל-עברתם אשר-עבדו בהם. As the LXX. has here πάντα τὰ ἔργα ὧν καταδουλοῦντο αὐτούς, it is clear that the original writer had the Hebrew text and not the LXX. before him.

LIX. 2. *The eternal law.* Cf. xvii. 6. See xv. 5, note.

The lamp . . . darkness—a Rabbinic application of Isa. ix. 2. Isa. ix. 2 was a favourite passage in N.T. times (cf. Matt. iv. 16; Luke i. 79).

That believe. See liv. 21, note.

Torment of fire. Cf. xlv. 15; xlviii. 39; lxxxv. 13. It will be observed that these passages suggest a material fire in which the wicked are to be tormented after the resurrection, *i.e.* after they have resumed their bodies.

4. *The pattern of Zion and its measures.* Cf. Exod. xxv. 40; xxvi. 30; Heb. viii. 5.

Which was to be made, etc. A very slight change in the Syriac would give a good text: "In the

made in the pattern of the sanctuary of the present time. 5. But then also He showed to him the measures of the fire, also the depths of the abyss, and the weight of the winds, and the number of the drops of rain. 6. And the suppression of anger, and the multitude of long-suffering, and the truth of judgment. 7. And the root of wisdom, and the riches of understanding, and the fount of knowledge. 8. And the height of the air, and the greatness of Paradise, and

pattern of which the sanctuary of the present time was to be made."

5-11. It is of importance to observe, with a view to determining the date of A³, that in these verses we have a transference of Enoch's functions to Moses, and that the revelations hitherto attributed to Enoch are here for the first time assigned to Moses. It is noteworthy that another of Enoch's chief functions is ascribed to Ezra in 4 Ezra xiv. 50. This opposition to Enoch is unswervingly pursued in the Talmud. Thus, whereas in pre-Christian Judaism, Enoch, and Enoch only, is described as the scribe of the deeds of men (Jub. iv. 23; x. 17; Slav. En. xl. 13; liii. 2; lxiv. 5), this office is assigned to various Jewish heroes in later Judaism. Thus according to *Ruth rabba*, 33a, it is Elijah; according to *Esther rabba*, 86d, it is the angels; according to *Jalkut Shim.*, *Beresh.* 141, it was formerly the prophets, but now it is only Elijah and the Messiah (Weber, 272). We have already drawn attention to this phenomenon in the note on xiii. 3, and have there pointed out that this hostility to Enoch is the outcome of Jewish hostility to Christianity as a whole; for as we know from manifold

evidence the writings of Enoch enjoyed a singular influence on early Christianity. This aggressive attitude of Judaism could hardly have originated before the open rupture of Christianity with the Synagogue and the Pauline controversy. Hence this writing was not earlier than A.D. 50. From lxviii. 5 it is clear that it is prior to A.D. 70. Therefore the limits of its composition are A.D. 50-70.

5. *The depths of the abyss.* A frequent subject in both books of Enoch: Eth. En. xviii. 11; xxi. 7-10, etc.; Slav. En. xxviii. 3.

The weight of the winds. The weighing of the winds is described in the Slav. En. xl. 11; cf. also Eth. xli. 4.

The number of the drops of rain. Slav. En. xlvii. 5; Ecclus. i. 2.

7. *Root of wisdom.* See li. 3, note.

Riches of understanding. lxi. 4.

The fount of knowledge. Bar. iii. 12; 4 Ezra xiv. 47.

8. *The height of the air.* Slav. En. xl. 12: "I have written down the height from the earth to the seventh heaven."

The greatness of Paradise. The measures of Paradise are taken by the angels for Enoch. Cf. Eth. En. lxi. 1-4; lxx. 3, 4.

the consummation of the ages, and the beginning of the day of judgment. 9. And the number of the offerings, and the earths which have not yet come. 10. And the mouth of Gehenna, and the station of vengeance, and the place of faith, and the region of hope. 11. And the likeness of future torment, and the multitude of innumerable angels, and the powers of the flames, and the splendour of the lightnings, and the voice of the thunders, and the orders of the chiefs of the angels, and the treasuries of light, and the changes of the times, and the investigations of the law. 12. These are the bright fourth waters which thou hast seen.

LX. "And the black fifth waters which thou hast

The consummation of the ages. This subject is discussed in every section of the Enochic literature.

The beginning of the day of judgment. This date is fixed according to a definite reckoning in the Slav. En. xxxii. 2-xxxiii. 2; lxxv. 7-10; according to certain indefinite measures in Eth. En. lxxxiii.-xc.; xci.-civ.

10. *The mouth of Gehenna.* Eth. En. xxvii. 2, 3; liv.; lxii. 12; xc. 26, 27.

The station of vengeance. Many places of vengeance are described in the two books of Enoch: Eth. En. xviii. 12-16; xix.; xxi.; xxii. 10-13; liv. 1-6; xc. 24-27; Slav. En. x.; xl. 12.

The place of faith, and the region of hope. These seem to be the places of intermediate bliss. Cf. Eth. En. xxii. 5-9.

11. *The likeness of future torment.* Slav. xl. 12.

The multitude of innumerable angels. See lvi. 14, note. Of early Jewish literature, it is only in Enoch that the angels are described at length.

The splendour of the lightnings, and the voice of the thunders. Eth. En. xli. 3; xliii. 1, 2; xliv.; lix.; lx. 13-15; Slav. En. xl. 9.

The orders of the chiefs of the angels. I have here read the plural  instead of the singular . Ceriani renders the text: "ordines principatus angelorum." The Jews believed in ten orders of angels, the Christians in nine. These orders are mentioned and in part enumerated in the Slav. En. xx. 1, 3 (see note); cf. also Eth. lxi. 10; lxxi. 7-9.

The treasuries of light. This expression is unexampled.

The changes of the times, i.e. the seasons. Slav. En. xiii. 5; xl. 6; Eth. En. lxxxii. 11-20.

seen raining are the works which the Amorites wrought, and the spells of their incantations which they wrought, and the wickedness of their mysteries, and the mingling of their pollution. 2. But even Israel was then polluted by sins in the days of the judges, though they saw many signs which were from Him who made them.

LXI. "And the bright sixth waters which thou didst see, this is the time in which David and Solomon were born. 2. And there was at that time the building of Zion, and the dedication of the sanctuary, and the shedding of much blood of the nations that sinned then, and many offerings which were offered then in the dedication of the sanctuary. 3. And peace and tranquillity existed at that time. 4. And wisdom was heard in the assembly, and the riches of understanding were magnified in the congregations. 5. And the holy festivals were fulfilled in goodness and in much joy. 6. And the judgment of the rulers was then seen to be without guile, and the righteousness of the precepts of the Mighty One was accomplished with truth. 7. And because the land was then beloved at that time, and because its inhabitants sinned not, it was glorified beyond all lands, and the city Zion ruled then over all lands and regions. 8. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

LX. 1. *Mingling of their pollution.* Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 14, ἐν φνυμῶ ἀναμύξεως.

Ceriani in correcting 𐤁𐤁𐤁 (="of judgment") into 𐤁𐤁𐤁.

LXI. 4. *Riches of understanding.*

2. *Of the judges.* I here follow lix. 7.

LXII. "And the black seventh waters which thou hast seen, this is the perversion (brought about) by the counsel of Jeroboam, who took counsel to make two calves of gold. 2. And all the iniquities which the kings who were after him iniquitously wrought. 3. And the curse of Jezebel and the worship of idols which Israel practised at that time. 4. And the withholding of rain, and the famines which occurred until women eat the fruit of their wombs. 5. And the time of their captivity which came upon the nine tribes and a half, because they were in many sins. 6. And Salmanasar king of Assyria came and led them away captive. 7. But regarding the Gentiles it were tedious to tell how they always wrought impiety and wickedness, and never wrought righteousness. 8. These are the black seventh waters which thou hast seen.

LXIII. "And the bright eighth waters which thou hast seen, this is the rectitude and uprightness of Hezekiah king of Judah and his benignity which came upon him. 2. For when Sennacherib was stirred up in order that he might perish, and his wrath troubled him in order that he might thereby

LXII. 4. Cf. 2 Kings vi. 28, 29.

5. The captivity of the nine and a half tribes 721 B.C. See lxxviii., note.

6. *I.e.* Shalmaneser, 2 Kings xvii.

3, 6. Cf. 4 Ezra xiii. 40.

7. *Wrought righteousness.* The text is ܥܕܝܬܝܢ = "have been justified." For the grounds for the above restoration, see xxi. 9, note.

LXIII. 1. *His benignity.* So

ܥܕܝܬܝܢ. But the MS. originally read ܥܕܝܬܝܢ = "bounty, kindness." Both readings seem wrong.

2. This verse is translated as it stands in the Syriac. By omitting "for" the word "multitude" could be made the subject of the word "perish."

perish, for the multitude also of the nations which were with him. 3. When, moreover, Hezekiah the king heard those things which the king of Assyria was devising, (*i.e.*) to come and seize him and destroy his people, the two and a half tribes which remained : nay, more he wished to overthrow Zion also : then Hezekiah trusted in his works, and had hope in his righteousness, and spake with the Mighty One and said : 4. 'Behold, for lo ! Sennacherib is prepared to destroy us, and he will be boastful and uplifted when he has destroyed Zion.' 5. And the Mighty One heard him, for Hezekiah was wise, and He had respect unto his prayer, because he was righteous. 6. And thereupon the Mighty One commanded Ramiel His angel who speaks with thee. 7. And I went forth and destroyed their multitude, the number of whose chiefs only was a hundred and eighty-five

3. *Hezekiah trusted in his works.* See xiv. 7, note. Observe the play on Hezekiah's name in these words when retranslated into Hebrew, חזקיה החזק על. There appears to have been one also in Ecclus. xlviii. 22, ἐποίησεν γὰρ Ἐζεκίας . . . καὶ ἐνίσχυσεν. This conjecture as to the probable text in Ecclus. was made in March. It is now (June 20) confirmed by Dr. Neubauer's discovery last week in the Bodley of the Hebrew text of Ecclus. xl. 1. To his kindness and that of Mr. Cowley I owe the following passages where this play on the name occurs twice :—Ecclus. xlviii. 17, עֲשֵׂה יְחֻקֵּיהוּ חֻק עִיר, Ἐζεκίας ὠχύρωσεν τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ, and xlviii. 22, (כִּי עֲשֵׂה יְחֻקֵּיהוּ אֶת הַטּוֹב (וְיִתְחַזַּק)

בררכי רור = ἐποίησεν γὰρ Ἐζεκίας τὸ ἄρεστον κυρίως, καὶ ἐνίσχυσεν ἐν ὁδοῖς Δαυὶδ.

4. *Lo, Sennacherib is prepared to destroy us.* There was a play here on the name Sennacherib in the Hebrew, והנה סנחריב עתיד להחריב אותנו.

5. In *Sifre*, 12*b*, and *Jalkut Shim.*, *Beresh.* 27, it is taught that men are heard by God on the ground either of their own merit or on that of others (Weber, 284, 285).

7. In 2 Kings xix. 35 ; Isa. xxxvii. 36, 185,000 is the complete number of the slain. In 2 Chron. xxxii. 21, only the slaughter of the chiefs is mentioned. From these two accounts the writer has worked up the present.

thousand, and each one of them had an equal number (at his command). 8. And at that time I burned their bodies within, but their raiment and arms I preserved outwardly, in order that the still more wonderful deeds of the Mighty One might appear, and that thereby His name might be spoken of throughout the whole earth. 9. Moreover, Zion was saved and Jerusalem delivered: Israel also was freed from tribulation. 10. And all those who were in the holy land rejoiced, and the name of the Mighty One was glorified so that it was spoken of. 11. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

LXIV. "And the black ninth waters which thou hast seen, this is all the wickedness which was in the days of Manasseh the son of Hezekiah. 2. For he wrought much impiety, and he slew the righteous, and he wrested judgment, and he shed the blood of the innocent, and wedded women he violently polluted, and he overturned the altars, and destroyed their offerings, and drove forth the priests lest they should minister in the sanctuary. 3. And he made an image with five faces: four of them looked to the

LXIV. 3. *He made an image with five faces: four of, etc.* This is a very peculiar version of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7. וַיַּעַשׂ אֱתֹנֶסֶת הָאֵלִים—"he set the graven image of the idol." The LXX. implies the Hebrew just given. The Syriac, however, exhibits an early gloss which prepares the way for our text. Thus it gives מַעֲבֹדִים אֲרְבָּעָה וְאֶחָד

אַחַד = "and he set the four-fronted image." The Arabic goes still further; it="and he set a statue having four heads with four faces." But the form of the tradition nearest to the text is found in the Talmud, *Sanh.* 103b: "At first he made for it (the idol) one face and in the end he made for it four faces, that the Shechinah might see and be provoked."

four winds, and the fifth on the summit of the image as an adversary of the zeal of the Mighty One. 4. And then wrath went forth from the presence of the Mighty One to the intent that Zion should be rooted out, as also it befell in your days. 5. But also against the two tribes and a half went forth a decree that they should also be led away captive, as thou hast now seen. 6. And to such a degree did the impiety of Manasseh increase, that it removed the praise of the Most High from the sanctuary. 7. On this account Manasseh was at that time named 'the impious,' and finally his abode was in the fire. 8. For though his prayer was heard with the Most High, finally, when he was cast into the brazen horse and the brazen horse was melted, it served as a sign unto him

6. *Removed the praise of the Most High from the sanctuary.* This may be explained by the statement in *Sanh.* 103b, that Manasseh erased the divine name and overturned the altar.

7. This verse runs counter to 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11-19, where it is clearly implied that Manasseh was really forgiven on his repentance. This writer declares, on the other hand, that Manasseh's experience in the brazen horse was only a foretaste of his future sufferings in hell.

In the fire. See xlv. 15, note.

8. *His prayer.* 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19; *The Prayer of Manasseh* in the Apocrypha.

Cast into the brazen horse and the brazen horse was melted. This tradition appears in the Targum of Chronicles after 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11: "And the Chaldeans made a copper mule and pierced it all over with little holes, and shut him up therein

and kindled fire all around him. . . .

And he turned and prayed before the Lord his God. . . . And He shook the world with His word, and the mule burst asunder and he went forth therefrom." Traces of this tradition are also found in the Apostolic Constitutions ii. 22: *καὶ ἐπήκουσε τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ κύριος . . . καὶ ἐγένετο περὶ αὐτὸν πλῆξ πυρός καὶ ἐτάκῃσαν πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν σίδηρα.* Also in Anastasius on Ps. vi. (Canisius, *Thesaur. Monum.* iii. 112) *φασὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τῶν ἱστοριογράφων, ὅτι ἀπενεχθεὶς Μανασσῆς κατεκλείσθη εἰς ζώδιον χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ βασιλέως Περσῶν καὶ ἔσω ὢν ἐν τοιοῦτῳ ζώδιῳ προσήύξατο μετὰ δακρύων.* In Suidas (see *Μανασσῆς*): *αἰχμάλωτος ἀπήχθη καὶ ἐς τὸ χαλκοῦν ἀγαλμα καθείρχθη . . . ἐδέηθη τοῦ κυρίου . . . καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀγαλμα θεία δυνάμει διεργάγη.*

Served as a sign. See note on ver. 7.

at the time. 9. For he did not live perfectly, for he was not worthy—but that thenceforward he might know by whom finally he should be tormented. 10. For he who is able to benefit is also able to torment.

LXV. "Thus, moreover, did Manasseh act impiously, and thought that in his time the Mighty One would not inquire into these things. 2. These are the black ninth waters which thou hast seen.

LXVI. "And the bright tenth waters which thou hast seen: this is the purity of the generations of Josiah king of Judah, who was the only one at that time who submitted himself to the Mighty One with all his heart and with all his soul. 2. And he cleansed the land from idols, and hallowed all the vessels which had been polluted, and restored the offerings to the altar, and raised the horn of the holy, and exalted the righteous, and glorified all that were wise in understanding, and brought back the priests to their ministry, and destroyed and removed the magicians and enchanters and fortune-tellers from the land. 3. And not only did he slay the impious that were living, but they also took from the sepulchres

9. Text is corrupt.

LXVI. 1. The writer thus appears to have believed that though Manasseh prayed, yet he did not really repent. This view is found in *Sanh.* 101: "Our Rabbis have taught: there are three who came *with cunning* (before God): they are Cain, Esau, and Manasseh. . . . Manasseh at first called upon many gods, and at last upon the God of his fathers" [Rashi: "He said:

"If Thou save me not, what doth it profit me that I have called on Thee, more than the other gods?""] (quoted by Ball in his *Comm. on The Prayer of Manasses*). In *Sanh.* x. three kings are said to have no part in the future life, *i.e.* Jeroboam, Ahab, and Manasseh. Yet in the *Debarim rabba*, ii., salvation is ultimately said to be in store for Manasseh (Weber, 328).

the bones of the dead and burned them with fire. 4. [And the festivals and the sabbaths he established in their sanctity], and their polluted ones he burnt in the fire, and the lying prophets which deceived the people, these also he burnt in the fire, and the people who listened to them when they were living, he cast them into the brook Cedron, and heaped stones upon them. 5. And he was zealous with the zeal of the Mighty One with all his soul, and he alone was firm in the law at that time, so that he left none that was uncircumcised, or that wrought impiety in all the land, all the days of his life. 6. This, moreover, is he that shall receive an eternal reward, and he shall be glorified with the Mighty One beyond many at a later time. 7. For on his account and on account of those who are like him were the inestimable glories, of which thou wast told before, created and prepared. 8. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

LXVII. "And the black eleventh waters which thou hast seen: this is the calamity which is now befalling Zion. 2. Dost thou think that there is no anguish to the angels in the presence of the Mighty One, that Zion was so delivered up, and that lo! the Gentiles boast in their hearts, and assemble before their idols and say: 'She is trodden

4. The words which I have bracketed are either interpolated or misplaced. It would perhaps be best to read them after "to their ministry" in verse 2. In that case for "festival" we should read "festivals."

7. See note on xiv. 18.

LXVII. 2. *Boast*. Cf. v. 1; vii. 1; lxxx. 3. *Assemble*. The text  = "crowds" is corrupt. I have emended it into  = "assemble."

down who oftentimes trod down, and she has been reduced to servitude who reduced (others)?' 3. Dost thou think that in these things the Most High rejoices, or that His name is glorified? 4. But how will it serve towards His righteous judgment? 5. Yet after these things shall those that are dispersed among the Gentiles be taken hold of by tribulation, and in shame shall they dwell in every place. 6. Because so far as Zion is delivered up and Jerusalem laid waste, and idols prosper in the cities of the Gentiles, and the vapour of the smoke of the incense of righteousness which is by the law is extinguished in Zion and in the region of Zion, lo! in every place there is the smoke of impiety. 7. But the king of Babylon will arise who has now destroyed Zion, and he will boast over the people, and he will speak great things in his heart in the presence of the Most High. 8. But

5. "The dispersed" here seem to be the nine and a half tribes.

6-7. With the destruction of Jerusalem, godlessness is triumphant everywhere. In all the references in A³ to this destruction of Jerusalem, *i.e.* in lxiv. 4; lxvii. 2, 6, 7, there is no trace of consciousness in the mind of the writer that there was any divine interposition to save the sacred vessels of the temple and to destroy Zion by the agency of angels after the manner described in B¹, *i.e.* in vi. 4-10; lxxx. 1-3. If, further, we remark that the declared object of this interposition was to prevent the enemies of Zion boasting before their idols that they had laid it waste and burnt the temple (vii. 1; cf. v. 1; lxxx. 3), and if at the same time we observe that the

writer of A³ represents the angel Ramiel as admitting that the Gentiles are boasting before their idols of their destruction of Zion (lxvii. 2), and that the king of Babylon makes the same vaunt (lxvii. 7), we can with tolerable certainty conclude that the ideas in B¹, *i.e.* in v. 1; vi. 4-vii. 1; lxxx. 1-3, were either unknown to him or else unacknowledged. These ideas seem foreign to B² also. This writer would have sympathised with the remonstrance in 4 Ezra v. 30: "Et si odians odisti populum tuum, tuis manibus debet castigari." In the Assumpt. Mosis (iii. 2) the capture of the sacred vessels by Nebuchadnezzar is acknowledged.

Righteousness which is by the law. See xv. 5, note.

he also shall fall at last. 9. These are the black waters.

LXVIII. "And the bright twelfth waters which thou hast seen: this is the word. 2. For after these things a time will come when thy people shall fall into distress, so that they shall all run the risk of perishing together. 3. Nevertheless, they will be saved, and their enemies will fall in their presence. 4. And they will have in (due) time much joy. 5. And at that time after a little interval Zion will again be builded, and its offerings will again be restored, and the priests will return to their ministry, and again the Gentiles will come to glorify it. 6. Nevertheless, not fully as in the beginning. 7. But it will come to pass after these things that there will be the fall of many nations. 8. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

LXIX. "For the last waters which thou hast seen which were darker than all that were before them, those which were after the twelfth number, which were collected together, belong to the whole world. 2. For the Most High made division from the beginning, because He alone knows what will befall. 3.

LXVIII. 2, 3. The danger the Jews encountered according to the book of Esther, and their subsequent triumph over their enemies. We have here the second earliest allusion to this O. T. book. The earliest is in 2 Macc. xv. 36.

5. The rebuilding of the temple (535-515).

6. On the lower estimation in which the second temple was held

see Mal. i.-ii.; Eth. En. lxxxix. 73, 74; Assumpt. Mos. iv. 8. This temple, therefore, was standing when chapters liii.-lxxiv. were written.

LXIX. 1. *Last*. I have here adopted Ceriani's suggestion and read [𐤋𐤕𐤍] instead of [𐤋𐤕] = "other."

The last waters, etc. See liii. 7.

For as to the enormities of the impieties which should be wrought before Him, He foresaw six kinds of them.

4. And of the good works of the righteous which should be accomplished before Him, He foresaw six kinds of them, beyond those which He should work at the consummation of the age. 5. On this account there were not black waters with black, nor bright with bright; for it is the consummation.

LXX. "Hear therefore the interpretation of the last black waters which are to come [after the black]: this is the word. 2. Behold! the days come, and it will be when the time of the age has ripened, and the harvest of its evil and good seeds has come, that the Mighty One will bring upon the earth and its inhabitants and upon its rulers perturbation of spirit and stupor of heart. 3. And they will hate one another, and provoke one another to fight, and the mean will rule over the honourable, and those of low degree will be extolled above the famous. 4. And the many will be delivered into the hands of the few, and those who are nothing will rule over the strong, and the poor will have abundance beyond the rich, and the impious

3, 4. This division of the periods of the world into six good and six evil recalls Ecclus. xlii. 24 πάντα δισσὰ ἐν καρτέαντι τοῦ ἐνός (cf. also xxxiii. 15).

4. *Foresaw.* So Ceriani rightly emends from "foresees"—merely a change of pointing.

Beyond those which, etc. These woes—the travail pains of the Messiah—are developed at length in lxx.-lxxii. (see liii. 7; lxix. 1).

LXX. 1. I have bracketed the words "after the black" as inter-

polated. They misrepresent the scheme of the writer; for the "last black waters" come after the bright twelfth waters in lxviii.

2. *Its inhabitants.* See xxv. 2, note.

Stupor of heart. Cf. xxv. 2.

3-10. With this notable description of the last woes, cf. xxv. 2-4; xxvii.; xlviii. 31-39; 4 Ezra v. 1-12; vi. 20-24; ix. 1-9; xiii. 29-31 (see xxvii. 1, note).

3. Cf. xlviii. 37; Jubilees xxiii. 19; 4 Ezra vi. 24.

will exalt themselves above the heroic. 5. And the wise will be silent, and the foolish will speak, neither will the thought of men be then confirmed, nor the counsel of the mighty, nor will the hope of those who hope be confirmed. 6. Moreover, it will be when those things which were predicted have come to pass, that confusion will fall upon all men, and some of them will fall in battle, and some of them will perish in anguish, and some of them will be destroyed by their own. 7. Then the Most High will reveal to those peoples whom He has prepared before, and they will come and make war with the leaders that shall then be left. 8. And it will come to pass that whosoever gets safe out of the war will die in the earthquake, and whosoever gets safe out of the earthquake will be burned by the fire, and whosoever gets safe out of the fire will be destroyed by famine. [9. And it will come to pass that whosoever of the victors and

5. Cf. xlvi. 33, 36; 4 Ezra v. 9-11.

The mighty. The text which here reads **ܠܠܡܝܬܝܢ** = "the Mighty One," is wrong. We must read the plural **ܠܠܡܝܬܝܢ** = "the mighty." In lxxiv. 1 we must change the plural into the singular.

The hope of those who hope, etc. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 12.

6. *Destroyed, etc.* Cf. Mic. vii. 6; Matt. x. 35, 36; Luke xii. 53. The Syriac text = "will be hindered" is corrupt; for the context requires a strong expression. The corruption is traceable to the Hebrew. Thus "will be hindered" = *καλυπθῆσονται*, which would be the usual LXX. rendering of **יִכָּלֵם**. That **יִכָּלֵם** is a corruption of **יִכָּלֵם** = "will be de-

stroyed" is clear from the fact that these two verbs are often confused in Hebrew, combined with the further fact that **יִכָּלֵם** = "will be destroyed" gives the exact sense we require.

7. *Whom He has prepared before.* Are these the hosts of Gog and Magog? if text in verse 9 is genuine.

8. *In the earthquake.* Cf. xxvii. 7; 4 Ezra ix. 3.

The fire. Cf. xxvii. 10; 4 Ezra, v. 8.

Will be destroyed. I have here followed Ceriani's emendation of **ܐܡܝܢ** = "he will add," into **ܐܡܝܢ**.

Famine. Cf. xxvii. 6.

9. I have with some doubt bracketed this verse as an inter-

the vanquished gets safe out of and escapes all these things aforesaid will be delivered into the hands of My servant Messiah.] 10. For all the earth will devour its inhabitants.

LXXI. "And the holy land will have mercy on its own, and it will protect its inhabitants at that time. 2. This is the vision which thou hast seen, and this is the interpretation. 3. For I have come to tell thee these things, because thy prayer has been heard with the Most High.

LXXII. "Hear now also regarding the bright lightning which is to come at the consummation after these black (waters): this is the word. 2. After the signs have come, of which thou wast told before, when the

potation. The appearance of the Messiah is premature. His advent does not really take place till lxxii. 2. Again verse 10 is the natural sequel to verse 8. Further, the extermination of the Gentiles is here implied, but only their partial destruction in lxxii. 4-6. Finally, since the Messiah is the defender of the righteous, lxxi. 1 is rather inappropriate. But lxxi. 1 is fitting if the Messiah has not yet come.

LXXI. See notes on xxix. 2. Observe that whereas God protects the inhabitants of Palestine in xxix. 2, and the Messiah protects them in xl. 2, it is the land that protects them here.

2. These words which should not occur till the end of the interpretation show that the text is dislocated. This will be obvious on other grounds as we proceed.

3. Cf. liv. 1.

LXXII. 1. *The bright lightning* = כִּנְוָה נֹרָא. So I have emended by means of liii. 8 the impossible

text קְלָא נֹרָא = "the bright waters." It will be remembered that in the vision in liii. the last blackest waters (liii. 7) were not succeeded by bright waters, but by the lightning which illuminated and healed the earth and ruled over it (liii. 8-11). The lightning thus symbolised the Messiah. But in the interpretation of the close of the vision, the lightning is not even mentioned according to the present text, but in its place bright waters are spoken of, though in the vision in liii. none such are seen and none such contemplated throughout the entire interpretation up to the present chapter. The scheme of the writer of A³ was as we have seen above: twelve periods evil and good alternately, symbolised by black and bright waters respectively, followed by a period of woes—the blackest waters; and finally, the Messiah's kingdom which was prefigured by the lightning. The same emendation must be made in lxxiv. 4.

nations become turbulent, and the time of My Messiah is come, He will both summon all the nations, and some of them He will spare, and some of them He will slay. 3. These things therefore will come upon the nations which are to be spared by Him. 4. Every nation which knows not Israel, and has not trodden down the seed of Jacob, shall indeed be spared. 5. And this because some out of every nation will be subjected to thy people. 6. But all those who have ruled over you, or have known you, shall be given up to the sword.

LXXIII. "And it will come to pass, when He has brought low everything that is in the world, and has sat down in peace for the age on the throne of His kingdom, that joy will then be revealed, and rest appear. 2. And then healing will descend in dew, and disease will withdraw, and anxiety and anguish

Throughout lxxii. 1 the plurals are changed into the singular to agree with the singular subject.

4-6. The Messiah was to extend His dominion over the Gentiles (Ps. lxxii. 11, 17; Isa. xiv. 2; lxvi. 12, 19-21; Zech. xiv.; Eth. En. xc. 30; Pss. Sol. xvii. 32 καὶ ἔξει λαοὺς ἐθνῶν δουλεύειν αὐτῷ). But in the first century B.C. to which the Pss. Sol. belong, a harsher view of the destiny of the Gentiles began to prevail. In Eth. En. xxxvii.-lxx. and Assumpt. Mos. x. it seems to be that of annihilation; it is undoubtedly so in 4 Ezra xiii. 37, 38, 49, and all but universally in later Judaism; cf. Weber, 364-369, 376. A middle line is pursued in the text.

The Messiah here, as in xxxix. 7-xl.; 4 Ezra xii. 32, is a warrior who

slays the enemies of Israel with His own hand. This view appears in the Targum of Jon. on Isa. x. 27, and of the pseudo-Jon. on Gen. xlix. 11. In Eth. En. lxii. 2; Pss. Sol. xvii. 27; 4 Ezra xiii. 38; as in Isa. xi. 4, He destroys them by the word of His mouth. But in the Eth. En. xc. 37; Ap. Bar. xxix. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 28, the conception of the Messiah is weak; he does not appear till evil has run its course; he has no active rôle; he reigns but does not rule.

LXXIII. 1. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25.

Joy will be revealed. The text reads "will be revealed in joy," but this destroys the parallelism with "rest will appear." I have omitted the preposition before "joy."

2. *Healing will descend in dew.* Cf. xxix. 7.

and lamentation will pass from amongst men, and gladness will proceed through the whole earth. 3. And no one shall again die untimely, nor shall any adversity suddenly befall. 4. And judgments, and revilings, and contentions, and revenges, and blood, and passions, and envy, and hatred, and whatsoever things are like these shall go into condemnation when they are removed. 5. For it is these very things which have filled this world with evils, and on account of these the life of man has been greatly troubled. 6. And wild beasts will come from the forest and minister unto men, and asps and dragons will come forth from their holes to submit themselves to a little child. 7. And women will no longer then have pain when they bear, nor will they suffer torment when they yield the fruit of the womb.

LXXIV. "And it will come to pass in those days that the reapers will not grow weary, nor those that build be toilworn; for the works will of themselves speedily advance with those who do them in much tranquillity. 2. For that time is the consummation of that which is corruptible, and the beginning of that which is not corruptible. 3. Therefore those things which were predicted will belong to it: therefore it is far away from evils, and near to those things which die not. 4. This is the bright lightning which came after the last dark waters."

3. *Untimely*. See liv. 15.

4. Cf. *Or. Sibyl.* iii. 376-380, 751-755.

6. Cf. *Isa.* xi. 6-9; *lxv.* 25; *Or. Sibyl.* iii. 620-623, 743-750.

LXXIV. 2. Cf. xl. 2.

4. *This is the bright lightning*. Emended from "these are the last bright waters." See *lxxii.* 1, note.

LXXV. And I answered and said: "Who can understand, O Lord, Thy goodness? for it is incomprehensible. 2. Or who can search into Thy compassions, which are infinite? 3. Or who can comprehend Thy intelligence? 4. Or who is able to recount the thoughts of Thy mind? 5. Or who of those that are born can hope to come to those things, unless he is one to whom Thou art merciful and gracious? 6. Because, if assuredly Thou didst not have compassion on man, those who are under Thy right hand, they could not come to those things, but those who are in the numbers named can be called. 7. But if, indeed, we who exist know wherefore we have come, and submit ourselves to Him who brought us out of Egypt, we shall come again and remember those things which have passed, and shall rejoice regarding that which has

LXXV.-
LXXVI. = B².

LXXV. - LXXVI. With these chapters we return again to B². We should observe that according to lxxv. 1 Baruch replies to the last speaker who has interpreted the vision in liii. for him. This speaker Baruch addresses as God. But the last speaker was not God but the angel Ramiel from whom is derived lv. 4-lxxiv. Thus we see that lxxv. does not belong to liii.-lxxiv.

LXXV. 1. *Can understand.* I have emended 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 = "can be likened to" into 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 = "can understand," and omitted the 𐤁 in 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁.

2. The mercies of God are not dwelt upon much in this book. The righteous are fully conscious of their worth (cf. xiv. 7, note). We have, however, a prayer for God's mercy

in xlvi. 18, and an acknowledgment of God's long-suffering in xxiv. 2, but this is shown alike to the righteous and the wicked. God is merciful (lxxvii. 7) and His compassions are infinite (lxxv. 2); He has dealt with Baruch according to the multitude of the tender mercies (lxxxi. 4); if God had not compassion on man, he could not attain to the world to come (lxxv. 5, 6). For references to mercy in 4 Ezra, see vii. 132-134; viii. 31, 32, 36, 45; xii. 48.

5, 6. *Those things.* Probably the blessed immortality described in li.

6. *Who are under Thy right hand.* Cf. Ps. lxxx. 17.

7. *We shall come again, i.e.* in the resurrection described in l. This verse deals with the destiny of the obedient and the righteous; the next with that of the disobedient.

been. 8. But if now we know not wherefore we have come, and recognise not the principate of Him who brought us up out of Egypt, we shall come again and seek after those things which were now, and be grieved with pain because of those things which have befallen."

LXXVI. And He answered and said unto me: ["Inasmuch as the revelation of this vision has been interpreted to thee as thou besoughtest], hear the word of the Most High that thou mayest know what is to befall thee after these things. 2. For thou shalt surely depart from this earth, nevertheless not unto death but thou shalt be preserved unto the consummation of the times. 3. Go up therefore to the top of that mountain, and there will pass before thee all the regions of that land, and the figure of the inhabited world, and the top of the mountains, and the depth of the valleys, and the depths of the seas, and the number of the rivers, that thou mayest see what thou art leaving, and whither thou art going. 4. Now this will befall after forty days. 5. Go now therefore during

LXXVI. 1. The earlier half of this verse is probably due to the final editor.

Hear the word of the Most High. This same mode of speech in which God speaks of Himself in the third person is found in xiii. 2: "Hear the word of the Mighty God," and also in xxv. 1, where the same statements are made in each case.

2. See note on xiii. 3.

Thou shalt be preserved until the consummation of the times. The Syr. here ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ = "unto

the observance of the times." If we compare the parallel passage, xxv. 1, we see that the above must be

emended into ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ, "thou shalt be preserved unto the times," or else into the fuller form we find in xvii. 3. I have done the latter in the text.

3. Cf. Deut. xxxiv. 1-3; Matt. iv. 8. Is the mountain here Nebo as in Deuteronomy?

4. *Forty days.* Cf. Exod. xxiv. 18; xxxiv. 28; Deut. ix. 9, 18. Analogous to this forty days to be

these days and instruct the people so far as thou art able, that they may learn so as not to die at the last time, but may learn in order that they may live at the last times."

LXXVII. And I, Baruch, went thence and came to the people, and assembled them together from the greatest to the least, and said unto them: 2. "Hear, ye children of Israel, behold how many ye are who remain of the twelve tribes of Israel. 3. For to you and to your fathers the Lord gave a law beyond all peoples. 4. And because your brethren transgressed the commandments of the Most High, He brought vengeance upon you and upon them, and He spared not

LXXVII.-
LXXXII.=B¹.

spent by Baruch in teaching the people are the forty days assigned to Ezra, in which he was to restore the O.T. Scriptures (cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 23, 42, 44, 45).

5. *Live*. See xli. 1, note.

In LXXVIII. - LXXXVII. we have the conclusion of B¹. But of these chapters two are from other sources; LXXXIII. is from B², and LXXXV. from B³. For the grounds for these conclusions, see the notes *in loc*. For a comprehensive treatment of the two sources, B¹ and B², the reader must consult the Introduction. The chief differences between B¹ and B² are: In the former an earthly felicity is looked for, in the latter not; in the former the dispersion is to return, in the latter not; in the former the earthly Jerusalem is to be rebuilt, in the latter not; in the former Baruch is to die, in the latter to be translated; in the former Jeremiah is not sent to Babylon, in the latter he is. Thus the portions derived respectively from B¹ and B² are as follows:—

From B¹ i.-iv. 1; v.-ix. 1; xliii.-xliv. 7; xlv.-xlvi. 6; lxxvii.-lxxxii.; lxxxiv., lxxxvi., lxxxvii. From B² ix. 2-xii. (?); xiii. 1-3a; xx.; xxiv. 2-4; xiii. 3b-12; xxv., xiv.-xix.; xxi.-xxiv. 1; xxx. 2-5; xli., xlii.; xlviii. 1-47; xlix.-lii. 3; lxxv.; xxxi.-xxxii. 6; liv. 17, 18; xlviii. 48-50; lii. 5-7; liv. 16; xlv. 8-15; lxxxiii.; xxxii. 7-xxxv.; lxxvi. The portions derived from B² are restored to what seems to have been their original order in that source.

LXXVII. 1. *From the greatest to the least*. A favourite expression in Jeremiah (cf. vi. 13; viii. 10; xxxi. 34; xlii. 1, 8; xlv. 12; 4 Ezra xii. 40). Only in these it runs: "From the least to the greatest."

2. The twelve tribes which are here mentioned are treated of in their two main divisions in verse 4. Cf. lxxviii. 4; lxxxiv. 3.

3. *A law*. See xv. 5, note.

4. *Upon you*. *I.e.* the 2½ tribes = "the former" in the next line.

Upon them. The 9½ tribes = "the latter" in the next line.

the former, and the latter also He gave into captivity, and left not a residue of them. 5. And behold! ye are here with me. 6. If therefore ye direct your ways aright, ye also will not depart as your brethren departed, but they will come to you. 7. For He is merciful whom ye worship, and He is gracious in whom ye hope, and He is true, so that He shall do (you) good and not evil. 8. Lo! have ye not seen what has befallen Zion? 9. Or do ye perchance think that the place had sinned, and that on this account it was overthrown, or that the land had wrought foolishness, and that therefore it was delivered up? 10. And know ye not that on account of you who did sin, that which sinned not was overthrown, and, on account of those who wrought wickedly, that which wrought not foolishness was delivered up to (its) enemies." 11. And the whole people answered and said unto me: "So

Hath not left a residue of them. I.e. of the $9\frac{1}{2}$ tribes. This denies the Samaritan claim.

5. Cf. lxxx. 5; 4 Ezra xiv. 33. 4 Ezra xiv. 30-33 seems to be dependent on lxxvii. 3-6. Those who are left with Baruch are a remnant of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ tribes.

6. *As your brethren departed.* "The brethren" here embrace the $2\frac{1}{2}$ tribes, and so we interpret the subsequent words, "and they will come to you." On the return of the $9\frac{1}{2}$ tribes see note on lxxviii. 7.

7. *Do (you) good and not evil.* Cf. Jer. xxi. 10; Amos ix. 4.

8. =xliv. 5. Cf. x. 7; xiii. 3; lxxix. 1.

9. It was not the place that sinned. Hence it was destroyed by the hands of angels before it was delivered over to the king of Baby-

lon, lest he should glory over it. Cf. v.-viii., lxxx.; see note on lxvii. 6.

10. Observe that the fall of Jerusalem is here attributed not only to the sins of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ tribes but also of the $9\frac{1}{2}$. This view appears first in Jer. xi. 17: "For the Lord of hosts that planted thee hath pronounced evil against thee, because of the evil of the house of Israel and of the house of Judah." Cf. Bar. ii. 26 *καὶ ἔθηκας τὸν οἶκον οὗ ἐπεκλήθη τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὐτῇ, διὰ πονηρίαν οἰκοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ οἰκοῦ Ἰούδα.* Assumpt. Moyseos, iii. 5, where the two tribes say to the ten: "justus et sanctus Dominus, quia enim vos peccastis, et nos pariter abducti sumus vobiscum. Cf. also Targ. Jon. on Isa. liii. 5.

far as we can recall the good things which the Mighty One has done unto us, we do recall them; and those things which we do not remember He in His mercy knows. 12. Nevertheless, do this for us thy people: write also to our brethren in Babylon an epistle of doctrine and a scroll of good tidings, that thou mayest confirm them also before thou dost depart from us. 13. For the shepherds of Israel have perished, and the lamps which gave light are extinguished, and the fountains have withheld their stream whence we used to drink. 14. And we are left in the darkness, and amid the briers of the forest, and the thirst of the wilderness." 15. And I answered and said unto them: "Shepherds and lamps and fountains came (to us) from the law: and though we depart, yet the law abideth. 16. If therefore ye have respect to the law, and are intent upon wisdom, a lamp will not be wanting, and a shepherd will not fail, and a fountain will not dry up. 17. Nevertheless, as ye said unto me, I will write also unto your brethren in Babylon,

12. *To our brethren in Babylon, i.e.* the 2½ tribes. Cf. verse 19; lxxxv.

6. Observe that the writer does not conceive here of Jeremiah being at Babylon. If he had, he would have directed the letter to him. In the Rest of the Words of Baruch, on the other hand, the writer, conceiving Jeremiah to be in Babylon, directs to him the letter intended for the exiles there. This letter (cf. lxxvii. 17, 19; lxxxv. 6) to the 2½ tribes is lost.

Good tidings. Cf. xlvi. 6.

Depart. This refers to an ordinary death (cf. xliii. 2, note; see also xliii. 3, note; lxxviii. 5; lxxxiv. 1).

14. *We are left in darkness.* xlvi. 2; cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 20.

Briers. The text is מִשְׁרֵי = ὄλη, which is the LXX. rendering of שִׁמְרִי in Isa. x. 17. I have supposed a similar rendering here. Or ὄλη may be a rendering of עֵץ = "trees," and this a corruption of צִי = "thorns." Something is wrong.

15. *The law.* See xv. 5, note.

16. *Shepherd.* The text reads לִבְמִינִי = "mind," which Ceriani has rightly emended into לִשְׂמִי = "shepherd."

and I will send by means of men, and I will write in like manner to the nine tribes and a half, and send by means of a bird." 18. And it came to pass on the one and twentieth day in the eighth month that I, Baruch, came and sat down under the oak under the shadow of the branches, and no man was with me, but I was alone. 19. And I wrote these two epistles: one I sent by an eagle to the nine and a half tribes; and the other I sent to those that were at Babylon by means of three men. 20. And I called the eagle, and spake these words unto it: 21. "The Most High hath made thee that thou shouldst be higher than all birds. 22. And now go and tarry not in (any) place, nor enter a nest, nor settle upon any tree, till thou hast passed over the breadth of the many waters of the river Euphrates, and hast gone to the people that dwell there, and cast down to them this epistle. 23. Remember, moreover, that, at the time of the deluge, Noah received from a dove the fruit of the olive, when he sent it forth from the ark. 24. Yea, also the ravens ministered to Elijah, bearing him food, as they had been commanded. 25. Solomon also, in the time

17. *A bird.* This is an eagle (cf. ver. 20). It is worth observing that whereas an eagle carries this letter to the $9\frac{1}{2}$ tribes here, in the Rest of the Words of Baruch vii. it is an eagle that carries Baruch's letter to Jeremiah in Babylon.

18. *The oak.* See vi. 1, note; cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 1.

21. Cf. Rest of Words of Baruch vii. 3: "Elect above all the birds of heaven."

22. The $9\frac{1}{2}$ tribes were carried

away to Assyria and placed in Halah, and in Habor, on the river of Gozan (2 Kings xvii. 6). Their abode, according to 4 Ezra xiii. 40, 45, was Arzareth, *i.e.* ארץ אחרת Deut. xxix. 28; Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 5, 2.

23. Cf. Gen. viii. 11; Rest of Words of Baruch vii. 10: "Be like the dove which three times brought back word to Noah."

24. Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 6.

of his kingdom, whithersoever he wished to send or seek for anything, commanded a bird (to go thither), and it obeyed him as he commanded it. 26. And now let it not weary thee, and turn not to the right hand nor to the left, but fly and go by a direct way, that thou mayest preserve the command of the Mighty One, according as I said unto thee."

26. Cf. Rest of Words vii. 12.

THE EPISTLE OF BARUCH WHICH HE WROTE TO THE
NINE AND A HALF TRIBES

LXXVIII. These are the words of that epistle which Baruch the son of Neriah sent to the nine and a half tribes, which were across the river Euphrates, in which these things were written. 2. Thus saith Baruch the son of Neriah to the brethren carried into captivity: "Mercy and peace." 3. I bear in mind, my brethren, the love of Him who created us, who loved

LXXVIII. 1. *The nine and a half tribes.* In this book the tribes of Israel carried away by the king of Assyria are, except in i. 2, always so designated (cf. lxii. 5; lxxvii. 19). In 4 Ezra xiii. 40 they are called "the ten tribes" only in the Latin Version, but "the nine and a half tribes" in the Syriac and Arabic Versions; in Asc. Isa. iii. 2 and

in the Ethiopic Version of 4 Ezra xiii. 40 they are called the "nine tribes."

2. *Mercy and peace.* 1 Tim. i. 2.

3. It is noteworthy that in the genuine parts of B¹ in chaps. lxxvii.-lxxxvii. Baruch speaks frequently in the first person sing. (see lxxvii. 1, 5, 11, 15, 17-20, 26; lxxviii. 3,

of Baruch the scribe'; *kP*, 'the Epistle of Baruch'; *mn*, 'the first Epistle of Baruch.'

LXXVIII. 1. אלה האלה 'these are,' *c*; ואלה 'and these,' *abdegghiWP*; *f*, אלה. ואלה 'of that Epistle,' *c*; wrongly om. by *abdegghiWP*. חכבב *abcgh*; *defWP*, חכבב. אלה 'Euphrates,' *abdegghiWP*. *c* om.

2. ואלה *abdegghiWP*, ואלה *g*, ואלה. ואלה 'and peace,' *abdegghiWP*; *c*. reads ואלה ואלה 'and peace be unto you.'

3. ואלה 'who created us,' *abdegghilWP*; *c* wrongly ואלה

בִּי הָיָה כְּחֵץ לִי LXXVIII.
 רָחֵם . הַחַיִּים לְעַבְדֶּךָ
 1 אֱלֹהִים . שְׁלֵמֵךָ אֲנִי
 אֱלֹהִים בְּיָדְךָ
 שֶׁנִּתְּנָה בְּיָדְךָ בְּיָדְךָ
 לְעַבְדֶּךָ אֱלֹהִים .
 שְׁלֵמֵךָ אֲנִי אֱלֹהִים
 כְּדָבָרְךָ שֶׁנִּתְּנָה . בְּיָדְךָ אֱלֹהִים
 2 אֱלֹהִים בְּיָדְךָ . שְׁלֵמֵךָ
 אֱלֹהִים בְּיָדְךָ .
 לְעַבְדֶּךָ אֱלֹהִים .
 שְׁלֵמֵךָ .
 3 חֲסִידְךָ אֲנִי אֱלֹהִים
 בְּיָדְךָ אֱלֹהִים

For some account of the MSS. *abcdefghiklmn* see the General Introduction.

TITLE.—I have here given *c*, though what the title was is uncertain. *a* reads אֱלֹהִים בְּיָדְךָ אֱלֹהִים בְּיָדְךָ אֱלֹהִים; so *g*, but that it om. אֱלֹהִים and *b*, but that it om. אֱלֹהִים, אֱלֹהִים and אֱלֹהִים. *di* give אֱלֹהִים בְּיָדְךָ אֱלֹהִים בְּיָדְךָ אֱלֹהִים; so *w*, but that it om. אֱלֹהִים and בְּיָדְךָ before אֱלֹהִים, and *ef*, but that they om. אֱלֹהִים and אֱלֹהִים. *l*, אֱלֹהִים בְּיָדְךָ אֱלֹהִים בְּיָדְךָ אֱלֹהִים 'the first Epistle of Baruch, the son of Neriah'; *h*, 'the Epistle

us from of old, and never hated us, but above all educated us. 4. And truly I know that behold all we the twelve tribes are bound by one chain, inasmuch as we are born from one father. 5. Wherefore I have been the more careful to leave you the words of this epistle before I die, that ye may be comforted regarding the evils which have come upon you, and that ye may be grieved also regarding the evil that has befallen your brethren: and again, also, that ye may justify His judgment which He has decreed against you that ye should be carried away captive—for what ye have suffered is disproportioned to what ye have done—in order that, at the last times, ye may be found

4, 5; lxxx. 7; lxxxi. 2, 4; lxxxii. 1; lxxxiv. 1, 6, 7; lxxxvi. 3; lxxxvii.) In the interpolated portions this is not so.

4. *Twelve tribes.* lxxvii. 2; lxxxiv. 3.

5. *Before I die.* See xiii. 3, note.

Justify. See xxi. 9, note. Cf. Ps. li. 4; Dan. ix. 14; Baruch ii. 9.

For what ye . . . done is parenthetical. Cf. lxxix. 2.

That in the last times, etc. These words refer to the return of the 9½ tribes (see note on ver. 7).

4. |ת| 'that behold,' *abdefghiWP*; *c* wrongly בך 'that not.'
בג; *adefhiWP*, אבג.

5. |ז| *abdefghiWP*; *c* trs. *defiWP* om. אבג
abdefghilWP; *c*, אבג. אבג 'evil that has befallen,' *abdefghiWP*; *c*, אבג 'evils that have befallen.'
אבג *abdefghilWP*; *c*, אבג. אבג, *a* by a clerical error gives אבג. אבג, *acd*h; *befgi*, אבג. אבג *c*; *abdefghiWP*, אבג. אבג *ch*; *b*, אבג.

worthy of your fathers. 6. Therefore if ye consider those things which ye have now suffered for your good, that ye may not finally be condemned and tormented, then ye will receive eternal hope; if above all ye destroy from your heart vain error, on account of which ye departed hence. 7. For if ye so do these things, He will continually remember you, He who always promised on our behalf to those who were more excellent than we, that He will never forget or forsake us, but with much mercy will gather together again those who were dispersed.

6. *Departed hence.* I.e. from Palestine.

7. *Those who were more excellent.* The patriarchs.

With much mercy. In 4 Ezra xiv. 34, 35 the righteous are to obtain mercy after death. Here God's mercy will be shown to Israel by causing them to return from their captivity.

Gather together . . . those who were dispersed. Cf. lxxvii. 6; lxxxiv. 2, 8, 10. The promise that God would turn again the captivity of Israel is frequently made in the O. T. (cf. Deut. xxx. 3; Amos ix. 11-15; Isa. xi. 12; Jer. xxiii. 3; xxix. 14; xxxi. 10; xxxii. 37; Ezek. xxxvii. 21-28; Zeph. iii. 19, 20; also in Bar. iv. 36, 37; v. 5-7; Pss. Sol. xi.; 2 Macc. ii. 18). The prediction of the return of the exiles is found also in Tob. xiii. 13; Eth. En. lvii. 1, 2; xc. 33; *Or. Sibyl.* ii. 170-173; 4 Ezra xiii. 12, 39-47. Either as in the preceding passages God was to procure

their return directly; or else indirectly (a) through the agency of the nations who should carry back to Jerusalem the dispersed as offerings (cf. Isa. xlix. 22; lx. 4, 9; lxvi. 20; Pss. Sol. xvii. 34); (b) by means of the Messiah (cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 28, 30, 50; Targ. Jon. on Jer. xxxiii. 13); (c) by means of Elijah (cf. Ecclus. xlviii. 10). These different methods are not mutually exclusive. In the presence of this strongly attested hope of the restoration of the dispersed it is strange to find it positively denied by R. Akiba (*Sanh.* x. 3): "The ten tribes will nevermore return; for it is said of them (Deut. xxix. 28): 'He will cast them into another land, as this day.' Hence as this day passes away and does not return, so shall they pass away and not return. So R. Akiba."

The return of the exiles in B¹ accords well with the rebuilding of Jerusalem which is elsewhere expected in B¹. See i. 4; vi. 9, notes.

6 בַּחֲסֵדָה . עֲלֵה־נָּא

אֶל־מִצְבֵּי־שֹׁמֵר

וְלִהְיוֹתָהּ מִשְׁמֶרֶת .

בְּנֵי־מִצְבֵּי־לֵל

וְעַתָּה . שִׁנְיָה

לְמִצְבֵּי־הַבָּיִת וְלִדְכָּחֶרֶץ .

אֲנִי־בְּמִצְבֵּי־לֵל מִשְׁמֶרֶת

עַל־כִּבְדֵּי־לֵל

וְעַתָּה . שִׁנְיָה

7 אֶל־הַבָּיִת עַל־הַבָּיִת .

וְעַתָּה לְכָבֵד־נָּא

אֶת־מִצְבֵּי־נָּא

כֹּה־נָּא . שִׁנְיָה

אֶת־מִצְבֵּי־נָּא

וְעַתָּה עַל־נָּא .

וְעַתָּה

בְּנֵי־מִצְבֵּי־נָּא

וְעַתָּה

6. עֲלֵה־נָּא; *abdefgilWP*, *ah* give conflate reading, *ah* give

7. עַתָּה, *c* adds *ah*. 'will not forget or forsake us,' *abdefghimWP*; *c*, 'will not forget or forsake our seed.' 'those,' *abdefghWP*; *c*, 'all those.'

LXXIX. Now, my brethren, learn first what befell Zion: how that Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up against us. 2. For we have sinned against Him who made us, and we have not kept the commandments which He commanded us, yet He hath not chastened us as we deserved. 3. For what befell you we also suffered in a pre-eminent degree, for it befell us also.

LXXX. And now, my brethren, I make known unto you that when the enemy had surrounded the city, the angels of the Most High were sent, and they overthrew the fortifications of the strong wall, and they

LXXIX. 1. *What befell Zion.*
See lxxvii. 8, note.

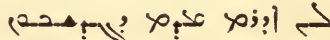
2. *We have sinned, etc.* Cf. Baruch i. 17, 18.

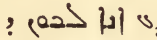
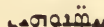
Chastened. Cf. i. 5; xiii. 10.

As we deserved. Cf. lxxviii. 5.

LXXX. This chapter closely resembles and implies vi.-viii., but lxvii. proceeds upon different presuppositions. See lxvii. 6, note.

1. *Fortifications of the strong wall.*
Cf. vii. 1.

*bdefghi*_{WP}. *bdefghi*_{WP} read  'but likewise that which has befallen you has overtaken us: in a pre-eminent degree have we suffered also'; so also *a*, but that it inserts *וְ* before , a conflate reading as in lxxviii. 6: all readings seem corrupt.  *ce*; *bh*, ; *fi*, .  *abg*; *cdh*, ; *fi*, ; *WP*,  'our calamity.'

LXXX. 1.  'I make known unto you that,' *abdefghi*_{WP}; *c* wrongly om.  *abcdfghilm*; *ewp* om. *o* 'and.'  'fortifications,' *abdefghilm*_{WP}; *c*,

LXXIX. 1 לַמֶּלֶךְ בְּלִדְוֹזֹ . — . מַחֲמֵל

אֲנִיב תִּשְׁמַחֲמֵל מִכֶּמֶל

כֶּמֶסֶר עַלְמֵל מִכֶּמֶסֶר

כִּי־מֵמֶל . בְּמִלְכֵל דִּלְמֵל

בַּחֲבִיבִיז מִלְכֵל בְּחֵלְלֵל .

2 בְּמִלְמֵל מִכֶּמֶסֶר לִכְסֵל בְּחֵלְלֵל .

וְלִכְסֵל מִחֵלְלֵל בְּחֵלְלֵל

בְּחֵלְלֵל אֵל אֵל לֵל

זֵל אִמֵּל בְּחֵלְלֵל מִחֵלְלֵל .

3 עִכְסֵל מִכֶּמֶסֶר מִכֶּמֶסֶר

בְּחֵלְלֵל מִחֵלְלֵל מִחֵלְלֵל .

.. אֵל לֵל מִכֶּמֶסֶר מִכֶּמֶסֶר

LXXX. 1 מִכֶּמֶסֶר אֲנִיב מִכֶּמֶסֶר אֵל לֵל מִכֶּמֶסֶר

בְּחֵלְלֵל מִחֵלְלֵל מִחֵלְלֵל .

אֵל לֵל מִחֵלְלֵל

בְּחֵלְלֵל מִחֵלְלֵל מִחֵלְלֵל

LXXIX. 1. מִכֶּמֶסֶר *abdefghiWP*; *c*, מִכֶּמֶסֶר. *abogh*; *defiWP*, מִכֶּמֶסֶר. *efhi*; *bg*, בְּחֵלְלֵל מִחֵלְלֵל.

2. מִכֶּמֶסֶר *bdfghiWP*; *ac*, מִכֶּמֶסֶר. *b(ad?)efghiWP*; *c*, בְּחֵלְלֵל מִחֵלְלֵל. 'commandments,' *chWP*; *abdefgil*, מִכֶּמֶסֶר 'commandment.'

2—3. מִכֶּמֶסֶר לֵל 'yet He hath not chastened . . . degree'; so *c*, save that I have om. *?* before מִכֶּמֶסֶר, with

also have they bound and led away to Babylon, and have caused them to dwell there. 5. But we have been left here, being very few. 6. This is the tribulation about which I wrote to you. 7. For assuredly I know that the habitation of Zion gave you consolation: so far as ye knew that it was prospered (your consolation) was greater than the tribulation which ye endured in having departed from it.

LXXXI. But regarding consolation, hear ye the word. 2. For I was mourning regarding Zion, and I prayed for mercy from the Most High, and I said:

though, according to x. 5, he went with the captivity to Babylon. See x. 2, note.

5. From Jer. xlii. 2, where the words are spoken of the remnant in Jerusalem (cf. Deut. iv. 27; Baruch ii. 13). The two latter passages deal with the remnant among the Gentiles.

LXXXI. As in lxxx. 7 the 9½ tribes had consolation in the fact that Jerusalem prospered and were proportionately grieved on its over-

throw, Baruch has now a word of consolation for them touching Zion (lxxxi. 1); for, when in his grief over it (lxxxi. 2), he asked God how long should this desolation last (lxxxi. 3), God, to give him consolation, vouchsafed a revelation as to the mysteries of the times and removed his anguish (lxxxi. 4).

1. *Regarding consolation.* This word refers to the restoration of Zion. Cf. xliv. 7; lxxxi. 4; lxxxii. 1.

bdefghilwfp; *ac*, חֲבָתוֹת 'habitations.' מְנַחֵם (your consolation) was greater than,' *abcdegghi*; *fwp*, מְנַחֵם, which requires the following rendering: 'the more assured ye were that it prospered, the greater was the tribulation.'

LXXXI. 1. מְנַחֵם *abcefgghi*; *dwp*, מְנַחֵם.

2. מְנַחֵם *c*; *abdefghilwfp*, מְנַחֵם.

3. "How long will these things endure for us? and will these evils come upon us always?" 4. And the Mighty One did according to the multitude of His mercies, and the Most High according to the greatness of His compassion, and He revealed unto me the word, that I might receive consolation, and He showed me visions that I should not again endure anguish, and He made known to me the mystery of the times, and the advent of the hours He showed me.

LXXXII. Therefore, my brethren, I have written to you, that ye may comfort yourselves regarding the multitude of your tribulations. 2. For know ye that our Maker will assuredly avenge us on all our enemies, according to all that they have done to us, also that

4. *The multitude . . . compassion.* Cf. Dan. ix. 18; Bar. ii. 27; cf. lxxvi. 6.

Consolation. See verse 1.

Mystery of the times. Cf. lxxxv. 8.

LXXXII. I am doubtful as to whether lxxxii. 2-9 belongs to B¹ or B². I am inclined to believe the latter. But the evidence is not decisive either way.

4. סבב 'and . . . did,' *c*; abdefghiwp, דבב 'who did.' דבב 'of His mercies,' abegh; defiwp, דבב 'of mercies.' דבב abgh; cdefilwp, דבב. דבב 'mystery,' abdefgiwp; ch, דבב 'mysteries.'

LXXXII. 1. דבב 'of your tribulations,' abgh; defiwp, דבב 'of your tribulation'; *c*, דבב 'of tribulations.'

2. דבב abdfghwp; *c*, דבב. דבב *c*; abefghlmwp, דבב; di om. point. דבב 'us,' abdefghilmwp; *c* om. דבב; *c*; abdefghiwp, דבב. דבב 'to us'; *c* adds דבב 'and in us,' against abdefghiwp. דבב abdefghiwp; *c*, o. דבב

3 סכממחא ןאגחז . ודחמחא

לאמחא סכמ סתמח

ה . סכמחחא אהמ דחמ

4 סתמחא סכמ . סכמח

סמחחא אמר סחחא

ותמחחא סמ . סכמחחא

אמר דחחא בסמח

סחחא סמ סמחחא

דחחא . סמחחא

סחחא אמר דחחא

דחחא . סחחא

זחחא דחחא . סחחא

LXXXII. 1 . . דחחא סמחחא . סחחא

סחחא סחחא סחחא

דחחא סחחא סחחא

2 סחחא דחחא . סחחא

דחחא דחחא דחחא

דחחא דחחא

דחחא דחחא . אמר דחחא

דחחא דחחא . אה בסמחחא

3. 'how long ... these things?' דחחא לאמחא סכמ

abdefghilmwpr; c, דחחא לאמחא (will) these things

... to the end?' דחחא 'upon us,' *acdefghiwr; bg*, סכמ 'upon me.'

the consummation which the Most High will make is very nigh, and His mercy that is coming, and the consummation of His judgment, is by no means far off. 3. For lo! we see now the multitude of the prosperity of the Gentiles, though they act impiously, but they will be like a vapour. 4. And we behold the multitude of their power, though they do wickedly, but they will be made like unto a drop. 5. And we see the firmness of their might, though they resist the Mighty One every hour, but they will be accounted as spittle. 6. And we consider the glory of their greatness, though they do not keep the statutes of the Most High, but as smoke will they pass away. 7. And we meditate

3. *Like a vapour.* 4 Ezra vii. certainly, and in 4 Ezra vi. 56, the text agrees with the LXX.; for in 61.

4. *Like unto a drop.* Isa. xl. 15; Isa. xl. 15 it has *ὡς σίελος λογισθήσονται* against the Hebrew *לִי־* 4 Ezra vi. 56.

5. *Accounted as spittle.* Here *פִּתְיוֹ*.

bg, *עַל מַלְאָכָיו*. *לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ* 'now,' *abdfghiwp*; *c* om. here as it has already inserted *לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ* in place of *לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ*; *e* om. *לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ* *עַל מַלְאָכָיו*. *לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ* *עַל מַלְאָכָיו*; *c*; *abdfghwp*, *עַל מַלְאָכָיו*; *efi*, *עַל מַלְאָכָיו*.

4. *עַל מַלְאָכָיו* *cdefghimwp*; *abh*, *עַל מַלְאָכָיו*. *לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ* 'unto a drop,' *abdefghilwp*; *c* wrongly *לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ* 'unto pollution.'

5. *עַל מַלְאָכָיו* *cdefghwp*; *ab*, *עַל מַלְאָכָיו*. *עַל מַלְאָכָיו* 'firmness,' *abdefghiwp*; *c* wrongly *עַל מַלְאָכָיו* 'truth.' *לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ* 'hour,' *abdefghiwp*; *c* wrongly *עַל מַלְאָכָיו* 'year.'

6. *עַל מַלְאָכָיו* *cdefghiwp*; *ab*, *עַל מַלְאָכָיו*. *עַל מַלְאָכָיו* 'commands,' *abdefghwp*; *c*, *עַל מַלְאָכָיו* 'statutes.'

- מִתְּכֵּן הֵן מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 מִתְּכֵּן מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 וְהָיָה לְךָ . וְהָיָה
 זֶה הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה הַזֶּה .
 3 וְהָיָה לְךָ הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה הַזֶּה
 וְהָיָה לְךָ הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה הַזֶּה
 וְהָיָה לְךָ הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה הַזֶּה .
 4 וְהָיָה לְךָ הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה הַזֶּה
 וְהָיָה לְךָ הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה הַזֶּה
 וְהָיָה לְךָ הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה הַזֶּה .
 5 וְהָיָה לְךָ הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה הַזֶּה
 וְהָיָה לְךָ הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה הַזֶּה
 וְהָיָה לְךָ הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה הַזֶּה .
 6 וְהָיָה לְךָ הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה הַזֶּה
 וְהָיָה לְךָ הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה הַזֶּה
 וְהָיָה לְךָ הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה הַזֶּה .

*aegh*_{WP}; *bdefi*, וְהָיָה. *abcdefghi*_{WP}; *bg*, וְהָיָה.
c; *abdefhil*_{WP}, מִלְּפָנֶיךָ.

3. וְהָיָה 'lo!' *abcdefghi*_{WP}; *c*, הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה 'now.' *acdfh*_{WP};

on the beauty of their gracefulness, though they have to do with pollutions, but as grass that withers will they fade away. 8. And we consider the strength of their cruelty, though they remember not the end (thereof), but as a wave that passes will they be broken. 9. And we remark the boastfulness of their might, though they deny the beneficence of God, who gave (it) to them, but they will pass away as a passing cloud.

LXXXIII. =
B².

[LXXXIII. For the Most High will assuredly hasten His times, and He will assuredly bring on His hours. 2. And He will assuredly judge those who are in His

7. *As grass, etc.* Isa. xl. 6, 7.

LXXXIII. This chapter seems to belong to B². Thus the times will be cut short (lxxxiii. 1, 6), and everything brought into judgment (lxxxiii. 2, 3, 7); let not, therefore, earthly interests engage them (lxxxiii. 4), but let them fix their thoughts on the promised consummation (lxxxiii. 4, 5), and devote themselves to their faith of aforetime, lest to their captivity in this world there should be added torment in the next (lxxxiii. 8); for

the world 'passeth away with its strength and its weakness, its virtues, and its lusts (lxxxiii. 9-23).

The connection between lxxxiii. and xx. is close. Cf. lxxxiii. 1, 6; xx. 1; lxxxiii. 2; xx. 2; lxxxiii. 7; xx. 4. This chapter seems to have formed originally part of Baruch's address to the people (xxxi. 3-xxxii. 6; xliv. 8-15), and to have followed immediately on xliv. 8-15.

1. This and verse 6 are related to xx. 1. Cf. liv. 1; Ep. Barn. iv. 3.

8.  c; *abdefghiwp*, . 
 *cdefhi*; *abg*, ; *wp* give plural.

9.  *cdfghi*; *ab*, ; *ewp*,
.  'the boastfulness,' c; *abdefghiwp*,
 'the beauty.'  'of God—Him,' c; *abdefghiwp*,
 'of Him.'

LXXXIII. 2.  'will assuredly judge,' *acdefghiwp*;

7 וְזִנְיָהּ דִּלְהִי

בְּמִלְחָמָהּ . בְּתִיבָהּ

כְּלִיבָהּ עַל בְּחִיבָהּ . אֵל

אִמְרָהּ בְּחִיבָהּ

8 בְּחִיבָהּ . עַל מִלְחָמָהּ

דִּלְהִי בְּחִיבָהּ .

בְּתִיבָהּ בְּחִיבָהּ

עַל בְּחִיבָהּ . אֵל אִמְרָהּ

בְּחִיבָהּ בְּחִיבָהּ .

9 עַל מִלְחָמָהּ דִּלְהִי

בְּחִיבָהּ . בְּתִיבָהּ בְּחִיבָהּ

כְּלִיבָהּ עַל בְּחִיבָהּ

בְּחִיבָהּ . אֵל אִמְרָהּ

.. בְּחִיבָהּ בְּחִיבָהּ .

LXXXIII. 1 עַל מִלְחָמָהּ

בְּחִיבָהּ . עַל מִלְחָמָהּ

2 עַל מִלְחָמָהּ . עַל מִלְחָמָהּ

בְּחִיבָהּ . עַל מִלְחָמָהּ

7. בְּמִלְחָמָהּ *abdefgiwp*; *bhl*, בְּחִיבָהּ. בְּחִיבָהּ 'of their gracefulness,' *c*; *abdefghilwp*, בְּחִיבָהּ 'of their life.' כְּלִיבָהּ 'with pollutions,' *c*; *abdefghilwp*, כְּלִיבָהּ 'with pollution.'

3. וְהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים .
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים 3
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים .
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים .
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים 4
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים .
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים 5
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים .
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים 6
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים .
 בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים .

bg, וְהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים 'our Lord will judge.' 'hidden,'
abdefghiwp; *c*, וְהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים 'which were sins.'

3. וְהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים 'which in the secret chambers of
 all,' *c*; *abfghl*, וְהַחֲסִים בְּהַחֲסִים 'which in the secret chamber

- 7 **האכלתם** **ב** **האכלתם**
תתן **ל** **האכלתם** **ב**
האכלתם **ב** **האכלתם**
8 **האכלתם** **ב** **האכלתם**
האכלתם **ב** **האכלתם**
האכלתם **ב** **האכלתם**
האכלתם **ב** **האכלתם**
האכלתם **ב** **האכלתם**
האכלתם **ב** **האכלתם**
9 **האכלתם** **ב** **האכלתם**
האכלתם **ב** **האכלתם**
האכלתם **ב** **האכלתם**
האכלתם **ב** **האכלתם**
האכלתם **ב** **האכלתם**
האכלתם **ב** **האכלתם**
האכלתם **ב** **האכלתם**
10 **האכלתם** **ב** **האכלתם**
האכלתם **ב** **האכלתם**
האכלתם **ב** **האכלתם**
11 **האכלתם** **ב** **האכלתם**
האכלתם **ב** **האכלתם**

7. **האכלתם** 'the consummation,' *c*; *e*, **האכלתם**;
abdfghikwp, **האכלתם** 'in the consummation.'

8. **האכלתם** 'worlds,' *abdfghikwp*; *c*, **האכלתם** 'world.'

and all force of this time is turning into misery. 12. And every energy of youth is turning into old age and consummation, and every beauty of gracefulness of this time is turning faded and hateful. 13. And every proud dominion of the present is turning into humiliation and shame. 14. And every praise of the glory of this time is turning into the shame of silence, and every splendour and insolence of this time is turning into voiceless ruin. 15. And every delight and joy of this time is turning to worms and corruption. 16. And every clamour of the pride of this time is turning into dust and stillness. 17. And every possession of riches of this time is being turned into Sheol alone.

12. *Every beauty, etc.* Cf. xxi. 13. Cf. xlviii. 35.
14; xlviii. 35.

so also *i*, but defectively; *c* reads corruptly לְהִנָּחֵם וְלִשְׁמֹחַ 'swelling of pride': we must emend לְהִנָּחֵם וְלִשְׁמֹחַ into לְהִנָּחֵם וְלִשְׁמֹחַ.

14. ewp om. לְהִנָּחֵם וְלִשְׁמֹחַ ... לְהִנָּחֵם וְלִשְׁמֹחַ through hmt.

15. לְהִנָּחֵם וְלִשְׁמֹחַ 'delight and joy,' *bdefghiwp*; *ack*, לְהִנָּחֵם וְלִשְׁמֹחַ 'delights and joys.' לְהִנָּחֵם וְלִשְׁמֹחַ 'to worms,' *abdefghikwp*; *c*, לְהִנָּחֵם וְלִשְׁמֹחַ 'to rejection.' For לְהִנָּחֵם וְלִשְׁמֹחַ *f* reads לְהִנָּחֵם וְלִשְׁמֹחַ.

16. לְהִנָּחֵם וְלִשְׁמֹחַ 'of the pride of this time,' *abdefghikwp*; *c*, לְהִנָּחֵם וְלִשְׁמֹחַ 'of the proud.' לְהִנָּחֵם וְלִשְׁמֹחַ 'to dust and stillness,' *abdefghikmwp*; *c*, לְהִנָּחֵם וְלִשְׁמֹחַ 'to the still dust.'

17. לְהִנָּחֵם וְלִשְׁמֹחַ 'of riches,' *cdefiwp*; *abghk*, לְהִנָּחֵם וְלִשְׁמֹחַ 'and riches.'

ḥmt ḥmt . ḥmt ḥmt

. ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt . ḥmt

ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt 12

. ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt

ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt

ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt

ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt 13

ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt

ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt 14

ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt

. ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt

ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt

ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt

ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt 15

ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt

ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt 16

ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt

ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt 17

ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt

ḥmt; c, ḥmt ḥmt 'to miseries.' k om. . . . ḥmt ḥmt
ḥmt through hmt.

12. ḥmt ḥmt c; *abfghikw*, ḥmt ḥmt.

13. ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt ḥmt 'proud dominion,' *abdefghkw*;

18. And all the rapine of passion of this time is turning into involuntary death, and every passion of the lusts of this time is turning into a judgment of torment. 19. And every artifice and craftiness of this time is turning into a proof of the truth. 20. And every sweetness of unguents of this time is turning into judgment and condemnation. 21. And every love of lying is turning to shame through truth. 22. Since therefore all these things are done now, does any one think that they will not be avenged? 23. But the consummation of all things will come to the truth.]

LXXXIV = B¹. LXXXIV. Behold! I have therefore made known unto you (these things) whilst I live: for I said that

19. |אבגז c; abdefghiklwp, |זאבגז. |זאבסו 'and craftiness,' abdefghiklnwp; c, |זאבס; 'of craftiness.' f om. |אבס |אס; |אבס . . . |זאבס through hmt.

20. |זאבס c; h, |אבס.

21. |אבס; 'of lying,' abdefghikwp; c wrongly om. |אבס c; abdefghikwp, |אבס. |אבס 'through truth,' abdefghikwp; c, |אבס 'in silence.'

22. |אבס |אבס c; abhk trs.; di, |אבס |אבס; efglwp, |אבס. For |אבס efilw read |אבס. |אבס 'does anyone think?' abdefghiklwp; c, |אבס; |אבס 'dost thou think?'

23. |אבס; 'of all,' abdefghik; wp, |אבס 'all.'

LXXXIV. 1. |אבס abdefghikwp; c om. |אבס |אבס;

ye should above all things learn the commandments of the Mighty One, wherein I shall instruct you: and I will set before you some of the commandments of His judgment before I die. 2. Remember that formerly Moses assuredly called heaven and earth to witness against you, and said: "if ye transgress the law ye shall be dispersed, but if ye keep it ye shall be kept." 3. And other things also he used to say unto you when ye the twelve tribes were together in the desert. 4. And after his death ye cast them away from you: on this account there came

LXXXIV. 1. *Before I die.* See lxxviii. 5.

The commandments of the Mighty One (cf. ver. 7; xliv. 3).

2. See xix. 2, 3, note. In this verse there are several traces of the Hebrew original. First the Syr. for "assuredly called . . . to witness" = *διαμαρτυρούμενος διεμαρτύρατο* = הער הער. Next we have

the play on the two senses of שמר: "if ye keep it, ye shall be kept" = אם השמרו השמרו. Finally, there seems to be a paronomasia intended in "if ye transgress the law, ye shall be dispersed" = אם תסורו מתורה תסורו.

3. *Twelve tribes.* Cf. lxxviii. 4; James i. 1.

בִּשְׁמִי, e save in reading בִּשְׁמִי, f save in reading בִּשְׁמִי, and k save in reading בִּשְׁמִי (for בִּשְׁמִי). ce; dfgiwp, בִּשְׁמִי; k, בִּשְׁמִי.

2. אֲבַעֲפִיחִי b; אֲבַעֲפִיחִי. abdefghiwp; c om. אֲבַעֲפִיחִי 'ye shall be kept,' abdefghiwp; c, אֲבַעֲפִיחִי 'ye shall be planted.'

3. אֲבַעֲפִיחִי abdefghiwp; c, אֲבַעֲפִיחִי. ach; bdefgiwp, אֲבַעֲפִיחִי. c; abdefghiwp, אֲבַעֲפִיחִי.

4. אֲבַעֲפִיחִי 'therefore,' abdefghiwp; ch, אֲבַעֲפִיחִי 'and

וְיִלְמְדוּ מִלְּפָנֵי הַיָּחִיד הַגָּדוֹל
 הַחֲקִיב מִלְּפָנֵי
 וְיִלְמְדוּ . וְיִלְמְדוּ
 מִלְּפָנֵי הַיָּחִיד הַגָּדוֹל
 וְיִלְמְדוּ מִלְּפָנֵי הַיָּחִיד הַגָּדוֹל .
 2 וְיִלְמְדוּ מִלְּפָנֵי הַיָּחִיד הַגָּדוֹל
 הַחֲקִיב מִלְּפָנֵי
 הַיָּחִיד הַגָּדוֹל .
 וְיִלְמְדוּ מִלְּפָנֵי הַיָּחִיד הַגָּדוֹל
 וְיִלְמְדוּ מִלְּפָנֵי הַיָּחִיד הַגָּדוֹל .
 וְיִלְמְדוּ מִלְּפָנֵי הַיָּחִיד הַגָּדוֹל .
 3 וְיִלְמְדוּ מִלְּפָנֵי הַיָּחִיד הַגָּדוֹל
 הַחֲקִיב מִלְּפָנֵי
 הַיָּחִיד הַגָּדוֹל .
 וְיִלְמְדוּ מִלְּפָנֵי הַיָּחִיד הַגָּדוֹל .
 4 וְיִלְמְדוּ מִלְּפָנֵי הַיָּחִיד הַגָּדוֹל
 הַחֲקִיב מִלְּפָנֵי
 הַיָּחִיד הַגָּדוֹל .

'that ye should above all things
 learn the commandments of the Mighty One wherein I shall
 instruct you'; so *c*, save that I have with Ceriani emended
 מִלְּפָנֵי הַיָּחִיד into מִלְּפָנֵי ; *bdghilwr* read וְיִלְמְדוּ מִלְּפָנֵי הַיָּחִיד הַגָּדוֹל
 'that ye should learn the
 things that are excellent; for the Mighty One hath commanded
 me to instruct you'; *a* agrees with *bdghiwr* save in reading

upon you what had been predicted. 5. And now Moses used to tell you before they befell you, and lo! they have befallen you: for you have forsaken the law. 6. Lo! I also say unto you after ye have suffered, that if ye obey those things which have been said unto you, ye will receive from the Mighty One whatever has been laid up and reserved for you. 7. Moreover, let this epistle be for a testimony between me and you, that ye may remember the commandments of the Mighty One, and that also there may be to me a defence in the presence of Him who sent me. 8. And remember ye the law and Zion, and the holy

4. Cf. xix. 3.

6. The $9\frac{1}{2}$ tribes must endure chastisement before they could attain unto the promised happiness. This chastisement was for their well-being (lxxviii. 6); it was less than they deserved (lxxix. 2); and its

aim was to make them worthy of their fathers in the last days (lxxviii. 5, see note).

8. They were to remember Zion and the Holy Land; for they were one day to return thither (cf. ver. 10 and lxxviii. 7, note).

5. אָזְכִּיר c; *abdefghi*_{WP}, אֶזְכֶּר.

6. אֶזְכֶּר ac; *bdefghi*_{WP}, אֶזְכֶּר. אֶזְכֶּר; *d*, אֶזְכֶּר; *efi*_{WP}, אֶזְכֶּר. אֶזְכֶּר, *def* add אֶזְכֶּר.

7. אֶזְכֶּר c; *abdefghi*_{WP}, אֶזְכֶּר. אֶזְכֶּר *abdefghi*_{WP}; c, אֶזְכֶּר. אֶזְכֶּר c; *abdefghi*_{WP}, אֶזְכֶּר. אֶזְכֶּר, *abdefghi*_{WP}, אֶזְכֶּר.

8. אֶזְכֶּר אֶזְכֶּר 'the law and Zion,' *abefghil*_{WP};

land and your brethren, and the covenant of your fathers, and forget not the festivals and the sabbaths. 9. And deliver ye this epistle and the traditions of the law to your sons after you, as also your fathers delivered (them) to you. 10. And at all times make request perseveringly and pray diligently with your whole heart that the Mighty One may be reconciled to you, and that He may not reckon the multitude of your sins, but remember the rectitude of your fathers. 11. For if He judge us not according to the multitude of His mercies, woe unto all us who are born.

LXXXV.=B³.

[LXXXV. Know ye, moreover, that in former

9. *The traditions of the law, i.e. the unwritten law.*

dispersion, should they become faithful.

10. *That the Mighty One may be reconciled to you.* Cf. 4 Ezra x. 24: "ut tibi repropitiatur Fortis." Here this reconciliation is to lead up to their return to Palestine; for in lxxviii. 7 it is declared that He that promised their fathers that He would not fail their posterity, would gather them together from their

The rectitude of your fathers. On the merit of the fathers see xiv. 7, note.

11. *His mercies.* See lxxv. 2, note.

Woe unto all, etc. See x. 6, note.

LXXXV. This chapter is certainly an interpolation. I shall designate it B³ It belongs neither to B¹ nor

traditions,' c; *abcdefghiWP*, סמלעסעסעס 'the tradition.' *bcdefghiWP*; a, לכנתעס. c; *abdefghiWP*, לכנתעס.

10. לכנתעס 'perseveringly,' *abdegghiWP*; c om. לכנתעס 'of your sins,' *abdefghiWP*; c, לכנתעס 'of your sinners.' *abcgh*; *defiWP*, לכנתעס.

11. לכנתעס *abdefghilmWP*; c, לכנתעס. *cdefghilmWP*; *ab*, לכנתעס.

וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

10 וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

11 וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

LXXXV. 1 . . . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

d, וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ ; *c* trs. wrongly. וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ *abdefghiwp* ;

c, וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ 'of your fathers,' *abdefghiwp* ;

e, וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ 'and your fathers.' וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ *beg* ; *adefghiwp*,

וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ.

9. וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ *bedefghiwp* ; *a*, וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ . וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ 'the

times and in the generations of old those our fathers had helpers, righteous men and holy prophets. 2. Nay more, we were in our own land, and they helped us when we sinned, and they prayed for us to Him who made us, because they trusted in their works, and the Mighty One heard their prayer and was gracious unto us. 3. But now the righteous have been gathered and the prophets have fallen asleep, and we also have gone forth from the land, and Zion has been taken

B². In B¹ there is a strong national hope which embraces a restored Jerusalem and the return of the dispersion. This hope is here implicitly denied. Although B³ and B² differ in important respects, they agree in despairing of any national restoration. They regard this world as lost, and look only for spiritual blessedness in the world of incorruption (lxxxv. 4, 5). On the other hand, there is a deeper strain of individualism in B³ than in B²; the writer's interest centres mainly in the destiny of the individual; let each see that he is ready when the end comes (lxxxv. 11), and that end is at hand for all (lxxxv. 10). Again, whereas B² seems to have been written in Jerusalem, B³ was written in Babylon or some other land of the Dispersion. Thus in lxxxv. 3 the writer says: "We also have gone forth from our own land, and Zion has been taken from us"; and in lxxxv. 2: "Nay more, we were in our own land, and they (the righteous) helped us when we sinned." Again, whereas according to B² Jeremiah was with the exiles in Babylon (see x. 2, note), it is here definitely stated that the righteous and the prophets are dead and the exiles have none to intercede for them (lxxxv. 2).

B³ and S (x. 6-xii. 4) are the most pessimistic parts of this book.

1. The generation of Jeremiah seems to be in the far past.

2. This verse conflicts with lxxvii. 5 and lxxx. 5. The writer implies that he is one of the exiles in Babylon or elsewhere. This is still more evident from the next verse.

They helped us when we sinned, and they prayed for us, etc. This thought reappears in the Rest of the Words of Baruch ii. 3: "For when the people transgressed, Jeremiah . . . prayed on behalf of the people until the transgressions of the people were forgiven them."

Trusted in their works. See xiv. 7, note; lxiii. 3. Observe that whereas in lxxxiv. 10 the merits of the patriarchs are regarded as a stay of Israel, no such belief appears here. According to this verse and the next it is implied that only the intercessions of the living righteous avail, and now there are none such. Yet it is shown that there were many such in ii. Hence this seems a later production.

3. *We also have gone forth*, etc. See verse 2.

מִבְּקֵלָהּ מִבְּקֵלָהּ בְּעֵל
 מִבְּמִלְּאָה מִבְּמִלְּאָה
 לְבָרְכָהּ מִבְּקֵלָהּ אֲבִימֶלֶךְ .
 2 מִבְּקֵלָהּ מִבְּקֵלָהּ . אֲבִי אֵל
 בִּשְׁמֵי שָׁמַיִם בְּאֵזֶל . מִבְּקֵלָהּ
 מִבְּקֵלָהּ מִבְּקֵלָהּ מִבְּקֵלָהּ
 מִבְּקֵלָהּ מִבְּקֵלָהּ . מִבְּקֵלָהּ
 מִבְּקֵלָהּ מִבְּקֵלָהּ . מִבְּקֵלָהּ
 מִבְּקֵלָהּ מִבְּקֵלָהּ . מִבְּקֵלָהּ
 מִבְּקֵלָהּ מִבְּקֵלָהּ . מִבְּקֵלָהּ
 3 מִבְּקֵלָהּ מִבְּקֵלָהּ . מִבְּקֵלָהּ
 מִבְּקֵלָהּ מִבְּקֵלָהּ . מִבְּקֵלָהּ
 מִבְּקֵלָהּ מִבְּקֵלָהּ . מִבְּקֵלָהּ

LXXXV. 1. מִבְּקֵלָהּ *c*; *abdefghiwp*, מִבְּקֵלָהּ .
 . מִבְּקֵלָהּ *cg*; *abdefghiwp* insert the punctuation between
 these words; *b* has no punctuation. מִבְּקֵלָהּ 'holy
 prophets,' *abdefghiwp*; *c*, מִבְּקֵלָהּ 'prophets and holy
 (men).'

2. אֲבִי אֵל 'nay, more,' *abdefghiwp*; *c*, אֲבִי 'moreover.'
 מִבְּקֵלָהּ 'their prayer,' *abdefghiwp*; *c*, מִבְּקֵלָהּ 'them.'
 מִבְּקֵלָהּ *c*; *abdefghiwp* om. For מִבְּקֵלָהּ *h* reads מִבְּקֵלָהּ.

3. אֲבִי 'and also,' *abdefghiwp*; *c* om. 'and.' אֲבִי 'our
 land,' *c*; *abdefghiwp*, אֲבִי 'the land.' אֲבִי, *a* trs.

נחמ . וְנִשְׁמַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 עָלֵינוּ . וְנִשְׁמַח לֵב עַד
 שֶׁמֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 4 וְנִשְׁמַח . אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 נִשְׁמַח וְנִשְׁמַח לֵב עַד
 נִשְׁמַח וְנִשְׁמַח לֵב עַד
 5 וְנִשְׁמַח לֵב עַד
 וְנִשְׁמַח לֵב עַד
 6 וְנִשְׁמַח לֵב עַד
 וְנִשְׁמַח לֵב עַד
 7 וְנִשְׁמַח לֵב עַד
 וְנִשְׁמַח לֵב עַד
 וְנִשְׁמַח לֵב עַד
 וְנִשְׁמַח לֵב עַד

4. *acdefghiwp*; *b*, נחמ . נחמ . *c* ;
abdefghiwp om. 'and much better things than we lost,' *abdefghiwp*; *c* omitting
 by hmt.

5. *abfdghwp*; *c*, וְנִשְׁמַח ; *e* om. *acdef*;
bgh, וְנִשְׁמַח ; *wp*, וְנִשְׁמַח . *c* ; *abdefghiwp*, וְנִשְׁמַח .
c ; *abdefghiwp*, וְנִשְׁמַח .

our liberty. 8. Again, moreover, the Most High also is long-suffering towards us here, and He hath shown to us that which is to be, and hath not concealed from us what will befall in the end. 9. Before therefore judgment exact its own, and truth that which is its due, let us prepare our soul that we may enter into possession of, and not be taken possession of, and that we may hope and not be put to shame, and that we may rest with our fathers and not be tormented with our enemies. 10. For the youth of the world is past, and the strength of the creation is already exhausted, and the advent of the times is very short, yea, they have

8. *Hath shown to us . . . and hath not concealed from us.* In B¹ Baruch does not use the plural in this connection (cf. lxxxi. 4; see lxxviii. 3, note).

9. *Judgment . . . its due.* Cf. v. 2; xlvi. 27.

Let us prepare our soul. xxxii. 1, note.

That we may enter into possession of, and not be taken possession of

= נַחֲמָהּ סוֹ נַחֲמָהּ. These words are obscure, probably corrupt.

That we may rest with our fathers. Cf. xi. 4; also lxxxv. 11.

Tormented. Cf. lxxxiii. 8.

10. *The youth of the world is past.* Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 10: "saeculum perdidit juventutem suam et tempora appropinquant senescere;" also xiv. 16; v. 50-56.

parallel expressions in v. 2 and xlvi. 27; *bdefghilwp* are wrong here, as they give נִזְכָּר 'the Judge.' Next, for נַחֲמָהּ 'of anything,' of *ac*, I follow *bdefghiwp* in reading נַחֲמָהּ, for נִזְכָּר is clearly the subject and not the object of the verb. The text of *bdefgiwp* = 'before therefore the Judge exact His own and truth that which is its due.' נַחֲמָהּ סוֹ נַחֲמָהּ; *abdefghiwp*, נַחֲמָהּ סוֹ נַחֲמָהּ; *b¹fh*, נַחֲמָהּ סוֹ נַחֲמָהּ. *אבדה* *abcdefgh*; *wp*, *אבדה*; *h*, *אבדה*.

10. נִזְכָּר 'and the advent,' *abcdefghil*; *wp*,

passed by; and the pitcher is near to the cistern, and the ship to the port, and the course of the journey to the city, and life to consummation. 11. And again prepare your souls, so that when ye sail and ascend from the ship ye may have rest and not be condemned when ye depart. 12. For lo! when the Most High will bring to pass all these things, there will not there be again an opportunity for returning, nor a limit to the times, nor adjournment to the hours, nor change of ways, nor place for prayer, nor sending of petitions, nor receiving of knowledge, nor giving of love, nor place

12. *An opportunity for returning.* The Syr. here = "place" or "opportunity for repentance." But as this idea is found again in this verse, and obviously in its right context, it cannot be right here. The difficulty can be resolved as follows:—In early post-classical Hebrew השבה meant both "return" and "repentance." The Greek

translator followed the latter meaning when he ought to have followed the former.

Place of repentance. Cf. 4 Ezra ix. 12: "cum adhuc esset eis apertus poenitentiae locus, non intellexerunt." This is the universal teaching in the Books of Enoch and 4 Ezra.

11. אַבְעֵגְחִי־וֹפְּ; *d*, אַבְעֵגְחִי. עֵגְ; *abdegghiwp*, וֹפְּ. אַבְעֵגְחִי 'be condemned,' *abcgh*; *efwp*, אַבְעֵגְחִי may have rest'; *di*, אַבְעֵגְחִי.

12. כֵּן 'when,' *abdefghiwp*; *c* om. כֵּן אֲנִי *c*; *abdefghiwp*, אֲנִי אֲנִי. אֲנִי אֲנִי *abcefgghiwp*; *d*, אֲנִי אֲנִי. אֲנִי אֲנִי 'of ways,' *bgwp*; *dei*, אֲנִי אֲנִי 'of way'; *acfl*, אֲנִי אֲנִי; *h*, אֲנִי אֲנִי. אֲנִי אֲנִי *bcdefghiwp*; *a*, אֲנִי אֲנִי. אֲנִי אֲנִי 'giving of love,' *cd*; *abcefgghiwp*, אֲנִי אֲנִי 'giving of love,' or 'pardoner of guilt,' accord-

11
 12

ῥοτῆς 'the space.' ἄτ c; *abdefhiwP* om. σῆς c;
abdefghiwp, ἰς.

of repentance, nor supplication for offences, nor intercession of the fathers, nor prayer of the prophets, nor help of the righteous. 13. There there is the sentence of corruption, the way of fire, and the path which bringeth to Gehenna. 14. On this account there is one law by one, one age and an end for all who are in it. 15. Then He will preserve those to whom He finds He may be gracious, and at the same time destroy those who are polluted with sins.]

LXXXVI. When therefore ye receive this my epistle, read it in your congregations with care. 2.

Intercession of the fathers. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 102-115; Slav. En. liii. 1.

13. *Way of fire.* Cf. xlv. 15, note.

In the Ass. Moyseos, iii. 12, Moses is called the mediator of the law.

14. *One law by one.* Moses seems to be here referred to. The remark seems directed against the Christians (cf. xlviii. 24). This verse seems either to be interpolated or in its wrong place.

ܐܒܕܐܢܐ, 'of corruption,' *abdefghiWP*; *c*, ܐܒܕܐܢܐ 'to corruption.'
 ܐܒܕܐܢܐ 'the way,' *abdefghiWP*; *c*, ܐܒܕܐܢܐ 'of the way.' ܐܒܕܐܢܐ
 'to gehenna,' *abefghi*; so *dWP*, ܐܒܕܐܢܐ; *c*, ܐܒܕܐܢܐ 'to
 coals.'

14. ܐܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܒܕܐܢܐ *cg*; *defhWP*, ܐܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܒܕܐܢܐ . ܐܒܕܐܢܐ

15. ܐܒܕܐܢܐ 'then,' *begh*; *adefilWP*, ܐܒܕܐܢܐ 'and then.'
 ܐܒܕܐܢܐ *acdefiWP*; *bgh*, ܐܒܕܐܢܐ 'those,' *c*; *adefghiWP*,
 ܐܒܕܐܢܐ 'and those.' ܐܒܕܐܢܐ *abdefghWP*; *c*, ܐܒܕܐܢܐ.
 ܐܒܕܐܢܐ *c*; *abdefghiWP* trs.

LXXXVI. 1. ܐܒܕܐܢܐ ܐܒܕܐܢܐ *c*; *abdefghiWP* trs. ܐܒܕܐܢܐ
 'this,' *abdefghiWP*; *c* om. ܐܒܕܐܢܐ *abdefghiWP*; *c*, ܐܒܕܐܢܐ.

וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשֵּׁנִי .

וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשֵּׁנִי .

וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשֵּׁנִי .

13 וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשֵּׁנִי .

וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשֵּׁנִי .

וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשֵּׁנִי .

14 וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשֵּׁנִי .

וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשֵּׁנִי .

וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשֵּׁנִי .

וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשֵּׁנִי .

15 וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשֵּׁנִי .

וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשֵּׁנִי .

וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשֵּׁנִי .

וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשֵּׁנִי .

LXXXVI. 1 וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשֵּׁנִי .

וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשֵּׁנִי .

וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשֵּׁנִי .

ing as we vocalise the phrase. וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם 'supplication,' *abdeghilwF*; *c*, וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם 'supplications'; *f* om. וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם ... וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם. וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם, *d* repeats; *e* reads singular. וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם 'intercession,' *bdefghiW*; *ac*, וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם 'intercessions.'

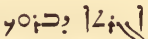
13. וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם, *c* adds above the line in first hand וּמִן against *abdefghiW*; *h* adds וּמִן *abdefghiW*; *c*, וּמִן וּמִן.

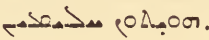
And meditate thereon, above all on the days of your fasts. 3. And bear me in mind by means of this epistle, as I also bear you in mind in it, and always fare ye well.

LXXXVII. And it came to pass when I had ended all the words of this epistle, and had written it sedulously to its close, that I folded it, and sealed it carefully, and bound it to the neck of the eagle, and dismissed and sent it.

HERE ENDS THE BOOK OF BARUCH THE SON OF NERIAH.

LXXXVII. *Bound it to the neck of the eagle.* These words reappear in the Rest of the Words of Baruch
 vii. 8, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν . . . ἔδησεν
 eis τὸν τράχηλον τοῦ αἰετοῦ (cf.
 vii. 30).

the first epistle'; in WP,  ' (here) ends the epistle of Baruch'; *f* om. subscription.

LXXXVII. Found only in *c*, but undoubtedly a part of the original work, as is clear from a comparison of lxxvii. 17, 20—26. As all the other MSS. began with lxxviii., and gave only a fragment of the book for ecclesiastical reading, they naturally omitted this chapter, since it would have been unintelligible without lxxvii., and simply closed the section with the words .

APPENDIX ON VI. 7-10

In 2 Macc. ii. 4-8 there is a tradition closely related to the account in vi. 7-10. Here Jeremiah is warned of God to hide, in a cave-like dwelling in the mountain where Moses climbed up, "the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of incense" (τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος). This place was to remain unknown till God should gather His people again together (ἄγνωστος ὁ τόπος ἔσται ἕως αἶν συναγάγῃ ὁ Θεὸς ἐπισυναγωγὴν τοῦ λαοῦ).

The mention here of the "altar of incense" supports the rendering I have given of ܐܠܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ in vi. 7. This word implies *θυμιατήριον* in the Greek. In the LXX. this word means "censer," but in Philo, Josephus, Clem. Alex., and Origen it is the ordinary appellation of the "altar of incense." Now as regards the first meaning, there is no mention of any particular censer in the Old Testament, not even in Lev. xvi. 12. The only mention of the golden censer is found in the Mishna, *Joma*, v. 1, vii. 4 (quoted by Lünemann on Heb. ix. 4), which the High Priest took with him into the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement. Since, however, in the frequent earlier and contemporary enumerations of the holy vessels in 2 Macc. ii. 5; Philo, *Quis rerum divin. haer.* i. 504; *de Vita Mos.* ii. 149; Heb. ix. 1-5 (?); Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 6, 8; *Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 5, this censer is nowhere given, but the altar of incense always, it seems right to conclude that *θυμιατήριον* should be taken here in its meaning of "altar of incense," and not in that of "censer," as it was by the Syriac translator.

INDEX I

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